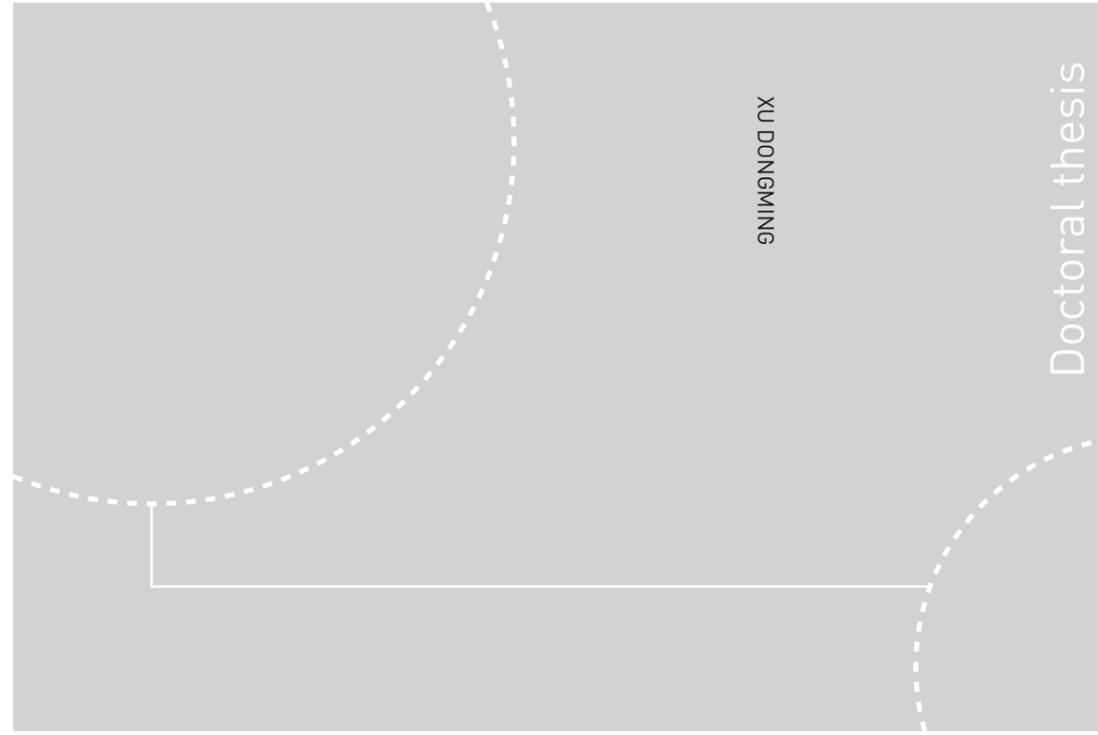


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Case study of Archaeological Site Museums  
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Explore the junction of Heaven and Man,  
comprehend the transformation of past and present,  
and establish the exposition of one lineage.

– Sima Qian (c. 145 – 86 BC), trans. by Stephen Owen, 2010, 102.

I gaze up at the lofty mountain, I travel the great road. Although I cannot reach him,  
my heart goes toward him.

– Sima Qian (c. 145 – 86 BC), trans. by Michael Hunter, 2017, 157.



## **Abstract**

Based on the documentation and analysis of anthropological fieldwork carried out from 2009 to 2015 on three selected site museum cases, this dissertation focuses on the phenomenon of installation management in Chinese site museums placed in the context of high-paced social transformation and modernization, with a Norwegian example as reference. It begins with a brief history of the formation of Chinese and Norwegian conservation institutions. Thereafter, it proposes and tests a social communication pattern of site museum management in China, explored via the origin and definition of ‘site museum,’ by revisiting some related essential conservation principles. Finally, it provides an assessment framework composed of the authenticity, integrity, and continuity concepts which build upon the fundamental issues of site museums.

The Daming Palace National Heritage Park and Han Yangling Museum in Xi’an, specifically the archaeological exhibition hall for the Outer Burial Pits of Yangling Imperial Cemetery of Han Dynasty, are taken as the study cases in China for the field investigation and further exploration. Meanwhile, the Hedmark Museum, an archaeological site museum in Norway, acts as the reference example for the fieldwork and research. Methodologically, this involves a multi-perspective approach which combines historical, anthropological, archaeological, and architectural studies on site museums. The methods of social anthropology are employed as the scientific tools in the fieldwork through semi-structured interviews and participant observation. Particularly, the interview documentation concentrates on the reflection of the different participants including museum staff, archaeologists, architects, civil engineers, contractors, and conservation officers who represent different institutions participating in the related site museum projects. A critical analysis of the cases helps clarify the basic principles of site museum construction and may also be useful for similar practices in other countries. Together, the collected interview notes provide valuable insights into the role of archaeological site museums in the operation of cultural heritage management and enhancement. Sixteen informants from different professional fields were interviewed. These interviews provide valuable documentation as oral history records that can draw an overall picture of the Chinese

and Norwegian cases. Particularly, many of the interviewees, as professionals in different relevant fields of museums and architectural conservation, express their different thoughts and ideas on the practice of architectural conservation in China and Norway, meriting this study as a baseline for future research.

## **Acknowledgements**

This dissertation is about site museums. Before I received a grant from NTNU and initiated this work in 2009, I had been trained as an architect in Xi'an, China and had 12 years of practice focusing mainly on museum design and conservation projects for many listed cultural heritage sites. But, I have to admit that doing a PhD over the age of 40 was both a blessing and a challenge. Indeed, it offered a fascinating experience which allowed me the opportunity to revisit all the relevant working experience that I had which related to this academic training. However, there was also a growing overwhelming sense that this challenge was too big, and I felt myself asking: How could I transfer this experience into the research? To be honest, I was confused about my role in the first few years of my PhD when I was taking courses to learn the jargon of the academic field. Indeed, there is always some reluctance toward different life changes, especially for a middle-aged man.

Every research program has its transcendent moment. For this project, it regarded one weekend morning with clear sunshine in the late summer in 2004 in Fuping, where I had just completed the work of the Fuping Ceramic Art Museum as a site architect. Leaving the hotel cottage, scattered in the orchard of the Fuping Pottery Art Village, Professor LIU Kecheng asked me if I would be willing to take a seasonal job for the NTNU branch office proposed by Professor Harald Høyem. That request initiated the beginning of engagement with NTNU and this research. Therefore, my first special thank you is dedicated to them for bringing me onto this journey and endowing their enlightenment upon me.

I would also like to express my sincere appreciation to my supervisor, Dag Nilsen, for his encouragement and support throughout this PhD. For all the years that I have spent at NTNU, he is no longer just my supervisor, he has become more. He has helped to take care of me and my family with the great kindness of a dear friend or like a parent. Under his guidance, I have received both freedom and strict standards for conducting this academic exploration. I also would like to thank Professor Branko Mitrovic as my acting supervisor for helping me facilitate this work into a final draft. Without his thrust I would never have carried this work through to the end. Another thank you goes to Professor Axel Christophersen, as co-supervisor and expert in

archaeology, who always asked critical and direct questions and made my thoughts on this project take new directions. Notwithstanding, as I did not take all of their advice, I would like to emphasize at this point that any errors are entirely my own, whether of fact or interpretation.

I am further indebted to Kim Sørenssen for taking on the great labor of reading and commenting on my draft manuscript. His feedback and expertise as an anthropologist, familiar with the social context in China, were always inspiring and invaluable. Moreover, a special thanks to Professor Nilda Valentin, Drs. CHEN Qi, WANG Tao, LIU Dongyang, LI Haiqing, PEI Zhao, WANG Daiyun, and TAN Boniu. Their questions, corrections, and suggestions for all published articles of this PhD project helped strengthen this work immensely. Additionally, Magnus Rom Jensen gave me great assistance with the dictation and translation of one interview note in Norwegian. CHEN Jianfen and ZHANG Yangyang helped me edit the manuscripts of two interview notes in Chinese. Moreover, Astrid Sandvik and the other staff at the NTNU Architecture and Civil Engineering Library kindly helped me whenever I wanted to access sources outside the university database or renew book loans. Mr. DING Xiaolei and YU Feng helped me a great deal when I met difficulties finding some rare digital reference sources. Dr. Udo Küsel, a veteran in museology who has devoted the majority of his life to the development of museums in South Africa, generously helped me with references on site museums far beyond any expectations that I had. Further, Professors HU Wugong, WANG Boping, LIU Kecheng, Dag Nilsen, Ragnar Pedersen, Mr. Pål Biørnstad, SHEN Weilong, GU Yunlei (Greenlay), DI Wei, and Norwegian National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design (*Nasjonalmuseet*) authorized the right to use the photographs and drawings in this dissertation for the Daming Palace district, Han Yangling Museum, and Hedmark Museum.

The anthropological fieldwork for this dissertation was carried out from 2009 to 2015 on three selected site museums, namely: the Hedmark Museum in Hamar, Norway, the Daming Palace Site Park, and the Han Yangling Museum in Xi'an, China. Therefore, I would like to express my gratitude to all the people I have interviewed for their permission to use the documented interview data for this

research. The collected field notes of different informants include museum staff, archaeologists, architects, civil engineers, contractors, and conservation officers etc., and constitute a solid foundation for this research. I especially thank Steinar Bjerkestrand, Tor Sæther, Pål Biønstad, Professor Ragnar Pedersen, Professor Eir Ragna Grytli, and Dr. Marie Louise Anker for the Norwegian case, and ZHANG Tinghao, WU Xiaocong, HOU Weidong, XUE Kai, YAN Lianwu, WANG Shunli, WANG Wei, and LIU Wei for the Chinese cases. A special thank you to Mr. Milan Kovač, a conservation architect who has spent most of his working life on the protection of archaeological sites, for providing a detailed written interview response about his vital contribution to the Han Yangling project. It has definitely been a wonderful experience to hear about the different thoughts and ideas all these informants have shared which regard different angles on their professional practice of museum management, architectural design, and cultural heritage conservation in Norway or China. These interviews are also valuable documentation as an oral history which may draw an overall picture of the Chinese and Norwegian cases. As such, it makes me feel that I have been conducting meaningful work.

My special thanks to Leanne Johnstone. Her professional and efficient editorial work brought out the best while eliminating the worst in the manuscript. My sincere thanks as well to Jóhannes Sigurjónsson, Kari Elise Mobeck, Kjersti Kviseth, Lars Halvorsen, Lisbet Sauarlia, Allen Alvarez, WANG Yu, and FAN Chunfei for their friendships, as well as plenty of intellectual moments we shared during these years.

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## **Part I Introduction**



Chapter 1  
**Introduction**



# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Introduction

This work is about site museums. The term ‘site museum’ appeared rather late in the museological literature in 1950s, but the form and arrangement of site museums in practice existed far earlier than the term itself.<sup>1</sup> As Gionata Rizzi observes, the fascination of contemporary culture for the site of ruins and the discovery of buried cities in Europe “have [their] roots in at least two centuries of history of ideas.”<sup>2</sup> The basic idea of site museums is to preserve the site and heritage in its actual geographical position, including long-term conservation and curation of all related records and collections. Notwithstanding, Helaine Silverman once noted that although the topics of museums have increasingly attracted scholars in various disciplines, scant attention has been directed to site museums within these museum studies.<sup>3</sup> One example is that the International Council of Museums (ICOM) offered only a skeletal definition of ‘site museum’ in 1982.<sup>4</sup> Disturbingly, this situation is still apparent given that at the recent 40<sup>th</sup> Conference of ICAMT, the International Committee for Architecture and Museum Technique in Tbilisi, Georgia, 2014, titled “On Top of History - Site Museums,” consensus on the definition was not reached.

The lack of interest in site museums in museological studies within European, developed countries<sup>5</sup> appears to be a deliberate absence due to the division of

---

<sup>1</sup> See detailed exploration of the origin and definition of ‘site museum’ in Chapter 6.

<sup>2</sup> Gionata Rizzi, “Preface” in John Ashurst ed., *Conservation of ruins* (Burlington, MA: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2007), pp. xix-xxiii: xix.

<sup>3</sup> Helaine Silverman, “Archaeological Site Museums in Latin America” in Helaine Silverman ed., *Archaeological Site Museums in Latin America* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2006), pp.3-17: 3.

<sup>4</sup> It states that an archaeological site museum is a museum located “at the point where excavations have taken place.” See Kenneth Hudson, *Museums of Influence* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p. 144; cited in Silverman, 2006, p. 3. According to the announcements of the 40th Conference of ICAMT, the ICOM defined the (archaeological) ‘site-museum’ in 1982 as “a museum conceived and set up in order to protect natural or cultural property, movable and immovable, on its original site, that is, preserved at the place where such property has been created or discovered”. Full text available at <http://network.icom.museum/icamt/conferences/past/2014-tbilisi-georgia/> accessed October 24, 2017.

<sup>5</sup> The published monographs, theses, and articles on this topic found by the author focus on site museums in Asia, Latin America, and South Africa. For example, in 1993, Dr. Hermanus Johannes Moolman completed a doctoral dissertation on site museums in Afrikaans titled “Die bydrae van terreinmuseums tot die bewaring en interpretasie van die Suid-Afrikaanse omgewing” (English: *The contribution of site museums to the conservation and interpretation of the South African environment*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Pretoria, 1993). Moreover, LU Li-Cheng mentioned the concept of ‘site museum’ and studied several cases in Japan, Taiwan, and Mainland China in his *Study on Preservation in situ and Exhibition of Archaeological Sites* (Taiwan: The Preparatory Office of

different professional organizations and academic arenas. For instance, many guiding principles stated in the ICOMOS *Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage* (1990) and *Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites* (2008) perfectly meet the concepts of site museums, but avoid integrating these ideas in the form of ‘museum.’<sup>6</sup>

## 1.2 Social Significance of Site Museums in China

In China, the consideration of site museums and site parks, as the important component of the Large Archaeological Sites Protection Scheme, has been receiving critical attention at the state level since 2005.<sup>7</sup> Since economic reform and open policy were adopted in 1978, tremendous changes have taken place in China. Specifically, the economy is booming, people’s mentalities are changing, and the cities are taking on brand-new looks. Never before has China faced such a fierce transformation in its history, facing the great challenges and opportunities in extremely high-paced urbanization (Figure 1.1).<sup>8</sup> Thus, a considerable number of outstanding cultural heritage sites are temporarily ignored – considered by many to be invaluable – and are therefore becoming endangered.

---

National Museum of Prehistory, 1993); this was seemingly the first monograph on site museums in Chinese. Further, one of the first comprehensive monographs on this topic in China was an *Introduction to Museology for Site Museums* (Xi’an, China: Shaanxi Renmin Press, 1999), written and edited by WU Yongqi, LI Shuping, ZHANG Wenli from the Museum of Terracotta Warriors and Horses (Present name: Emperor Qinshihuang’s Mausoleum Site Museum). Finally, a proceeding about site museums in Latin America named *Archaeological Site Museums in Latin America* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2006) was edited by Professor Helaine Silverman from University of Illinois.

<sup>6</sup> Full text available at <http://www.icomos.org/en/charters-and-texts> accessed October 16, 2017.

<sup>7</sup> In August 2005, the *Standards of Special Fund Management of Large Archaeological Site Protection* was issued by the Chinese State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH) and the Chinese Ministry of Finance, which was the start of the Large Archaeological Sites Protection Scheme led by Chinese government at the state level. See *Tracking on the Large Archaeological Site Protection Scheme*, ed. by Chinese Academy of Cultural Heritage, Cultural Relics Press, 2016, Part I, p. 20.

<sup>8</sup> From 1978 to 2000, China’s urbanization rate increased from 17.9% to 36.2%, with an average annual increase of 0.83%. The number of cities increased from 193 to 663, and the towns increased from 2,173 to 20,312. From 2001 to 2014, China’s urbanization process was in a period dominated by the expansion of small towns. The urbanization rate increased from 36.2% (2000) to 56.1% (2015), with an average annual growth of 1.3%, and the population of urban residents reached 770 million (see in *Correlation Analysis and Strategies for Low-carbon Urbanization in China*, ed. National Center for Climate Change Strategy and International Cooperation, 2016, pp. 4-6; full text available at <http://www.efchina.org/Attachments/Report/report-20170714-1/report-20170714-1>). Another source states that: “In the 30 years since the beginning of reform and opening up (1978), China’s scale of urbanization has risen dramatically, with the urban population increasing to 607 million people. Urbanization has increased at an annual rate of 0.9 per cent, making China one of the most rapidly urbanizing countries in the world.” See in *China’s New Urbanization Strategy*, ed. China Development Research Foundation (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2013), 15.

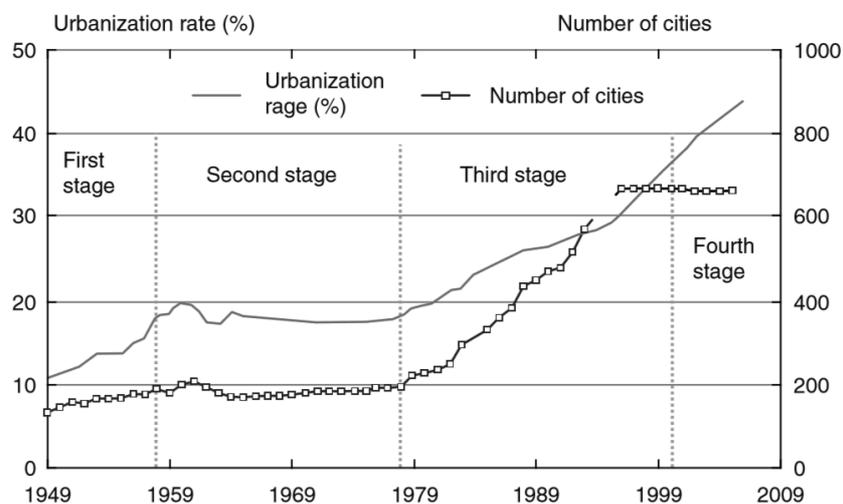


Figure 1.1 Urbanization Rate and Number of Cities in China from 1949 to 2009<sup>9</sup>

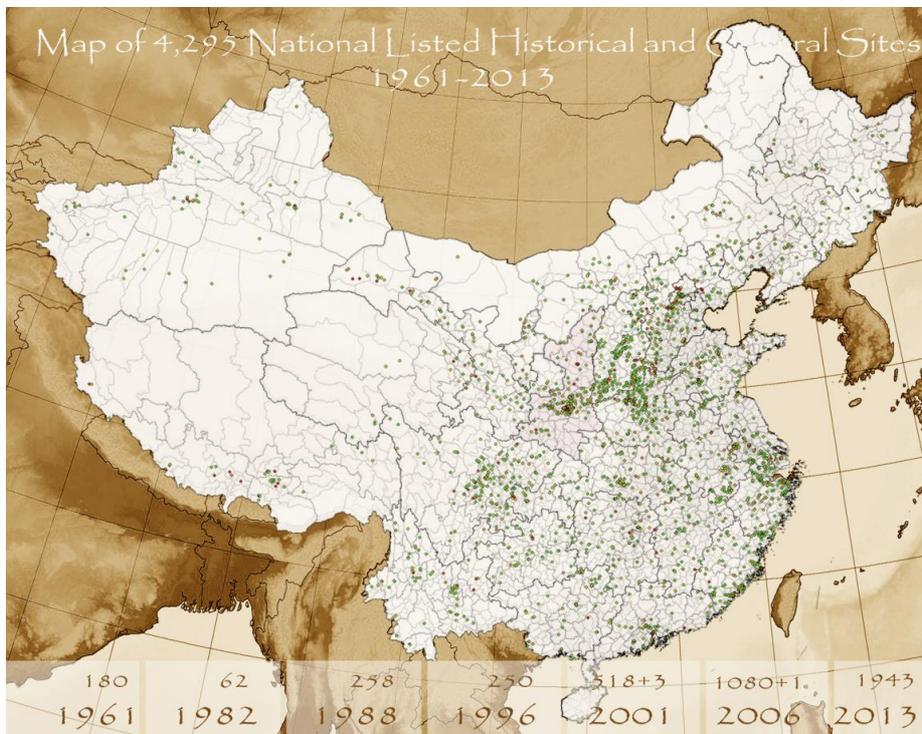
During the radical reconstruction of the existing built environment in urban and rural areas, many historic districts have disappeared and the cities have become more and more homogeneous, losing their unique character.<sup>10</sup> To compensate for this, a large amount of historical site museums and site parks have been constructed and planned for in a short period; in many cases, with the uncritical adoption of models from a few ‘successful’ cases, without clear guiding principles. Since 1961, the Chinese central government has issued 4,295 national listed historical and cultural properties (Figure 1.2),<sup>11</sup> together with the provincial and municipal level listed sites which, as important historic environments, ultimately constitute China’s cultural heritage conservation system. Approximately 96 percent of these national listed sites were issued after the 1980s, including 52 UNESCO World Heritage Sites, and about 83 percent of these have been issued during the last two decades (1997–2007 and 2007–2017); thus indicative of the extent of the endangered situation. Among them, there are 100 archaeological sites that have been selected for China’s Eleventh Five-

<sup>9</sup> Source: LI Shantong and XU Zhaoyuan, “Options for China’s Urbanization Road”, in ZHANG Yutai ed., *China 2020: Development Goals and Policy Options*, (Beijing: China Development Publishing House, 2008), cited in China Development Research Foundation, 2013, p. 15.

<sup>10</sup> See detailed description in the selected long interviews in Appendices I-III.

<sup>11</sup> The statistical data shown in Figure 1.2 was based on the approval lists by the Chinese State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH), announced by the State Council of China. See detailed information at SACH Official Website: <http://www.sach.gov.cn/>

Year Plan (2006 to 2010) and 150 for the Twelfth Five-Year Plan (2011–2015).<sup>12</sup> Most of these sites, as the first two groups of key projects in the national Large Archaeological Sites Protection Scheme, have been taken into account in conservation planning, and the construction of site museums and site parks. For instance, in October 2010 and December 2013, 24 archaeological sites were approved by the Chinese State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH) as National Heritage Site Parks, 54 sites were in the nomination list for the next round, and 30 site museums were constructed among these listed site parks.<sup>13</sup>



**Figure 1.2** National Listed Historical and Cultural Sites in China from 1961 to 2013 (The image was edited by the author and based on the work of GU Yunlei (Greenlay) with the copyright permission).

In the role of an experienced conservation architect at Shaanxi Provincial Conservation Engineering Institute of Monuments and Sites in the historical city of Xi'an, I handled dozens of conservation planning and museum design projects of the

<sup>12</sup> See detailed list and description in the Chinese Academy of Cultural Heritage, 2016, Part I, pp. 210-215.

<sup>13</sup> See the list at SACH Official Website: <http://www.sach.gov.cn/>, detailed description in *Ibid.*, pp. 235-240, 267-270.

listed sites for over a decade (1996–2008). To this end, I noticed many problems in the practice of this field while recognizing that, indeed, there are many ways to study these challenges. For the purpose of this research, I have chosen to study a comprehensive, and at the same time focused, arena; that is, to concentrate on how site museums in China have been developing and are being transformed in the melting-pot that involves traditional Chinese culture, the modern Chinese lifestyle, new communication patterns, the increasing impact of international ideas, acts, charters, and norms, and the growing interchange of culture – not least related to the escalating volume of tourism.

Combined with the literature study, the exploration in this dissertation focuses on the case study of archaeological site museums in China, with a Norwegian example included as a reference. This is based on the documentation and analysis of the anthropological fieldwork carried out from 2009 to 2015 on three selected site museum cases. The study on Chinese and Norwegian cases consequently reveals similarities and differences due to different contexts, and – intentionally – casts light on how archaeology, museology, and architectural conservation, as three major relevant professional fields of site museum management in China, have been influenced by international modernization trends in the dissemination of knowledge. This research therefore avoids the ‘simply-copy’ approach which has been a dominating trend for present practice in China. Without adapting clear guiding principles, a large number of architectural conservation projects were constructed as direct copies of models from the West or some ‘successful’ cases in the country.<sup>14</sup> Thus, a critical analysis helps clarify the basic principles of site museum construction, offering bilateral benefits as well as utility for similar practice in other nations.

### **1.3 Research Questions and Thesis Framework**

As indicated on the title page, the main research question of this dissertation is how site museums could be investigated through multi-perspective observations in the context of modern China, with a Norwegian example as reference. This dissertation is not a comprehensive study of site museums in China, but rather, it has focused on several issues. It aims to explore the ‘characters’ and ‘qualities’ of the phenomenon of

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<sup>14</sup> See more details in Section 3.2, Chapter 3 and Section 7.4, Chapter 7.

installation management in Chinese site museums in the context of high-paced social transformation and modernization. Based on the case study of the selected site museums, a brief history of the formation of Chinese and Norwegian conservation institutions is summarized, a social communication pattern of site museum management in China is revealed and tested, and the origin and definition of site museums are explored. To this end, some essential conservation principles for the installation of site museums are revisited and examined, and an assessment framework composed of authenticity, integrity, and continuity concepts – the fundamental issues of site museums – are built up and discussed.

By way of methodology, a multi-perspective approach combining historical, anthropological, archaeological, and architectural studies is adopted. The end product is three research articles associated with each perspective which constitute the main body of this dissertation. The thesis consists of six parts: the Introduction, Methods and Tools, A Multi-Perspective Approach, Conclusions, Appendices, and Bibliography. Further, the organization of the different chapters within each part is briefly summarized in the following paragraphs.

## **Part I: Introduction**

### **Chapter 1: Introduction**

Chapter 1 provides a general introduction into site museums and the social significance of this research in China. Issues including research questions and the used framework are also introduced.

## **Part II: Methods and Tools**

### **Chapter 2: Methodology of the Approach**

Chapter 2 regards the methodology. Here, the research approach and applied methods are defined and introduced, as well as the case selection and data collection.

## **Part III: A Multi-Perspective Approach**

### **Chapter 3: A Multi-Perspective Approach**

Chapter 3 introduces the context of the selected Chinese cases and site museum development in China. It also provides a content summary for the three individual research articles as outlined in Chapters 4 to 6.

#### **Chapter 4: An Investigation into the Historical Formation of Cultural Heritage Conservation in China and Norway**

Chapter 4 is a research article for a historical approach to the formation of Chinese and Norwegian conservation institutions, describing how archaeology, museology, and architectural conservation, as three major relevant professional fields of site museum management in China, have been formed under western influence in the twentieth century.

#### **Chapter 5: An Anthropological Case Study of the Han Yangling Site Museum**

Chapter 5 is a research article that provides an anthropological approach to the case study of the Han Yangling Site Museum, focusing on how different participation roles reflect a social communication pattern among the circle of Chinese museum management, and an even wider range of contemporary Chinese society.

#### **Chapter 6: Principles of Archaeological Site Museum**

Chapter 6 is a research article that contains a multi-perspective approach to archaeological and architectural studies on some fundamental issues of site museums. Three site museum cases in China and Norway are chosen as the testing examples for discussion within this chapter.

#### **Part IV Conclusions**

##### **Chapter 7: Challenges of Site Museum Management in China**

Chapter 7 concludes this research. Based on the findings from the above three chapters as well as the documentation and analysis of field notes, the main challenges of site museum management in China are summarized and an interpretation of the correlation between the findings is given.

#### **Parts V and VI Appendices and Bibliography**

In Appendices I to IX, there are nine selected interviews of Chinese and Norwegian cases. The documentation of these interviews provides a foundation for further study of this PhD program, which may explain the role of archaeological site museums in the operation of cultural heritage management and enhancement. These interviews act

as valuable oral history records that can draw an overall picture of the Chinese and Norwegian cases. As such, they have been selected for journal publication in a serial column “Conservation Dialogue” by the author in *Community Design* (Beijing, China: Tsinghua University, China Architecture & Building Press) since February 2017.

## **Part II Methods and Tools**



Chapter 2  
**Methodology of Research**



## 2. Methodology of the Approach

### 2.1 Research Approach and Applied Methods

Defining the research approach and methods to be applied are important steps for a research project. This exploration is designed as qualitative research through a multiple approach of case studies, combined with the methods of history. Russell Bernard once noted that the split between a qualitative approach (with words) and a quantitative approach (with numbers) originated from the split between the phenomenological (or interpretivist) perspective and the positivistic perspective in social science.<sup>1</sup> As opposed to the ‘quantity’ or amount of a thing, ‘quality’ suggests its nature. Jerome Kirk and Marc L. Miller define qualitative research as “a particular tradition in social science that fundamentally depends on watching people in their own territory and interacting with them in their own language, on their own terms.”<sup>2</sup> They further explain that “[t]echnically, a ‘qualitative observation’ identifies the presence or absence of something, in contrast to ‘quantitative observation,’ which involves measuring the degree to which some feature is present.”<sup>3</sup> Further, “qualitative research focuses on the thick description of context and often emerges from situated problems in the field.”<sup>4</sup>

The research topic defined in the previous chapter demands the application of qualitative research, applied to explore the ‘characters’ and ‘qualities’ of the phenomenon of site museum management in China in the context of high-paced social transformation and modernization. Indeed, this research uses some quantitative data to support the study, but it does not focus on the ‘amount of something.’ As such, a multiple case study is applied as the strategy for qualitative inquiry. According to Colin Robson, the case study as a strategy “involves an empirical investigation of a

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<sup>1</sup> H. Russell Bernard, *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2006), Fourth Edition, p. 24; also see Steven J. Taylor, Robert Bogdan, Marjorie L. DeVault, *Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods: A Guidebook and Resource* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2016), Fourth Edition, pp. 3-4.

<sup>2</sup> Jerome Kirk, Marc L. Miller, *Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1986), p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Sarah J. Tracy, *Qualitative Research Methods: Collecting Evidence, Crafting Analysis, Communicating Impact* (Chichester, West Sussex, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), p. 21.

particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence.”<sup>5</sup>

In this research, the case study is applied to examine contemporary events. This is supplemented by the historical method as a multiple approach for an overall study on the brief historical backgrounds of architectural conservation in Norway and China, as well as the origin and definition of site museums. As Robert Yin suggests, the historical method is preferred “when no relevant persons are alive to report, even retrospectively, what occurred and when an investigator must rely on primary documents, secondary documents, and cultural and physical artifacts as the main sources of evidence.”<sup>6</sup> Further, Robin George Collingwood comments that “historical procedure, or method, consists essentially of interpreting evidence”<sup>7</sup> and the distinctive contribution of a historian’s approach is to “interpret the material now available, not to anticipate future discoveries.”<sup>8</sup> According to Yin, the case study has many same techniques as the historical approach, but with two additional sources of evidence, namely: the direct observation of the target events, and the interviews of those involved.<sup>9</sup> More details about these two sources are discussed in the following sections.

## 2.2 Case Selection

Three site museums in China and Norway were chosen for the multiple case study. These are the Han Yangling Museum and Daming Palace National Heritage Park in Xi’an, China, and the Hedmark Museum (*Hedmarksmuseet*) in Hamar, Norway. In both two Chinese cases, I have myself been a participant, which in some respects can be considered an advantage, but also demands a constantly critical consciousness to ensure an objective evaluation in the field.

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<sup>5</sup> Robson phrases this sentence following the lead set by Robert Yin; see Colin Robson, *Real World Research: A Resource for Social Scientists and Practitioner-Researchers* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing, 1993), p. 146; also see Colin Robson, Kieran McCartan, *Real World Research* (London, UK: John Wiley & Sons, 2016), Fourth Edition, p. 150.

<sup>6</sup> Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2009), Fourth Edition, p. 11; Yin notes that there are five major research methods in social science which are experiments, surveys, archival analyses, histories, and case studies; see *Ibid.*, pp. 5-14.

<sup>7</sup> Robin George Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1994), ed. with an introduction by Jan van der Dussen, p. 10, p. 180.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Yin, 2009, p. 11.

### 2.2.1 Han Yangling Site Museum

Located next to Wei River in the northern farming land of Xi'an city in China, Han Yangling Site is the cemetery area of Emperor Jingdi (188—141 BC), the fourth emperor of the Western Han Dynasty (BC 202 - AD 9)<sup>10</sup> and one of the first in a group of twelve National Archaeological Heritage Site Parks in China since 2010.<sup>11</sup> The selected case for the field research in this site is the Han Yangling underground site museum, formally named as the Outer Burial Pits Exhibition Hall of Yangling Imperial Cemetery of Han Dynasty, which was designed from 2000 to 2004 by Chinese Architect LIU Kecheng and constructed from 2004 to 2006 (Figure 2.1).<sup>12</sup> It is the first complete underground site museum in China, which also applied the “Eureka-Eurocare E! 1586 Arch in Situ” system; an innovative conservation technology invented by Slovenian architect Milan Kovač.<sup>13</sup> As this site museum project has received numerous recognition awards since its completion and is seen as a ‘successful’ example of the conservation and presentation of an archaeological heritage site, I have chosen it as the selected Chinese case for the interview documentation in the fieldwork. Many more details of Han Yangling Site and Han Yangling Site Museum are explored in Chapter 5, Chapter 6, and Chapter 7.

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<sup>10</sup> WANG Baoping ed., *Han Yangling Museum* (Beijing, China: Cultural Relics Press, 2006), pp. 1-3, 6-7; see also <http://www.hylae.com/en/brief.asp>, Brief Introduction, Han Yangling Museum Official Website, accessed on November 19, 2013.

<sup>11</sup> See in “Chronicle of Han Yangling Museum”, Han Yangling Museum Official Website: <http://www.hylae.com/list.asp?id=1029>, accessed on November 19, 2013; see also SACH Official Website: <http://www.sach.gov.cn/>. There were twelve archaeological sites approved by Chinese State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH) as the first group of National Heritage Site Parks on October 9, 2010, twenty-three archaeological sites were in the nomination list.

<sup>12</sup> See detailed description of Han Yangling Site and the underground site museum project in Chapter 5, Chapter 6, and in Appendices I-V.

<sup>13</sup> Official Website of the Ename Center for Public Archaeology and Heritage Presentation, <http://www.enamecenter.org/EEC2013/ENpaginas/ourknowhow.html>, accessed on December 28, 2015; detailed documentation about the participation of Milan Kovač in the Han Yangling Underground Museum project can be seen in the interviews conducted by author in October 2014 and in November 2015; see in Appendices IV and V.



Figure 2.1 Interior and Exterior Views of Han Yangling Underground Museum (Photo: LIU Kecheng)

### 2.2.2 Daming Palace National Heritage Park

The Daming Palace National Heritage Park is also included in the first group of twelve National Archaeological Heritage Site Parks approved by the Chinese State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH) on October 9, 2010.<sup>14</sup> As the former political and cultural center of Chang'an (Xi'an today) and capital city of the Tang dynasty (A.D. 618-907), the Daming Palace Site dominates a huge architectural scale, covering different archaeological sites (see Figures 2.2 and 2.3). It is about 3.28 square kilometers and includes the Main Palace district, the Imperial Academy district, the Skirting Walled districts of the North, the East, and the West, etc.<sup>15</sup> The Daming Palace National Heritage Park was designed and constructed from 2007 to 2010. Chapter 4 explores the case of the international design competition for Daming Palace Site Park in more detail.

<sup>14</sup> See detailed list at SACH Official Website: <http://www.sach.gov.cn/>

<sup>15</sup> LIU Kecheng, XIAO Li, WANG Lu, "The National Heritage Park of Daming Palace: Master Planning," *ArchiCreation*, 152, no. 1 (2012), p. 34; and see detailed description of different archaeological contents of Daming Palace Site in The Institute of Archaeology, Academia Sinica eds., *Ta Ming Kung of The Tang Chang'an (with an English abstract), Monograph Report of Chinese Field Archaeology No. 11 Type D* (Peking, China: Science Press, November 1959), p. 1, 11, 57.



**Figure 2.2** The Ruins of Hanyuan Hall of Daming Palace in the Early 1990s (Source: SCEIMS Archive, XUAT)

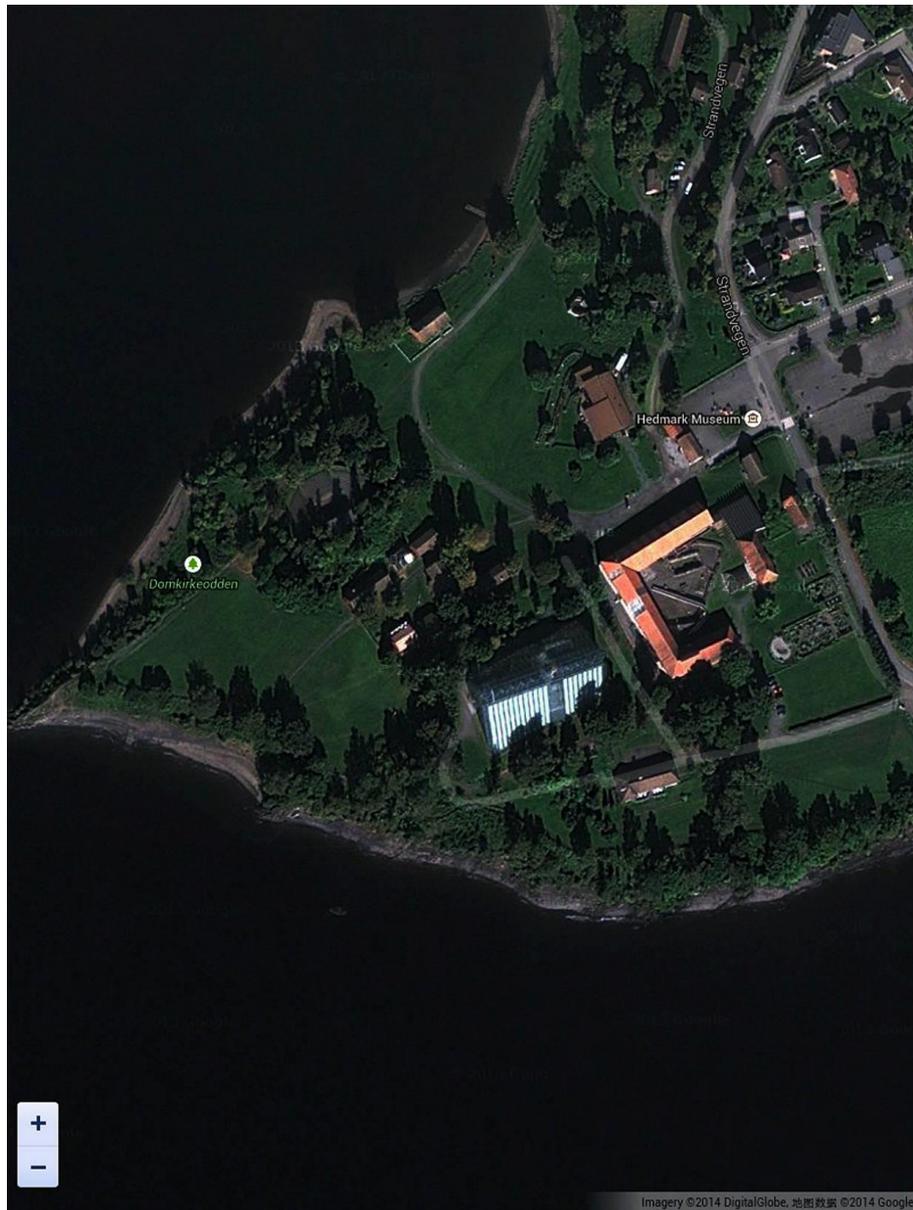


**Figure 2.3** The Overall View of Daming Palace National Heritage Park in 2010 (Photo: DI Wei)

### **2.2.3 Hedmark Museum**

The Hedmark Museum, or *Hedmarksmuseet* in Norwegian, is an archaeological site museum located in Hamar, next to Lake *Mjøsa*, the largest lake in Norway (Figure 2.4). Two building projects for preserving the main body of the archaeological ruins in this museum are explored in the field research, namely: the Storhamar Barn for the

excavated fortress of the bishop (*Storhamarlåven*) and the protective structure for the cathedral ruins (*Vernebygget*).<sup>16</sup>



**Figure 2.4** Satellite Photo of *Hedmarks museet* from Google Maps

<sup>16</sup> See detailed description of the two selected cases in Hedmark Museum in Chapter 6 and in Appendices VI-IX.

The Storhamar Barn is the major part of the site museum designed by renowned Norwegian Architect Sverre Fehn (1924-2009) since 1967 and constructed from 1969 to 1973.<sup>17</sup> As one of Fehn's major works, this museum building was transformed from an early 19<sup>th</sup> century farm structure above the edge of the archaeological ruins of the bishop's palace, and has been considered unique in Norwegian post-war modern architecture.<sup>18</sup> The neighboring protective building made of steel and glass for the Cathedral ruins was designed by Norwegian Architect Kjell Lund (1927–2013) since 1987 and constructed from 1997 to 1998.<sup>19</sup> As the two different site museum buildings of the Hedmark Museum were carried out under different conservation guiding principles, reflecting the shifting concepts in architectural conservation in Norway and Europe, I have chosen them as the reference cases for the interview documentation in the fieldwork.

### **2.3 Data Collection**

The fieldwork for this research constitutes semi-structured long interviews and the participant observation of social anthropology which are now discussed.

#### **2.3.1 Semi-structured Long Interview**

Grant McCracken notes that “the long interview is one of the most powerful methods in the qualitative armory” because it can help the researcher to “capture how the respondent sees and experiences the world,” situating the abstract numbers in a fuller social and cultural context.<sup>20</sup> In his *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, Yin also introduces that “interviews are an essential source of case study evidence because

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<sup>17</sup> See Ragnar Pedersen, *Storhamarlåven - en visuell oppdagelsesreise Sverre Fehns arkitektur* (Hamar, Norway: Hedmarksmuseet og Domkirkeodden, 2004), 16; see also in Ragnar Pedersen, *Hedmarksmuseet 100 år (1906-2006)* (Hamar, Norway: Hamar Historielag, 2008), 166-172, 178-182.

<sup>18</sup> “Sverre Fehn: Projects and Reflections” (Special edition of the Norwegian Review of Architecture), *Arkitektur N* 2009, 10; this project of Sverre Fehn has been widely published in many books and journals, e.g., Christian Norberg-Schulz, Gennaro Postiglione, *Sverre Fehn: works, projects, writings, 1949-1996* (New York, NY: The Monacelli Press, 1997), 129-144.

<sup>19</sup> See detailed description in Pedersen, 2008, 219-226; a comprehensive monograph on the construction of this project is *Vernebygg over en ruin: Fra kaupang og bygd, 1997-1998* (Hamar, Norway: Hedmarksmuseet og Domkirkeodden, 1998).

<sup>20</sup> Grant McCracken, *The Long Interview* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1988), p. 9, p. 65.

most case studies are about human affairs”.<sup>21</sup> There are different types of interviews that are useful for different types of research projects. Particularly, H. Russell Bernard divides them into four categories: informal, unstructured, semi-structured, and structured interviews.<sup>22</sup>

Over the duration of the PhD fieldwork on the Norwegian and Chinese cases from 2009 to 2015, the semi-structured long interview approach was employed as the main tool for data collection. Sixteen informants relating to the selected Chinese and Norwegian cases (ten informants for the Han Yangling Museum, and six informants for the Hedmark Museum) in different professional fields were interviewed. These interviews were taken as formal interviews with a certain set of guiding questions. This resulted in the combination of focused in-depth interviews which were more like “guided conversations rather than structured queries.”<sup>23</sup> The conversations concentrated on the participation reflections by different informants who represented the different participating institutions for the Chinese and Norwegian cases. As such, the informants’ roles included museum staff, archaeologists, architects, civil engineers, contractors, and conservation officers. As qualitative interviewing requires more depth and details on a specific range of topics than a normal conversation, the interview questions included main questions, probes, and follow-up questions which were planned and designed in advance according to the literature study.<sup>24</sup> However, one aim of preparing guiding questions is to “encourage the interviewee to answer thoughtfully, openly, and in detail on the topic at hand,”<sup>25</sup> and “the nature of the interview is much more open-ended.”<sup>26</sup> Therefore, taking the role of an anthropological investigator in the fieldwork, I gave the interviewee plenty of room to talk, and did not ask them to always stick to the questions in the conversation. Additionally, there were also some informal interviews with museum staff and regular visitors during the course of participant observation when the anthropological

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<sup>21</sup> Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2003), Third Edition, p. 92.

<sup>22</sup> See in Bernard, 2006, pp. 211-213.

<sup>23</sup> Yin, 2009, pp. 106-107.

<sup>24</sup> Herbert J. Rubin, Irene S. Rubin, *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2012), Third Edition, p. 6; or descriptive questions, structural questions, and contrast questions defined by James P. Spradley (1933-1982) in *Participant Observation* (New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1980), pp. 80-84, 107-111, 123, 125-128.

<sup>25</sup> Rubin, 2012, p. 6.

<sup>26</sup> Yin, 2009, p. 85.

fieldwork was conducted at the sites. By considering the ethics rules in research, the academic purpose of data collection was outlined to the interviewees and permitted by each informant at the beginning of the interviews.

Overall, the interviews can be considered valuable documentation of oral histories which draw an overall picture of the selected Chinese and Norwegian site museum cases.<sup>27</sup> This was complemented by the fact that many of the interviewees, as professionals in different relevant fields of museum and architectural conservation, expressed their thoughts and ideas from different angles on the practice of architectural conservation in China and Norway, giving rise to unexpected benefits in the field investigation.

### **2.3.2 Participant Observation with Insider and Outsider Awareness**

Participant observation is also an important tool which was employed for gathering information in the fieldwork. It consists of three parts – descriptive observations, focused observations, and selective observations<sup>28</sup> – which James Spradley describes as a funnel. Essentially, the descriptive observations are the foundation to catch everything that goes on. Meanwhile, the focused observations require the researcher to narrow the scope and find out “the categories that belong in a particular domain.” Finally, the “selective observations represent the smallest focus through which [observations are made].”<sup>29</sup>

As Danny Jorgensen concludes, “[t]he methodology of participant observation focuses on the meanings of human existence as seen from the standpoint of

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<sup>27</sup> See Appendices I-IX; the text in Chinese of these interviews was selected for Journal publication in a serial column named “Conservation Dialogue” in *Community Design* (Beijing, China: Tsinghua University, Architecture & Building Press) since February 2017.

<sup>28</sup> See detailed description of three kinds of observation in Spradley, 1980, pp. 73-80, 107-111, 128-129.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128; Russell Bernard also introduces three kinds of observation for participant observer in anthropological fieldwork which are direct observation (with continuous monitoring and spot sampling of behavior as the most important methods), unobtrusive observation (or disguised field observation), and indirect observation (trace studies and archival research); see in Bernard, 2006, pp. 413-450.

insiders”.<sup>30</sup> Generally speaking, the investigator as an outsider adopts participant observation to understand the perception of an insider in the target group. But, a participant observer will experience being both insider and outsider at the same time. According to the suggestion of Spradley, “[d]oing ethnographic (anthropological) fieldwork involves alternating between the insider and outsider experience, and having both simultaneously.”<sup>31</sup> And, this is what I experienced from the field investigation of the Chinese and Norwegian cases.

In Han Yangling Site Museum Project in 2000, I was an assistant architect as well as a participant, which can be considered as advantageous for social participation during the interview. It is true that this role in the selected Chinese project somehow shortened the communication distance between myself and the interviewees who I had never met before. To some degree, it made the informants more comfortable to talk because they got the impression that I was also in their professional circle, not a person totally ignorant of the project. Meanwhile, it also constantly demands a critical consciousness to achieve an objective observation. As Thomas Hylland Eriksen notes in *What is anthropology*, the anthropologist “should not seem either too close to or too distant from the people she or he write about,” and “it is only when one is able to see one’s own culture from a marginal vantage point that one can understand it in anthropological terms”.<sup>32</sup> To conclude, I think that participation as an insider and observation as an outsider are fundamental principles lying in the very original description of the anthropologists’ academic investigation. To explicate, the anthropologist goes about his/her fieldwork in remote areas, making friends and building trust with locals, then keeps his/her distance while conducting participant observation, returning with fascinating findings among ‘the others.’<sup>33</sup>

From 2004 to 2008, I had worked together with several Norwegian anthropologists as the coordinator and interpreter on some interdisciplinary

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<sup>30</sup> Jorgensen makes this conclusion by paraphrasing the views of Polish sociologist Florian Witold Znaniecki (1882-1958) from *The Method of Sociology* in 1934, and James Spradley from *Participant Observation* in 1980; See Danny L. Jorgensen, *Participant Observation: A Methodology for Human Studies* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1989), p. 14.

<sup>31</sup> Spradley, 1980, p. 57.

<sup>32</sup> Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *What is Anthropology* (London and Ann Arbor: Pluto Press, 2004), p. 15, p. 34.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

collaboration between architecture and anthropology in China. Based on that experience, I would like to make a short reflection on the importance of taking an outsider's view in anthropological fieldwork. Many times I had assumed that the anthropologist as an outsider was just asking simple and silly questions which have 'obvious' answers. However, I became amazed that the answers from the informants were never the same and that these 'simple' questions can in fact be fundamental. It is common that one, while dealing the subjects from a 'familiar' social context, can make prejudgments and presumptions which are in fact prejudices. As Eriksen points out, "too great a degree of closeness, as when one writes about 'one's own people', can lead to 'homeblindness,' that is a failure to observe essential feature of a society due to the fact that one takes it for granted".<sup>34</sup>

In previous three sections of this chapter, the methodological design and specific methods adopted in the field investigation, including field observation, data collection through participant observation, and semi-structured long interviews have been introduced as the scientific tools. In the whole process of the PhD program, I have learned to be a social scientist who applies the appropriate methods and carries out the field research by interviewing the involved people and synthesizing the empirical data. Essentially, the main goal that I want to achieve in this dissertation is to reflect on the gathered fieldwork information and respond to the essential questions in my professional arena, and I believe this will evolve throughout the following discussion.

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. 34.



## **Part III A Multi-Perspective Approach**



Chapter 3  
**Three-Phase Research Approach**



### 3. A Multi-Perspective Approach

#### 3.1 Introduction

As the Han Yangling Museum and Daming Palace Site Park in Xi'an are the selected Chinese cases in this research, a brief introduction to the context of the Xi'an area and the development of site museums in China is necessary. As explicated, in this dissertation, I employ a multi-perspective approach which combines historical, anthropological, archaeological, and architectural studies on site museums. Three main research articles associated, which deal with each perspective to varying degrees, constitute the final product as the main body of the thesis. This chapter firstly introduces the overall context of the selected Chinese cases, and then presents a brief interpretation of the three main research articles in the following chapters.

#### 3.2 The Context of Site Museums in China

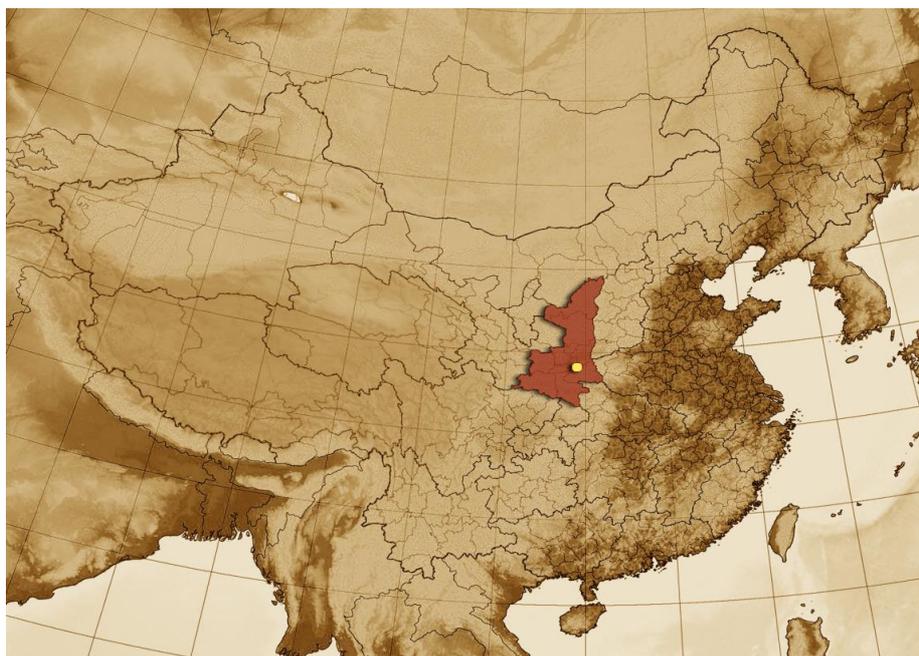


Figure 3.1 The Location of Xi'an and Shaanxi Province in China.

Xi'an, the capital of Shaanxi Province, is located at the lower reaches of the Yellow River and constitutes the geographic center of China. The city of Xi'an and

surrounding areas are considered one of most important cradles of China's ancient civilization (Figure 3.1). The city is among the oldest in China with over 3,100 years of history, and has served as a capital city for 13 dynasties from 1046 BC to AD 960.<sup>1</sup> Xi'an has a rich cultural heritage, ranging from early human settlement about one million years ago, to the modern period (Figure 3.2). As such, the large archaeological sites there are significant components of Xi'an's cultural heritage properties. For instance, only the four major protected sites of the ancient capital cities from the dynasties of Zhou (1046-256 BC), Qin (221-206 BC), Han (206 BC-AD 220), and Tang (AD 618-907) extend over an area of more than 100 square kilometers.<sup>2</sup> In the "Master Plan Outline of National Important Great Sites Conservation" in 2005, the total planning area of the selected large archaeological sites in Xi'an was about 444.96 square kilometers.<sup>3</sup>

With the rapid growth in extent and population over the past two decades, Xi'an has reemerged as one of China's major cities with a population of over 8.69 million (2015).<sup>4</sup> As such, it has encountered significant challenges in preserving the numerous historic sites throughout its urbanization process.<sup>5</sup> Associated with the China's Eleventh Five-Year Plan (2006 to 2010) and the Twelfth Five-Year Plan (2011–2015), six sites in endangered situations, covering a historical span from 1051 BC to AD 904, have been selected for the national Large Archaeological Sites Protection Scheme. These are the sites of Fenghao Cities, Epang Palace, the Mausoleum of First Qin Emperor (Emperor Qinshihuang), Han Chang'an City, the Imperial Mausoleums of the Han Dynasty, and Daming Palace.<sup>6</sup> Including but not limited to above six sites, there are 152 large archaeological sites in the 301 listed cultural heritage properties in

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<sup>1</sup> Wenfang Tao, Qingri Chang, and Yeqiao Wang, "Land-Cover Change and Conservation of the Protected Ancient City Park in Xi'an, Northwestern China," in Yeqiao Wang ed., *Remote Sensing of Protected Lands* (Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press, Taylor & Francis Group, 2012), p. 131; *Atlas of World Heritage: China* (National Commission of the People's Republic of China for UNESCO, Long River Press, 2005), p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> CACH, 2016, pp. 561-562.

<sup>3</sup> The total area of the protection zones of these different sites is about 150.91 square kilometers, and the area of the buffer zones is 294.05 square kilometers. See in Architectural History Institute of China Architecture Design & Research Group ed., "Master Plan Outline of National Important Great Sites Conservation," 2005.

<sup>4</sup> It is based on the statistical data released by Xi'an Municipal Bureau of Statistics on June 2, 2016. In 2000, the population of Xi'an was 7.41 million according to the information of the Fifth National Population Census released by Chinese National Bureau of Statistics on April 23, 2001.

<sup>5</sup> Wang, 2012, pp. 131-132.

<sup>6</sup> CACH, 2016, pp. 561-562.

Xi'an, and many of these sites have considered the construction of site museums and site parks as a regular approach.

#### GENERAL STATISTICS TO CULTURAL HERITAGE PROPERTIES IN XI'AN

	Categories	Numbers	Total
Immovable Cultural Properties	Archaeological Ruins	986	3,246
	Tombs and Cemeteries	1,287	
	Traditional Architecture	613	
	Cave Temples and Stone Carvings	54	
	Modern Architectural Heritage Sites	274	
	Other	32	
Movable Cultural Properties	National Listed Properties	15,545	About 170,000
	Other Properties	148,000	
Listed Heritage Sites	National Heritage Sites	52	301
	Provincial Heritage Sites	65	
	Municipal Heritage Sites	184	
Large Archaeological Sites	National Large Archaeological Sites Protection Scheme (NLASPS) Selected, The Eleventh Five-Year Plan (2006 to 2010)	6	6
	NLASPS Selected, the Twelfth Five-Year Plan (2011–2015)	6	

Figure 3.2 General Statistics of Cultural Heritage Properties in Xi'an<sup>7</sup>

The first museum created at an archaeological site in China was Xi'an Banpo Museum.<sup>8</sup> In 1953, the Neolithic settlements at Banpo Village were discovered, covering an area of approximately five hectares. The unique findings aroused the interest in the archaeological circle for a systematic excavation in the following

<sup>7</sup> Figure 3.2 is a translated version of Table 1-1 in *Tracking on the Large Archaeological Site Protection Scheme*, ed. by Chinese Academy of Cultural Heritage (CACH), (Beijing, China: Cultural Relics Press, 2016), Part II, 561. There are six categories of the present Listed Immovable Cultural Properties system in China. The statistical data of Immovable Cultural Properties in Xi'an was based on the information in "Recording the Third National Cultural Heritage Investigation in Xi'an", *Zhongguo Wenwu Bao (China Cultural Relics News)* May 24, 2013; The statistics of the Provincial and Municipal Listed Heritage Sites in Xi'an was from Xi'an Cultural Heritage Bureau ed., *Large Archaeological Sites Protection in Xi'an* (Beijing, China: Cultural Relics Press, 2009), 62.

<sup>8</sup> WU Yongqi, LI Shuping, ZHANG Wenli eds., *Introduction to Museology for Site Museums* (Xi'an, China: Shaanxi Renmin Press, 1999), p. 45.

years.<sup>9</sup> (Figure 3.3) As a fruit of the archaeological discovery, led by the newly established Chinese communist government, a protective building on top of the excavated remains was constructed in 1957, and the museum was opened to the public in April, 1958. (Figure 3.4, 3.5) It was the third modern museum established in Shaanxi Province. Similarly, this was also the year that the equivalent Chinese term ‘遗址博物馆’ corresponding to ‘site museum’ first appeared in a Chinese museology journal.<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately, the former protection building for the Banpo remains as the first case of Chinese site museums was demolished in 2002, and a new exhibition hall in a similar form and plan was designed by Chinese Architect PANG Qin, and constructed on the same location from 2002 to 2005.<sup>11</sup> (Figure 3.6, 3.7)



**Figure 3.3** The Archaeological Excavation of Banpo Remains in 1950s (Source: Xi'an Banpo Museum)

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<sup>9</sup> See CHEN Jianzheng, “Xi’an: An archaeological site museum at Banpo,” *Museum International* (UNESCO, Switzerland) vol. 32, no. 4, 1980, pp. 184-187.

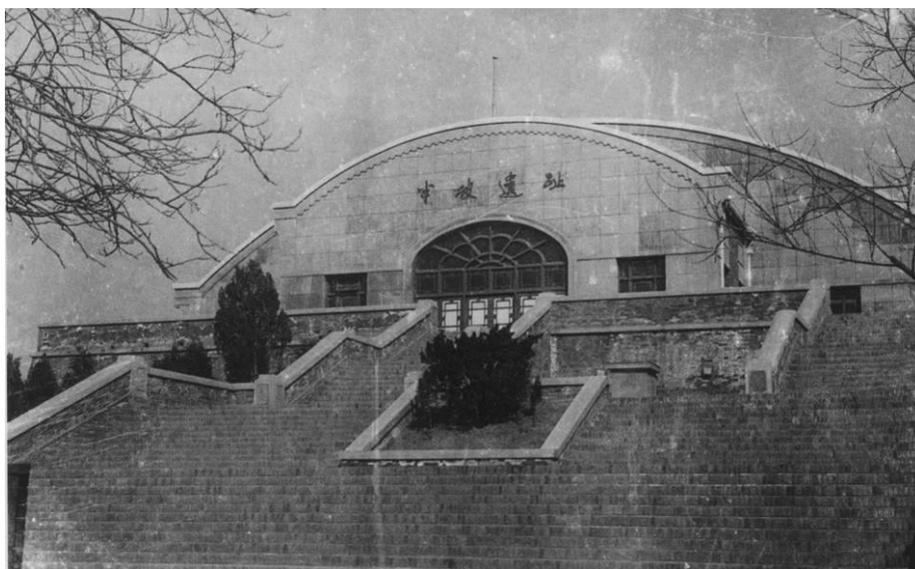
<sup>10</sup> “The Opening of China’s First Site Museum,” *Cultural Relics Reference* (present name: *Cultural Relics*) no. 4 (1958); cited from CACH, 2016, p. 272.

<sup>11</sup> The decision of demolition was made in 2000 and the old ruin hall was torn down in 2002. See details in an interview with the Banpo Museum Director ZHANG Lizhi in 2016, Text available at [https://news.artron.net/20160409/n829094\\_1.html](https://news.artron.net/20160409/n829094_1.html) accessed on October 30, 2017.



**Figure 3.4** The Construction of Former Protection Hall (1957-2002) of Xi'an Banpo Museum in 1957

(Source: Xi'an Banpo Museum)



**Figure 3.5** The Former Protection Hall of Xi'an Banpo Museum in 1960s (Source: Xi'an Banpo Museum)

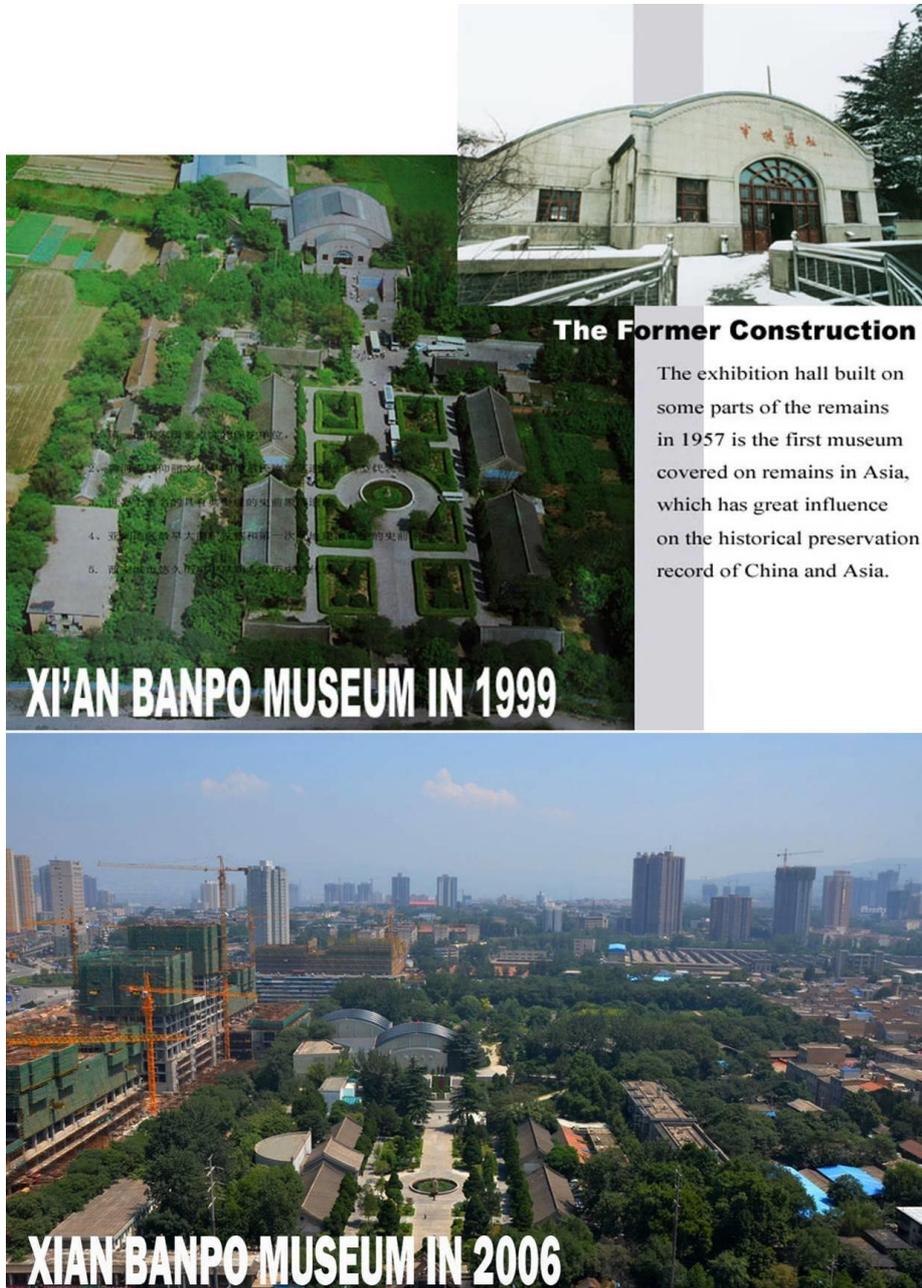
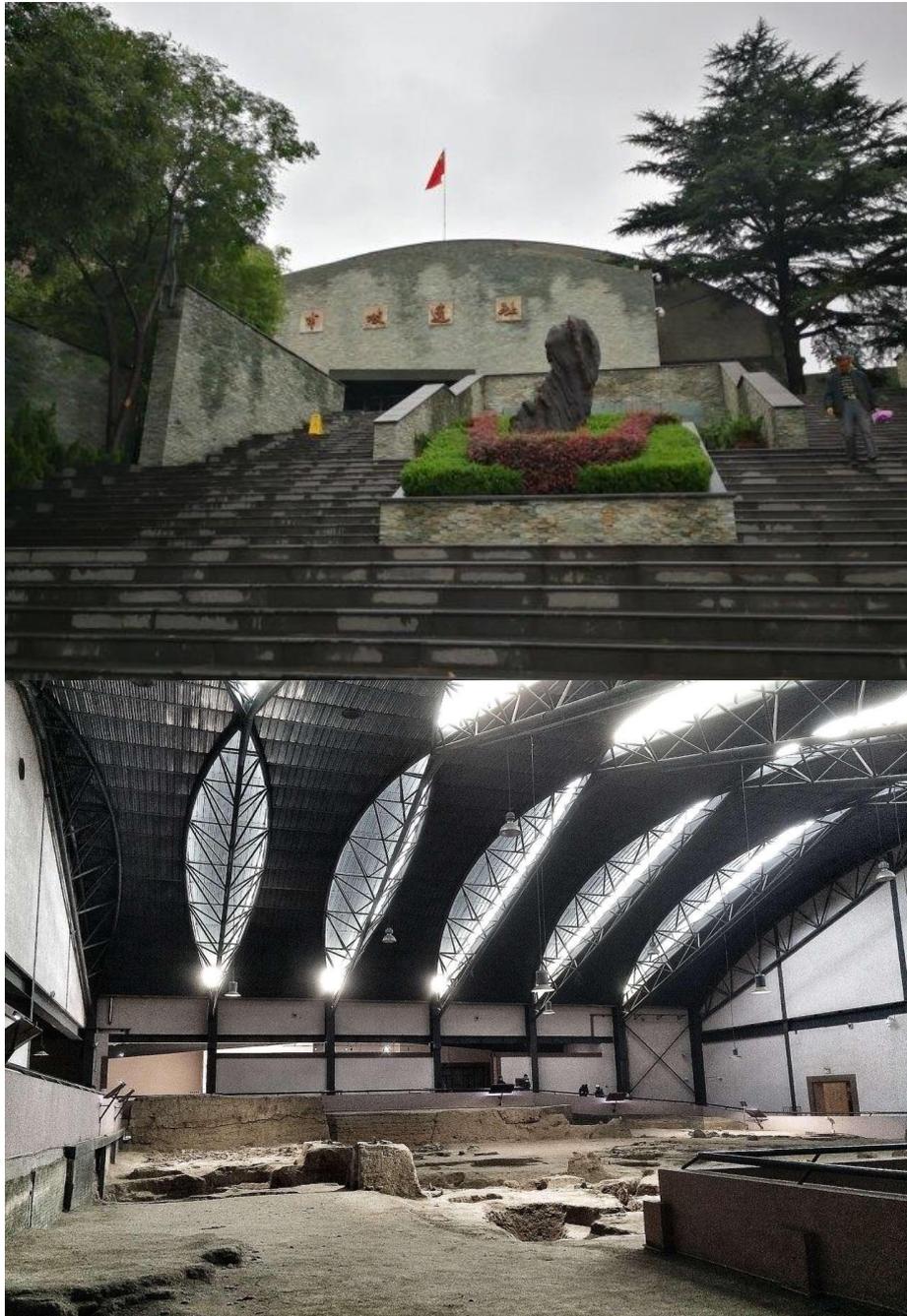


Figure 3.6 The Bird Views of Xi'an Banpo Museum in 1999 and 2006 (Source: SCEIMS Archive, XUAT)



**Figure 3.7** Exterior and Interior Views of the Present Protection Hall (opened 2006) of Xi'an Banpo Museum  
(Photo: PANG Qin)

The Banpo Museum set up a basic model for protection buildings over ruins in the following three decades in China. When the Terracotta Warriors Museum (present name: Emperor Qinshihuang's Mausoleum Site Museum) was constructed from 1976 to 1979, it adopted a similar form and layout as the Banpo Museum for the main protection building; the Exhibition Hall of Pit No. 1 (Figure 3.8, 3.9). Nevertheless, the limitation of this first-phase model was obvious, especially for the protection, preservation, and presentation of earthen sites. This is because the protective building had no environmental control and was nothing more than a permanent archaeological shelter. Most of the archaeological ruins in China are of earthen fabric which is extremely vulnerable (technically, reburial is the best way for preserving the earthen sites). When the site and excavated objects are exposed to direct sunlight, carbon dioxide from the visitors' breath and airborne particles from the surrounding environment create many difficult problems.<sup>12</sup>



**Figure 3.8** The Exterior View of Pit No.1 Protection Hall of Emperor Qinshihuang's Mausoleum Site Museum (former Terracotta Warriors Museum, opened in 1979)

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<sup>12</sup> See detailed discussion on this topic in Appendix II: Interview with WU Xiaocong on Han Yangling Site Museum, 2009.



**Figure 3.9** Interior View of Pit No.1 Protection Hall of Emperor Qinshihuang's Mausoleum Site Museum

The second-phase model of site museum buildings in China was formed in the late 1980s and early 1990s when the Exhibition Halls of Pit No. 3 and Pit No. 2 at the Terracotta Warriors Museum were constructed on top of archaeological ruins.<sup>13</sup> (Figure 3.10) Following the economic development and some significant archaeological discoveries in this period, several site museum projects were undertaken such as the Museum of the Western Han Dynasty Mausoleum of the Nanyue King in Guangzhou (1984-1988) and the Museum of Yin Ruins in Anyang (opened in 1987). The latter was one of the earliest modern archaeological excavation sites (1928-1937) in China, and became a World Cultural Heritage Site in 2006.<sup>14</sup> (Figure 3.11) According to an official document from the Museum Department of the Chinese State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH), there were 82 site museums among 1,402 different types of museums in China in 1991.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> See <http://www.bmy.com.cn/2015new/contents/465/20117.html>, "The Chronicles", Emperor Qin Shihuang's Mausoleum Site Museum Official Website. The Exhibition Hall of Pit No. 3 was constructed in May 1987, and opened to the public on September 27, 1989. The Exhibition Hall of Pit No. 2 was constructed in 1988 and opened on October 1, 1994.

<sup>14</sup> See in Wu, Li, and Zhang, 1999, p. 46.

<sup>15</sup> See in HU Jun, ZHENG Guangrong, and ZHAO Yongfen eds., *Overview of Chinese Museums* (Museum Department of State Administration of Cultural Relics, 1992); cited and summed up by Wu, Li, and Zhang, 1999, p. 48.



**Figure 3.10** Interior Views of Pit No. 2 Protection Hall (Left) and No.3 Protection Hall (Right) of Emperor Qinshihuang's Mausoleum Site Museum (former Terracotta Warriors Museum)



**Figure 3.11** Bird View of Museum of Yin Ruins (excavated from 1928-1937, opened in 1987, New Addition in 2005) in Anyang, China (Source: China Architecture Design & Research Group)

In most of the site museum protection buildings mentioned above, there was a clear consideration for lighting, air conditioning, or other approaches to environmental management for both the sites and their visitors (Figure 3.10, 3.11).

However, a conflict still remains because the environmental requirements from the excavated sites and the visitors are different. When the underground Outer Burial Pits Exhibition Hall of Han Yangling Museum was settled in 2005 (Figure 3.12), the situation seemed to have a way out. As the first complete underground site museum in China, it adopted an innovative conservation technology invented by Slovenian Architect Milan Kovač,<sup>16</sup> which could separate the archaeological sites and visitors into two different environments. Nevertheless, it is too early to tell if a sufficient strategy, which can serve architectural approaches to the earthen archaeological sites, is already in place. As the underground museum project of the Han Yangling Museum received numerous recognition awards after its completion, it is considered a ‘successful’ example of a site museum in China. Therefore, I have chosen it as one important selected case for the interview documentation in the field investigation and further study.



**Figure 12** Interior Views of Han Yangling Underground Site Museum (Photo: WANG Boping)

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<sup>16</sup> Official Website of the Ename Center for Public Archaeology and Heritage Presentation, <http://www.enamecenter.org/EEC2013/ENpaginas/ourknowhow.html>, accessed on December 28, 2015; see the interviews conducted by the author about the participation of Milan Kovač in Han Yangling Site Museum Project in Appendices IV and V.

### **3.3 A Multi-Perspective Approach**

The following three chapters are composed of three individual research articles associated with different perspective approaches on site museums. The first paper in Chapter 4, which takes the contribution of a Norwegian team to the International Competition of Xi'an Daming Palace National Site Park, presents a historical approach to the formation of Chinese and Norwegian conservation institutions. Further, it explains how archaeology, museology, and architectural conservation as three major relevant professional fields of site museum management in China have been influenced by the international modernization movement in the Twentieth century. Compared to the regular methods adopted in China, the different concepts of value in museum and architectural conservation from the Norwegian contribution to the Daming Palace project are taken for discussion. Moreover, a brief history of Norwegian architectural conservation in China is introduced for the first time.

The second paper in Chapter 5, which is a product of the anthropological approach to the case of the Han Yangling Site Museum, focuses on how different roles of participation reflect a social communication pattern among the Chinese museum circle, and an even wider range in modern Chinese society. The proposed communication pattern is tested from the analysis of how the different roles, which represent different participating institutions, contribute to different ideas and opinions in the Han Yangling Site Museum project. Moreover, the different concepts of value in museum and cultural heritage conservation, which concentrate on conflict and compromise in the project, are summarized and presented as the data collection of the fieldwork. Social anthropology was taken as the scientific tool in the field investigation through participatory observation and semi-structured, long interviews. The relevant literature on traditional social contexts in China is also studied, which arguably reveals how the concepts of traditional Chinese culture influence people, and have been rooted as a hidden rule in contemporary Chinese society.

The third paper in Chapter 6, is a multi-perspective approach to archaeological and architectural studies on some fundamental issues of site museums. Three selected cases of site museums in China and Norway are chosen as the examples for

discussion within this chapter. Based on a literature study and collected fieldwork data, the origin and definition of 'site museum' are explored. Further, reversibility and minimum intervention, as important principles in architectural conservation, are revisited and examined. There is also an assessment framework built and discussed. This is composed of the authenticity, integrity and continuity concepts, which are regarded as the fundamental issues for site museums. The intention of raising a critical discussion in this chapter is to throw light on the role of architectural addition to archaeological sites as museum facilities in cultural heritage management and enhancement which may be expectantly useful for later relevant works.



Chapter 4

**An Investigation into the Historical Formation of Cultural Heritage  
Conservation in China and Norway**

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<sup>1</sup> This chapter was published as a book chapter in a publication program by University of Rome Sapienza titled *The Influence of Western Architecture in China* (Rome, Italy: Gangemi Editore, 2017), Nilda Valentin, ed., pp. 92-105; it was also published in Chinese with an English abstract in the special issue of “Place, Culture, Heritage.” *Community Design* 61, no. 3 (June 2014), (Beijing: Tsinghua University, China Architecture & Building Press), pp. 17-23.



## 4. An Investigation into the Historical Formation of Cultural Heritage Conservation in China and Norway

The Norwegian contribution to the International Competition of Xi'an Daming Palace National Site Park as an example

### 4.1 Background

It would not be easy to discern if it is fortunate or not to be alive at this moment in the history of China.<sup>1</sup> Never before has China been facing such a violent transformation period with both the challenges and opportunities during the global urbanization process.<sup>2</sup> In the high-paced urban development and commercialization, a considerable amount of outstanding cultural heritage is in an endangered state, which has caused difficult contradictions between cultural heritage conservation and economic development. In this extreme occasion, the case of the international competition of Xi'an Daming Palace National Site Park from October 2007 to January 2008 constitutes a window through which the opportunities and conflicts may be perceived.

The Daming Palace was the political and cultural center of Chang'an (present Xi'an) and the capital city of the Tang dynasty (A.D. 618-907). It was also a worldwide known metropolis as the terminal of the Silk Road. For more than two centuries, 21 emperors resided in this area and the Daming Palace was the largest in the world. Further, Chang'an had the highest population density in the world during this time. According to the written historical records, Daming Palace was first built in the year 634 and named Yong'an (long peace) Palace. However, it was renamed Daming (grand brightness) Palace the following year. The construction was soon suspended before restarting again in 662 and completed in 663. Since then, the Daming Palace has possessed a long history of 270 years until it was deliberately burnt down and demolished in 904 at the end of the Tang dynasty.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> It is in responding to the point of "[w]e are fortunate to live in this time to witness the archaic Asian civilizations in this passionate era with a new life..." in the Chinese official announcement by Committee of UIA Region IV 2010 International Symposium, September 2010, Xi'an.

<sup>2</sup> See detailed description in Note 8, Section 1.2, Chapter 1, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> The Institute of Archaeology, Academia Sinica eds., *Ta Ming Kung of The Tang Chang'an (with an English abstract), Monograph Report of Chinese Field Archaeology No. 11 Type D* (Peking, China: Science Press, November 1959), p. 1, p.57.

On October 28, 2007, the Qujiang Daming Palace Conservation and Rehabilitation Office of Xi'an municipal government announced the commencement of an international conception design competition for the new historic park of Daming Palace Site. It attracted the participation of 29 international architectural design offices which resulted in groups from eight countries obtaining the opportunity to be present in the final round. Among those eight groups, and as one of two Excellence Awards winners, Team 3+ has contributed a series of ideas based on the professional experiences of Norwegian fellows.<sup>4</sup> Team 3+ is a team of Norwegian architects from the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) and two Norwegian architect companies, Bergesen Arkitekter (BARK) and AGRAFF. It is also associated with Dr. WANG Tao from Tsinghua University and a few other Chinese participants. The team leader of this collaboration was Professor Harald Høyem of NTNU.

#### **4.2 The Norwegian Contribution**

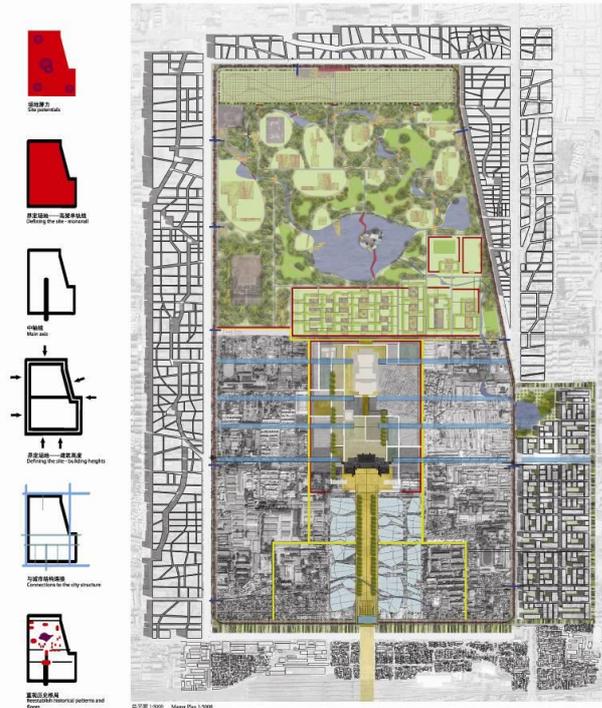
To give an overview, the main strategy of Team 3+ was to deal with the history of Daming Palace Site in an appropriate and illustrative way, while making a positive contribution to the urban development of the district. The site was divided into three zones, echoing the zone structure of the old palace. These were: (i) a park zone serving the surrounding districts as an attractive center and heart of the area; (ii) a knowledge zone with the close integration of research, study, and museum activities serving three levels: the national and international level relating to the history of the Silk Road, the urban level relating to the value and development of Xi'an throughout history, and the local level relating to the Daming palace in the Tang Dynasty period; and (iii) a low-rise urban development zone maintaining existing activities and social structures, as well as giving space for new activities by protecting and upgrading existing buildings and replacing old buildings of low value to show the footprints of 20<sup>th</sup> century development (Figure 4.1).<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> As a result, the first prize of the competition was vacant. There was one second award, one third award, two excellence awards, and one encouragement award. See more details in the special report of the competition, *Architecture & Culture*, no. 3 (2008), pp. 7-39: quotation on pp. 10-12.

<sup>5</sup> Quotation from the plates of Team 3+ submitted for the International Conception Design Competition of Xi'an Daming Palace National Site Park and Conservation Demonstration Zone. Except where otherwise noted, all information about the proposal of Team 3+ in the following paragraphs are based on the above reference.

# 总平面 MASTER PLAN



## 总体规划要素 MASTER PLAN ELEMENTS

**定位**  
 规划文本规定，规划区总体规划分为四个部分，由西向东分别为：中轴线、中轴线两侧、中轴线以北、中轴线以南。总体规划分为两个部分：总体规划区、总体规划区。

**规划目标**  
 总体规划区总体规划，体现总体规划区总体规划。

**规划原则**  
 总体规划区总体规划，体现总体规划区总体规划。

**规划内容**  
 总体规划区总体规划，体现总体规划区总体规划。

**规划要求**  
 总体规划区总体规划，体现总体规划区总体规划。

**ZONING**  
 The Tang Dynasty Palace was according to one of the earliest rules for the program - composed by the Chinese emperor who was public space for the world. The central axis was used to divide the palace into two main parts: the inner court and the outer court. The inner court was the work for the emperor and his family, while the outer court was for the public. The plan is divided into several zones: 1. Urban Development Zone, 2. Knowledge Zone, 3. Park Zone.

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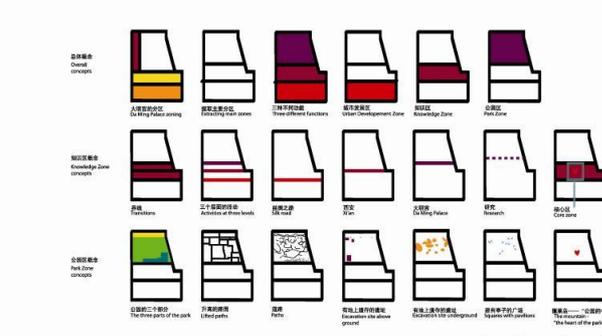
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## 变迁 - TRANSITIONS

Figure 4.1 Master Plan Submitted by Team 3+ for International Conception Design Competition of Xi'an Daming Palace National Site Park.

## 遺址公園南區：城市發展區

SOUTHERN ZONE – the Urban Development Zone

现状城市肌理：二十世纪以来的城市发展历史，少量新建设并规范严格控制。  
Existing urban tissue – the urban history of the 20th century, few new developments,  
but strictly controlled rules.

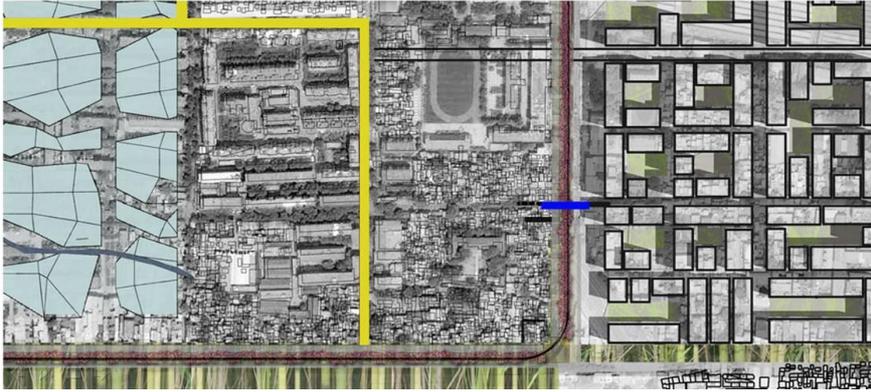


Figure 4.2 The Southern Zone Proposal by Team 3+.

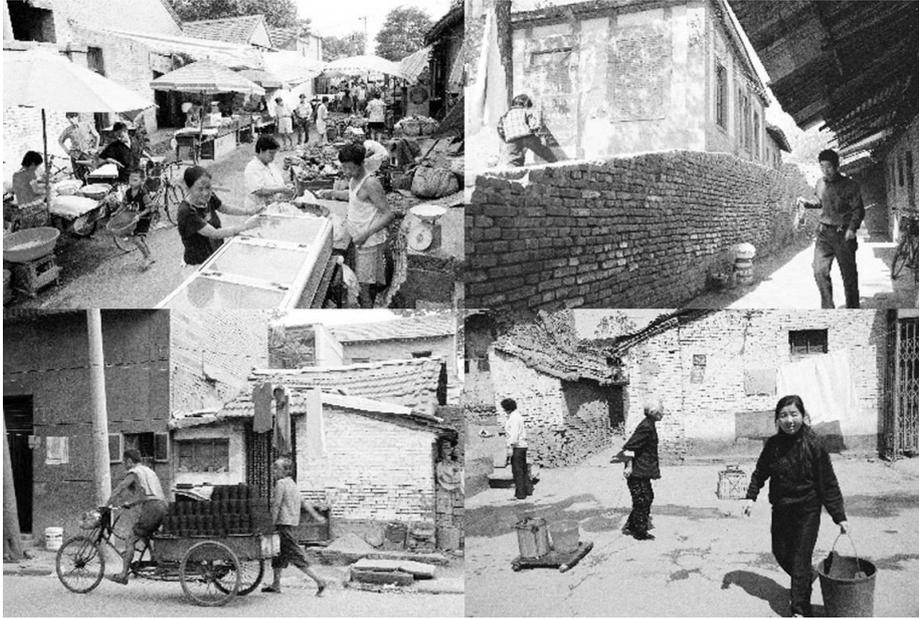


Figure 4.3 The existing surroundings of Daming Palace Site in the 1990s. Picture upper left, Market next to Daming Palace South Gate Site, 1998; Picture upper right, Slums on Daming Palace Danfeng Gate Site, 1997; Picture lower left, A coal transportation worker from Shengchan (Production) Village, Daming Palace Site, 1996; Picture lower right, Slum housing built by Henan migrants at Erma Road, 1996. (Photo: HU Wugong)

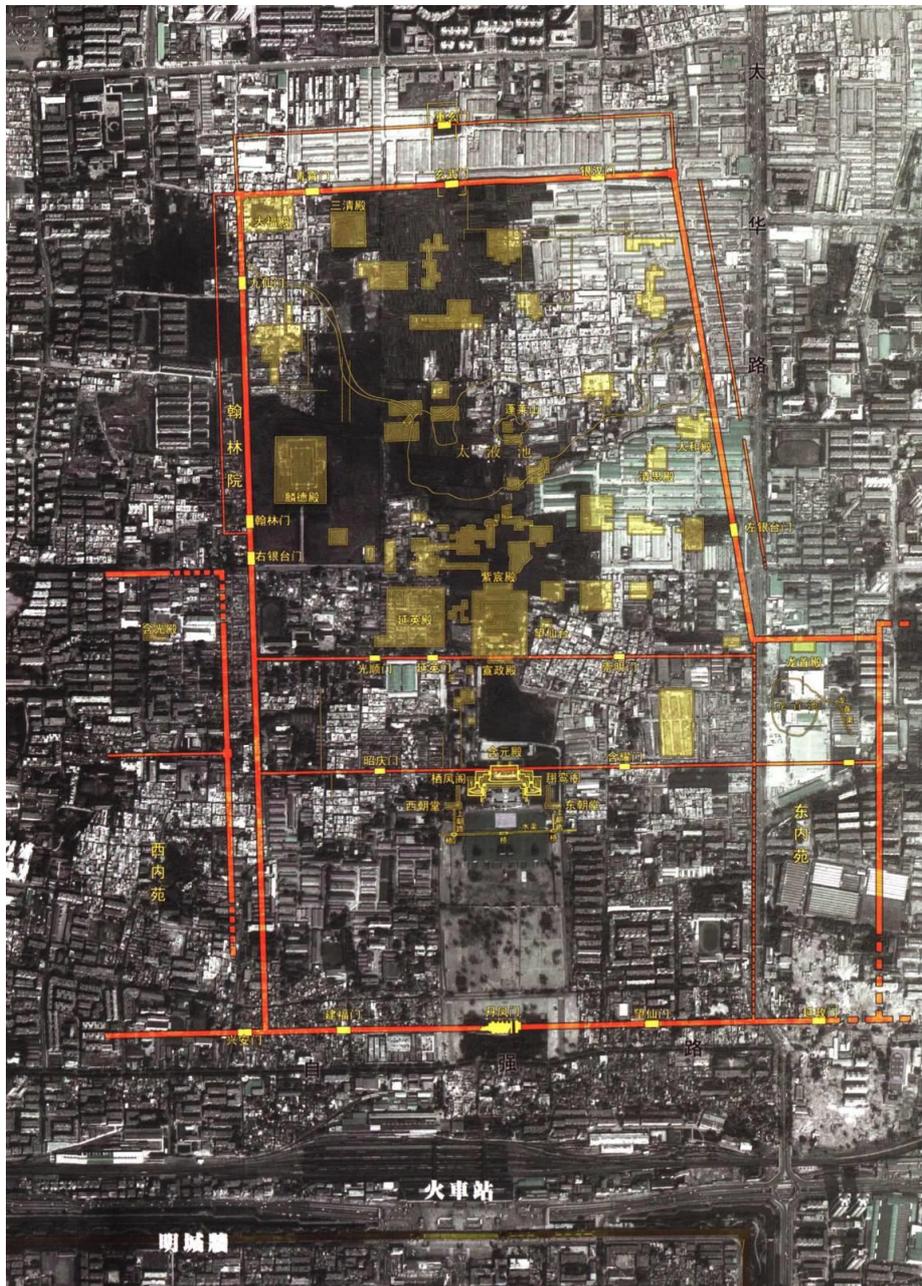


Figure 4.4 Satellite Imagery Combined with Locations of Archaeological Ruins of Daming Palace Site.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Source: cited from LIU Kecheng, XIAO Li, WANG Lu, "The National Heritage Park of Daming Palace: Master Planning," *ArchiCreation*, 152, no. 1, January 2012, p. 31. SCEIMS Archive, Xi'an University of Architecture and Technology (XUAT), reprinted by permission.

To explain the most unique feature of the Norwegian contribution which was not mentioned by the other design teams, Associate Professor Dag Nilsen, who was a participant of Team 3+, emphasized his view on the proposition of the 20<sup>th</sup> century structures in the Daming Palace Site district in the Southern Zone of the scheme (Figure 4.2). As he stressed, in spite of the fact that Daming Palace district had a splendid history in the Tang Dynasty for more than two centuries, the whole site has had a footprint in China's history for a millennia (Figure 4.4). According to the archaeological field investigation, some cave dwellings were constructed on the ruins of the palace wall and the platforms of palace halls from the beginning of an uncertain period. Further, the area was transformed gradually into farming land and villages since the Tang Empire was overthrown.<sup>7</sup> These circumstances did not change much until the 1930s when a great mass of refugees from the flooded area of the Yellow River in Henan Province settled in the district. The refugees inhabited in the area outside of the northern Ming City Wall, and the Longhai Railway and Daming Palace Site soon became slums. Not long after the foundation of the People's Republic of China in 1949, a large amount of railway workers moved into this area as residents following the construction of the Longhai Railway. Since then, the site has been filled with dense residential buildings and slums along its narrow streets, greatly pressured by population growth and constituting a conflict situation between the contemporary structure and the historic ruins.<sup>8</sup> According to an official report, "A General Outline of Tang Daming Palace Site Conservation Planning," submitted in the early 1990s, an urban population of 38,540 people and an agricultural population of 5,489 people were registered as residents in the district of Daming Palace Site at the time. In addition, 68 Township and Village Enterprises were located in the area. The report noted that the Daming Palace Site was under the tremendous pressure of population growth and urban development as its southern edge was densely covered by the urban structure.<sup>9</sup> In the three decades before the competition, the structure of the 20<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> GAO Benxian, "Conservation of Daming Palace Site in Fifty Years", Special Issue for Daming Palace Site, *China Cultural Heritage*, no. 4 (August 2009), pp. 90-93: p. 92. (Chinese text)

<sup>8</sup> LI Xiaoling, "Investigation and Analysis of Existing Surroundings of Daming Palace Site", *Urban Problems* 130, no. 2 (February 2006), Beijing Academy of Social Sciences, pp. 97-100: pp. 97-98; LIU Kecheng, XIAO Li, WANG Lu, "The National Heritage Park of Daming Palace: Master Planning", Special Issue for Daming Palace National Site Park, *ArchiCreation*, 152, no. 1 (January 2012), Beijing Institute of Architectural Design (BIAD), pp. 28-43: p. 29. (Chinese text)

<sup>9</sup> See "Outline of Tang Daming Palace Site Conservation Planning" by Xi'an Municipal Cultural Relics Bureau and Conservation Office of Daming Palace Site, *Selected Documents of Cultural Relics*

century urban development in this area had been continuously in decay and was disappearing with high-speed urbanization (Figure 4.3).<sup>10</sup>

An urban residential area in China such as the one growing on the Daming Palace Site is often considered by many policy-makers and professionals as a defect in the structure of the city that needs to be erased in addition to the urban villages. However, one important principle for modern conservation is that all periods in the history of a monument or site should be represented and made readable as cultural heritage.<sup>11</sup> This principle of historical equivalence was formulated by Italian Architect Camillo Boito (1836-1914) in 1883,<sup>12</sup> and is stressed in many international documents on cultural heritage conservation. In this sense, though the remains of the Tang dynasty period are certainly of the utmost importance, the existing structure of urban development in the 20<sup>th</sup> century is also very important evidence in the history both of China and Xi'an. Based on the above understanding, the existing buildings within the area of Daming Palace Site, which constitute the material and spatial environment of the local community, are also valuable resources. Therefore, Team 3+ proposed that instead of entire demolition, an overall survey and evaluation should be made for those existing buildings as a scientific basis for further decision-making.

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*Conservation in Xi'an*, Xi'an Municipal Administration Committee for Cultural Relics, September 1995, pp. 107-128: p. 111, pp. 127-128; also GAO Benxian, 2009, p. 93 (Chinese text)

<sup>10</sup> Liu, Xiao, Wang, 2012, p. 29.

<sup>11</sup> The definition of authenticity interpreted in *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* in 1977 is: "Authenticity does not limit consideration to original form and structure but includes all subsequent modification and additions over the course of time". See Official Website of World Heritage Centre, UNESCO, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/>, accessed on July 10, 2013. This interpretation is in accordance with the Article 11 of the *1964 Venice Charter (International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites)* which states that: "The valid contributions of all periods to the building of a monument must be respected, since unity of style is not the aim of restoration." See Official Website of ICOMOS, <http://www.international.icomos.org/en/charters-and-texts>, accessed on July 10, 2013. The understanding of authenticity as such has been well discussed in several articles and books of Knut Einar Larsen, see Larsen, "A Note on the Authenticity of Historic Timber Buildings with Particular Reference to Japan (ICOMOS Occasional Papers for the World Heritage Convention)," ICOMOS, December 1992, pp. 3-5; Larsen, *Architectural Preservation in Japan* (ICOMOS International Wood Committee, Trondheim: Tapir Publishers, 1994), pp. 23-25; Larsen, Nils Marstein, *Conservation of Historic Timber Structures: An Ecological Approach* (Oxford, UK: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2000), pp. 12-14.

<sup>12</sup> As Dag Nilsen notes, this principle was formulated by Camillo Boito in 1883, "which held that with respect to antiquity, interventions and additions in all periods should be regarded as equally valuable as the original parts." See detailed description in Camillo Boito, "Restoration in Architecture: First Dialogue," *Future Anterior*, vol. VI, no.1 (Summer 2009), pp. 69-83; Dag Nilsen, "The Cathedral of Nidaros: Building a Historic Monument," *Future Anterior*, vol. VII, no. 2 (Winter 2010), pp. 1-17: p. 9.

Daming Palace Site has been a dominating feature on a huge architectural scale, covering 3.28 square kilometers and surrounded by 7628 meters as the total perimeter length of the palace wall.<sup>13</sup> As the model for the Forbidden City in Beijing of the Ming (AD 1368-1644) and Qing Dynasties (AD 1644-1911), as well as other imperial palaces in Eastern Asia,<sup>14</sup> one remarkable feature of Daming Palace is its enormous scale and contrast between the palace buildings and assembly squares. Therefore, to make a complete identical restoration of the site was not considered practicable. In other words, copying all forms of ‘historic’ architectural design should be avoided and an accurate duplication would compromise the authenticity of the site. Preserving some of the existing residential environment and other buildings could, however, serve the purpose of understanding the character and size of the imperial ensemble

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<sup>13</sup> The overall area of Xi’an Daming Palace National Site Park and Conservation Demonstration Zone is about 3.84 square kilometers covering different archaeological sites which are about 3.28 Square kilometers including the Main Palace district, the Imperial Academy district, the Skirting Walled districts of the North, East, and West, etc. See LIU, XIAO, WANG, 2012, p. 34; the different archaeological ruins were documented in detail in *Ta Ming Kung of The Tang Chang’an*, 1959, the ruin of Palace Wall was described on page 11.

<sup>14</sup> YANG Kuan notes that “the three main halls of the Hanyuan Hall, Xuanzheng Hall and Zichen Hall (of the Daming Palace) were arranged in a straight line, which has profoundly influenced the layout of the imperial palaces afterwards”. See YANG, *Research on the Planning and Administrative Systems of Ancient Capitals in China* (Shanghai Classics Publishing House, 1993), pp. 175-176. Seo Tatsuhiro mentions that “Daming Palace had quite an influence on the ancient capitals in Japan which arouses many studies in the historical field in Japan. The comparison between Chang’an Daming Palace and the imperial palaces and the inner court in the ancient capitals of Japan on their structure transformation and the influence degree of the impact are the research questions that have been mostly of concern by Japanese scholars. For that reason, the history of Daming Palace is not only studied by Japanese sinologists, but also inquired by the archaeologists and researchers for the ancient history of Japan.” Seo further explains that: “Within the Daming Palace, those government office buildings and the palace buildings directly under-controlled by the emperor were mixed together and assembled around the inner court in the core of the Zichen Hall as a centralized layout which can make the emperor's order executed efficiently. The layout of the building as such had been followed continuously into the planning of the inner city of Kaifeng, the capital of the Northern Song dynasty (A.D. 960-1127)”. See Seo, “the Architectural Forms of Daming Palace and Chang’an in the late Tang dynasty”, *Journal of Chinese Historical Geography*, no. 4 (1997), pp. 97-108: p. 98, p. 101. WANG Zhongshu also conducted a comparative study on the architectural layouts between the Daming Palace and the palace buildings of Japan in the later periods from the archaeological perspective. See Wang, “the Dragon Tail Shaped Stairs of Daigoku-den Hall in the ancient capitals of Japan”, *Archaeology* 378, no. 3 (March 1999), p. 72-84; and Wang, “The influence of Linde Hall of the Tang Chang’an Daming Palace on the design of Imperial Palaces in Heijō-kyō and Heian-kyō in Japan”, *Archaeology* 401, no. 2 (February 2001), p. 71-85. LI Chunlin summarizes that: “The existing material and archaeological excavations show that the structure of the Daming Palace was the copy reference for the planning of the imperial palaces in Shangjing (Sanggyeong) of the Balhae Kingdom, Heijō-kyō in Japan and Gyeongju in South Korea which were in the close period of the Tang dynasty. In addition, the imperial palace of the Northern Song dynasty in Dongjing (Kaifeng City today) and the Forbidden City of the Ming and Qing dynasty in Beijing also followed the layout and form of the Daming Palace”. See Li, “Some Issues on the Historical Value and Conservation of Tang Daming Palace Site”, *Journal of Socialist Theory Guide* 301, no. 12 (February 2009), pp. 125-128: p. 125. (Chinese Text)

juxtaposed to the present human scale and patterns compared to that of the ancient palace.

Unfortunately, due to practical concerns and different understandings of the integrity and authenticity of the site, most of the existing 20<sup>th</sup> century structure has been ignored and subsequently demolished, assumed to be of no importance during the further construction of Daming Palace National Site Park. This distraction can be concerned as a typical example of the interpretation differences of the international charters on conservation between China and Norway, even to Europe. Because of the difference both in physical and cultural circumstances, different values and experiences are difficult to transfer from one place to another. But, it is certain that a retracing of conservation experiences and theoretical backgrounds can provide a better understanding of the present situation, and may also leave a clue for future cases.

### 4.3 Historical Review and Comparison

The collection and study of ancient artifacts and antiques has a long history in China. Some museologists believe that the earliest recorded primitive museum in China is the Temple of Confucius which was built in 478 BC, the second year after Confucius's death in his hometown of Qufu, Shandong Province.<sup>15</sup> The traditional Chinese antiquarianism (Jinshixue, 金石学), which flourished from the Song dynasty (960–1279) and was revived in the Qing dynasty (1644-1912) with a much widened research scope, has been considered the traditional origin and basis of modern archaeology in China by many scholars.<sup>16</sup> The tradition of analyzing archaic

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<sup>15</sup> WANG Hongjun, "Museum and Regional History and Culture – also the Earliest Museum in the World and the Origin of Museum" (A paper presented at Symposium Museum and Community for ICOFOM, Beijing, China, 1994), *Chinese Museum*, Chinese Museums Association, no. 4 (December 1994), pp. 44-47: pp. 46-47. Wang further stressed this opinion in his later articles and books, e.g. Wang ed., *The Basis of Chinese Museology* (Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 2001), pp. 57-62. (Chinese text) SU Donghai, Translated from Chinese by AN Laishun, "Museums and Museum Philosophy in China," *Nordisk Museologi*, no. 2 (1995), pp. 61-80: p. 63.

<sup>16</sup> An overall introduction to traditional Chinese antiquarianism in four categories including motivation and attitudes, fieldwork and collecting, connoisseurship, and publication from an archaeological perspective can be seen in Richard C. Rudolph, "Preliminary notes on Sung archaeology", *Journal of Asian Studies* 22, 1963, pp. 169–177. As LI Chi concludes in his monograph of the Anyang Excavations from 1928 to 1937, "in intellectual development there are definite stages which follow each other in a certain order," "the oracle bone inscriptions were recognized at the end of the nineteenth century as a significant discovery which academicians continue to cultivate was not merely

inscriptions in ancient bronze wares and stone tablets can even be traced back to a much earlier period, according to the historical records.<sup>17</sup> As Bruce Graham Trigger (1937-2006) notes in the book *A History of Archaeological Thoughts*, early in the Han dynasty (206 BC–220 AD), “Sima Qian (ca. 145-85 BC), the great Chinese historian, visited ancient ruins and examined relics from the past when he was collecting information for the *Shi Ji*,” the book of China’s first comprehensive history.<sup>18</sup> Trigger further comments that “Sima Qian and other early Chinese historians seem to have been interested in inscribed ancient objects as direct sources of information about the past that might be used to supplement and correct errors in the available corpus of historical literature.”<sup>19</sup> This attitude as such also made their writings more reliable for selecting the authentic original sources of historical facts which has been partly tested in the modern archaeological excavations. When LI Ji (or LI Chi, 李济, 1896–1979), the father of Chinese modern archaeology,<sup>20</sup> reviewed his major findings in the article of *Importance of the Anyang Discoveries in Prefacing Known Chinese History with a New Chapter*, he concluded:

[The] [s]ystematic study of the individual characters and the exact contents of the oracle bone inscriptions, initiated first by Sun Yi-jang and followed by the brilliant efforts of Professor Wang Kuo-wei and members of the National Research Institute,

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accidental” and “there was a long intellectual history preparatory”. See LI Chi, *Anyang* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1977), p. 4. Kwang-chih Chang believes that the compilation of *Kaogutu* (Illustrated Catalogue of Examined Antiquity, Chinese: 考古图), one of the earliest surviving catalogues for systematical description and classification of the excavated antiques, preface dated 1092 and edited by LYU Dalin (Chinese: 吕大临, 1046–1092), was the sign of the beginning of traditional Chinese antiquarianism. He further concludes that antiquarianism (1092-), scientific archaeology (1920-), and archaeology in Socialist China (1949-) are the three stages of Chinese archaeology. See K.C. Chang, “Archaeology and Chinese Historiography”, *World Archaeology*, vol. 13, no. 2, Regional Traditions of Archaeological Research I (October 1981), pp. 156-169. See also Lothar von Falkenhausen, “On the Historiographical Orientation of Chinese Archaeology,” *Antiquity* 67 (1993), no. 257, pp. 839–849, particularly the detailed discussion on pages 842-843, and Bruce G. Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 74-76. As for the Chinese reference, CHEN Xingcan gives a thorough discussion on this topic in his monograph for the history of Chinese prehistoric archaeology, noting that many prominent archaeological scholars including GUO Morou, XIA Nai, WANG Zhongshu and WANG Shimin used to stress that traditional Chinese antiquarianism is the foundation of the Chinese modern archaeology. See CHEN Xingcan, *The History of Chinese Prehistoric Archaeology (1895-1949)* (Beijing, China: SDX Joint Publishing Company, 1997), pp. 52-62, pp. 72-74. (Chinese text)

<sup>17</sup> Chen, 1997, pp. 53-54, p.73.

<sup>18</sup> Trigger, 2006, p.47.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> K.C. Chang, “Li Chi: 1896-1979”, *Asian Perspectives*, XXIII (2), 1980, pp. 317-321: 317. A detailed description about Li Ji’s life and work in English can be seen in the chapters of “Archaeology: the Shang Dynasty as Han Heritage, 1923-1930” and “Li Chi and Evolving Narratives of the Chinese Race, 1950-1977” in Clayton D. Brown, “Making the Majority: Defining Han Identity in Chinese Ethnology and Archaeology” (Ph.D. Diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2008), pp. 18-55, pp. 91-122.

led to the important conclusion that the Genealogy of the Royal House of the Yin Dynasty (ca. 1600–1046 B.C.), as recorded by SsuMa Ch'ien (Sima Qian) is correct almost beyond any dispute. Practically all the names on the list of Kings which appear in SsuMa Ch'ien's chapter on the Yin Dynasty in the *Memoires Historiques* (*Shi Ji*), are also found in the inscriptions of the newly discovered archaeological specimens. ... Professor Wang Kuo-wei succeeded in the reconstructing of the Genealogy of the House of Yin and reaffirmed the high authenticity of the source materials of the *Memoires Historiques* by Ssuma Ch'ien, written more than two thousand years ago. (LI, 1953)<sup>21</sup>

Despite the long history of antiquarianism and treasure collection in China, the attitudes toward the preservation and maintenance of the buildings seemed to be different. Most of the magnificent imperial palaces, temples, and shrines were intentionally ruined during the transformation periods of different dynasties; the Daming Palace no exception. As CHANG Qing notes in his article of “Authenticity in Historic Preservation and Restoration,” although architectural works such as palaces and temples have traditionally been regarded as antiques in ancient times, Chinese people pay less attention to the eternity of the building itself.<sup>22</sup> Based on the concepts of reciprocating and cycling, “replacing the decayed parts, renewing the ruined parts, and repairing the broken parts”<sup>23</sup> were the common rules for the restoration of buildings which resulted in the removal of pillars and beams as a natural process, even demolition and reconstruction. Chang concludes that “the basic tenet of traditional Chinese architecture is not the eternity of the original form, but the eternity of institutionalized rules of architecture.”<sup>24</sup> This conclusion certainly deserves further

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<sup>21</sup> This paper of LI Ji was presented at the 4th Far-Eastern Prehistory and the Anthropology Division of the 8<sup>th</sup> Pacific Science Congresses Combined: Prehistory, archaeology and physical anthropology, Philippines, November 1953. See Li Chi, “Importance of the Anyang Discoveries in Prefacing Known Chinese History with a New Chapter,” *Annals of Academia Sinica*, 1955, no. 2, part 1, pp. 91-102. Text available at <http://taiwantoday.tw/ct.asp?xItem=145324&CtNode=124>, accessed on November 27, 2014.

<sup>22</sup> CHANG Qing, “Authenticity in Historic Preservation and Restoration,” *Time + Architecture*, no. 3 (June 2009), pp. 118-121: p. 119. (Chinese text)

<sup>23</sup> Chang cited these words from the inscription of a stone stele of the Huayan Temple in Datong city, Shanxi province, erected in 1273 for a large scale restoration of the temple in the Yuan dynasty period. The sentence stated that “[r]eplacing the decayed parts, restoring the ruined parts, and repairing the broken parts of the main hall, the building of the Buddhist abbot, the kitchen and storage, and other buildings made it reach its original state.” See BAI Yong, “The Stele of Datong Huayan Temple in the Yuan Dynasty and the Related Issues,” *World of Antiquity*, no. 5 (October 2007), pp. 17-19: p. 17. (Chinese text)

<sup>24</sup> Chang, 2009, p. 119.

discussion as to whether or not it is based on the reason that the earth and timber, as the main materials of most of the ancient ruins and historical buildings in China, are vulnerable by nature to be preserved,<sup>25</sup> or if it applies to all different types of traditional Chinese architecture in different historical periods.<sup>26</sup>

Modern archaeology in China was not directly transformed from the traditional Chinese antiquarianism (Jinshixue),<sup>27</sup> but generated by the influence of different aspects when Chinese intellectuals sought to reevaluate their cultural traditions while attempting to close ranks with the modern nations under the impact of Western powers in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>28</sup> Correspondingly, the foundation of Chinese museum institutions in a modern sense was not based on private collections as in Europe, but has been motivated by a similar influence since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century as the fruit of the rapid social transformation.<sup>29</sup> Therefore, three parallel academic approaches can be seen in the professional fields of modern museology, archaeology, and architecture for the establishment of modern conservation institutions in China.

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<sup>25</sup> It is a view expressed by Chinese archaeologist LIU Qingzhu in a lecture about China's ancient capitals based on the findings in excavations. See LIU Qingzhu, "Interpretation of Ancient Chinese Capitals," China Central Television (CCTV) program of *Lecture Room* hosted on February 17, 2003. Text available at <http://www.cctv.com/lm/131/61/80248.html>, accessed on September 13, 2013. (Chinese text)

<sup>26</sup> Joseph Needham mentions that stone in ancient China "was used only for tomb-construction, steles and monuments, and for pavements of roads, courts and paths," further speculating that the reason may be based on 'the absence of mass slavery,' 'the ancient symbolic-correlation philosophy,' and the consideration of earthquakes. In his monograph of monumentality of Chinese art and architecture, WU Hung discusses 'The Chinese Discovery of Stone' since the first century A.D. (the Han dynasty) and concludes that "those of wood used by the living, and those of stone dedicated to the dead, the gods, and immortals." The stonework as such was certainly built for the purpose of long-term use or the eternity of the construction itself. In an essay, WU Hung further suggests that the Chinese burial traditions associated with the local religions and ethics, especially the concepts of death and filial duties, can constitute a 'field of specialization' or 'sub-discipline' in the history of art for a thorough study. See Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1971), vol. 4, pp. 90-91. WU Hung, *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995), pp. 121-122. WU Hung, *Ten Discourses on Art History* (Beijing, China: SDX Joint Publishing Company, 2008), pp. 76-77. (Chinese text)

<sup>27</sup> Chen, 1997, pp. 61-62.

<sup>28</sup> LI Ji mentions that the act of the 'Doubters of Antiquity' (Yigupai) group in the historical field in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century "helped to hasten the birth of scientific archaeology in China" when the intellectuals of this group questioned about the authenticity of the Chinese transmitted classics. See LI, 1955, pp. 91-102. See also Lothar von Falkenhausen, "On the Historiographical Orientation of Chinese Archaeology", *Antiquity* 67 (1993), no. 257, pp. 839-849: 841. CHEN Xingcan concludes that the foundation of modern archaeology in China was influenced by the practice of Western and Japanese archaeologists, the dissemination of modern archaeological thoughts from the late 19<sup>th</sup> to early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, and the impact of Xinhai Revolution in 1911 for Chinese intellectuals. See Chen, 1997, pp. 61-65.

<sup>29</sup> AN Laishun, "Review and Prospect of Museums in the Twentieth Century", *Chinese Museum*, Chinese Museums Association, no. 1 (March 2001), 7. (Chinese text)

The modern museological practice as one approach made its first step in China when ZHANG Qian (张謇, 1853–1926), an entrepreneur and modern educationist, established the first modern private museum in China - the Nantong Museum in 1905. Not long after, the founding of the Palace Museum in the Forbidden City in 1925, the preparatory department of the National Central Museum (the predecessor of the Nanjing Museum today) in 1933, and the Chinese Museums Association in 1935, together with the forming of some provincial museums, constituted the further significant events for the establishment of the modern Chinese museum institutions.<sup>30</sup> The formation of the modern archeology in China as the second parallel approach was first kindled by the archaeological fieldwork of various Neolithic sites at Yangshao village in Henan province, north China, by the Swedish Geologist Johan Gunnar Andersson (1874–1960) under the auspices of the Chinese Geological Survey in 1921.<sup>31</sup> This was further developed by the establishment of the Archaeological Department at the Institute of History and Philology (IHP) founded by FU Sinian (傅斯年, 1896–1950)<sup>32</sup> at the Academia Sinica in 1928. This was associated with the excavation at Yinxu (Ruins of Yin) in Anyang in the period between 1928 and 1937 as the department's first field project led by LI Ji and DONG Zuobin (董作宾, 1895–

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<sup>30</sup> An, 2001, 7. See the detailed description in the section II of “Initial Developments of Chinese Museology” in Chapter 3 by LI Huizhu, “Study on the Formation and Development of Theory System of Chinese Museology,” (Ph.D. Diss., Shandong University), pp. 34-42. (Chinese text) The above is an orthodox or the most common historical narrative regarding the foundation of early Chinese museums. One monograph of the early history of Chinese modern museums with a critical examination of the different sources in China was *Great Foundations: An Intellectual History of Early Chinese Museums* (Beijing, China: Science Press, 2016) written by XU Jian. The comprehensive writings on the origins and development of modern museums in China in English can be seen in *Museums in China: Power, Politics and Identities* (Abingdon, UK and New York, NY: Routledge, 2014) written by Professor Tracey Lie-dan Lu (1959–2016) and in Chapter 2 “Museums in China: Origins and Development” in Marzia Varutti, *Museums in China: The Politics of Representation After Mao* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014), pp. 25-42.

<sup>31</sup> Falkenhausen, 1993, p. 841; Chen, 1997, pp. 76-184; opinion cited by CHEN Hongbo, “The Practice of Institute of History and Philology and the Rise of Scientific Archaeology in China, 1928-1949,” (Ph.D. Diss., Fudan University, 2008), p. 220; also published as *The Rise of Scientific Archaeology in China* (Guilin, China: Guangxi Normal University Press, 2011) (Chinese text).

<sup>32</sup> As one of the most influential intellectual figures in 20<sup>th</sup> century China by shaping the modern institute of historical and archaeological disciplines, several biographies of FU Sinian (Fu Ssu-Nien) are available for the study of his role. See Alan Gordon Moller, “Bellicose Nationalist of Republican China: An Intellectual Biography of Fu Ssu-nien,” (Ph.D. Diss., Department of History, University of Melbourne, 1979). WANG Fan-sen, “Fu Ssu-nien: An Intellectual Biography,” (Ph.D. Diss., Princeton University, 1993); also published as *Fu Ssu-nien: A Life in Chinese History and Politics* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006). A Chinese summary about Fu and the establishment of IHP can be seen in the Chapter II of CHEN Hongbo's dissertation, see Chen, 2008, pp. 57-75.

1963).<sup>33</sup> Moreover, the stable organizational framework of modern archaeology was finalized after the Communist takeover in 1949, represented by two influential intellectual figures: XIA Nai (夏鼐, 1910–1985) and SU Bingqi (苏秉琦, 1909–1997).<sup>34</sup> The practice of architectural conservation and architectural history research on China's ancient architecture as the third approach was initiated by Professors LIANG Sicheng (梁思成, 1901-1972),<sup>35</sup> LIU Dunzhen (刘敦桢, 1897-1968), and their colleagues at the Society (later Institute in 1930) for Research in Chinese Architecture. This was realized when they carried out a mass-scale field investigation and documentation of the existing traditional Chinese constructions in North China as

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<sup>33</sup> K.C. Chang, 1980, pp. 318-319. Falkenhausen, 1993, p. 842. A comprehensive review about the backgrounds and the Yinxu excavations from beginning to end was written by Robert Bagley, "Shang Archaeology" (Chapter 3), in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China*, ed. Michael Lowe and Edward L. Shaughnessey (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 124-231, in the section of "The Archaeology of the Shang Dynasty," 126-130. See also Chinese text in WANG Shimin, "A Brief History of China's Archaeology", *Encyclopedia of China: Archaeology* (Beijing: Encyclopedia of China Publishing House, 1986), p. 690; opinion cited by Chen, 2008, p. 220; CHEN Hongbo makes a detailed description about the collaboration between LI Ji and DONG Zuobin (Tong Tso-Pin) on pages 76-98. Dong worked as an antiquarian with the traditional paleography training in the study of oracle bones. LI Ji had received an up-to-date scientific exercise of anthropology at Harvard University like all other Western-trained Chinese pioneers in modern archaeology including FENG Hanji (冯汉骥, 1899-1977), LIANG Siyong (梁思永, 1904-1954), PEI Wenzhong (裴文中, 1904 -1982), WU Jinding (吴金鼎, 1901-1948), and XIA Nai. See Falkenhausen, 1993, pp. 841-842.

<sup>34</sup> In a brief biography of XIA Nai, Kwang-chih Chang notes that Xia has been "the architect of Chinese archaeology" for 35 years and "he was nonetheless the principal scholar in charge of planning and execution of archaeological policy." See K.C. Chang, "Xia Nai (1910-1985)," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, vol. 88, no. 2 (June 1986), pp. 442-444. SU Bingqi, as one of the founders and leading professors, set up the first university program of archaeology at Peking University. Many prominent archaeologists in China are his loyal former students who have been quite influenced by his thoughts for their practice. See WANG Tao, "Establishing the Chinese archaeological school: Su Bingqi and contemporary Chinese archaeology," *Antiquity*, vol. 71, no. 271, pp. 31-36. Chinese Archaeologist ZHANG Zhongpei once stressed that the formation of Chinese archaeology today was not influenced by the foreign figures and their thoughts such as Lewis Roberts Binford, but by XIA Nai and SU Bingqi. See ZHANG Zhongpei, "Several Issues under Discussion in Archaeology," *Chinese Archaeology: Approach to Truth of History* (Beijing, China: Science Press, 1997), p. 223; opinion cited by Chen, 2008, p. 3, p. 24.

<sup>35</sup> Many scholarly studies in Chinese on Liang's role and contribution to historical research and modern conservation on China's ancient architecture have been seen since the 1980s; for instance, CHEN Zhihua, "The Pioneer of Preservation for Historical Architecture and Districts in China," *Architectural Journal*, no.9 (September 1986), pp. 21-25; GAO Yilan ed., *Proceedings of Research on Liang Sicheng's Academic Thoughts, 1946-1996* (Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press, 1996); LAI Delin, "On Liang Sicheng and Lin Huiyin's Writings on Chinese Architectural History", *Twenty-First Century*, Institute of Chinese Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, no. 64 (April 2001), pp. 90-99. (Chinese text) The English text for the seminal influence of Liang on heritage conservation is written by Guolong Lai, Martha Demas, and Neville Agnew, "Valuing the Past in China: The Seminal Influence of Liang Sicheng on Heritage Conservation," *Orientalism*, vol. 35, no. 2 (March 2004), pp. 82-89. An exclusive story about the life and work of Liang and his wife LIN Huiyin (or Lin Whei-yin (Chinese: 林徽因, 1904-1955) was written in a memoir by Wilma Fairbank, *Liang and Lin: Partners in Exploring China's Architectural Past* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), the description for Liang's role and work at the Institute for Research in Chinese Architecture is on pages 49-59, 65-83.

well as the emendation, classification, and interpretation of the collected ancient codes and records of Chinese traditional architecture and craftsmanship in 1930s.<sup>36</sup>

Since its beginning, the setting-up of cultural heritage conservation in China has been intimately linked to these three approaches. Further, the parallel division of the present administrative structure for the listed cultural heritage properties, historical districts, and towns, which have been administered separately by the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development in China as two governing bodies, was also fruitful under the influence of the above historical backgrounds. Both the current institutions and historical development of China's cultural heritage conservation from the angle of architectural conservation and architectural history research have been well discussed.<sup>37</sup> However, part of Chinese modern archaeology has often been absent in these writings due to the rigid division of different institutions and academic arenas. Particularly, the archaeological institution in China constantly plays a key role and therefore has a dominant influence on the legislation of cultural heritage conservation and the execution of most conservation projects for national listed properties.<sup>38</sup> For instance, based on my

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<sup>36</sup> According to the listed data counted by LIN Zhu, 2,738 buildings in 206 groups located in 190 different cities and towns had been investigated and documented as drawings in the field works of the institute before 1937. See LIN Zhu, *A Brief History of the Institute for Research in Chinese Architecture* (Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press, 1995), p. 120. A serial academic research on the history and contribution of the Institute for Research in Chinese Architecture can be seen in ZHU Haipei, "A Brief History of the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture", *Traditional Chinese Architecture and Gardens* 69, no. 4 (December 1999), pp. 10-14; CUI Yong, *Study on the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture* (Nanjing, China: Southeast University Press, 2004); LIU Shourou, "The Society for Research in Chinese Architecture and the Evolving Conceptions of Architectural Conservation in China" (Master's Thesis, Fu Dan University, 2005); LIU Jiangfeng, WANG Qiheng, "The Philology Contribution of the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture", *Journal of HIT (Social Science Edition)*, vol. 8, no. 5 (September 2006), pp. 15-19; WEN Yuqing, WANG Qiheng, "The Comments of Society for Research in Chinese Architecture's Historic Contributions," *ArchiCreation*, no. 6, 2007, pp. 126-133; CHEN Wei, "The Academic Course and Vision of the Journal of the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture," Special Issue for 80th Anniversary of the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture, *Architectural Journal*, no.1 (January 2010), pp. 71-77; GUO Daiheng, "The Historic Contribution of the Society for Research in Chinese Architecture", *Ibid.*, pp. 78-80. (Chinese text)

<sup>37</sup> See LIN Yuan, "A Brief History of Architectural Heritage Conservation in China", Proceedings of the 4th Urban Planning Society of China (UPSC) Annual Conference, 2005, pp. 1218-1224; WANG Tao, "Research on Management Model for Architectural Heritage-Problem in the Management for Up-to-date Chinese Architectural Heritage" (PhD diss., Southeast University, 2005); LIN Yuan, "Fundamental Research on Theories of Chinese Architectural Heritage Conservation" (Ph.D. Diss., Xi'an University of Architecture and Technology, 2007).

<sup>38</sup> SONG Guangbo gives a few examples on the key role of Archaeologist XIA Nai for the important revision of the *Law of the People's Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics* of 1982, the first cultural heritage act in China after 1949 when Xia worked as the president of the Archaeological

working experience and observation as a conservation architect, I found that many Chinese archaeologists seem to focus on the main discovery of a certain period in the field excavation, but often underestimate the value and integrity of different remains in later periods. The view – or working habits as such – among Chinese archaeologists impacts the policy-making of many conservation projects for listed properties and sites, illustrated in the above discussion on the existing structure of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Daming Palace Site. For that reason, the question of how Chinese modern archaeology plays its role in the practice of cultural heritage conservation deserves more attention for a further study and examination.

In Europe, as Jukka Jokilehto notes, “the treatment of ancient monuments and works of art of the past can be seen to have evolved in three different approaches.”<sup>39</sup> One is the traditional approach, such as preserving the historic structures for their use values, which has probably existed as early as human society. The second approach could be defined as the ‘romantic restoration’ of historic objects. It started in the Italian Renaissance, and later spread its influence to other European areas, finally resulting in a maturing historic consciousness with the evolution of nationalism and romanticism in different countries. Almost from the same period as the Renaissance, “another approach developed aiming at the conservation, re-evaluation of the authentic object, preservation of its historic stratification and original material, and avoidance of falsification.”<sup>40</sup>

Located at the western part of Scandinavian Peninsula in northern Europe, Norway could have been more or less influenced by these approaches with its early practice of architectural conservation in different aspects.<sup>41</sup> For importing the new concern of heritage preservation to Norway, the Norwegian-born Painter Johan Christian Claussen Dahl (1788-1857) was an important figure and one of the early

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Society of China. See SONG Guangbo, “A View of XIA Nai's Academic Life from the Diary,” *Journal of Chinese Culture*, no.34 (Autumn 2011), pp.147-164 (Chinese text).

<sup>39</sup> Jukka Jokilehto, “Conservation Principles and Their Theoretical Background,” *Durability of Building Materials*, vol. 5, no. 3-4 (1988), pp. 267-277: 267. See a comprehensive writing of this topic in Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural Conservation* (Oxford, UK: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1999).

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 267-270.

<sup>41</sup> Hans-Emil Lidén indicated that Norway was affected by the modern development of restoration and conservation in Europe to a small degree until 1840. See Lidén, *Fra antikviteten til kulturminne: trekk av kulturminnevernets historie i Norge* (Oslo, Norway: Universitetsforlaget, 1991), p. 25.

pioneers.<sup>42</sup> Dahl was trained in Denmark and resided in Dresden from the early 1820s, making his career as a professor of landscape painting at the Dresden Art Academy until his death.<sup>43</sup> On Dahl's initiative, several still-existing Norwegian medieval stave churches were systematically documented for the first time and published as *Denkmale einer sehr ausgebildeten Holzbaukunst aus den frühesten Jahrhunderten in der innern Landschaften Norwegens* (Monuments of Highly developed Wooden Architecture from the Earliest Centuries in the inner parts of Norway) in Dresden, Germany, in 1837, making Norwegian stave churches known outside of the country.<sup>44</sup> Though Dahl is widely known as a distinguished romantic painter of Norwegian landscapes, his other important role in the field of preservation was for co-founding the Association for the Preservation of the Ancient Monuments of Norway (Foreningen til norske Fortidsminnesmerkers Bevaring) in 1844; one of the oldest extant preservation associations in Europe and the world.<sup>45</sup> As Hans-Emil Lidén describes in *Fra antikviteten til kulturminne: trekk av kulturminnevernets historie i Norge* (From Antiquities to Heritage: Signs of Cultural Heritage Preservation History in Norway), Dahl had written letters to the painter Joachim Frich (1810–1858), persuading his friend about the necessity of founding an association for the preservation of ancient monuments in Norway patterned after the German models.<sup>46</sup> Besides Joachim Frich, the first board of the association was composed of the painter Adolph Tidemand (1814–1876), the historian Rudolf Keyser (1803–1864), the architect Johan Henrik Nebelong (1817–1871), and the government official Christian Holst (1809–1890) who was the chamberlain of Norwegian Royal Court at the time.<sup>47</sup> Compared to the few previously founded museum institutions, the new association was established by artists, art historians, archaeologists, architects, and other scholars.

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p.25; Nilsen, 2010, p. 3; Mette Bye, "Histories of Architectural Conservation: Five Case Studies on the Treatment of Norwegian Vernacular Heritage Buildings circa 1920-1980," (Ph.D. Diss., Norwegian University of Science and Technology, 2010: 246), pp. 65-66.

<sup>43</sup> Harry Francis Mallgrave, *Modern Architectural Theory: A Historical Survey, 1673–1968* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 182; Mari Lending, "Landscape vs Museum: J. C. Dahl and the Preservation of Norwegian Burial Mounds," *Future Anterior*, vol. 6, no. 1 (Summer 2009), pp. 1-17: p. 1; Nilsen, 2010, p. 3.

<sup>44</sup> See Lidén, 1991, p. 26; Mallgrave, 2005, p. 182; Lending, 2009, p. 2; Bye, 2010, p. 65.

<sup>45</sup> Lidén, 1991, p. 30; Lending, 2009, p. 2; Bye, 2010, p. 66. Referring to the founding year of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) by William Morris in 1877 (See "History of the SPAB", <http://www.spab.org.uk/what-is-spab-/history-of-the-spab/>, accessed on December 25, 2013), Fortidsminneforeningen was established 33 years earlier than this oldest surviving association for architectural conservation in the UK.

<sup>46</sup> Lidén, 1991, p. 30; cited by Bye, 2010, p. 67.

<sup>47</sup> Lidén, 1991, pp. 30-31.

Therefore, from the beginning, it had broader interests which spanned from archaeological excavations to architectural preservation and restoration with the purpose to “track down, investigate, and maintain relics of Norwegian antiquity, particularly those that shed light upon the nation’s artistic skill and artistic sense in antiquity, and likewise to make these objects known to the public through illustrations and descriptions.”<sup>48</sup>

However, the Norwegian antiquarian and archaeologist Nicolay Nicolaysen (1817–1911) was another pioneer who played a key role in the early history of Fortidsminneforeningen when he sat as the chairman of the association for 49 years.<sup>49</sup> Lidén summarizes that the activities of Fortidsminneforeningen under Nicolaysen’s management in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century can be divided into six different areas which included: 1) collecting ‘antiques’ as the classification of museum objects; 2) surveying and registering churches and other medieval buildings (subsequently also the buildings from recent periods that bear the stamp of medieval architectural style); 3) archaeological investigations; 4) publications; 5) consultancy when it came to the demolition or restoration of medieval buildings; and 6) the management of properties which man felt obliged to purchase for the sake of preservation.<sup>50</sup> After Nicolaysen acquired the position of Norway’s first state-employed antiquarian and advisor for the Ministry of Church Affairs in 1860, the archaeological field excavations increasingly became a new focus for the work at Fortidsminneforeningen.<sup>51</sup> According to Lidén’s depiction though, “Nicolaysen was more interested in collecting, registering and presenting historic monuments and artifacts than in deeper studies and research” and “preserving post-reformation

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<sup>48</sup> The English translation of Article 1 in the statutes for Fortidsminneforeningen (dated December 16, 1844) was made by Mari Lending in Lending, 2009, pp. 2-3. See also Lidén, 1991, p. 31; Bye, 2010, pp. 66-67.

<sup>49</sup> Lidén, 1991, p. 34. As Lidén describes in the biography of Nicolaysen, he had been a member of Fortidsminneforeningen since 1844, elected to the board in 1849, and becoming chair in 1851. He then led the association for 49 years as the so-called “Nicolaysen’s Era” until his retirement in 1899. See Lidén, *Nicolay Nicolaysen: et blad av norsk kulturminneverns historie* (Oslo: Abstrakt forlag, 2005), p. 5.

<sup>50</sup> Lidén, 1991, p. 36; the text is partly with the reference to the English translation by Bye, 2010, p. 67.

<sup>51</sup> Lidén, 1991, pp. 40-43; cited and summed up in Bye, 2010, pp. 71-73. Lidén also notes that the archaeological excavations directed by Nicolaysen can hardly be named as modern archaeology in the true sense because it is mainly about digging and collecting without any scientific method for documentation, but his practice was nonetheless of great importance for the development of Norwegian archeology. See Lidén, 2005, pp. 118-119.

buildings was also not a priority.”<sup>52</sup> Nicolaysen was one of the instigators for the collection of farm buildings and the establishment of one of the earliest open air museums in the world at Bygdøy in Kristiania (Oslo); a significant move for the preservation of vernacular buildings in Norway.<sup>53</sup> Moreover, it is an indisputable fact that preserving vernacular architecture obtained as a scientific interest through Fortidsminneforeningen was earlier than the similar activities in most other countries.<sup>54</sup> Mette Bye notes that “Fortidsminneforeningen was to function as the foremost advisor to the state and the public in matters of conservation” from its founding year in the following half century.<sup>55</sup> It has been involved with many significant works including the establishment of Riksantikvaren, Norwegian Directorate for Cultural Heritage in 1912 and the drafting work for *the Church and Graveyard Act of 1897* and *Bygningsfredningsloven av 1920*; the first Norwegian legislation to protect historic buildings.<sup>56</sup>

The conservation consciousness in Norway made a significant stride in the 1970s which was “associated with the shift from a concentration on a few selected monuments to the concern for the ordinary mass of anonymous architecture and historical environment.”<sup>57</sup> In 1975, the preservation of surroundings and the built environment of listed buildings were added in the revision of *Bygningsfredningsloven av 1920*.<sup>58</sup> The alteration was continued in the *Cultural Heritage Act of 1978*, which replaced the old laws and aimed at “demonstrating the diversity of physical cultural heritage.”<sup>59</sup> According to the new legislation, the term of ‘Archeological and Historical Monuments and Sites’ as the protected cultural heritage is defined as “all traces of human activity in our physical environment, including places associated with

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<sup>52</sup> Lidén, 1991, p. 44; cited and translated by Bye, 2010, pp. 70-71, p. 102.

<sup>53</sup> Lidén, 2005, pp. 200-201; Bye, 2005, p. 72, pp. 101-102. Sten Rentzhog also noted in the section of “The very first open air museum” from Chapter 2 of his monograph on open air museums and thought that “there were arguments as to which open air museum came first” and “whether the building collection at Bygdø should be seen as an open air museum,” see Rentzhog, *Open Air Museums: The History and Future of a Visionary Idea* (Kristianstad, Sweden: Jantli Förlag and Carlssons Bokförlag, 2007), pp 48-51.

<sup>54</sup> Rentzhog, 2007, pp. 49-50.

<sup>55</sup> Bye, 2010, p 67.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, the founding of Riksantikvaren, pp. 112-114; the 1897 Church and Graveyard Act (Lov om Kirker og Kirkegårder av 1897 in Norwegian) and the first Norwegian legislation for built heritage, pp. 121-124.

<sup>57</sup> Dag Nilsen, “Experiences from Norwegian Conservation,” Paper at Conference on Historic Wooden Town, Tallinn, 24 September, 1999. (not published)

<sup>58</sup> Lidén, 1991, p. 95.

<sup>59</sup> Bye, 2010, p. 127.

historical events, beliefs and traditions.”<sup>60</sup> Hence, age and architectonic value were only two of the many criteria for the selection of built heritage.<sup>61</sup> Compared with other European countries such as Italy, France, Germany, or Britain, Norway has developed the framework of cultural heritage conservation based on its own cultural context with wooden buildings and vernacular architecture at the core because of the lack of massive-scale historic monuments.<sup>62</sup>

#### 4.4 Conclusion

In the introduction chapter of *The Gothic Revival* in 1928, British Art Historian Kenneth Clark (1903–1983) noted that “[b]eauty is a historical document; but a historical document is not necessarily beautiful.”<sup>63</sup> These words do make sense in the evolving context of the definition of cultural heritage which may be opposite to Clark’s original intention. As “architectural monuments valued as cultural heritage serve as material focal point for a community’s interpretation of history and conception of reality,”<sup>64</sup> the structure of cultural heritage conservation in Norway, which is highlighted with vernacular timber architecture and historical natural landscapes as its prominent feature, can be understood as based on value consideration. Further, it may also be interesting to mention an observation from Professor LIU Kecheng, a member of the jury for the international competition, that an outsider’s view of the ‘other’ can be crucial.<sup>65</sup> Liu comments that the practice of cultural heritage conservation in Norway, and many other European countries, has already seemingly stepped across the stage of ‘a beauty contest.’ Further, that it is closely associated with a narrative of the place and its group of people, thus telling a story of where the cultural heritage has come from and where it is going; fundamental for the role of conservation. Liu believes that the core of cultural heritage conservation is to tell the public ‘where are you from,’ instead of showing off ‘the

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<sup>60</sup> Nilsen, 1999, p. 1; full text in English available at the Official Site of Norwegian Government, <https://www.regjeringen.no/en/dokumenter/cultural-heritage-act/id173106/>, accessed on March 2, 2015.

<sup>61</sup> Bye, 2010, p. 127.

<sup>62</sup> Opinion partly cited in Rentzhog, 2007, p. 50.

<sup>63</sup> Kenneth Clark, *The Gothic Revival*, (Harmondsworth, UK: Pelican Books, 1964), first published in 1928, p xxi.

<sup>64</sup> Nilsen, 2010, p. 1.

<sup>65</sup> Taking an outsider’s view of the ‘other’ is a basic but fundamental method in the original description of anthropological fieldwork. The uniqueness of giving an outsider’s view in anthropology is to help the researcher escape the trap of false intuitive judgment. See the interpretation in Chapter 3 Methodology, and Chapter 6.

glory of history.’ Based on that understanding, he thinks that architectural conservation in Norway is vividly telling a daily life story of human society linked with its unique nature in the past under its own cultural and historical context.<sup>66</sup>

Though the two countries are extremely different in terms of size, history, traditions, government, and constitution, they share some similarities. For example, both of them have timber architecture and craftsmanship as the dominant tradition throughout the pre-modern history. Further, they have both taken on foreign models for building their modern architectural conservation framework. At this point, I assume that Norwegian value is simultaneously connected to the formation of its conservation framework in learning from others. This further inspires the exercise of cultural heritage preservation in other countries in different areas such as open-air museums and the conservation of wooden architecture. Particularly, it has been noted that “Norway has been very active in international partnership and funding for conservation abroad ... [and] has emerged as a global leader in the conservation of wooden architecture.”<sup>67</sup> Consequently, this may have reference value for the Chinese conservation professionals. To this end, Fortidsminneforeningen, as a non-governmental cultural organization that plays an important role for the state and public in the field of cultural heritage conservation in Norway, offers a valuable example. The Society for Research in Chinese Architecture (1930–1946), and other early modern non-governmental cultural organizations, made a similar contribution to the practice of cultural heritage conservation which has been almost absent in China from 1949 onward.<sup>68</sup>

As there are no identical things in the world, many differences therefore exist between the two countries owing to their different social and cultural context and historical development. Understanding these differences makes us aware of our own conditions. Such an understanding may also free our imagination from the culturally conditioned bonds; becoming conscious of alternative paths to the future. A comparison between Chinese and Norwegian ideas and historical backgrounds

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<sup>66</sup> See details in Appendix III: Interview with LIU Kecheng on the Han Yangling Museum.

<sup>67</sup> See John H. Stubbs, Emily G. Makaš, *Architectural Conservation in Europe and the Americas* (New Jersey, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2011), p. 167, more detailed description on pages 167-173.

<sup>68</sup> See detailed description in Section 7.3, Chapter 7.

therefore reveals both similarities and differences. As such, a critical analysis can throw light onto the role of cultural heritage conservation. Taken the aforementioned into consideration, such as study as this may have bilateral benefits and also be useful to frame similar cases in the near future.

Chapter 5  
**An Anthropological Case Study of Han Yangling Site Museum**  
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<sup>1</sup> This Chapter is an article of the fieldwork report of Han Yangling Site Museum Project based on the documentation of the long interviews conducted by the author in September 2009. The article was submitted to *Comparative Studies in Society and History* in June 2018. The full text of the selected interviews can be seen in Appendix I-V.



## **5. An Anthropological Case Study of Han Yangling Site Museum**

A Chinese Social Communication Pattern on Different Roles of Participation

### **5.1 Introduction**

This article is a product of my PhD research fieldwork carried out from 2009 to 2015. During my participation in the Architecture and Anthropology Course, autumn 2009 in Xi'an, China, I chose the Han Yangling Site Museum Project as the target case, conducting interviews with different representatives of participating institutions in the project including museologists, project managers, architects, civil engineers, contractors, and conservation officers. The original focus of my plan was to collect different ideas and opinions about site museums and heritage site conservation from different participants with their roles in the Han Yangling Site Museum Project. During the analysis of the collected data, however, more interesting findings arose. This regarded how the different roles of the participants reflect a social communication pattern within the Chinese museum project management field and an even larger range of contemporary Chinese society. These findings therefore turned out to be the main theme as an anthropological perspective approach to the case study of the Han Yangling Site Museum Project.

### **5.2 Background of the Han Yangling Case**

As the Han Yangling Site Museum Project (Figure 5.1) was taken as the study case for field investigation in this chapter, it is necessary first briefly introduce the case and its associated terms.



**Figure 5.1** East View of the Emperor's Tomb and Han Yangling Site Museum (Photo: LIU Kecheng)

Han Yangling, or Yangling (Figures 5.1-5.3), refers to the archaeological site of Yangling Imperial Cemetery of the Han Dynasty in the northern suburb of Xi'an city, Shaanxi Province, China. Located next to the Wei River in the northern farming highland of the city, Han Yangling is the national listed heritage site and cemetery of Emperor Jingdi (188—141 BC), the fourth emperor of the Western Han Dynasty (202 BC—AD 9). The site is mainly composed of the Emperor and Empress' cemetery, the southern and northern burial pits of military camps, ritual building ruins, satellite tombs, the prisoner workers' graveyards, and Yangling town which, in total, is about 20 square kilometers (Figure 5.4). It has been considered as the most intact imperial cemetery and very important tangible evidence from modern excavation in the research of the burial customs and civilization of the Han Dynasty.<sup>1</sup>



**Figure 5.2** South View of the Emperor's Tomb of Han Yangling before Excavation (Photo: WANG Baoping)

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<sup>1</sup> WANG Baoping ed., *Han Yangling Museum* (Beijing, China: Cultural Relics Press, 2006), pp. 1-3, 6-7; see also <http://www.hylae.com/en/brief.asp>, Brief Introduction, Han Yangling Museum Official Website, accessed on November 19, 2013.



**Figure 5.3** Pottery Figures Excavated from Han Yangling Site (Photo: WANG Baoping)

Han Yangling Museum, or Han Yangling Site Park (Figures 5.4-5.5), stands for the modern museum institution of the Han Yangling archaeological site. Since it was established in August 1999, the administrative structure has been changed several times<sup>2</sup> which will be mentioned in later sections. Han Yangling Museum was listed by the Chinese State Administration of Cultural Heritage as one of the Top 83 National First-class Museums in May 2008, and one of the first group of 12 National Heritage Archaeological Site Parks in China in October 2010.<sup>3</sup>

The Han Yangling Site Museum, or Han Yangling Underground Museum (Figure 5.1, 5.5-5.6), specifically refers to the Outer Burial Pits Exhibition Hall of Yangling Imperial Cemetery of the Han Dynasty that was designed by Chinese architect LIU Kecheng, and constructed from 2004 to 2006. The 81 burial pits

<sup>2</sup> See details in the Chapter 5: Han Yangling of the Projects Reports I: Xi'an District in *Tracking on the Large Archaeological Site Protection Scheme*, ed. by Chinese Academy of Cultural Heritage, (Beijing, China: Cultural Relics Press, 2016), Part II, pp. 610-616: p. 612, 615.

<sup>3</sup> See <http://www.hylae.com/list.asp?id=1029>, Chronicle of Yangling, Han Yangling Museum Official Website, accessed on November 19, 2013; see also SACH Official Website: <http://www.sach.gov.cn/>, there were twelve archaeological sites approved by the Chinese State Administration of Cultural Heritage as the first group of National Heritage Site Parks on October 9, 2010; twenty-three archaeological sites were in the nomination list.

surrounding the emperor's tomb constitute the most important part in the Han Yangling site. They circle the emperor's burial mound and epitomize the different components of imperial life (Figure 5.5). The 7,850 m<sup>2</sup> archaeological exhibition hall is built on ten excavated pits located to the northeast of the emperor's tomb, which is the first complete underground site museum in China.<sup>4</sup> The project adopted a sealed electric-heating glass partition system to separate the archaeological sites and visitors into two areas with different temperatures and humidity, simulating the original burial conditions for the excavated ruins (Figure 5.6). This was based upon a new conservation technology called the "Eureka-Eurocare E! 1586 Arch in Situ" system invented by Slovenian architect Milan Kovač.<sup>5</sup> This approach aims to protect and maintain the archaeological site on a large scale in situ while allowing visitors to view the excavated ruins and objects at different angles within a convenient distance, hence adopting the advanced technology of relic restoration, preservation, and exhibition.<sup>6</sup> Since its completion, the underground museum project had received numerous recognitions and awards in China as an example of the conservation and presentation of a large archaeological heritage site.<sup>7</sup>

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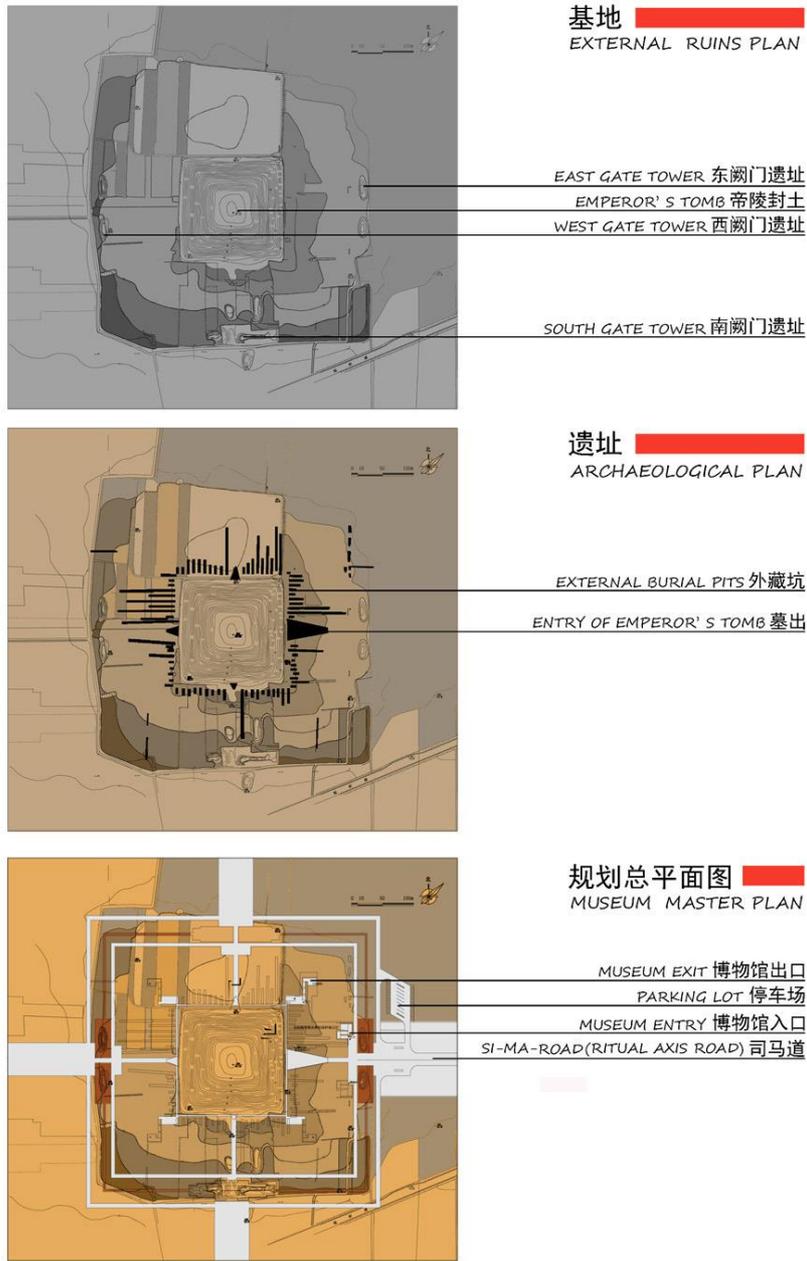
<sup>4</sup> This site museum project has been widely published in Chinese in different journals as an example of the conservation and presentation of a large archaeological heritage site. See WU Xiaocong, XUE Kai, and TAN Ping, "A Positioning Study on the Protection and Use of the Large Archaeological Site of Han Yangling," *Relics and Museology* No. 3 (2001), pp. 53-58; WU Xiaocong, "A Special Exploration in Conservation and Presentation of Heritage Sites (Part I and II)," *China Cultural Relics News* January 27, February 10, 2006; WU Xiaocong, WANG Baoping, and LI Ku, "A New Underground Site Museum: the Outer Burial Pits Exhibition Hall of Yangling Imperial Cemetery of Western Han Dynasty," *China Cultural Heritage*, No. 2 (2006), pp. 80-83; ZHANG Ping, CHEN Zhilong, and LI Juxi, "Development and Utilization of Underground Space for Protection of Han Yangling Site," *Architectural Journal*, No. 2, (2006), pp. 70-72; WU Xiaocong, "Invisible Rather than Magnificent Innovation in the Protective Exhibition Building of the Museum of Yangling Emperor Mausoleum of Han Dynasty," *Time+Architecture*, No. 6 (2006), pp. 46-51; LIU Kecheng, and XIAO Li, "The Outer Burial Pits Exhibition Hall of Han Yangling Mausoleum" *Architecture Journal*, No. 7 (2006), pp. 68-70; LIU Kecheng, "Preservation Exhibition Hall for the Outer Burial Pits of Imperial Mausoleum in Yangling of the Han Dynasty, Xi'an, Shaanxi, China, 2006," *World Architecture*, No. 12 (2014), pp. 72-75.

<sup>5</sup> Official Website of the Ename Center for Public Archaeology and Heritage Presentation, <http://www.enamecenter.org/EEC2013/ENpagnas/ourknowhow.html>, accessed on December 28, 2015; see also <http://www.eurekanetwork.org/content/e-1589-eurocare-arch-situ>; detailed documentation about the participation of Milan Kovač in Han Yangling Site Museum Project can be seen in the interviews conducted by author in Appendices IV and V.

<sup>6</sup> Wang, 2006, pp. 104-105.

<sup>7</sup> For instance, it was awarded the silver medal of National High Quality Projects in China in December 2007, and the prize of the 'National Top Ten Exhibitions of Chinese Museums' (2005-2006); the highest level of awards in the museum field in China since 1997 and under the guidance of the Chinese State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH) and Chinese Museums Association as judging committees. See <http://www.chinamuseum.org.cn/plus/list.php?tid=18>; Official Website of Chinese Museums Association, accessed on September 21, 2017.





**Figure 5.5** Archaeological Plan and Master Plan of Han Yangling Site Museum  
(© SCEIMS Archive, XUAT, reprinted and edited into English by permission)



Figure 5.6 Interior View of Han Yangling Site Museum (Photo: LIU Kecheng)

### 5.3 Some Notions and their Traditional Social Context

In the discussion of the mode of a traditional social network in ancient China, not surprisingly, the notion of Wu Lun (五伦, Five Ethics) is probably one of the most essential concepts that has been frequently discussed. Wu Lun stands for five ethical standards which include the relationship between lord and subordinate, father and son, elder and younger, husband and wife, and friends to each other.<sup>8</sup> Wu Lun (Five Ethics) is something that an individual was always involved with and has to strictly follow in Chinese traditional society. The description of these moral rules can be originally traced back to the following quotation of Mencius (孟子, 372 BC–289 BC), who was arguably the most influential Confucian philosopher after Confucius:

To teach the relations of humanity!—how, between father and son, there should be affection; between ruler and subject, righteousness; between husband and wife, attention to their separate functions; between old and young, a proper distinction; and between friends, fidelity. (Legge, 1875)<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Michael Dillon ed., *China: A Historical and Cultural Dictionary* (Surrey, GB: Curzon Press, 1998), p. 105.

<sup>9</sup> James Legge, *The Chinese Classics: The Life and Works of Mencius* (London: Trübner & Co., 57 & 59, Ludgate Hill, 1875), p. 209.

Confucianism became the national ideology from the West Han Dynasty when Emperor Wu of Han (汉武帝, 156 BC–87 BC) promoted the policy of “Dismiss the hundred schools, revere only the Confucianism.”<sup>10</sup> It is generally believed that the principle of Wu Lun (Five Ethics) had been settled by DONG Zhong-shu (董仲舒, 179 BC–104 BC),<sup>11</sup> who, as a leading Confucian scholar-official at the time, institutionalized these moral rules as a hierarchical system and interpreted them as the Three Cardinal Guides and Five Virtues in the book of *Chunqiu fanlu* (《春秋繁露》).<sup>12</sup> To be specific, the lord guides subordinate, father guides son, and husband guides wife. In addition, Ren (benevolence), Yi (righteousness), Li (ritual), Zhi (wisdom), and Xin (credibility) are the guiding standards among them.<sup>13</sup>

LYU Si-man (吕思勉, 1884-1957), a prominent Chinese historian, concluded in 1946 that “Wu Lun (Five Ethics) is the most prevalent idea among the traditional Chinese society to describe the relationship between the individual and the community” and “the so-called Wu Lun in ancient China is in fact an extended moral principle for the traditional Chinese society based on family ethics.”<sup>14</sup> This perception can also be seen from the depiction in *The Essential Texts of Chinese Culture*, a book written in 1949 by LIANG Shu-ming (梁漱溟, 1893-1988), a renowned Chinese philosopher:

The milk of human kindness among our (Chinese) people concerns not only within the blood family but all related persons. The caring and cordial interaction gradually generates mutual obligations which are closely related to ethics. Hence, ethics is

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<sup>10</sup> First, Confucianism became the national ideology of the Empire when Emperor Wu of Han promoted the policy of ‘Dismiss the hundred schools, revere only the Confucianism.’ Subsequently, along with the divinization of ‘Spiritual King will rule the world, so was said through the prophecies,’ the image of Confucius had been transformed from a pure scholar into a prophet and an idol of the institution in the Han Empire. See in HUANG Chin-shing, *Sages and Saints* (Beijing, China: Peking University Press, 2005), p. 125. The cited text was translated by the author from Chinese into English.

<sup>11</sup> Dillon, 1998, p. 79.

<sup>12</sup> Michael Loewe, *Dong Zhongshu, a ‘Confucian’ Heritage and the Chunqiu fanlu* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill Publishers, 2011), pp. 5-18.

<sup>13</sup> Dillon, 1998, p. 106.

<sup>14</sup> See in LYU Si-mian, *A Diagnosis of Chinese Culture II, Historical Essays and Studies Collection of LYU Siman* (Shanghai, China: Shanghai Chinese Classics Press, 2006), p. 422; full text in Chinese: 論人與社會之關係者，古書中雖亦有多種說法，其最通行者，實為五倫。五倫中夫婦、父子、兄弟，均係家族倫理，君臣、朋友，則出於家族以外。然“資於事父以事君”；“樞機之內，衽席之上，朋友之道”，為妻事夫四義之一，則仍推行家族倫理以行之。故古代所謂五倫，實不過一家族倫理的擴大而已。

built on love and obligation. In turn, ethics promotes love and obligation. That is why we say “father-teacher” instead of “teacher”, “son and grandson-students” rather than “students”, “parent-lord” instead of “lord”, “child-civilians” instead of “civilians”, “uncle and aunt next door” instead of “the man and woman next door”. Love and obligation are hinted in the title of father, child, uncle, etc. Making the whole society into a family strengthens the ethics between each society-family members, and finally weaves an invisible network. (Liang, 1949)<sup>15</sup>

Behind the above warm depiction, it ought to be pointed out that the solid and oppressive hierarchical structure is always there as another side of the truth in China’s pre-modern society. It is in fact “benevolent in form, oppressive in content,”<sup>16</sup> referring to Karl Wittfogel’s description in his *Oriental Despotism, a Comparative Study of Total Power*. Wittfogel said, “[t]he good subject was also the obedient son. For Confucius an education that demands absolute obedience to parent and teacher forms the ideal foundation on which to build absolute obedience to the masters of society.”<sup>17</sup> Besides, the ruler and his aides had been presented as being eager to achieve the people’s rationality optimum.<sup>18</sup> The above view is well exemplified by Tung-tsu Chü (瞿同祖, 1910—2008) in his notable work of *Law and Society in Traditional China* who wrote in 1961 that:

Unfilial behaviour was the more serious crime, and punishment for it was therefore much heavier. The grounds for such an accusation were the prosecution or cursing of one’s grandparents or parents; not living with grandparents or parents and separating one’s property from theirs; failure to support one’s grandparents or parents; marrying, entertaining, or ceasing to observe mourning before the end of the required mourning period; concealing a parent’s death; and falsely announcing a grandparent’s or parent’s death. The punishment for each of these infringements of the law was clearly fixed in the code. However, if a parent prosecuted a child as

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<sup>15</sup> LIANG Shu-ming, *The Essential Texts of Chinese Culture* (Vol. 3) in *Complete Works of LIANG Shu’ming*, (Jinan, China: Shandong People’s Publishing House, 2005), 8 Vols., pp. 81-82. The cited text was translated by the author from Chinese into English.

<sup>16</sup> Karl Wittfogel, *Oriental Despotism: A Comparative Study of Total Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), p. 136.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 134-135.

unfilial or on other grounds, the authorities would not reject the case for this reason.  
(Chü, 1961)<sup>19</sup>

As Chü noted in his conclusion, the Confucianization of law was the most significant development in the legal system of China before 20<sup>th</sup> century modernization. After it had been Confucianized, the main feature of the Chinese legal system was to emphasize the status factor which found expression both in the kinship system and the system of social stratification.<sup>20</sup>

With the end of China's last imperial dynasty in 1911, the traditional social structure was profoundly changed during the 20<sup>th</sup> century under its most violent transformation process of modernization. TAN Boniu (谭伯牛), a contemporary Chinese historical writer, illustrates these changes in his essay of "Inheritance and Destruction, the Cultural Revolutionary Movement and Traditional China" as follows:

The Three Cardinals and Five Virtues, the key concept of Chinese traditional political philosophy developing from Wu Lun, had been the life guiding principles of Chinese people until the Xinhai Revolution in 1911. After the May 4<sup>th</sup> New Culture Movement in 1919, The Three Cardinals and Five Virtues lost more grounds. The subordination to emperor was replaced by patriotism and nationalism with the founding of Republic of China; the subordination of son to father met challenges and the subordination of wife to husband gave its way to free-will marriage and divorce. After 1949, the traditional concept of marriage was further overthrown by the promotion of equality between men and women under the slogan of "Women hold up half the sky"; the subordination of younger to elder stays only as courtesy. The only survived tradition is respect between friends, which is in the same tune with modern thoughts. (Tan, 2006)<sup>21</sup>

The above description definitely shows part of the truth. One thing I would like to argue about this is that the impact of all those traditional values never completely

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<sup>19</sup> Tung-tsu Chü, *Law and Society in Traditional China* (Paris: Mouton Press, 1965), pp. 25-26.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 280.

<sup>21</sup> Full text available at <http://tanboniu.blogspot.no/2006/11/blog-post.html>, accessed on November 19, 2013; TAN Boniu, "Inheritance and Destruction: the Cultural Revolutionary Movement and Traditional China" (unpublished article 2006). The cited text was translated by the author from Chinese into English.

fades away, but is still deeply rooted as a hidden social communication pattern in contemporary Chinese society. A more detailed theoretical discussion regarding this point will be given in the last section of this article.

#### 5.4 Research Question and Proposed Pattern

The theme of my fieldwork is, through participant observation and semi-structured interviews as methods tools, to reveal how the different participants play their roles in and contribute their values to the process of Han Yangling Site Museum Project as a work in its context. To be specific, the burning question of this article is how different roles of participation reflect to the proposed social communication pattern in the museum project management circle in contemporary Chinese society. Taking Han Yangling Site Museum Project as the study case, the pattern (Figure 5.7) of social communication I propose is also a descriptive model based on the reflection of my professional experience in the field of architectural project management from 1996 to 2008 in China. I will test it through anthropological observation as scientific method tool in the following sections.

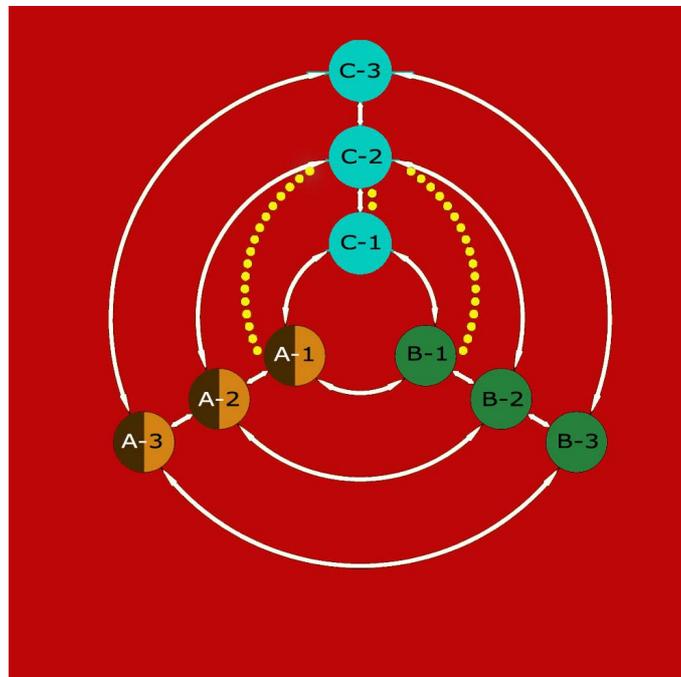


Figure 5.7 Proposed Pattern of Social Communication

The pattern is composed of three different parts – A, B, and C – which separately represent the teams of architect, builder, and client. The numbers 1, 2, and 3 refer to the hierarchical positions from the top level (1) to the lowest level (3) inside the different groups. The white arrows stand for the formal communication pathways among the people. Meanwhile, the yellow dotted lines stand for the informal ways of communication. A more detailed explanation of the pattern and its assessment will be given in the last section of this chapter.

The proposed communication pattern is tested from the analysis of the documented data. Meanwhile, those data from the field notes also reflect how the different roles in the case, which represent different participating institutions, contribute different ideas from their positions to the Han Yangling Site Museum Project. The contribution of different conceptions of values in museum and cultural heritage conservation in China from the different institutions in the project will be summarized as collected data focusing on the theme of conflict and compromise in the case.

## **5.5 Research Methodology**

For the fieldwork of this research program, social anthropology was taken as the scientific tool for data collection through semi-structured long interviews and participant observation. The interviews were combinations of focused and in-depth interviews, conducted formally with a certain set of guiding questions which were more like “guided conversations rather than structured queries.”<sup>22</sup> These conversations concentrated on the reflection of different informants including museum directors, project managers, architects, civil engineers, contractors, and conservation officers who represented the different participating institutions of the Han Yangling Underground Museum Project. As qualitative interviewing requires more depth and details on a specific range of topics than a normal conversation, the interview questions included main questions, probes, and follow-ups<sup>23</sup> which were

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<sup>22</sup> Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2009), Fourth Edition, pp. 106-107.

<sup>23</sup> Herbert J. Rubin, Irene S. Rubin, *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2012), Third Edition, p. 6; or descriptive questions, structural questions, and

designed in advance according to the literature study and other preparation work on the Han Yangling Museum and Site Park. One aim of preparing guiding questions is to “encourage the interviewee to answer thoughtfully, openly, and in detail on the topic at hand,”<sup>24</sup> and therefore “the nature of the interview is much more open-ended.”<sup>25</sup> For that reason, I gave the informants plenty of room to talk during the interviews, and did not ask them to always stick to the questions in the conversation. Importantly, the academic purpose of data collection was clearly stated to the interviewees and permitted by each informant at the beginning by considering the ethics rules in research.

Participant observation is also adopted for gathering information in the fieldwork as an important tool. Danny Jorgensen concluded that “[t]he methodology of participant observation focuses on the meanings of human existence as seen from the standpoint of insiders.”<sup>26</sup> Generally speaking, the investigators as an outsider adopt participant observation to understand the perception of an insider in the target group.

I was an assistant architect at the beginning of the Han Yangling Site Museum Project in 2000, and therefore also a participant, which could be considered an advantage for social participation during the interviews. It is true that my above role in the project somehow shortened the communication distance between me and the interviewees who I had never met before. As far as I can tell, it probably made them feel more comfortable talking to me as they had the impression that I was also in their professional circle of the project, not a person totally ignorant of it. Meanwhile, it also demands a constant critical consciousness on my part to attempt to an objective observation. As Thomas Hylland Eriksen notes in *What is anthropology*, the anthropologist “should not seem either too close to or too distant from the people she

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contrast questions defined by James P. Spradley (1933-1982) in *Participant Observation* (New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1980), pp. 80-84, 107-111, 123, 125-128.

<sup>24</sup> Rubin, 2012, p. 6.

<sup>25</sup> Yin, 2009, p. 85.

<sup>26</sup> Jorgensen made this conclusion by paraphrasing the views of Polish sociologist Florian Witold Znaniecki (1882-1958) from *The Method of Sociology* in 1934, and James Spradley from *Participant Observation* in 1980; See Danny L. Jorgensen, *Participant Observation: A Methodology for Human Studies* (Sage Publications, 1989), p. 14.

or he write about,” and “it is only when one is able to see one’s own culture from a marginal vantage point that one can understand it in anthropological terms.”<sup>27</sup>

At this point, I would like to give a short reflection on the importance of taking an outsider’s view in anthropological fieldwork based on my working experience. I had worked together with a few Norwegian anthropologists as the coordinator and interpreter on some interdisciplinary collaboration projects from 2004 to 2008 in China. Many times in the beginning, I assumed that the anthropologists as outsiders were just asking simple and silly questions which have ‘obvious’ answers. However, I became amazed to find that the informants’ answers were never the same, and these ‘simple’ questions can in fact be fundamental. It is mostly common that one, while dealing the subjects from a ‘familiar’ social context, has prejudgment and presumption which are in fact prejudice. As Eriksen points out, “too great a degree of closeness, as when one writes about ‘one’s own people’, can lead to *homeblindness*, that is a failure to observe essential feature of a society due to the fact that one takes it for granted.”<sup>28</sup> Such circumstances can often find their philosophical reflections in the ancient Chinese texts, for instance, the poem of “Written on the Wall at Xilin Temple” by SU Shi (苏轼, 1037–1101), the best renowned poet in the Song Dynasty.<sup>29</sup>

Looked at horizontally it forms a range, but from an angle it forms peaks,  
Far and near, high and low, each one is different.  
The reason I don't know the true face of Mount Lu,  
Is because I am standing right on this very mountain.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *What is Anthropology* (London and Ann Arbor: Pluto Press), 2004, p. 15, 34.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>29</sup> SU Dongpo, or SU Shi (1037-1101), generally regarded as the greatest poet of the Song Dynasty (960-1279), an era in which urban Chinese lived lives that were strikingly modern in outlook. Su wrote on a wide range of subjects and he led the life of a scholar-official with broad philosophical interests. Chan (Dhyāna) attracted a great deal of his attention, especially in his later years. Later, Zen monks in Japan treated SU Dongpo and his famous disciple HUANG Tingjian not just as poetic inspirations but also as sources of Buddhist wisdom; Chinese critics have been more sceptical about this later aspect of their work. Su's given name was Shi; he started calling himself Dongpo ("Eastern Slope") in his forties, after a plot of land he farmed. See in Peter Harris ed., *Zen Poems* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999), p. 242.

<sup>30</sup> Translated by Grace S. Fong, “Reconfiguring Time, Space, and Subjectivity: Lü Bicheng’s Travel Writings on Mount Lu,” in Nanxiu Qian, Grace S. Fong, Richard Joseph Smith eds, *Different Worlds of Discourse: Transformations of Gender and Genre in Late Qing and Early Republican China* (Boston, MA: Brill Publishers, 2008), p. 96.

橫看成嶺側成峰，遠近高低總不同。  
不識廬山真面目，只緣身在此山中。<sup>31</sup>

Accordingly, the uniqueness of providing an outsider's view of the 'other' in anthropology is to help the researcher escape the trap of false intuitive judgment. To conclude, a participant observer will in fact experience being both insider and outsider at the same time. I think that participation as an insider and observation as an outsider are fundamental principles lying in the very original description of the anthropologists' academic investigation. These anthropologists went about their fieldwork in remote areas, making friends and building trust with the locals, then kept their distance and conducted participant observation, returning with fascinating findings among 'the others.'<sup>32</sup> According to the suggestion of Spradley, "[d]oing ethnographic (anthropological) fieldwork involves alternating between the insider and outsider experience, and having both simultaneously."<sup>33</sup> That was exactly how I felt in the field investigation.

## 5.6 Data Presentation and Observation

This section presents the collected data of the informants' own voice in the fieldwork. A short introduction is first made for the different interviewees and their roles associated with the position number from the proposed communication pattern (Figure 5.7 in Section 4) in the Han Yangling Site Museum Project. Following the specific background introduction, the quotation of the main points expressed by each informant is summarized by focusing on the theme of conflict and compromise in the case. Meanwhile, based on the participant observation from the interviews, my comments are stated. Therefore, the proposed communication pattern will be tested in the last section as the findings and conclusion from the analysis of how these different roles work in the specific case.

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<sup>31</sup> See SU Shi and WANG Wen-gao eds., *Poetry Collection of Su Shi* (Beijing, China: Zhonghua Book Company, 1982) Vol. 4, p. 1219, 1245; partly cited in Fong, 2008, p. 96. Full text in Chinese: 卷二十三、古今體詩四十四首，題西林壁，橫看成嶺側成峰，遠近高低總不同。不識廬山真面目，只緣身在此山中。見第 1219 頁；又見第 1245 頁，王文詒（1764—？）著卷二十三校勘記：注[四九]、總不同，集本、類丙作「無一同」。施乙作「各不同」。類甲、類乙作「無不同」。

<sup>32</sup> Eriksen, 2004, p. 3.

<sup>33</sup> James Spradley, *Participant Observation* (New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1980), p. 57.

Mr. WU Xiaocong (C-1 in Figure 5.7, Section 4) was the deputy supervisor of Shaanxi Cultural Heritage Bureau (SCHB) when he was interviewed in September 2009. This is an honorific position at the same level as deputy director, which is especially arranged in the bureau for respected experts near the end of their careers. In other words, he was waiting for his retirement: “Leave the position, leave the duties”<sup>34</sup> (Confucius, *Analects, Book VIII*). It may be essential to point out that it is rather typical that many officials and technocrats in Chinese society show much more ‘frank’ opinions on their former work after or approaching retirement. That was also what I felt from the interview. Mr. Wu seemed to be quite open-minded to discuss everything and dare to leave some critical reflections to the museum circle that he used to work inside, sometimes even like an outsider of the case.

Mr. Wu spent most of his working life in Shaanxi Province as a museologist and museum director. He was the former director of Han Yangling Museum from 2003 to 2007, handling most of the important construction projects from 2000. The contribution of the reflection from Wu includes four parts. First, he concluded the possible reason for the success of Han Yangling Site Museum Project. Second, he illustrated the conflicts which happened at different levels during the progress of the project, especially the conflicts between the local provincial government and the Chinese State Administration of Cultural Heritage regarding the development versus conservation of the Han Yangling Site. Third, he made a post-use evaluation on the specific adopted conservation technology in the Han Yangling Site Museum, and presented the details of many other challenges in the design and maintenance of the underground museum. Fourth, he expressed his overall view on the protection and presentation of large scale archaeological sites in China and his impression about cultural heritage sites in Norway.

Wu admitted that it was quite beyond his expectation when the completed Han Yangling Underground Museum received positive recognition in many different aspects. He said that one striking change of the underground museum brought to Han

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<sup>34</sup> 十四章 子曰、不在其位、不謀其政。CHAP. XIV. The Master said: “He who is not in any particular office, has nothing to do with plans for the administration of its duties.” See James Legge, *The Four Books: The Great Learning, the Doctrine of the Mean [i.e. Mean], Confucian Analects, the Works of Mencius* (Hong Kong: The International Publication Society, 1953), p. 61.

Yangling Museum was the financial situation. For instance, the annual income has reached about fifteen million Yuan RMB since the opening of the underground museum, which is in stark contrast to the average annual income of two million Yuan RMB in the past. Wu stressed that this achievement would be impossible without the strong support from the leaders of the SCHB and provincial government under the present political system in China. From his point of view, this is also the reason that the Han Yangling Museum lost many opportunities for better development in the years after Vice Provincial Governor ZHAO Dequan and the Director of the SCHB ZHANG Tinghao left their positions.<sup>35</sup>

Wu commented that there was a saying in the project management circle that this underground museum is like another son of Mr. ZHAO Dequan, the former vice-provincial governor of Shaanxi Province from 1996 to 2008 and the strongest supporter of the project inside the provincial government. As the chief officials from different departments of the Chinese government have the power to make final decisions as well as take full responsibility for the projects in their own fields,<sup>36</sup> the officials who had the main responsibilities for the underground museum project were also under great pressure throughout the development process. Wu told some interesting anecdotes as examples. For example, when experts from the ICOMOS conference visited the Han Yangling Site Museum right after its completion in October 2005, Mr. ZHANG Tinghao, the director of the SCHB as the principal official responsible for the project, dared not to be present at the event for the fear that he might receive critical or negative comments on the spot. When Zhang got to know that the ICOMOS experts commented on the Han Yangling Site Museum Project very positively as an outstanding example of cultural heritage site protection, he was relieved and showed up on the next day on site.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> See detailed description in Appendix II: Interview with WU Xiacong on the Han Yangling Site Museum; all the information quoted from this interview in this section will not be specifically mentioned again in the notes.

<sup>36</sup> It called the 'bureau chief responsibility system' that was adopted by the different levels of the Chinese government to improve bureaucratic performance as part of the institutional reform of the State Council of the P.R. China since 1982. See Section 3.2 "Bureau Chief Responsibility System with Chinese Characteristics" in Chapter 8 "Executive Leadership" in XUE Bing, LIANG Zhongming, CHENG Yabing eds., *Principles of Public Administration* (Beijing, China: Tsinghua University Press, 2007), pp. 199-201.

<sup>37</sup> See the same story from Zhang's own interpretation in Appendix I: Interview with ZHANG Tinghao on Han Yangling Site Museum; or in XU Dongming, and ZHANG Tinghao, "Anthropological Field Notes on Hedmark and Han Yangling Site Museums: An Interview with ZHANG Tinghao," *Column of "Conservation Dialogue," Community Design*, Vol. 77, 2017 (1), pp. 100-112: 108.

Speaking of the conflicts occurring during the progress of the project, Mr. Wu's illustration mainly involved two aspects: one was between the provincial government and the Chinese State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH) at a higher administrative level, and the other was on the practical level on how to preserve and use the Han Yangling site. He said that when Chief Architect Mr. LIU Kecheng started to work on the conservation plans of Han Yangling Site, the conservation experts convened by the SACH all stressed that the archaeological site of Yangling town<sup>38</sup> (Figure 5.8) was a very important component to the whole Han Yangling Site, as a typical example of China's earliest satellite town to Han Chang'an city.<sup>39</sup> Han Chang'an, the historical name of Xi'an, was the capital of West Han Dynasty (202 BC—AD 9). The Master Plan of Conservation and Utilization of the Han Yangling Mausoleum, the proposal of the above conservation plan with the Yangling town site included, was approved by the SACH in July 2002, stating that the first priority is

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<sup>38</sup> Yangling Town Site, located at the farthest east of Han Yangling Site, reaches Si-Ma Road (Main Ritual Axis) in the west and the joint point of the Jing River and Wei River in the east. Yangling Town Site, a total area of 4 square kilometres, is composed of 11 roads stretching from east to west and 31 roads from south to north. All the roads are 3 to 50 meters wide, among which four are main roads. The roads, like on a chess board, have three rows of about 40 Li-Fang (ancient residential blocks with a city wall) in square or rectangular shape with all sides from 140 to 200 meters long. In the excavation of Li-Fang, the archaeological finds include housing foundations, wells, cisterns, pottery kilns, and workshops with more than 5,000 excavated objects. Of particular interest, among the 600 excavated seals and stamps of the Han Dynasty, some of them are inscribed with the official titles of Yang-ling mayor or Yang-ling vice mayor. According to historic records, hundreds of noble and rich families resided here, with a population of more than 100,000 residents. See YUAN Zhi-tao, "Study on the Institutional Archetype of Yangling Mausoleum of the Han Dynasty," (Master Thesis, Xi'an University of Architecture and Technology, 2006), pp. 44-45. The cited text was translated by the author into English from Chinese. More details about the site of Yangling Town can be seen in WANG Baoping ed., *Han Yangling Museum* (Beijing, China: Cultural Relics Press, 2006), pp. 92-97; also in LIU Ruijun and WANG Jianxin, "Accompanying tomb area in Yangling Mausoleum and Yangling Town Site" in LIU Qingzhu ed., *New Archaeological Findings in China, Chinese Archaeology Yearbook* (Beijing, China: Cultural Relics Press, 2006), pp. 349-350.

<sup>39</sup>According to the archaeological interpretation by JIAO Nan-feng, MA Yong-ying, the main possible reason that Xianyang Highland, in the north of Xi'an, was chosen as the location for the imperial cemeteries of the West Han Dynasty, is that the imperial tomb areas and the satellite towns, e.g. Yangling Town, could be used as a shield for safety of the capital of Han Chang'an (the former name of Xi'an). The main threats in West Han Dynasty are the Huns in the north and the former noble families in the east. The forced migration of noble and rich families from the east to Xian-Yang Highland brought them under control on one hand, and the large migrated population also created a shield and a front barrier against the invasion of the Huns on the north for the capital on the other. See JIAO Nan-feng, MA Yong-ying, "Study on the Locations of the Imperial Mausoleums of the West Han Dynasty," *Archaeology*, Vol. 11 (2011), pp. 76-82: 79. The cited text was translated by the author into English from Chinese. RAN Wanli thought that the scale of Yangling Town was about one-eighth of Chang'an, having a typical city arrangement like the separation between the residential and governmental areas, and central axes dividing the roads into four different directions. The historical records show that small and medium-sized cities in the later dynasties could be traced back to the city planning at Yangling Town. See RAN Wanli, "Research in Yangling Town - The Origin of City Planning in the Wei Dynasty, Jin Dynasty, Sui Dynasty and Tang Dynasty," *North-West University Journal*, Vol. 43, (2013), pp. 133-137.

always the conservation and protection of Han Yangling Site. This, therefore, intensified the conflict between planning and the real situation. However, the Shaanxi provincial government had already sold the areas covering the archaeological site of Yangling town to real estate investors. If the provincial government approved the master plan, it would affect the government's credits and raise other problems. As a result, Wu said that the proposal of conservation planning had been suspended by the local government since then.<sup>40</sup>



**Figure 5.8** Archaeological Excavation Site of Yangling Town (Photo: WANG Baoping)

Wu also talked about the conflicts between the development and conservation of Han Yangling Site. He admitted that it has been a main challenge for the Han Yangling Museum regarding how to take full advantage of the land resources as well as ensure a good combination between tourism and the conservation of the site. Because the underground museum can only hold about 1,000 visitors at a time, which does not match with the 200-hectare area of the Han Yangling Site Park, Wu gave one example of the scheme conceived by him and his colleagues for the further

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<sup>40</sup> As the revised version of the Conservation and Utilization Plan, the Master Plan of National Site Park of Han Yangling Mausoleum was approved by the SACH and Shaanxi Provincial Government in May 2015. See <http://www.hylae.com/view.asp?id=1029>, "the Chronicle," Han Yangling Museum Official Website, accessed on November 4, 2017.

development of the site park. Unfortunately, it was going to be impossible to realize this idea because the project as such could not receive much support after the change of leadership in the provincial government.

The Han Yangling Underground Museum adopted a new conservation technology invented by Slovenian architect Milan Kovač, called in Chinese ‘Slovenian Conservation Technology,’ which used a sealed electric-heating glass partition system to separate the excavated sites and visitors with the different measures of environmental management.<sup>41</sup> Wu made a post-use evaluation on this approach, as well as introduced the research project on the alkalization of the excavated pottery figures, spoke frankly about the tension between the architect and the client on the interior and exterior arrangement, and presented many other different challenges in the maintenance of the site. As far as I can tell, there appears to be continuous hard work related to the site’s management behind its ‘success’ which may not be easily seen by outsiders.

Impressively, Wu also made a comparison between the management of cultural heritage sites in China and in Norway from his own personal observation. He visited the Vegaøya, a UNESCO World Heritage Site in Norway, in 2005 and was quite impressed that Norwegians seemingly did not stress the commercial use of the heritage site for tourism which is in sharp contrast to the situation in China. Compared to the Norwegians, he pointed out that there was always too much utilitarianism for running some renowned heritage sites in China: “In reality, we could see that all the cultural heritage sites in China more or less will be damaged once becoming a tourism hot spot.” He felt that there are always contradictions between the cultural heritage sites’ protection and the development of tourism which are hardly reconcilable.

Mr. XUE Kai (C-2 in Figure 5.7, Section 4) was the general manager of a project management consulting company when I interviewed him in 2009. He played his role as the client representative and the project manager of Han Yangling Museum during the construction of the underground museum project from 2004 to 2006. As he

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<sup>41</sup> See the brief introduction in Section 2 and Note 5.

mentioned, “I am the actual organizer of the project, putting the discussion result into practice.”

Mr. Xue elaborated on many exclusive details about the changes of the administrative structure of the Han Yangling Museum and the conflicts which arose inside the museum. In April 2000, a joint team composed of the Shaanxi Cultural Heritage Bureau (SCHB) and Shaanxi Tourism Corporation (STC) was created by Shaanxi Provincial Government to take care of the management of the Han Yangling Site.<sup>42</sup> According to Xue’s interpretation:

The leaders from the STC got the wrong idea that their involvement meant that the administration of Han Yangling Museum should be transferred to them from the SCHB. This, of course, aroused many conflicts. In 2002, one article of the newly revised National Cultural Relics Protection Law, aiming at this problem in Shaanxi Province, stated that the listed cultural heritage sites are prohibited from being run by a business corporation.<sup>43</sup> Thus, the administrative power of Han Yangling Museum and Site Park returned to the SCHB in 2003.

Besides, Xue also stressed that there was even stronger conflict on the heritage site’s management between the provincial government and the Chinese State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH). One symbolic example he mentioned was that the SACH directly listed all the provincial-level heritage sites of the imperial cemeteries of the Han (206 BC–AD 220) and Tang Dynasties (AD 618–907) in Shaanxi Province as state-level protected properties on June 25, 2011 without informing the provincial government in advance. This was an action to react against tourism expansion in Shaanxi Province’s heritage sites.

To explain the uniqueness of the project, Xue gave several examples and noted that the most important breakthrough during the entire design process was to take

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<sup>42</sup> See <http://www.hylae.com/list.asp?id=1029>, The Chronicles, Han Yangling Museum Official Website.

<sup>43</sup> See details in the *Law of the People’s Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics*: Article 24. No immovable cultural relics owned by the State may be transferred or mortgaged. No State-owned sites for their historical and cultural value, which are established as museums or cultural relics preservation institutes or tourist sites may be made enterprise assets for business operation. Full text of the English translation available at UNESCO Database of National Cultural Heritage Laws: [http://www.unesco.org/culture/natlaws/media/pdf/china/cn\\_lawproteculturelics1982\\_engtof.pdf](http://www.unesco.org/culture/natlaws/media/pdf/china/cn_lawproteculturelics1982_engtof.pdf), accessed on November 17, 2017.

away the rammed-earth partition wall (balk) between two longest burial pits as a visiting route. Based on the common view of Chinese archaeologists, it was part of the main body of archaeological ruins which is untouchable. He said that the final scheme was made out of nineteen different formal versions of the underground museum project, after they had attended more than sixty assessment hearings and invited about 300 experts from the professional fields of architecture, urban planning, tourism planning, cultural heritage conservation, museology, and archaeology.

During the interview, Mr. Xue was quite interested in presenting many details of the Han Yangling case as it was the most important achievement in his professional career. The importance of his role during the Han Yangling Site Museum Project might be slightly emphasized in his statements, but this could also be partly proved from his opinions with the full-scale perspective for the whole project. In addition, as far as I know, he has a rather close relationship as a 'friend' with many key participants of the project such as WU Xiaocong (C-1 in Figure 5.7, Section 4), LIU Kecheng (A-1 in Figure 5.7, Section 4), and LIU Wei (B-1 in Figure 5.7, Section 4). He is also probably the one that I have the closest relationship with as former colleague among the informants. Therefore, it would not be so surprising to get exclusive stories from him. The only difficulty lying in the interview is that it was not so easy to be conscious all the time and take an objective observation because of above reason. I met the same dilemma when I interviewed the last informant in September 2009, Prof. LIU Kecheng at the end of this section.

Mr. WANG Shunli and Mr. YAN Lianwu (A-2 in Figure 5.7, Section 4) had the responsibilities of chief civil engineer and associate engineer of the Han Yangling Site Museum Project respectively. They worked at the Architectural Design Institute, Xi'an University of Architecture and Technology (XUAT) and claimed that the collaboration between the civil engineers and the architect in the underground museum project was good. They started to work on the civil engineering plan associated with the architectural scheme at the same time as the architectural blueprint. Meanwhile, they communicated with the architect and participated in many discussion meetings regarding architectural aspects. They stressed that the civil engineers could help the architect broaden his view for making a better scheme. They

said that they proposed the adoption of T-shaped beam in the underground museum project, which made the architect to have clearer ideas about the arrangement of the interior space. At the end, they concluded their understanding about the collaboration between architectural design and civil engineering. They thought that a good combination of these two professions is crucial, and good communication between the civil engineer and architect is indispensable. Particularly, an architect should take the practicability of the design into consideration, but a good architect should know the utility of the structural body and take advantage of it to make it a better design.

As far as I could see, both Wang and Yan expressed some opinions for an ideal collaboration between architects and civil engineers which is rare in reality. In my experience as an architect, it was common for the civil engineers to give very critical comments on the collaboration with the architect. However, it did not happen at all in the interview. One reason I anticipate is that both of these two engineers were still working together and had a good relationship with the architect (A-1 in Figure 5.7, Section 4) of the Han Yangling Underground Museum. As a common understanding in Chinese society, it would not be wise to provide harsh critique under such circumstances for the sake of long-term collaboration. Furthermore, both of these two informants knew that I, the interviewer, had a good personal relationship with the architect.

Mr. LIU Wei (B-1 in Figure 5.7, Section 4) was the general manager of the Xi'an Branch of China International Engineering Consulting Corporation (CIECC) when he was interviewed. He worked as the general supervisor from the CIECC for the construction supervision of the Han Yangling Underground Museum. The following is an excerpt from his comments.

First, Liu elaborated that many special methods of construction had been applied to the underground museum project due to the specific requirement of the archaeological sites. For instance, as many machines and much electrical equipment were not allowed to be used at the construction site on the top of archaeological ruins, they had to rely on labor and use hand piling instead of machine piling for laying the foundations. Liu then criticized that the architect did not have a complete mental

picture of his design approach and made many mistakes, saying: “when an architect makes a design approach, he should take the practicability of civil engineering into account.” He stressed that the architect should not just take architectural image into priority with no consideration of some practical issues, for example, the ventilation, which is crucial for a museum. He said, “[a]lthough architectural design takes a lead in the whole project, some compromise and communication with other professions are important.” He thought that the architect made revisions too often, sometimes just ignoring the structural safety. At the end, Liu concluded that an architect he admired was one who was not ignorant of structural engineering, and able to make a final product both beautiful and utilitarian.

Mr. WANG Wei (A-2 in Figure 5.7, Section 4) was the deputy chief engineer of Shaanxi Institute of Cultural Heritage (SICH) and took responsibility for the installation work of the ‘Slovenian Conservation Technology’ of the underground museum. He was leading a parallel architectural design group from the SICH as the technical collaborator to the chief architect (A-1 in Figure 5.7, Section 4) of the Han Yangling Site Museum Project. During the interview, he took his role as a strong critic of the chief architect’s design work.

Though Wang admitted that the underground museum as an experimental project achieved success to some degree, he claimed that the whole project was not well-designed. Taking the arrangement of the glass partitions as example, he thought that there were too many pieces of glass installed inside the museum which caused the uncomfortable glare. He stated that “[t]he architect knows nothing about the glass, just putting it somewhere regardless of the different types of glass which will have different impact on certain parts.” In addition, Wang claimed that the architect was incapable of working with the details and thought very little about making a good combination of different types of professional work including the civil engineering, equipment, and industrial design. He felt that the architect mainly focused on a rough architectural image and failed to provide a systematic estimation to many parts in design. For the same reason, he complained that the architect made too many alterations to the architectural design even during the latter construction period. As a

result, it led to much uncertainty in the work, which caused trouble in completing a good work.

Both Mr. WANG Wei (A-2 in Figure 5.7, Section 4) and Mr. LIU Wei (B-1 in Figure 5.7, Section 4) made rather direct criticisms to the architect and design work. Without an overall understanding of the project, one may think that the whole project was a failure. My impression was that these criticisms did reveal some problems in the collaboration, but it would be easier for a participant to draw a conclusion far from the truth if he or she only sticks to the view in his or her own arena. Meanwhile, an objective criticism can be understood as the expectation for the perfection of the work which is valuable inside a team. Unfortunately, these two critics were not from the same team as the chief architect (A-1 in Figure 5.7, Section 4). It is also interesting to note that both two informants have same professional backgrounds as civil engineers. They made some critical comments to the chief architect from a typical perspective of engineers which Mr. WANG Shunli and Mr. YAN Lianwu (A-2 in Figure 5.7, Section 4), the civil engineers in the same team to the chief architect, did not leave.

Mr. LIU Kecheng (A-1 in Figure 5.7, Section 4) was the dean and professor of the Architectural School of Xi'an University of Architecture and Technology (XUAT), and the head of Shaanxi Conservation Engineering Institute of Monuments and Sites, XUAT when I interviewed him in October 2009. He took his role as the chief architect for the conservation planning of Han Yangling Site Park and the architectural design of the Han Yangling Site Museum Project.

There are several aspects that attracted my attention in the conversation with Professor Liu. He seemingly expressed his view on the conflicts related to the Han Yangling case in a neutral way. Speaking of the dispute between the heritage conservation department and tourism department of the Han Yangling Museum, Liu said that it was natural to have conflict because the coordination of the interests between the different departments had not been achieved. He thought it was difficult to simply say who is right or who is wrong, and those problems may need to be examined specifically. On the one hand, he stressed that the experts from the heritage

conservation department in China should be given more power on conservation issues under the situation of China's violent urbanization process. He thought that it would lead to much more serious damage in cultural heritage sites without this 'necessary measure.' On the other hand, he pointed out that the people from the conservation department who originally operated Han Yangling Museum were not good at marketing and tourism. As such, their 'habitual way of thinking' created many problems. Liu emphasized that it was a good idea to create a joint team and combine experts from the conservation and tourism departments for the management of Han Yangling Site. In other words, it should leave each part of the work at the museum to the real professionals. He concluded that it should focus on "the problems at the institutional level in the aspect of research."

According to Liu's interpretation, one of the most important achievements of the Han Yangling Site Museum Project was that all participants, through the intensive reviews and discussions from the provincial and national levels, enhanced the understanding of the practice of cultural heritage conservation in China and finally reached a consensus which was beyond his expectation. He stressed that the project brought "great changes to all the people involved, including the architects, the museologists, the conservation officers, the tourism experts, and the government officials, and so on and so forth."

Considering the implementation of the specific design of the underground museum, Liu admitted that the biggest disappointment was from some parts of the spatial arrangement including the entrance, corridors, exit, and interior exhibition. He regretted that he gave in and made compromises on the above-mentioned parts with the client because he was a quite young architect at that time, and not very experienced on such projects. Though there was always a better solution for the architectural design, he thought "[t]he most important thing for architectural design is to put it into practice and get it realized." As a result, it was beyond his expectation that the completed underground museum seemed to be most welcomed by common visitors.

At the end, Liu contributed an interesting observation to the work of cultural heritage conservation by taking Norwegian cases as examples. He said that what impressed him the most by visiting world heritage sites such as Røros and Vegaøya in Norway was the heritage conservation framework behind them, which was very consistent with his understanding of cultural heritage conservation. He thought that “the selection of cultural heritage sites is not a beauty contest, but a narration of the story of a place, of the people, telling the stories where it is from and going, which are the fundamental issues of human society.” According to his personal view, many heritage sites in Norway such as Vegaøya are good examples of telling “what and where we are in the triangle of the human world, society, and nature, which is relevant to our consideration for human society and the nature in the post-industrial and post-modern era.” He thought that the heritage conservation framework in Norway is unique on this topic and the conservation professionals in China could learn much from it. In his opinion, ‘the core of cultural heritage conservation’ is not showing off the ‘magnificent history’ of the past, but to answer the philosophical questions of ‘Who You Are’ and ‘Where You Are From.’ Thus, he stressed that an ‘intergenerational moral’ as the professional ethics is very important for architects today. This means that architects should respect the existing built environment whenever they are doing something new.

It is interesting to mention that Director Wu (C-1 in Figure 5.7, Section 4) and Architect Liu (A-1 in Figure 5.7, Section 4), the key participants in the role playing of the Han Yangling project, showed more versatile perspectives and thorough thoughts during the interviews. Seemingly, they both have a very rational and calm way of thinking and telling full-scaled perspective stories, as does Mr. Xue (C-2 in Figure 5.7, Section 4), a point to which I will return to in the following discussion.

## **5.7 Findings and Conclusion**

As Canadian-American sociologist Erving Goffman (1922–1982) once interpreted in the people’s role play among the society in *Frame Analysis*, the theatre can provide an ideal version of a conceptual distinction for at least Western society and a person may

perform specialized functions in a given series of occasions.<sup>44</sup> If I take WU Si (吴思), a contemporary Chinese historical writer's conclusion as an example, Goffman's dramaturgical analysis seemingly also works for Chinese society. As Wu has illustrated in his essay the "Secret of Switching Rules: Advantage and Disadvantage Calculation for Speaking Official Words," 'Official Words' and 'Common Words' are typically parallel ways of expression used by Chinese officials depending on different occasions in history, and it is the same case for the rules in front of or behind the scene.<sup>45</sup> From the presentation of the collected interview data in the previous section, how the different roles of the collaborative groups worked through the project of the Han Yangling Site Museum are summarized and demonstrated. Though people did wear masks including the circumstances in the interview, I think that part of the truth can be revealed from the presentation and comparison between different versions of interpretations.

Based on all traditional contexts I have mentioned in the previous sections, it is necessary to explain how the proposed communication pattern in section four has been built and works among the museum circle in contemporary Chinese society. To make the following explanation for the communication pattern clear, Figure 5.7 from Section 4 is repeated below (Figure 5.7 and Figure 5.9).

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<sup>44</sup> Erving Goffman, *Frame analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience* (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1974), pp. 128-129.

<sup>45</sup> WU Si, *The Rule of Rewarding Blood: A Survival Game in Chinese History* (Beijing: Chinese Workers Press, 2003), pp. 46-53.

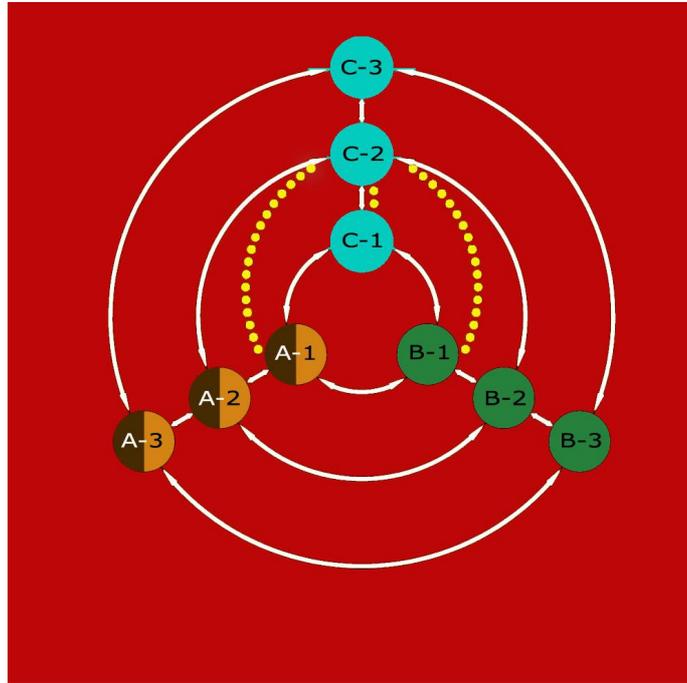


Figure 5.7 Proposed Pattern of Social Communication

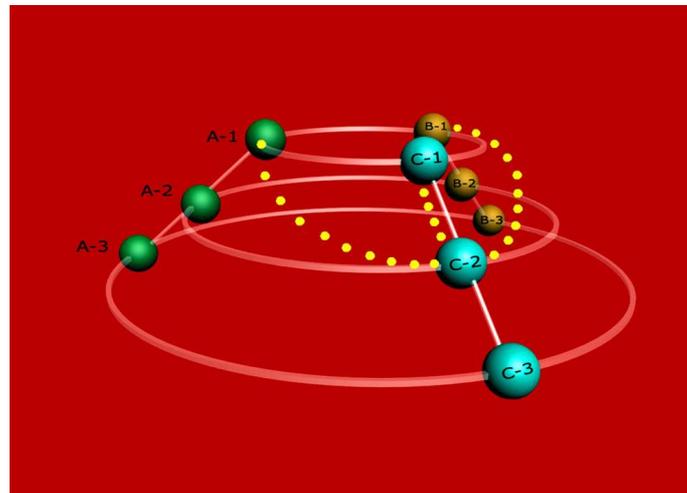


Figure 5.9 Three-D Illustration of Social Communication Pattern

When I started my architect career in 1996 in China, the first thing that I became rather stressed about was the idea of some sort of hierarchical way of thinking as a hidden rule among the people from different participating teams in formal business communication. In business, it seems that contact should be made between people on

equal hierarchical levels, and many experienced fellows tend to be particularly caring about this. For instance, it can be an offense for a top-level person such as A-1 if a subordinate from the same group such as A-2 starts to formally talk to top-level actors in other groups such as B-1 or C-1 without permission. Vice versa, it is the same offense for A-1 if the person on top level in other groups such as B-1 or C-1 starts to formally talk to someone on a lower level in Group A without informing the top person. Lastly, it is also strange for A-1 if B-2, the subordinate in group B, directly contacts him without permission from B-1.

Therefore, the formal communication flow is normally in the way of the white arrowed-line shown in the pattern. The only acceptable alternative in above situation is to make business communication informal, that is, when people talk and have close personal relationships like friendship. In this case, the theme is rather the same with the one in formal business communication, yet the people can also bridge levels, shown as the yellow dotted-line in the communication pattern (Figure 5.7 and Figure 5.9). This can explain one fact I have mentioned in the previous section, Mr. XUE Kai (C-2) seems to be the only person that has a rather close relationship as ‘a friend’ with many key participants on the top level of the project like Mr. WU Xiaocong (C-1), Prof. LIU Kecheng (A-1), and Mr. LIU Wei (B-1). This makes it possible for him to play his role as the ‘actual organizer of the project.’

According to such communication patterns in formal business issues, Chinese people mostly contact those on an equal hierarchical level outside of their own group, while following hierarchical positions to transfer formal messages inside the group. This is something that has rarely been pointed out in public, but is tacitly followed most of the time. Following such a structure of communication, it can be concluded that people on the top hierarchical level in each group have the most chance in obtaining a more accurate overall view and more complete information. For the people on the subordinate levels who have the ambition of reaching the same goal, the only reliable way is to try to build informal contact with the upper level inside and outside of their groups. As such, it is not a coincidence, as I commented, that Director Wu (C-1), Architect Liu (A-1), and Mr. Xue (C-2) seem to have more full-scaled perspectives for the Han Yangling case compared to other participants in the project.

As far as I can see from such a pattern, the most similar structure of communication probably exists in the pattern of command for officers in the army. Like comradeship among soldiers, the Confucian way of human kindness also constitutes a family sort of atmosphere among Chinese people which has much softened the rigidity of the hierarchy. This sort of feeling can also act as a lubricant for dealing with small conflicts inside the group. If everyone follows and fits the certain hierarchical position, it can really work effectively. For instance, as Mr. XUE Kai commented when he explained his view on the success of the Han Yangling Site Museum Project: “when I look back, the success of the project is definitely largely attributed to the support of the superior leadership. But more importantly, as things were in extreme difficulty and nobody even looked at us, the whole group just kept working. Everyone played his role and we survived.”

With the above positive commentary there is also a negative one. As the communication pattern is always connected with the organization pattern, many of the conflicts and difficulties mentioned in the previous section are arguably closely connected to the defects of such a pattern. To be specific, the real criticism inside the hierarchical system of the group from the lower level to the upper level rarely exists as it has the risk of being misunderstood and even deliberately interpreted as a challenge to authority of the upper level leader. Taking the Han Yangling case as an example, a strict criticism to the chief architect (A-1) has only been given by members outside of his group. Second, the continuity of policy realization in such hierarchical system is very much dependent on the stability of the leading person's status. As a popular Chinese idiom goes: when a man expires, his work will stop (originating from *Doctrine of the Mean, Classic of Rites*). Therefore, as Mr. Wu (C-1) mentioned in the previous section, it is not so surprising that the Han Yangling Museum lost many opportunities for better development in the years after Vice Provincial Governor ZHAO Dequan and the SCHB Director ZHANG Tinghao (upper level to C-1) left their positions.

To return to the discussion about the connection between the proposed communication pattern as such and its historical context, it is not surprising that the institutionalized moral rules as a hierarchical system among traditional Chinese

society have often been revisited by scholars. For instance, some anthropologists think that the Chinese boss-subordinate relationship partakes elements of the Chinese traditional father-son relationship; one of the basic elements of Wu Lun (五伦; Five Ethics). When Anthropologist Hendrick Serrie reviewed Francis L. K. Hsu's major works in "Chinese Business and Management Behavior and the Hsu Attributes: A Preliminary Inquiry," he concluded the following:

In Chinese business management, relations between trusted associates take on more and more of the characteristics of kinship relations as time passes. The use of kinship terms of address is an early signal of this process. ... It seems clear enough that the Chinese boss-subordinate relationship partakes of elements of the Chinese father-son relationship, and that the Hsu attributes of continuity, inclusiveness, authority, and asexuality pervade it.<sup>46</sup>

Speaking of the similarities between the proposed pattern and the communication structure in the army, there are some interesting connections. When ZENG Guofan, a renowned Confucian general in the late Qing Dynasty started to form an army against the Taiping Rebels in 1853, he adopted the Confucian model for the organization of his Hunan Army. As Stephen Platt describes in *Autumn in the Heavenly Kingdom*, it was a Confucian scholar's vision of Guofan's force in terms of the relationship between officers and soldiers: "The family analogy also worked from bottom to top, and from the root soldiers on up to the generals; he encouraged each to 'serve his superior in the same way a son serves his father.'"<sup>47</sup> Ji Fengyuan also concludes in *Linguistic Engineering: Language and Politics in Mao's China* that the military experience of Mao Tse-tung and his comrades left a deep impression, thus suggesting that the models of social control that Mao and his followers applied also applied to the wider society. Ji thought that Mao's soldier-ideologues made the language of everyday life in China probably the most militarized in the modern world.<sup>48</sup> As German-American historian and sinologist Karl A. Wittfogel (1896-1988)

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<sup>46</sup> Hendrick Serrie, "Chinese Business and Management Behavior and the Hsu Attributes: A Preliminary Inquiry," *Studies in Third World Societies*, 28 June (1984), pp. 59-71: p. 65, 67.

<sup>47</sup> Stephen R. Platt, *Autumn in the Heavenly Kingdom* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012), pp. 120-121.

<sup>48</sup> Ji Fengyuan, *Linguistic Engineering: Language and Politics in Mao's China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004), p. 87.

writes in a concluding paragraph in *Oriental Despotism*, Mao and his followers in fact established an agrarian despotism as a close resemblance to the great despotic regimes of China's past.<sup>49</sup> Particularly, he stressed that the Chinese Communist revolution institutionally presents peculiar features that are rooted in China's peculiar geographical past.<sup>50</sup>

In research on Chinese institutional history, Wittfogel considers that the study of Chinese agriculture is key to understanding the past and present of Chinese society.<sup>51</sup> Wittfogel is best known for his 'hydraulic hypothesis' based on his further interpretation of the earlier 'hydraulic society' theory of Adam Smith through the *Wealth of Nations* in 1776, Richard Jones through *On Rent* in 1831, and Karl Marx through his study of Asiatic Mode of Production in 1853.<sup>52</sup> Wittfogel thought that large-scale coordination and a superior directing authority were needed in traditional China because the large rivers were in the major centers of agricultural production.<sup>53</sup> According to his interpretation, "[a]ll teamwork requires team leaders; and the work of large integrated teams requires on-the-spot leaders and disciplinarians as well as over-all organizers and planners."<sup>54</sup> Wittfogel concluded that: "The effective management of these works involves an organizational web which covers either the whole, or at least the dynamic core, of the country's population. In consequence, those who control this network are uniquely prepared to wield supreme political power."<sup>55</sup>

Wittfogel's hydraulic theory to the origin of institutional leadership in China has been widely spread, but also been strongly challenged by some historians. In the article "the Loess and the Origin of Chinese Agriculture," Chinese-American historian Ping-ti Ho (1917–2012) argues that Wittfogel's 'hydraulic hypothesis' is wrong and against all known historical facts in China. In a concluding paragraph, Ho wrote:

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<sup>49</sup> Wittfogel, 1957, p. 441.

<sup>50</sup> Karl Wittfogel, *Agriculture: a key to the understanding of Chinese society, past and present* (Canberra, Australia: Australian National University Press, 1970), p. 16.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>53</sup> Wittfogel, 1970, p. 4.

<sup>54</sup> Wittfogel, 1957, p. 26.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

It is sufficiently clear, therefore, that the rise of Chinese agriculture and civilization bore no direct relationship whatever to the flood plain of the Yellow River and that, of all the ancient peoples who developed higher civilization in the Old and the New World, the Chinese were the last to know irrigation. In so far as ancient China is concerned, the theory of the “hydraulic” genesis of culture or of “despotism” is completely groundless.<sup>56</sup>

In the article “Some Remarks on Irrigation under the T’ang,” British Sinologist Denis Twitchett also provides considerable evidence, demonstrating the essentially decentralized nature of irrigation work during the T’ang Dynasty (AD 618 – 907). Twitchett concluded that “a field of activity such as irrigation, which was virtually left to the individual initiative of such officials, with their strong local ties, and which was subject to no effective central policy or control, can hardly be considered a primary preoccupation of a Total Despotism of the type envisaged by Wittfegel.”<sup>57</sup>

From the above debates, it appears that Wittfegel may have explained a historical fact for the wrong reasons though the existence of the hierarchical institutional system all along China’s pre-modern history. It shows the danger of a scholar making mistake when summarizing a simplified model as a shortcut to analyze a historical phenomenon with a long time span, which in fact has been shaped through diverse and chaotic process in the complex systems of human society. That is something I tend to avoid in this chapter. I would rather take a micro-view of the observation to conclude a communication pattern about the present circle of museum project management in China based on its traditional influence. To this end, I believe it will require far more work to examine if the pattern as such exists or not among the wider range of Chinese society.

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<sup>56</sup> Ping-ti Ho, “The Loess and the Origin of Chinese Agriculture,” *American Historical Review*, Vol. LXXV, No. 1 (1969), pp. 1-36; also see in his *The Cradle of the East: An Inquiry into the Indigenous Origins of Techniques and Ideas of Neolithic and Early Historic China, 5000-1000B.C.* (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong & University of Chicago Press, 1975), pp. 47-48.

<sup>57</sup> Denis Twitchett, “Some Remarks on Irrigation under the T’ang,” *T’oung Pao*, Vol. 48, No. 1-3 (1960), pp. 175-194; cited in Lien-sheng Yang, “Economic Aspects of Public Works in Imperial China,” in *Excursions in Sinology* (Cambridge, UK: Harvard University Press, 1969), pp. 191-248: 195-196.

Currently, China is facing a violent transformation period of modernization with many opportunities and challenges under its extremely high-paced urbanization development. In the case of the Han Yangling Site Museum, we could see how these conflicts between local and central government policy as well as between economic development and cultural heritage conservation exist as macro-scaled contradictions of the time. Yet, it is also very interesting to take a micro-perspective to observe how the proposed communication pattern in this chapter, having thousands of years of history as its traditional context, survives and develops among Chinese people in this significant transforming time.



Chapter 6  
**Principles of Archaeological Site Museum**

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<sup>1</sup> This chapter is an article of a multi-perspective approach to some fundamental issues of site museums. The article was submitted to *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites* in June 2018. An abbreviated version in title with “Archaeological Site Museum as Architectural Heritage - An assessment of the Reversibility and Minimal Intervention Principle through the Case Study of Norwegian and Chinese Site Museums” was presented at the 40<sup>th</sup> Conference of ICAMT, International Committee for Architecture and Museum Technique on “On Top of History - Site Museums,” organized by the ICAMT and ICOM Georgia with Ministry of Culture and Monument Protection of Georgia, Georgian National Museum and Georgian National Agency for Cultural Heritage Preservation in Tbilisi, Georgia, on September 22-24, 2014. Text available at the ICAMT Official Website: <http://network.icom.museum/icamt/conferences/past/2014-tbilisi-georgia/>, accessed on October 5, 2017.



## 6. Principles of Archaeological Site Museums

An Assessment of the Reversibility, Minimal Intervention, and Other Principles through the Examination of Norwegian and Chinese Cases of Site Museums

### 6.1 Site Museums: The Origin and Definition

The term ‘museum’ comes from Latin, and originated from the Ancient Greek Μουσείον (Mouseion), which signified a temple dedicated to the Muses.<sup>1</sup> The museum created in Alexandria by Ptolemy I Soter around the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC was the most renowned ancient museum in classical times.<sup>2</sup> But the modern museum, as Joseph Mordaunt Crook notes, is “a product of Renaissance humanism, eighteenth-century enlightenment and nineteenth-century democracy.”<sup>3</sup> Specifically, the 17<sup>th</sup> century in Europe marked the move from private collections to public museums.<sup>4</sup> More recently, according to the Statutes of the International Council of Museums (ICOM, adopted by the 22<sup>nd</sup> General Assembly, Vienna, Austria, August 24, 2007) for the “Definition of Terms,” “[a] museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment.”<sup>5</sup>

Meanwhile, the word ‘site’ generally refers to a piece of land considered from the standpoint of its use for some specified purpose, or the place where something is located.<sup>6</sup> The UNESCO World Heritage Convention in 1972 defined ‘sites’ as the “works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including

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<sup>1</sup> Paula Findlen, “The Museum: its Classical Etymology and Renaissance Genealogy,” *Journal of the History of Collections*, Vol. 1, Issue 1, 1 January 1989, pp. 59-78; Edward Porter Alexander, Mary Alexander, *Museums in Motion: An Introduction to the History and Functions of Museums* (Plymouth, UK: AltaMira Press, 2008), p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 2008, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Joseph Mordaunt Crook, *The British Museum* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger Publishers, 1972), p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> “The museum began to go public in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. Basel opened the first university museum in 1671, and the Ashmolean Museum appeared at Oxford a dozen years later”. See Alexander, 2008, pp. 5-6.

<sup>5</sup> See “Development of the Museum Definition according to ICOM Statutes (2007-1946),” Official Website of ICOM, [http://archives.icom.museum/hist\\_def\\_eng.html](http://archives.icom.museum/hist_def_eng.html) accessed on October 5, 2017.

<sup>6</sup> *Webster’s Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged* (New York, NY: Publishers International Press, 1979), p. 1698.

archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view.”<sup>7</sup>

Taken together, the term ‘site museum’ appeared rather late in the museological literature in the 1950s. As Ralph Lewis noted in 1959, the nature and need of site museums were first conceived by a group of UNESCO experts on historical sites and monuments in Paris in October 1949. The expression ‘museums of the monuments’ was used in the published report (*Museum*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1950) due to the lack of an appropriate name. Then, in 1951 and 1952, the French translated terms *le musée de site* and *petits musées de site* made for the American expression ‘trailside museum.’ In 1955, The English term ‘site museum’ was seemingly first adopted by Douglas A. Allan in his article “Site Museums in Scotland” (*Museum*, vol. 8, no. 2, 1955).<sup>8</sup> For China, it was not until 1958 when the comparable term ‘遗址博物馆’ was noted in a museology journal upon the opening of the Xi’an Banpo Museum.<sup>9</sup>

As Douglas Allan pointed out, “[i]n Site Museums, the site is the major element in the museum ...,” which Lewis believed to be the essential character of this subject.<sup>10</sup> The basic idea of site museums is to preserve the site and heritage in its actual geographical position, “including proper long-term conservation and curation of all related records and collections etc.”<sup>11</sup> As Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett observes, “[t]he museum is an integral part of the site. The museum does for the site what it cannot do for itself. It is not a substitute for the site but part of it, for the

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<sup>7</sup> See Article 1, *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* (Adopted by the General Conference at its seventeenth session Paris, November 16, 1972), full text available at <http://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/> accessed on March 9, 2018.

<sup>8</sup> Ralph H. Lewis, “Site Museums and National Parks,” *Curator*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (1959), pp. 184-185, p.172; partly cited by Sandra M. Shaferlich, “On-Site Museums, Open-Air Museums, Museum Villages and Living History Museums: Reconstructions and Period Rooms in the United States and the United Kingdom,” *Museum Management and Curatorship*, Vol. 12 (1993), p. 43.

<sup>9</sup> “The Opening of China’s First Site Museum,” *Cultural Relics Reference* (present name: *Cultural Relics*) No. 4 (1958); cited from *Tracking on the Large Archaeological Site Protection Scheme*, ed. by Chinese Academy of Cultural Heritage, (Beijing, China: Cultural Relics Press, 2016), Part I, p. 272.

<sup>10</sup> Douglas A. Allan, “Site Museums in Scotland,” *Museum*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (1955), p. 108; Lewis, 1959, p. 172.

<sup>11</sup> See Article 6 “Management and Conservation,” ICOMOS Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage (1990). Full text available at <http://www.icomos.org/en/charters-and-texts> accessed on October 16, 2017. The statements in Article 6 and Article 7 “Presentation, Information, Reconstruction” of this ICOMOS Charter perfectly meet the basic concept of site museum, but avoid integrating these ideas in the form of ‘museum.’

interpretive interface shows what cannot otherwise be seen.”<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, some experts define the word ‘site’ to a broader degree. For example, Udo Küsel states that the “[s]ite museum, ... preserves and interprets the remnants of cultural history or natural history phenomena on a site where these have been preserved *in situ* or restored or reconstructed.” He further mentions the different types of site museums, namely: archaeological, geological, and palaeontological.<sup>13</sup> In one of the first monographs of this topic in China, some museum professionals also divided ‘site museum’ into three categories, namely: the historic heritage site, the natural heritage site, and the industrial heritage site.<sup>14</sup>

More often than not, the term ‘site museum’ applies to museums at historic and archaeological sites since Allan’s original description.<sup>15</sup> The meaning of a word shall be understood in its evolving context in reality. Specifically, the term ‘site museum’ is mostly connected with museum installations of outdoor and indoor archaeological ruins. Regarding its narrow sense of an indoor museum operation, the term can refer to those protective buildings, including temporary and permanent structures built on the top of specific ruins, which carry out the basic functions of collection, conservation, research, communication, and exhibition.<sup>16</sup> This narrow definition is the focus of the following discussion.

The value ascribed to the physical evidence and its display *in situ* is fundamental to the concept of sheltering archaeological sites.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, the idea of using protective structures to preserve and display excavated ruins is not new. By that understanding, it is not so surprising that the form and arrangement of archaeological

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<sup>12</sup> Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998), p. 169; cited in Helaine Silverman, “Archaeological Site Museums in Latin America” in Helaine Silverman ed., *Archaeological Site Museums in Latin America* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2006), pp. 3-17: 4.

<sup>13</sup> Udo Küsel, “Open-air Museum versus Site Museum” (Presented at SAMA Conference in 1988), *SAMAB* 18 (5), (1989), p. 183, p. 185; also cited by Hermanus Johannes Moolman, “Site Museums: Their Origins, Definition and Categorisation,” *Museum Management and Curatorship*, Vol. 15, No. 4 (1996), p. 387.

<sup>14</sup> WU Yongqi, LI Shuping, ZHANG Wenli eds., *Introduction to Museology for Site Museums* (Xi’an, China: Shaanxi Renmin Press, 1999), pp. 11-12, p. 42.

<sup>15</sup> Lewis, 1959, p. 173; Allan, 1955, pp. 107-112.

<sup>16</sup> According to the ICOM’s definition of Museum, Collection, Conservation, Research, Communication, and Exhibition can be concerned as the basic functions of a museum.

<sup>17</sup> Frank G. Matero, “Editorial,” Special Issue on Protective Shelters, *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, Vol.5 (2001), pp. 1-2: 1.

site museums in practice are far earlier than the term itself. For example, one of the earliest surviving site shelters was built for the Bignor Roman Villa Remains, West Sussex in England, after it was first discovered in July 1811. The remains of the Roman mosaic pavement were protected by vernacular houses built of stone, timber, and thatched roofs in around 1814, and have been open to public ever since. Several archaeological sites of Roman villas in England were protected in this way during the 19<sup>th</sup> century including Chedworth in Gloucestershire.<sup>18</sup>

Another prominent example of a site museum dates back to the time when Italian Archaeologist Giuseppe Fiorelli (1823–1896) directed excavations at Pompeii in 1860s. His simple pitched metal roof shelter at Pompeii is certainly one of those early protection buildings; as old as the first large-scale modern excavations in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>19</sup> Fiorelli was considered by Glyn E. Daniel (1914–1986) as a must-mentioned archaeology figure who demonstrated the beginning of scientific methods as one of the pioneers of stratigraphical analysis.<sup>20</sup> German Art Historian Adolf Michaelis (1835–1910) described Fiorelli as “a thoroughly scientific man” whose way of working was to “uncover entire blocks of houses (*insulae*) simultaneously from the top, stratum by stratum; and where any characteristic part of a building or beam was laid bare.”<sup>21</sup> Gaston Bossier describes those methods in 1863 in the following extract:

He declared and repeated in his reports that the centre of interest in the Pompeian excavations was Pompeii itself; that the discovery of works of art was a matter of secondary importance; that efforts were directed, above all, to reviving a Roman city that would depict for us the life of bygone ages; that it was necessary to see the city in its

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<sup>18</sup> John Stewart, “Rapid Assessment of Shelters over Mosaics: Methodology and Initial Results from England” (Presented at the 9th Conference of ICCM in 2005), Aïcha Ben Abed, Martha Demas, and Thomas Roby (eds.), *Lessons Learned: Reflecting on the Theory and Practice of Mosaic Conservation*, (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Conservation institute, 2008), pp.181-192: 187-189; Also mentioned by Catherine Woolfitt, “Preventive conservation of ruins: reconstruction, reburial and enclosure,” in *Conservation of ruins*, (Burlington, MA: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2007), pp. 147-193: 177; Keith Spencer, *The Companion Guide to Kent and Sussex* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 1999), p. 395; Detailed information about the remains and excavation was described by Samuel Lysons, *An Account of the Remains of a Roman Villa Discovered at Bignor, in the County of Sussex, in the year 1811, and Four following years* (London, UK: T. Bensley, 1820).

<sup>19</sup> Matero, 2001, p. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Glyn Daniel, *A Hundred and Fifty Years of Archaeology* (London, UK: Duckworth, 1975), p. 165.

<sup>21</sup> Adolf Michaelis, English translation by Bettina Kahnweiler, *A Century of Archaeological Discoveries* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1908), p. 159. The description also was paraphrased in Daniel’s writing as “Fiorelli uncovered whole *insulae* and dug them carefully stratum by stratum, preserving any features of interest *in situ*”. See Daniel, 1975, p. 165.

entirety and in its minutest details in order that the lesson it taught might be complete, that knowledge was sought the poor, with their common household utensils and crude wall decoration. With that end in view, everything became important, and nothing could legitimately be overlooked. (Gaston Bossier 1863)<sup>22</sup>

The basic ideas from the above statement in fact meet the essential goals of modern excavation, as well as present an archaeological site as a museum. As Patrick J. Boylan pointed out in 1996, the founding members and many professionals of the ICOM have taken a broad view on “the nature and role of the museum in relation to the physical heritage as a totality” since its establishment in 1946.<sup>23</sup> Associated with that perspective, Museums of Archaeology and History and Historical Sites, and the National Parks and Forests and Nature Reserves and Trailside Museums were two of the first seven international committees of the ICOM, which represented different types of museums.<sup>24</sup> But, there were equally strong arguments which claimed that museums are only institutions based on traditional kinds of scientific, historical, or art collections, and the term ‘museum’ should be restricted to a much narrower context. That is to say that those historical and natural sites and monuments, which are not collections-oriented, do not belong to the category of ‘museum’.

This dispute within the ICOM ended in the creation of International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) in 1965; a new professional association linked to UNESCO that takes international responsibility for the fields of cultural and natural heritage. According to Boylan, such a split was perhaps “the greatest mistake in ICOM’s first quarter century.” He stresses that “the artificial division of responsibility for the world’s ‘physical heritage’ between museums narrowly defined as collections based institutions on the one hand, and historic and natural sites and monuments on the other, continues to weaken and impoverish both sides of this schism.”<sup>25</sup> However, as far as I see it, the dispute within ICOM was possibly rooted in the identity crisis of

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<sup>22</sup> Cited by Daniel, 1975, p. 165.

<sup>23</sup> Patrick J. Boylan, “ICOM at fifty,” *Museum International* (UNESCO, Paris), No. 191 (Vol. 48, No. 3, 1996), pp. 47-50: p. 47.

<sup>24</sup> These seven international committees of ICOM in 1946 were: Science and Health Museums and Planetaria; Museums of Art and Applied Arts; Museums of Natural History; Museums of History of Science and Technology; Museums of Archaeology and History and Historical Sites; Museums of Ethnography (including folk art and culture), Zoological and Botanical Gardens; National Parks and Forests and Nature Reserves and Trailside Museums. See *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

the two roles of a museum formulated by Duncan F. Cameron in his “The Museum, a Temple or the Forum.”<sup>26</sup> Raymond de la Rocha Mille sums up this conceptual distinction among museology and museums in the following:

This distinction stems from the different assumptions introduced by two long term projects of cultural development: the 18th century projects of enlightenment and the 20th century promotion of an anthropological conception of culture. The former is closely related to the European system of fine art understood as a system of promotion and popularization of the arts. The latter is part of the efforts of the human and social sciences to insert museums in the society they serve and/or to give a democratic representation to the variety of cultures existing in a society at large. The consequence was the development, in the course of the 20th Century, of two often opposing managerial policies and cultures, one inwards looking, aiming at modernization and professionalization of internal museum functions, the other focusing on closing (nearing) the relationship of museology and its natural and social environment. (de la Rocha Mille, 2011)<sup>27</sup>

Based on the above mentioned context, it ought to be stressed that the following discussion about ‘site museums’ in this chapter rests on “the concept of the integrated museum concerned with the whole of its natural, cultural and social territory and setting.”<sup>28</sup>

## 6.2 Three Selected Site Museum Cases

Three cases in Norway and China are chosen as the main examples and taken into the discussion in the following sections of this article. They are the Storhamar Barn (*Storhamarlåven*) for the excavated fortress ruins of the bishop, the protective building for the Hamar Cathedral ruins (*Vernebygget*), both of the Hedmark Museum (*Hedmarksmuseet*) in Hamar, Norway; and the Han Yangling Underground Site Museum in Xi’an, China. Without repeating the specifics of the Chinese case in

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<sup>26</sup> Duncan F. Cameron, “The Museum, A Temple or the Forum,” *Curator: The Museum Journal* Vol. 14, Issue 1 (March 1971), pp. 11–24; also in *Reinventing the Museum: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on the Paradigm Shift*, ed. Gail Anderson, (Lanham, MD: Rowman Altamira, 2004). pp. 48-60.

<sup>27</sup> Raymond de la Rocha Mille, “Museums without walls: The museology of Georges Henri Riviere” (Ph.D. Diss., City University London, 2011), p. 1; more detailed description about this topic can be seen in Chapter 1, pp. 14-16.

<sup>28</sup> Boylan, 1996, p. 47.

Chapter 2 and Chapter 5, a brief introduction to the selected cases given below mainly focuses on the context of Norwegian cases.

Situated on a cape of Lake Mjøsa, the largest lake in Norway, the Hedmark Museum (Hedmarksmuseet) is an archaeological site museum for the medieval ruins of the cathedral, the bishop's residence, the cloister, streets, and other buildings from the Middle Ages in Hamar<sup>29</sup> (Figures 6.1 and 6.2). The museum belongs to an 'in between' group of museums<sup>30</sup> as the site has also been combined with an open-air museum since 1912 with the collected timber farm houses representing rural life in the area of Hedmark county during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>31</sup>



Figure 6.1 Site Plan of the Hedmark Museum (Hedmarksmuseet) in Hamar, Norway.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Tor Sæther, *A Short History of Medieval Hamar* (Hamar, Norway: Domkirkeodden, 2005), p. 5, 14.

<sup>30</sup> Küsel, 1989, p. 185.

<sup>31</sup> The Hedmarksmuseet Official Website: <http://www.hedmarksmuseet.no/>, accessed on July 10, 2013; a detailed description of the foundation and the resettlement of the open-air museum (Oplandenes Folkemuseum) can be seen in a comprehensive document for the Hedmarksmuseet's history written by Ragnar Pedersen, *Hedmarksmuseet 100 år (1906-2006)* (Hamar, Norway: Hamar Historielag, 2008), pp. 41-42, pp. 65-72.

<sup>32</sup> The plan was edited by the author based on the topographic drawing of the site from the Nasjonalmuseet for kunst, arkitektur og design, and the site plan of the museum in Sæther, 2005, p. 4.

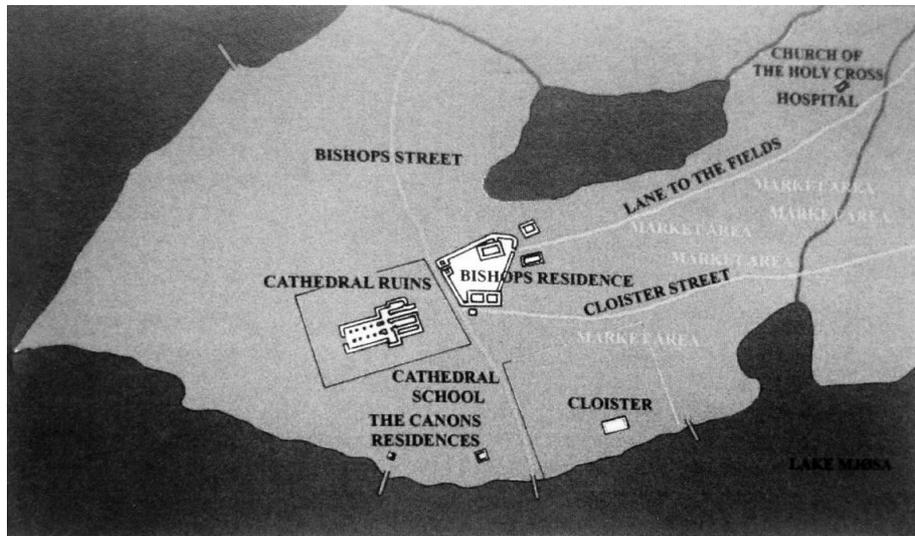


Figure 6.2 The Archaeological Map showing the Layout of the Cathedral Point Area in the Middle Ages.<sup>33</sup>

Located on the edge of the medieval ruins of the bishop's palace, the Storhamar Barn is the major part of the site museum and includes the courtyard of archaeological ruins, the ruin hall, a serial exhibition space linked by a ramp system, the conservation workshop, the storage rooms and offices, as well as an auditorium which was transformed from a farm building in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century (Figures 6.3, 6.4, 6.5, 6.6, and 6.7). It was designed by renowned Norwegian Architect Sverre Fehn (1924-2009) and has been considered unique in Norwegian post-war modern architecture as one of Fehn's major works.<sup>34</sup> The archaeological excavation for the site was conducted from 1947 to 1960. In 1967, Fehn was commissioned to design the barn into a museum. The construction work began in 1969, and was completed in 1971 with the north and west wings, then in 1973 with the south wing of the auditorium. The exhibition work was commissioned and completed from 1976 to 1980.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Source: Sæther, 2005, p. 15.

<sup>34</sup> This work has been widely published in many books and journals, e.g., Christian Norberg-Schulz, Gennaro Postiglione, *Sverre Fehn: works, projects, writings, 1949-1996* (New York, NY: The Monacelli Press, 1997), pp. 129-144; "Sverre Fehn: Projects and Reflections" (Special edition of the Norwegian Review of Architecture), *Arkitektur N*, 2009, p. 10.

<sup>35</sup> The project description in this paragraph is based on Ragnar Pedersen, *Storhamarlåven - en visuell oppdagelsesreise Sverre Fehns arkitektur* (Hedmarksmuseet og Domkirkeodden, 2004), p. 16; see also a detailed documentation of the project in Pedersen, 2008, pp. 166-172, pp. 178-182.

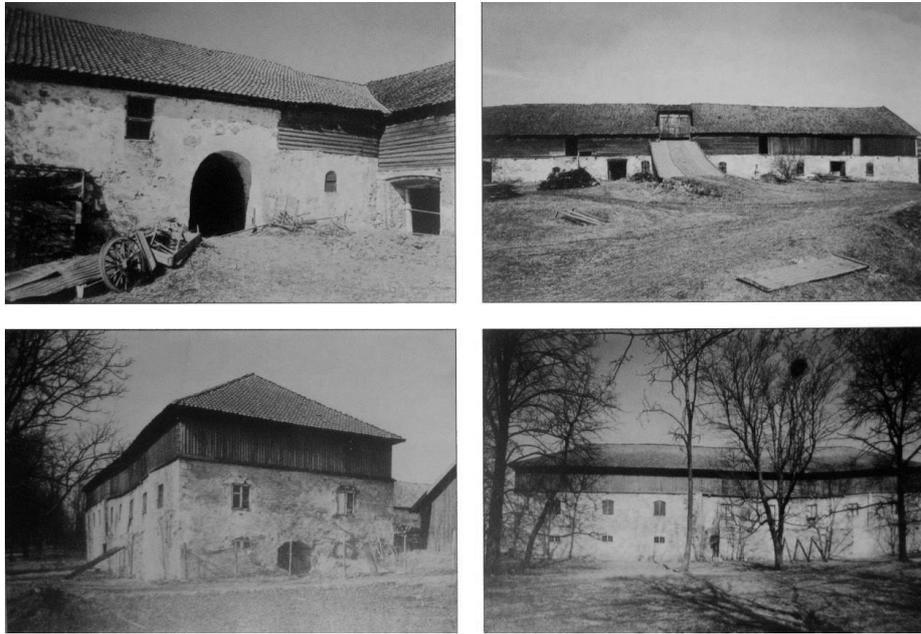


Figure 6.3 Exterior Views of the Storhamar Barn (Storhamarlåven) in May 1947. (© Hedmarks Museet)

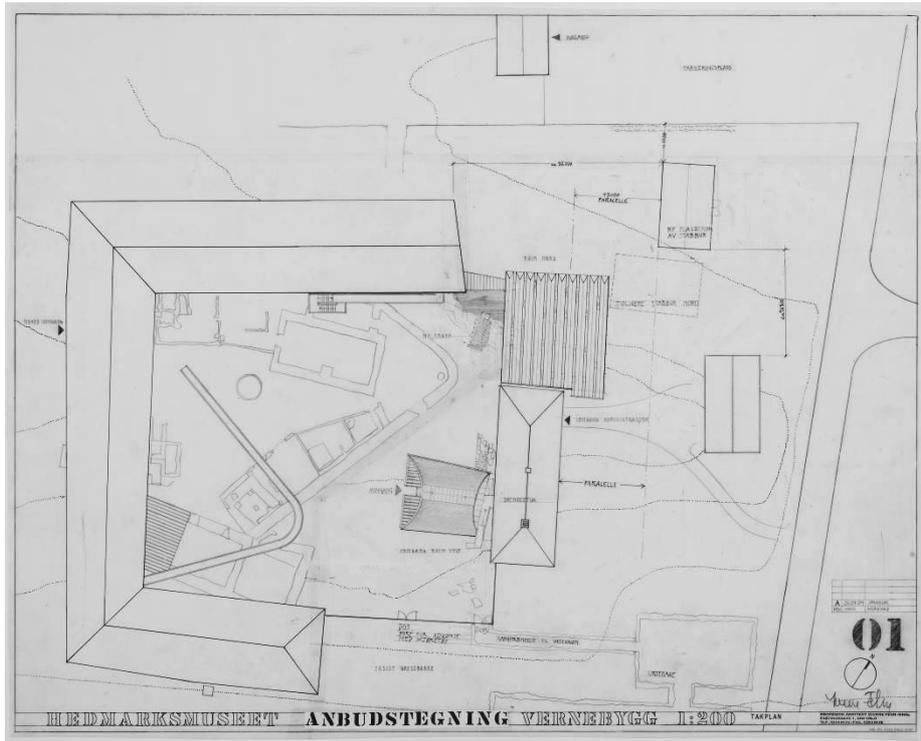


Figure 6.4 Site Plan of Storhamarlåven and the Bishop's Residence Ruins (© Sverre Fehn/Photo: Dag André Ivarsøy/Nasjonalmuseet)

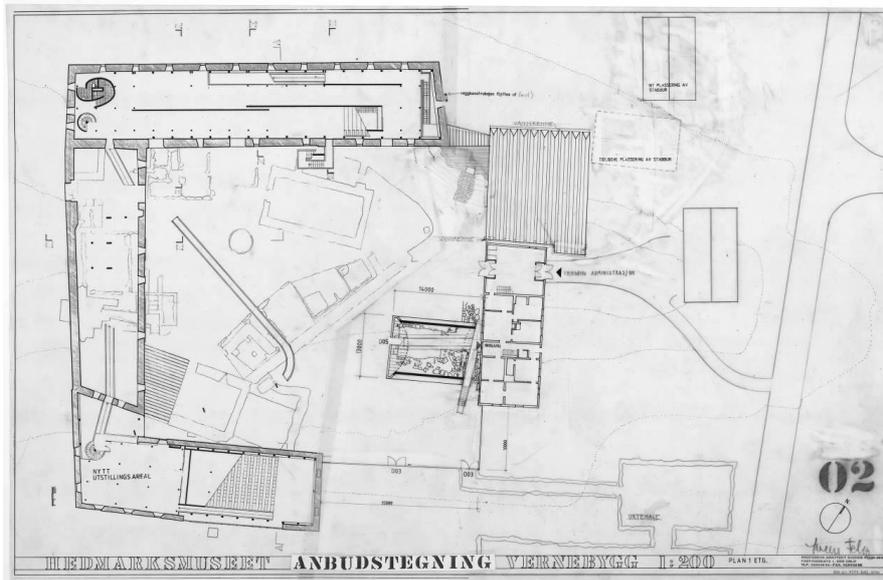


Figure 6.5 Floor Plan of Storhamarläven and the Bishop's Residence Ruins (© Sverre Fehn/Photo: Dag André Ivarsøy/Nasjonalmuseet)

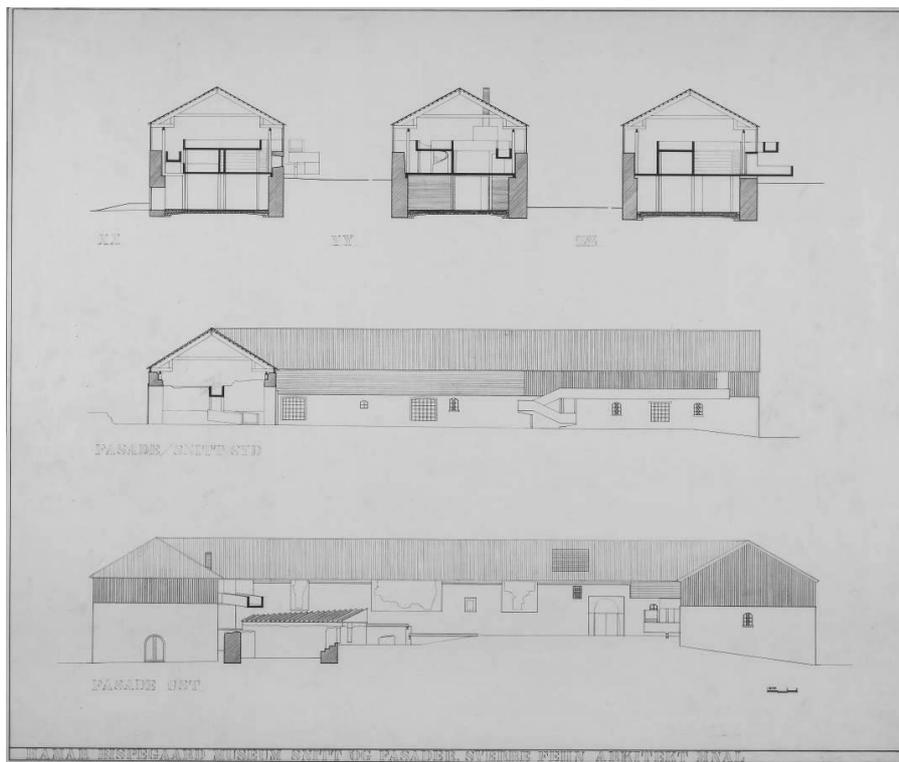


Figure 6.6 Sections of Storhamar Barn Designed by Sverre Fehn (© Sverre Fehn/Photo: Dag André Ivarsøy/Nasjonalmuseet)



**Figure 6.7** Exterior and Interior Views of the Storhamar Barn (Storhamarlåven) in 2012.

The second chosen example is the neighboring protective building for the cathedral ruins designed by Norwegian Architect Kjell Lund (1927–2013). The ruins were from the Medieval Cathedral of Hamar that was deserted. It has been decaying into ruins since the 1600s. Because of its monumental form and its symbolic content, it became a ‘picturesque’ representation of the romance of ruins in Norway<sup>36</sup> (Figure 6.8). However, due to the danger posed from the 1980s onwards that parts of the ruins could collapse, a temporary protection measure was installed, and many discussions were put forward on how this heritage could be preserved<sup>37</sup> (Figures 6.9, 6.10, and

<sup>36</sup> Ragnar Pedersen, “Autentisitet og kulturminnevern - En diskusjon om kulturminnevernets verdigrunnlag (2000),” in *Fra kaupang og bygd 2011, Festskrift tilegnet Ragnar Pedersen* (Hamar, Norway: Hedmarksmuseet, 2011), pp. 103-125: 105.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 103-104.

6.11). In 1987, the Norwegian Directorate for Cultural Heritage (*Riksantikvaren*) finally decided to launch an architectural competition to build a protection shelter over the cathedral ruins. The submitted scheme to the competition for the protective building made by Lund and Slaatto Architects was awarded first prize from 52 different proposals (Figure 6.12). However, this was delayed for several years due to financial reasons as well as resistance from the local community, finally getting a breakthrough in 1994. With the application of new computer technology for getting maximum accuracy in cutting the glass elements and control over the construction process, *Vernebygget*, the 2,640 square meter protective building made of steel and glass, was quickly completed from 1997 to 1998<sup>38</sup> (Figures 6.13, 6.14, and 6.15). These two different site museum buildings of the Hedmark Museum were carried out under different conservation guiding principles, which reflect the shifting concepts in architectural conservation in Norway and Europe. I have chosen them as the main cases for the discussion in the following sections of this chapter.



**Figure 6.8** Hamar Cathedral Ruins Painted by Norwegian Landscape Painter Joachim Frich (1810-1858) in 1855.

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<sup>38</sup> The project description is based on Pedersen, 2008, pp. 219-226; a comprehensive monograph on the construction of this project is *Vernebygg over en ruin: Fra kaupang og bygd, 1997-1998* (Hedmarksmuseet og Domkirkeodden, 1998).



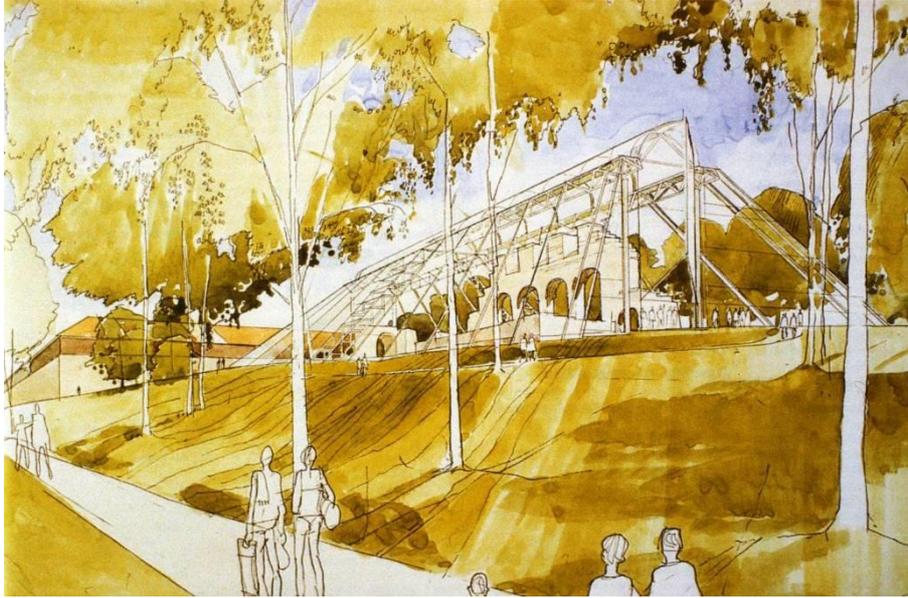
**Figure 6.9** The Hamar Cathedral Ruins in 1975 (Photo: Dag Nilsen)



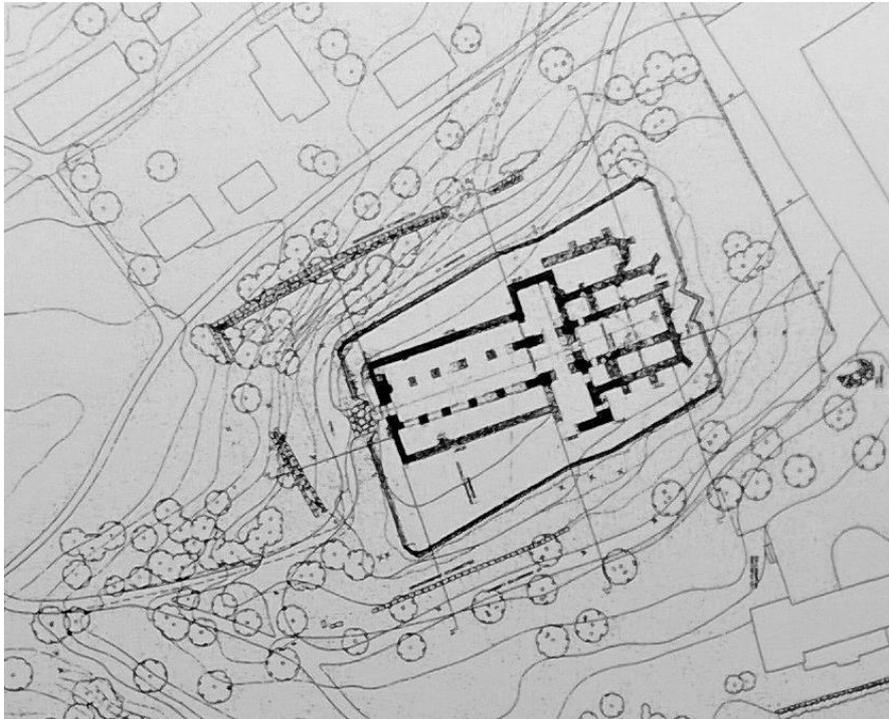
**Figure 6.10** Hamar Cathedral Ruins with the Temporary Protection Measure in 1991 (Photo: Dag Nilsen)



**Figure 6.11** Details of Former Repairs and Decay on Pier of Hamar Cathedral Ruins (Photo: Dag Nilsen)



**Figure 6.12** Competition Proposal of the Protective Building for Hamar Cathedral Ruins (Vernebygget) from Lund & Slaatto Architects in 1987



**Figure 6.13** Site Plan of Vernebygget (© Lund & Slaatto Architects)

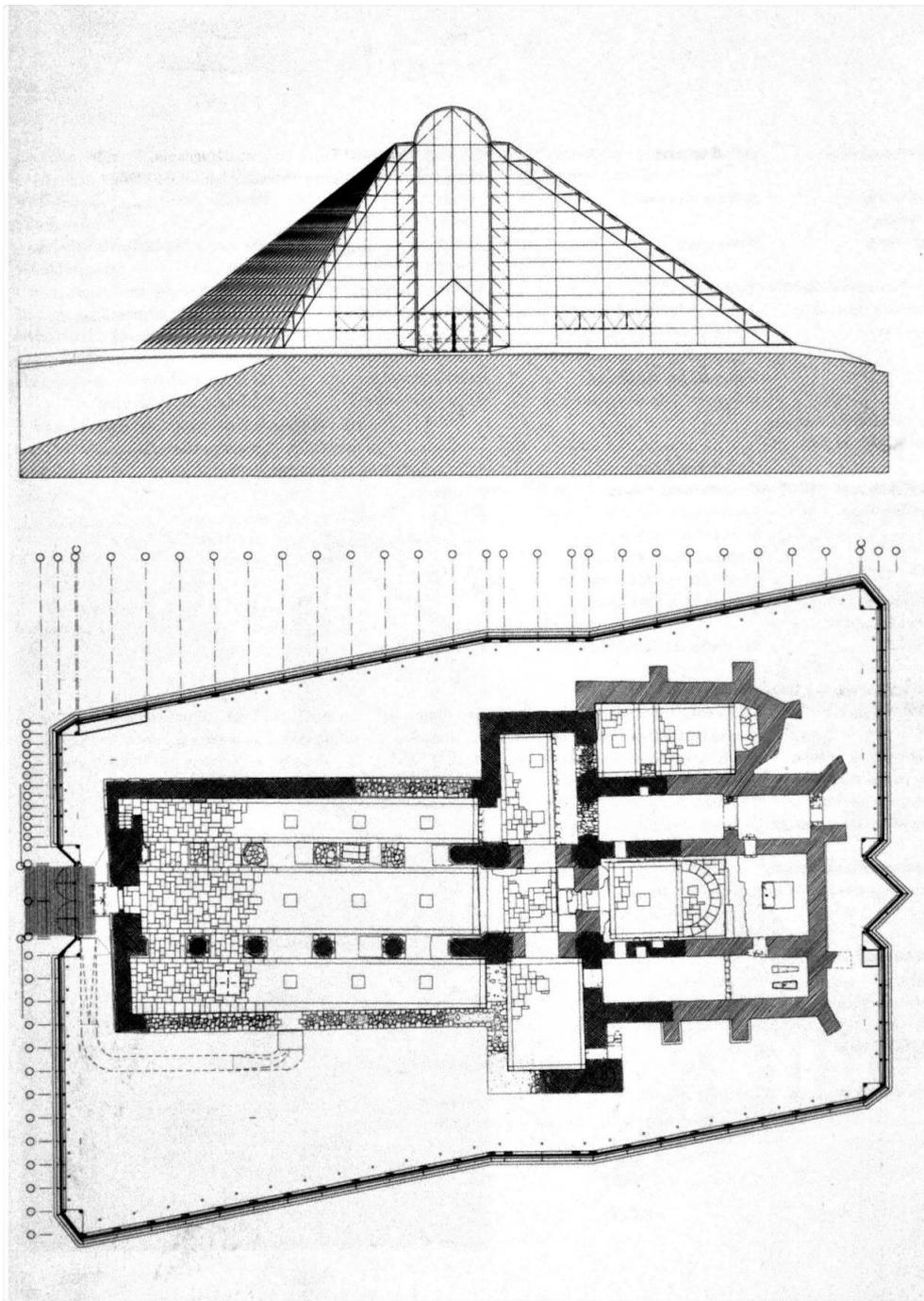


Figure 6.14 Section and Floor Plan of Vernebygget (© Lund & Slaatto Architects)



**Figure 6.15** The Newly Completed Vernebygget in 1998 (Photo: Dag Nilsen)

Finally, the Han Yangling Underground Site Museum in Xi'an constitutes the third case for this chapter. As described in Chapters 2 and 5, this project was designed by Chinese Architect LIU Kecheng since 2000 and constructed from 2004 to 2006. It is the first complete underground site museum in China.<sup>39</sup> The protective building was built on the 10 excavated burial pits located next to the emperor's tomb in the Han Yangling Site, the imperial cemetery of Emperor Jingdi (188—141 BC), the fourth emperor of the Western Han Dynasty (BC 202–AD 9)<sup>40</sup> (Figures 6.16, 6.17, 6.18, and 6.19). In accordance with the “Eureka-Eurocare E! 1586 Arch in Situ” system, an innovative solution of the conservation technology,<sup>41</sup> this site museum building separates the visitors and the excavated archaeological site into two different spatial areas with different environmental controls, which both maintain the site as well as allow visitors to view the ruins<sup>42</sup> (Figure 6.20). As such, it has received numerous recognition awards since its completion, and is considered a successful Chinese example of site museum conservation.



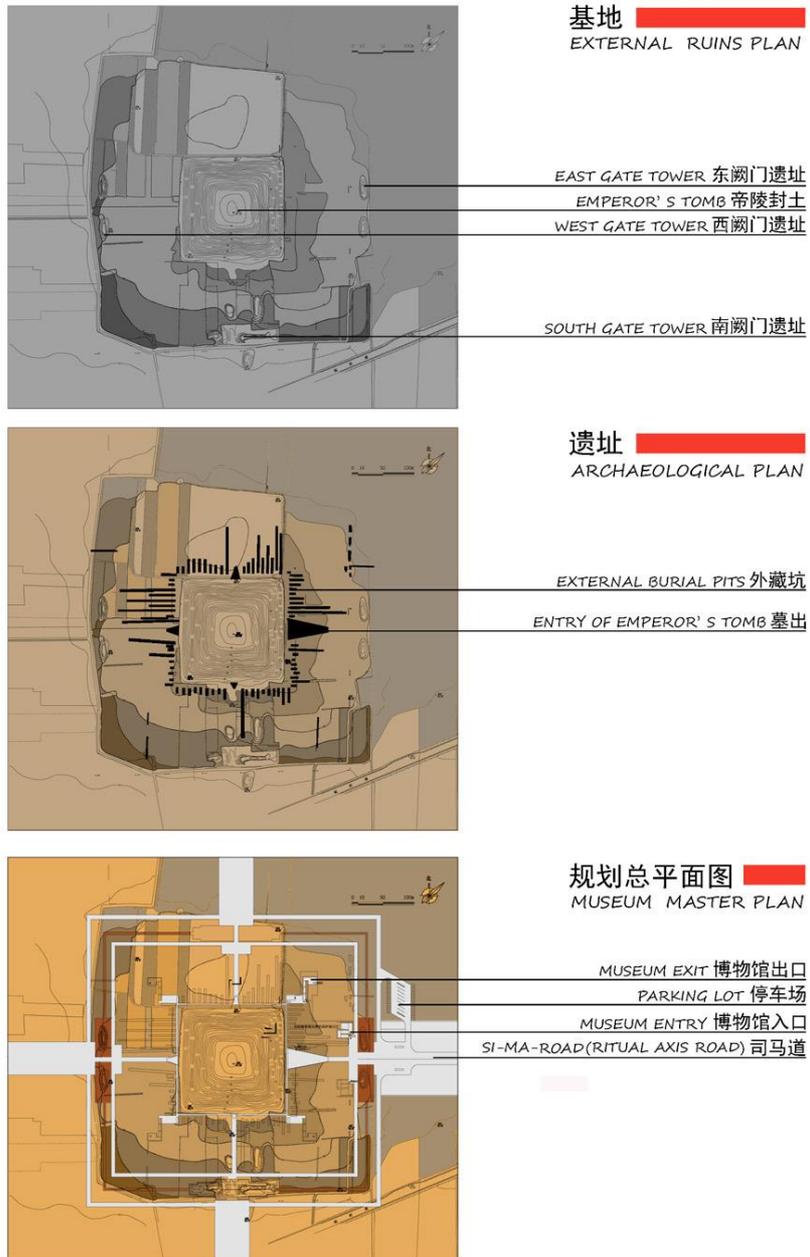
**Figure 6.16** Bird's-eye View of the Han Yangling Underground Site Museum (Left) and the Emperor's Tumulus in 2017. (Photo: SHEN Weilong)

<sup>39</sup> See detailed description of the case background in Section 2.2.2, Chapter 2, and Section 5.2, Chapter 5.

<sup>40</sup> WANG Baoping ed., *Han Yangling Museum* (Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House, 2006), pp. 1-3, 6-7; also see <http://www.hylae.com/en/brief.asp>, Brief Introduction, Official Website of Han Yangling Museum, accessed on November 19, 2013.

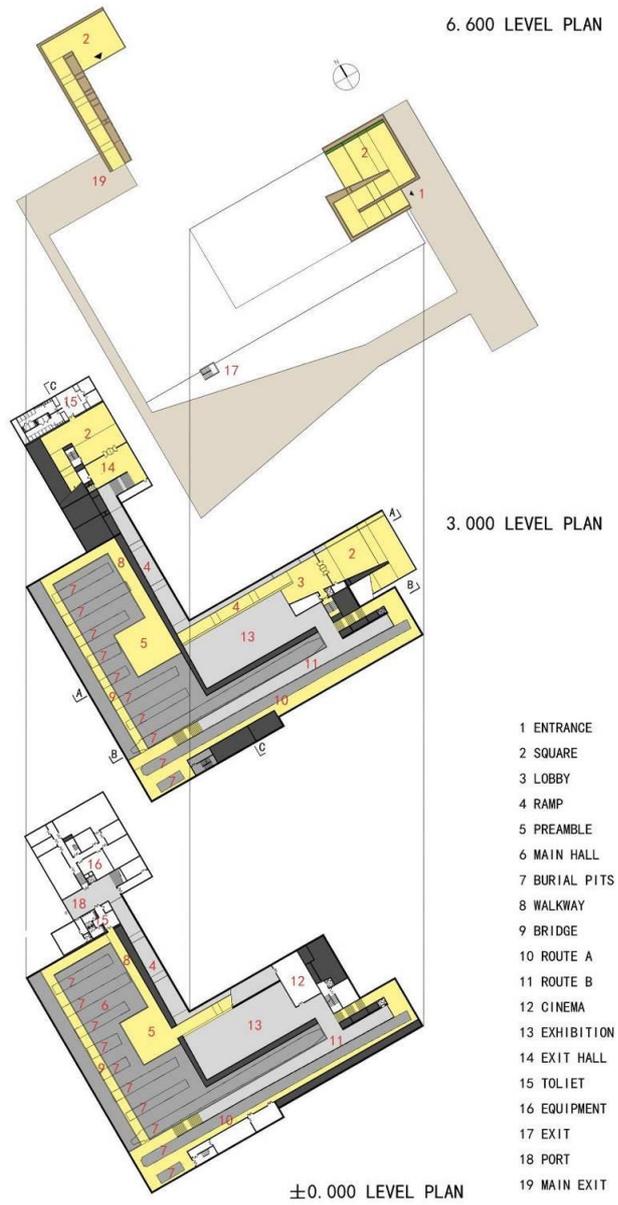
<sup>41</sup> Official Website of the Ename Center for Public Archaeology and Heritage Presentation, <http://www.enamecenter.org/EEC2013/ENpaginas/ourknowhow.html>, accessed on December 28, 2015; see the selected interviews conducted by the author about the participation of Milan Kovač in the Han Yangling Underground Site Museum in Appendices IV and V.

<sup>42</sup> Wang, 2006, pp. 104-105.



**Figure 6.17** Archaeological Plan and Site Plan of Han Yangling Underground Site Museum

(© SCEIMS Archive, XUAT, reprinted and edited into English by permission).



**Figure 6.18** Floor Plans of Han Yangling Site Museum

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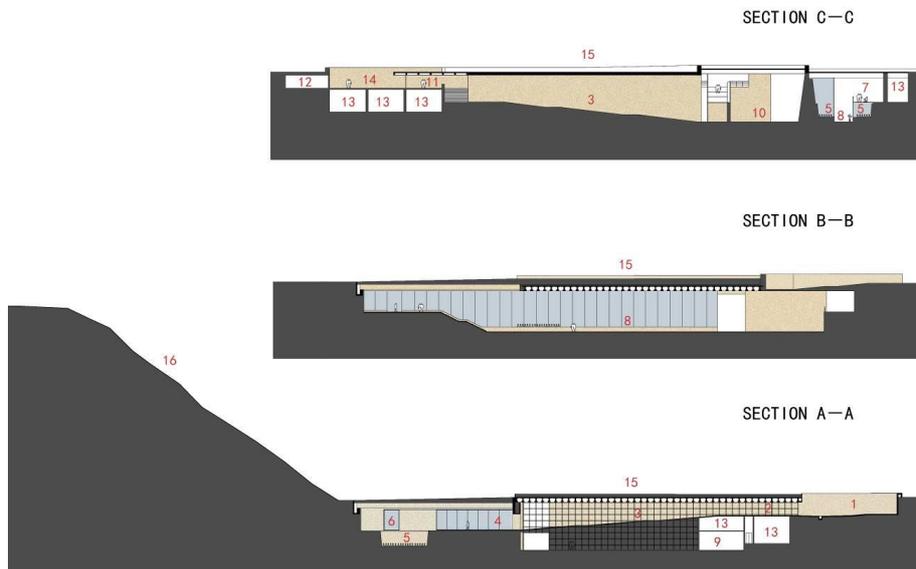


Figure 6.19 Sections of Han Yangling Site Museum (© SCEIMS Archive, XUAT, reprinted by permission).



Figure 6.20 Interior Views of the Han Yangling Underground Site Museum (Photo: LIU Kecheng)

### 6.3 Reversibility and Minimum Intervention Revisited through Case Examples

The principles of reversibility and minimum intervention are perhaps two of the most discussed conservation principles in modern architectural conservation. In some conservation fields like paleontology, the principles of reversibility and minimum intervention have been collectively described as “the most important axiom in conservation.”<sup>43</sup> Such principles are also stressed in architectural conservation because it is essential that “certain immutable principles ... [are] followed.”<sup>44</sup>

The principles of reversibility and minimum intervention can be traced back to Pietro Edwards’s suggestion to the Venetian Senate for the setting of the rules (*capitoli*) on the restoration of public paintings when Edwards was designated as Venice’s Inspector in 1778.<sup>45</sup> These rules at the time were described as “even with the good intention of improving on the original, not removing anything from the original, nor adding anything of his own.”<sup>46</sup> For architectural conservation, the spirit of the minimum intervention principle can be seen when Ruskin wrote *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* in 1849, commenting that “it is impossible, as impossible as to raise the dead, to restore anything that has ever been great or beautiful in architecture.”<sup>47</sup> As Chris Caple notes in the discussion of this topic, “the aspiration of doing the minimum necessary to preserve a building or object can clearly be ascribed to William Morris and colleagues who founded the Society for the Protection of Ancient Building in 1877, the phrase using the ‘minimum of needed intervention’ was articulated by Cesare Brandi in 1963.”<sup>48</sup> Nevertheless, the word ‘minimal’ in the

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<sup>43</sup> Salvador Muñoz Viñas, “Minimal Intervention Revisited” in Alison Bracker (ed.), *Conservation: Principles, Dilemmas and Uncomfortable Truths* (Oxford, UK: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2009), p. 49, p. 59.

<sup>44</sup> John H. Stubbs, *Time Honored: A Global View of Architectural Conservation* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2009), p. 122.

<sup>45</sup> Muñoz Viñas, 2009, p. 47.

<sup>46</sup> Alessandro Conti, trans. Helen Glanville, *A History of the Restoration and Conservation of Works of Art* (Oxford, UK: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2007), pp. 191-193: 193, cited by Muñoz Viñas, 2009, p. 47.

<sup>47</sup> John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (New York, NY: The Noonday Press, 1974), p. 184. The book was first published by Smith, Elder & Co. in London in 1849.

<sup>48</sup> William Morris, “Manifesto of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Building,” and Cesare Brandi, “Theory of Restoration I,” in Nicholas Stanley-Price, M. Kirby Talley Jr., Alessandra Melucco Vaccaro (ed.), *Historical and Philosophical Issues in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage* (Los Angeles, CA: The Getty Conservation Institute, 1996), pp. 319-321, pp. 230-235; op. cited by Chris

official conservation statement was found in 1932 in the Italian Charter of the restoration, *Carta italiana del restauro*, described as “the restoration of fragments with the addition of the minimal amount of neutral element necessary to produce a coherent overall look, and to ensure good conservation conditions.”<sup>49</sup> To this end, the *Burra Charter*, adopted by Australia ICOMOS in 1979, is one of the first national documents in English that makes clear reference to the reversibility and minimum intervention principles.<sup>50</sup>

The intention of the reversibility and minimum intervention principles can be understood as securing the authenticity and natural traces of aging in the preserved object, building, or site. Maria Rubio Redondo notes that the idea behind the principles is to limit the risk of alteration to objects, “at least not obstruct the possibility of re-treatment in the future,” and thus ensure their historical integrity.<sup>51</sup> But, conserving an archaeological site is different from conserving a transportable object because any intervention executed in this context is always irreversible.<sup>52</sup> As Rubio Redondo observes, the minimum intervention approaches can be expected as continuous, short-term measures and have proven to “comply with the principle of re-treatability.”<sup>53</sup> For that reason, the reversibility and minimum intervention approaches may make sense when a temporary archaeological shelter as a preventive

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Caple, *Conservation Skills: Judgement, Method and Decision Making* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 64-65.

<sup>49</sup> *Carta Italiana del restauro* (1932), Consiglio Superiore per Le Antichità e Belle Arti, Norme per il restauro dei monumenti, ([http://www.webalice.it/inforestauro/carta\\_1932.htm](http://www.webalice.it/inforestauro/carta_1932.htm)) cited and translated by Muñoz Viñas, 2009, p. 48.

<sup>50</sup> Cristina Ureche-Trifu noted that Article 7 of the first version of the *Burra Charter* (1979) states that “Compatible uses are those involving no change, changes which are substantially reversible, or changes which have a minimal impact on the culturally significant fabric.” Article 3 of the revised 1999 edition also calls for a “cautious approach” suggesting that “[c]onservation is based on a respect for the existing fabric, use, associations and meanings. It requires a cautious approach of changing as much as necessary but as little as possible.” See Ureche-Trifu, “Minimal Intervention and Decision Making in Conserving the Built Heritage” (Master Thesis, Carleton University, 2013), p. 14; See also Australia ICOMOS, *Burra Charter* (2013 revised version), p. 3; full text available at <http://australia.icomos.org/wp-content/uploads/The-Burra-Charter-2013-Adopted-31.10.2013.pdf> accessed on October 15, 2017.

<sup>51</sup> Maria Rubio Redondo, “Is Minimal Intervention a Valid Guiding Principle?” *E-conservation* no. 5 (2008), pp. 33-37: p. 34.

<sup>52</sup> Aldo R. D. Accardi, “Open-air Conservation of Ruins and the Concept of ‘Non-Dislocation’,” *Asian Culture and History*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (2012), pp. 109-117: p. 109. In fact, the validity or effectiveness of the Reversibility principle for preserving movable objects has also been questioned. For instance, the British Museum Department of Conservation organized a conference in 1999 for the conservation of various materials and objects entitled *Reversibility – Does it exist?* See Andrew Oddy, Sara Carroll eds., *Reversibility – Does it exist?* British Museum Occasional Paper no. 135 (London: The British Museum, 1999).

<sup>53</sup> Rubio Redondo, 2008, p. 35.

conservation measure is built over the excavated site to protect it from rain and sunlight. However, when it comes to an architectural approach for a permanent use as a site museum, these principles can hardly be considered as guiding principles because they have important limitations for long-term preservation and are therefore illogical. The implementation of such an architectural addition is a qualitative change and therefore never a minimal measure for the heritage sites.

There is also a logical paradox in adopting the reversibility and minimum intervention principles for the installation of protective constructions for site museums if such principles are examined with the authenticity and integrity principles. According to the explanation in the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* of UNESCO in 1977, “[a]uthenticity does not limit consideration to original form and structure but includes all subsequent modification and additions over the course of time.”<sup>54</sup> One important concept for modern conservation has been clearly expressed in it that *all* periods in the history of a site should be represented and made readable as cultural heritage.<sup>55</sup> Based on the above understanding, when a permanent protective building is completed as a new layer of the ongoing history on the top of the site, it will be representative as concrete evidence of involvement at a specific time which ought to be respected and not reversed.

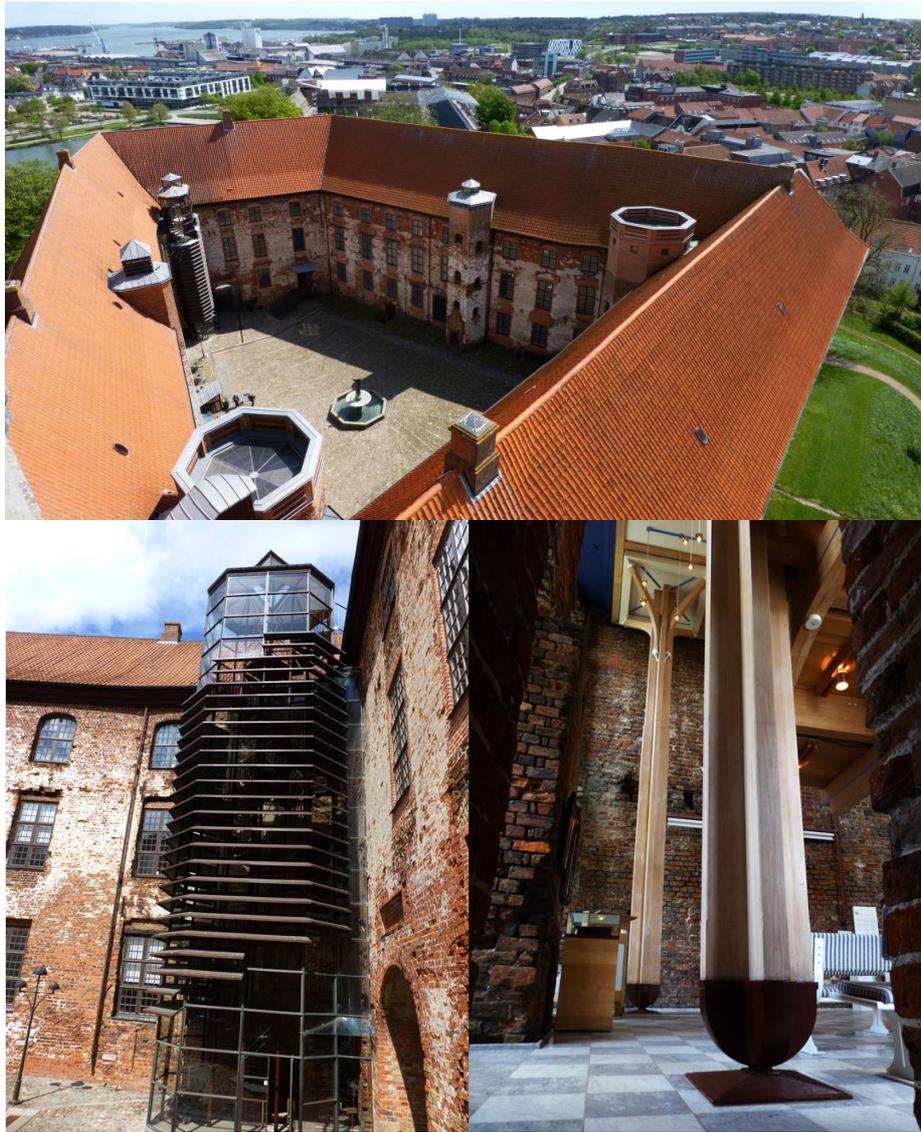
Nevertheless, some conservation architects claim their architectural approaches are indeed reversible. For instance, in an interview from 1994, Inger Augusta Exner and Johannes Exner, a Danish architect couple, stated that their rebuilding project of the architectural addition to the ruins of the *Koldinghus* Castle was reversible when

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<sup>54</sup> Official website of the UNESCO World Heritage Centre, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines> accessed on July 10, 2013. This interpretation is in accordance with the statement of the *Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments* (1931) stating that “[w]hen, as the result of decay or destruction, restoration appears to be indispensable, it recommends that the historic and artistic work of the past should be respected, without excluding the style of any given period,” as well as Article 11 of the *Venice Charter* (1964), stating that “[t]he valid contributions of all periods to the building of a monument must be respected, since unity of style is not the aim of restoration.” Full text available at <https://goo.gl/7prVO5> and <http://www.icomos.org/en/charters-and-texts>, accessed on October 19, 2017.

<sup>55</sup> The understanding can be dated back to “the principle of historical equivalence, formulated by the Italian restoration architect Camillo Boito (1836-1914) in 1883, which held that with respect to antiquity, interventions and additions in all periods should be regarded as equally valuable as the original parts.” See Camillo Boito, “Restoration in Architecture: First Dialogue,” *Future Anterior*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (Summer 2009), pp. 69-83, cited in Dag Nilsen, “The Cathedral of Nidaros: Building a Historic Monument,” *Future Anterior*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (Winter 2010), pp. 1-17.

compared to *Storhamarlåven* by Fehn (see Figure 6.21, 6.22).<sup>56</sup> In my opinion, ‘reversibility’ in real architectural design can be considered an expression of gesture rather than real intention because the restoration work of the *Koldinghus* Castle took more than two decades (1972-1994) to complete.<sup>57</sup> Therefore, it constitutes an important historical record for the ruins.



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<sup>56</sup> See “Interview: Rodfæstet Arkitektur,” in *Koldinghus: Inger and Johannes Exner* (Copenhagen: Arkitektens forlag, 1994), eds. Kim Dirckinck-Holmfeld, Susanne Møldrup, and Marianne Amundsen, p. 12.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

**Figure 6.21** Exterior and Interior Views of the Koldinghus Castle in 2012.



**Figure 6.22** Exterior View of the Additional Wooden Facade of Shingles to the Koldinghus Castle.

Taken the aforementioned into consideration, one may ask: Should the protective building always be subordinated to the ruins of site? And, what would be the appropriate degree of this subordination based on the reversibility and minimum intervention principles? There may be no doubt for many conservationists, but such questions are still worthwhile thinking about. When Professor Ragnar Pedersen, the former curator in chief at the Hedmark Museum, was asked about this during an interview, he thought that it was always worthwhile discussing. Taking *Storhamarlåven* as an example, he mentioned that there was tension between the approaches of architecture and cultural heritage conservation, but Sverre Fehn expressed a historical honesty and material chronology for the historical development of the site from the early 13<sup>th</sup> century to the present.<sup>58</sup> Compared to the concrete construction of *Storhamarlåven*, *Vernebygget*, the protective building for the cathedral ruins made of steel and glass, can be considered as a kind of approach

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<sup>58</sup> See Appendices VI-IX: Selected Anthropological Field Notes on Hedmark Museum; all the information from the author's interviews in this section will not be specifically mentioned again in the notes; also see Pedersen, 2008, p. 170.

guided by the reversibility and minimum intervention principles.<sup>59</sup> This latter work did show a different way of expression, but it can hardly be considered as superior in quality of the two. Even for *Vernebygget*, the professor commented some people still felt that protective building has deprived the cathedral ruin of its power (see Figure 6.23).



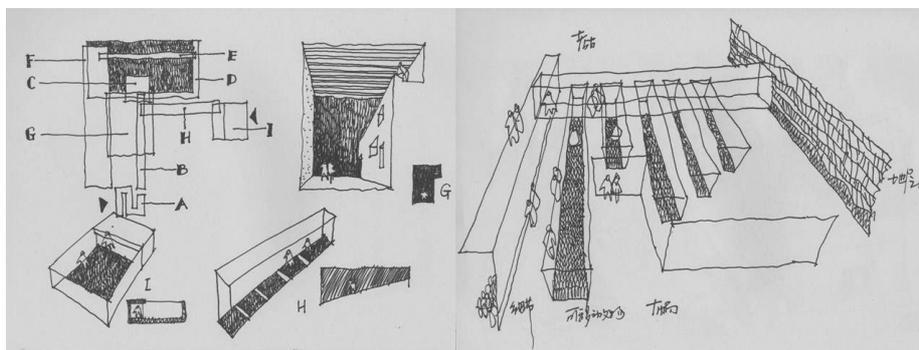
**Figure 6.23** Interior View of *Vernebygget* - the Protective Building for the Cathedral Ruins in 2012.

Concerning the reversibility principle, one rigid way of thinking about site museums in practice is that the materials of steel and glass for a protective building have often been initially adopted due to many professionals favoring them. The same was true for the initial consideration of using a steel structure for the Han Yangling Site Museum project at the beginning. As the building would be an underground museum, a heavy load-bearing structure was posed as the most reasonable option. Nevertheless, after careful evaluation, the architects and civil engineers decided to apply reinforced concrete as the main structure. I, personally, was involved with Han Yangling Site Museum project from 2000 to 2005 as an assistant architect and

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<sup>59</sup> Norwegian Directorate for Cultural Heritage (*Riksantikvar*), as the co-organizer for the architectural competition of *Vernebygget* in February 1987, did set a requirement and state that the protection building has to be subordinated to the cathedral ruin to the highest degree. See Pedersen, 2008, p. 220.

participant. When I revisit the Han Yangling Site Museum case, with the principle of minimum intervention, I have found that most of the important breakthroughs in design, which fundamentally enhanced the spatial experience of the visitors, were made by overcoming the limitations of the reversibility and minimal intervention principles. These breakthroughs were made through difficult negotiations with a jury of archaeologists, as well as through efforts toward moderate approaches and different methods to make the site more readable. One illustrative example is that of the partition of earth (balk) left standing between two of the longest burial pits, which had been conceived as ‘untouchable’ parts of the ruins. This was finally taken away to allow visitors to gain a better view of those very small excavated figures and objects at the bottom level of burial pits at the most convenient distance to the archaeological site (see Figure 6.18, 6.19, 6.20, 6.24).<sup>60</sup> Based on that reflection, though an architectural addition to the site should always be made with great caution, doubt may be cast onto whether reversibility and minimum intervention can be complete guiding principles for the conservation and presentation of sites.



**Figure 6.24** Sketch Analysis by LIU Kecheng for Site Presentation of Han Yangling Underground Museum.  
(© LIU Kecheng/SCEIMS Archive, XUAT)

#### **6.4. Authenticity, Integrity, and Continuity as Assessment Principles**

In site museums, the architectural addition to an archaeological site should both meet the requirements of the physical conservation and the interpretation/presentation of

<sup>60</sup> See detailed description made by ZHANG Tinghao and WU Xiaocong on the Han Yangling case in the documented interviews in Appendices I and II.

the site. This requires a multiple approach applied to different relevant principles.<sup>61</sup> In accordance with that understanding, I propose that the principles of authenticity, integrity, and continuity can be applied as a fundamental framework to assess the different approaches of architectural additions to archaeological sites in the context of site museums.

The English word ‘authentic’ in etymology comes from the Greek *ἀθθεντικός* (*authentikòs, autòs*, myself, the same) and the Latin *auctor* (an originator, ancestor, beginner, the author of a piece of information, warrant for its truth, authority).<sup>62</sup> It refers to true as opposed to false, genuine as opposed to counterfeit, original as opposed to copy, and honest as opposed to corrupt; linking to “a set of eternal and unshakeable principles” in the face of its continual flux.<sup>63</sup> As Jukka Jokilehto notes, this notion has been frequently discussed in the field of conservation and has become ‘fashionable’ since the *Nara Document on Authenticity* was issued in 1994.<sup>64</sup> Before the revision of the UNESCO World Heritage *Operational Guidelines* in 2005, the definition given for authenticity was referred to as design, material, workmanship, and setting, which were basically in reference to the tangible aspects of cultural heritage. However, the revised definition of authenticity, as a fruit of the ICOMOS Preparatory Workshop in Bergen and then the Nara Conference on Authenticity in 1994, also includes “traditions, techniques, language and other forms of intangible

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<sup>61</sup> In the ICOMOS Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites (2008), seven cardinal principles are mentioned which are the principles of Access and Understanding, Information Sources, Attention to Setting and Context, Preservation of Authenticity, Planning for Sustainability, Concern for Inclusiveness, and the Importance of Research, Training, and Evaluation. Full text available at [http://www.icomos.org/charters/interpretation\\_e.pdf](http://www.icomos.org/charters/interpretation_e.pdf), accessed on October 16, 2017.

<sup>62</sup> Jukka Jokilehto, “Authenticity: A General Framework for the Concept,” in Knut Einar Larsen ed., *Nara Conference on Authenticity / Conférence de Nara sur l'authenticité* (Paris, France: UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 1995), pp. 17-34: 18; Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural Conservation* (Oxford, UK: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1999), p. 296.

<sup>63</sup> David Lowenthal, “Changing Criteria of authenticity,” in Knut Einar Larsen ed., 1995, pp.121-135: 123; see detailed discussion on ‘authenticity’ in its evolving context in architectural conservation and other related areas in Lowenthal, “Authenticity? The Dogma of Self-Delusion,” Mark Jones ed., *Why fakes matter: essays on problems of authenticity* (London, UK: British Museum Press, 1992), pp.184-192; Lowenthal, “Criteria of authenticity,” in Knut Einar Larsen and Nils Marstein eds., *Conference on Authenticity in Relation to the World Heritage Convention. Preparatory Workshop Proceedings, Bergen, Norway, 1994* (Oslo, Norway: Riksantikvaren / Trondheim: Tapir forlag, 1994), pp. 35-64; Jokilehto, 1995, pp. 17-34; Jokilehto, 1999, pp. 296-298;

<sup>64</sup> Jokilehto, “Considerations on Authenticity and Integrity in World Heritage Context,” *City & Time* 2: 1 (2006), pp. 1-16: 8. Text available at <http://www.ceci-br.org/novo/revista/docs2006/CT-2006-44.pdf>, accessed on October 17, 2017; see varied discussion on authenticity at Nara Conference in the published proceedings edited by Knut Einar Larsen, 1995.

heritage, as well as spirit and feeling or other issues, showing a much broader recognition of the different aspects of culture and heritage.”<sup>65</sup>

As the concept of authenticity covers so many aspects in architectural conservation and becomes rather elusive, it is necessary to narrow down its scope and make it a more effective tool for assessment in site museum operations. Taken in this context, ‘authenticity’ is about the tangible authentic sources of history. It is about how to secure the material evidence of the history in archaeological sites, including the main body of the excavation site and its surroundings. The conservation principle of authenticity in site museums can be applied to evaluate “the conservation, re-evaluation of the authentic object, preservation of its historic stratification and original material, and avoidance of falsification;” an approach which developed from the Renaissance period.<sup>66</sup> Further, the specific principles and guidelines for this work were clearly expressed in the ICOMOS *Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage*, inspired by the *Venice Charter* (1964) and made by the International Committee for the Management of Archaeological Heritage (ICAHM) of ICOMOS in 1990.<sup>67</sup>

It should be pointed out that there are always tensions between the conservation and presentation of an archaeological site, as well as between the structural form and the setting when an architectural addition is implemented. For a clearer understanding of the site, therefore, an interdisciplinary approach is a must.<sup>68</sup> This is because most

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 2006, p. 8. Text of different versions of UNESCO Operational Guidelines from 1977 to 2016 available at UNESCO World Heritage Centre Official Website: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/> accessed on October 22, 2017.

<sup>66</sup> Jukka Jokilehto, “Conservation Principles and Their Theoretical Background,” *Durability of Building Materials*, Vol. 5, No. 3-4 (1988), pp. 267-277: p. 268.

<sup>67</sup> Full text available at <http://www.icomos.org/en/charters-and-texts>, accessed on October 16, 2017.

<sup>68</sup> Since many disciplines should be involved with a site commission, the list of professionals is a long one, and the selection of experts is always difficult; see details about staffing and personnel services of heritage sites in Bernard M. Feilden, Jukka Jokilehto, *Management Guidelines for World Cultural Heritage Sites* (Rome: ICCROM, 1993), pp. 47-58. According to Feilden in his practical manual book written for architects, a conservation architect should fulfill a more complicated role with many requirements in addition to the professional experience as a general architect. See “The conservation architect and his team of co-works” and “Part III The Work of the Conservation Architect” in Bernard M. Feilden, *Conservation of Historic Buildings* (London, UK: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1982), pp. 12-18; 183-307.

archaeological sites consist of fragile and non-renewable material,<sup>69</sup> and architectural measures should always be taken with great caution. Essentially, the bottom line is that the historical remains should not be demolished, according to the interpretation expressed by LIU Kecheng, the architect of Han Yangling underground museum.<sup>70</sup>

‘Integrity’ is about the setting and context of the site. The general definition of ‘integrity’ refers to the state of being whole and not divided. This notion is often stated as the ‘condition of integrity,’ serving as an adjacency-pair notion to ‘authenticity,’ but not much interpreted as authenticity in conservation.<sup>71</sup> Integrity appeared in Article 14 of the *Venice Charter* (1964) which suggested that “[t]he sites of monuments must be the object of special care in order to safeguard their integrity and ensure that they are cleared and presented in a seemly manner.”<sup>72</sup> In the definition of ‘integrity’ given by the US National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), seven aspects including location, design, setting, material, workmanship, feeling, and association are mentioned.<sup>73</sup> According to Jokilehto, the concept of integrity “in relation to cultural sites should be understood in the relevant historic context describing the state that a particular place has acquired by the present time” that refers to “visual, structural and functional aspects” of the place.<sup>74</sup> Further, it could also be used as a tool to “define the significance of single historic structures within the overall context, and justify even minor elements that only have meaning in relation to

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<sup>69</sup> Most archaeological ruins in China are of an earthen fabric, and reburial is technically the best way to preserve them. See detailed discussion upon this in Appendix II: An Interview with WU Xiaocong on the Han Yangling Site Museum Project, 2009.

<sup>70</sup> See details in Appendix III: An Interview with LIU Kecheng on the Han Yangling Site Museum Project, 2009.

<sup>71</sup> The word ‘integrity’ is sometimes replaced as ‘The Whole of the Object’ which has the same meaning; see Paul Philippot, “Historic Preservation: Philosophy, Criteria, Guidelines, I (1972)” in *Historical and Philosophical Issues in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage*, eds. Nicholas Stanley-Price, M. Kirby Talley Jr., and Alessandra Melucco Vaccaro, (Los Angeles, CA: The Getty Conservation Institute, 1996), pp. 268-274: p.271.

<sup>72</sup> See Article 14 of the *Venice Charter* (1964). Further, preserving the setting is also stated in Article 1, Article 6, Article 7, and Article 13. Full text available at [https://www.icomos.org/charters/venice\\_e.pdf](https://www.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf), accessed on October 16, 2017.

<sup>73</sup> See in National Register Bulletins, The National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) Official Website, USA. Full text available at [https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb34/nrb34\\_8.htm](https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb34/nrb34_8.htm), accessed on October 18, 2017; cited by Jokilehto, 1999, pp. 298-299.

<sup>74</sup> Jukka Jokilehto, “Conservation Concepts” in John Ashurst ed., *Conservation of ruins* (Burlington, MA: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2007), pp. 3-9: 8.

the whole”<sup>75</sup> as “it is particularly relevant in relation to cultural landscapes and historic area.”<sup>76</sup>

As Paul Philippot notes, “[t]he recognition of the value of the whole and the object’s context leads logically to the principle that every object should, whenever possible, be conserved *in situ* if one wants to save the full value of the whole and of the parts.”<sup>77</sup> For that reason, the existing setting and context are the bases of site museums. This also distinguishes site museums from other similar types of museums, for instance, open-air museums; a museum type that originated in Norway, Sweden, and other Northern European countries based on the preservation and presentation of vernacular architecture. In his *Open Air Museums: The History and Future of a Visionary Idea*, Sten Rentzhog clarifies this point by stating that “an open air museum is a site mainly comprising translocated buildings,” “established for educational purposes.” As such, “the concept of ‘open air museum’ does not include [a] historical complex preserved *in situ*,”<sup>78</sup> which can be considered as a site museum in a broader sense.<sup>79</sup>

The British Conservation Architect Sir Bernard M. Feilden (1919-2008) expressed in an interview of 1989 that “the landscape element of the presentation of ruins is very important.” As he observed, a designer always gets into incredible conflicts which need to be resolved for presentation of archaeological ruins, unless the

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<sup>75</sup> Jokilehto, 1999, p. 299; Philippot expressed a similar opinion in his “Historic Preservation: Philosophy, Criteria, Guidelines, I (1972)” as following: “In some cases, the context may be an object, as is the case, for instance, of minor architecture in historic centers, when no individual building is a work of art but the whole becomes a monument in itself (e.g., the Campo dei Fiori in Rome). An object should never be deprived off its context, if the object is to avoid becoming isolated and ‘museumized,’ that is, segregated from life.” See Philippot, 1996, p. 272.

<sup>76</sup> Jokilehto, 2007, p. 8.

<sup>77</sup> Philippot, 1996, p. 272.

<sup>78</sup> Sten Rentzhog, *Open Air Museums: The History and Future of a Visionary Idea* (Kristianstad, Sweden: Jamtli Förlag and Carlssons Bokförlag, 2007), p. 2; also see a more detailed description and reflection on the definition of open-air museum in Küsel, 1989, pp. 183-184.

<sup>79</sup> Philippot also expressed a critical view toward open-air museum as following: “The open-air museum is an emergency solution and is almost a contradiction in itself, since vernacular architecture is existentially linked to its surroundings, even more so than major monuments that can impose themselves on their surroundings. Hence, there is the almost inherent tendency of the open-air museum to evolve into a Disneyland: No longer is it a preservation of history in the present, but rather a projection of fantasy into objects of the past, which is a special variety of faking.” See Philippot, 1996, p. 272.

objective is clear.<sup>80</sup> In *Architectural Restoration in Western Europe: Controversy and Continuity*, Wim Denslagen criticized that Italian Architect Mario Botta was in favor of “a dialectical confrontation of the old with new,” and reluctant to make an architectural expression in a subordinate manner to the existing built environment. Denslagen named this kind of attitude of many modern architects as “artistic arrogance,” suggesting that “[n]ew buildings have to take their place with fitting politeness in the old environment; [therefore] they should not be obtrusive or subservient, but rather self-aware and well bred.”<sup>81</sup>

Taken into the discussion of site museums, a contextual architectural approach could be recommended as an appropriate strategy for the existing surroundings. It does not mean that there are no exceptions. It is a common solution for many architects to design the new additions to create contrast or confrontation between the old and new structures. As I see it, one case of this approach in archaeological sites may be acceptable (depending on the quality of design), but many would definitely be a disaster for the existing environment of the sites.

Another important aspect about the setting and context is about how to integrate local community life into site museums. This idea was clearly stressed in the ‘General Principles’ of the *Recommendation Concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas* of UNESCO as follows:

Every historic area and its surroundings should be considered in their totality as a coherent whole whose balance and specific nature depend on the fusion of the parts of which it is composed and which include human activities as much as the buildings, the spatial organization and the surroundings. All valid elements, including human activities, however modest, thus have a significance in relation to the whole which must not be disregarded. (UNESCO, 1976, Article 3)<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> David Vette, “A Conversation with Sir Bernard Feilden,” *Modulus* (The Architectural Review at the University of Virginia), Volume 19 (1989), University of Virginia School of Architecture, pp. 3-23: p. 19-20.

<sup>81</sup> Wim Denslagen, *Architectural Restoration in Western Europe: Controversy and Continuity* (Amsterdam, the Netherlands: Architectura & Natura Press, 1994), p.254.

<sup>82</sup> Full text available at UNESCO Official Website: <https://goo.gl/7tNzYf>, accessed on October 16, 2017.

This has also been an absent or rather weak point in the majority of site museums in China so far. As land acquisition is often the main method used by local governments for the protection of large archaeological sites in China,<sup>83</sup> there is no strong bond between the site museums and the local community, but just the regular connection between the museum and its visitors. Taking three listed National Heritage Site Parks<sup>84</sup> in Shaanxi province as example, the site park of Han Yangling Museum is about 1.3 square kilometers, the Emperor Qinshihuang's Mausoleum Site Museum (former Terracotta Warriors Museum) is 2.13 square kilometers, and the Daming Palace National Heritage Park dominates an area about 3.28 square kilometers.<sup>85</sup> Land acquisition and replacement were adopted as the strategy for each of these three cases, and all the local populations and industries were moved out of the buffer zones. For this reason, Marie Louise Anker gave a critical review of the absence of local people and social participation in conservation planning when the Han Chang'an archaeological site in Xi'an prepared to apply for being a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2014.<sup>86</sup> Therefore, it is not surprising that the local farmers in the neighboring villages were presented as being ignorant, having a low awareness of the Han Yangling archaeological sites and museum according to a survey.<sup>87</sup> As a contrast, like many local museums in Europe, there is a close cooperation between the Hedmark Museum and the local community with different activities as part of a routine program of the museum.<sup>88</sup>

Continuity in the context of site museums is about the contemporary expression of aesthetic values. It is about the design quality of the architectural approaches to the sites including the architectural measure for museum management, protection,

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<sup>83</sup> See detailed description about taking land acquisition as a strategy for the protection of large archaeological sites in Appendix I: An Interview with ZHANG Tinghao on the Han Yangling Site Museum Project.

<sup>84</sup> See SACH Official Website: [http://www.gov.cn/gzdt/2010-10/12/content\\_1719846.htm](http://www.gov.cn/gzdt/2010-10/12/content_1719846.htm). The first group of twelve National Heritage Site Parks were approved by Chinese State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH) on October 9, 2010, twenty-three archaeological sites were on the nomination list.

<sup>85</sup> See detailed introduction at the official websites of the Han Yangling Museum: <http://www.hylae.com>; Emperor Qinshihuang's Mausoleum Site Museum: <http://www.bmy.com.cn>; and Daming Palace National Heritage Park: <http://www.dmgpark.com/>.

<sup>86</sup> Marie Louise Anker, "UNESCO and ICOMOS doctrinal texts on cultural heritage protection and archaeological sites in the case of Han Chang'an Archaeological site – Wei Yang Palace Ruins World Heritage Site", 2016 (book under publication in a Sino-Norwegian conservation program).

<sup>87</sup> Chinese Academy of Cultural Heritage, 2016, Part II, p. 616.

<sup>88</sup> See detailed routine programs with the local community at the Hedmark Museum Official Website: <https://domkirkeodden.no/en> accessed on July 10, 2013.

interpretation, presentation, and reconstruction. As William Curtis remarks, “[a]t the core is a concern for authenticity within a personal vocabulary, in which form, function, structure and meaning are bound together with a certain conviction and character of inevitability.”<sup>89</sup> In site museums, there is still room and a requirement for this.

In 1988, Mario Botta claimed in an interview that “[a]rchitecture has to give expression to the times” and “a dialectical confrontation of the old with and the new is the only way to treat the past with the proper respect.”<sup>90</sup> Denslagen satirized Botta that the ‘expression of an age’ is an outdated myth in the 19<sup>th</sup> century that has long been superseded, and “this idea presupposes the existence of something like a ‘Zeitgeist’.”<sup>91</sup> He further stated that “[t]he quest for an architecture in keeping with the *Zeitgeist* was the great architectural project of the nineteenth century, but it was one that failed, because people were incapable of designing anything contemporary and thus remained stuck with imitation old architecture.”<sup>92</sup> This is in fact a question that requires a discussion of many issues, such as the continuity and rupture of traditions in modernity, which would be impossible to accomplish in this chapter. But, in accordance with ‘*Zeitgeist*’ (spirit of the age), one fact is that the concepts of the ‘main line of history’ originated from Hegel and ‘the most general representational forms’ were still the main concern in the writings of many art historians (e.g., Heinrich Wölfflin) and architectural historians (e.g., Nikolaus Pevsner and Sigfried Giedion) in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>93</sup> According to the reflection of Curtis, “[t]he early historian and propagandists of modern architecture tended to portray it as the single true style of the times,” and “they may have been wrong in treating this

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<sup>89</sup> William J.R. Curtis, *Modern Architecture Since 1900* (London, UK: Phaidon Press, 1996), Third Edition, p. 7.

<sup>90</sup> *Archithese* No.14 (1988), pp. 77-83; cited in Denslagen, 1994, p.254. Sverre Fehn may have presented a more philosophical expression of his view by stating that “[i]n pursuing the past one can never recapture it, - only by bringing forth the present can contact with the past be established.” See Norberg-Schulz, 1986, p. 119.

<sup>91</sup> Denslagen, 1994, p. 254.

<sup>92</sup> Wim Denslagen, trans. Donald Gardner, *Romantic Modernism: Nostalgia in the World of Conservation* (Amsterdam, the Netherlands: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), p.23.

<sup>93</sup> See Heinrich Wölfflin, trans. M. D. Hottinger, “The Most General Representational Forms,” in *Principles of Art History: The Problem of the Development of Style in Later Art* (New York, NY: Dover Publications, 1950, translation of *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* originally published in 1932), pp. 13-16; Nikolaus Pevsner, *Pioneers of the Modern Movement: from William Morris to Walter Gropius* (London, UK: Faber & Faber, 1936); Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition* (Boston, MA: Harvard University Press, 1941).

'style' as monolithically as they did, and they certainly oversimplified its relationship to previous traditions, but they were probably right in stressing its epic significance."<sup>94</sup> Accordingly, those design works expressed a "deeper meaning of their times in symbolic forms"<sup>95</sup> from those imaginative architects with historical consciousness, which will constitute as valuable historical documents without dispute.<sup>96</sup> The point is not about if the architects take a confrontation or coordination of the old with new. The core is that they can really express the quality of design in their works fitting "the elemental law and order inherent in all great architecture."<sup>97</sup>

If we test the three chosen site museum cases in the above assessment framework, a summary report from my personal observation can be presented in the following. According to the result of monitoring, both the protective building for the cathedral ruins (*Vernebygget*) in Hamar and the Han Yangling Underground Museum in Xi'an have achieved the intended goal of preservation, despite some 'minor problems' in the maintenance (see Figure 6.25).<sup>98</sup> This is because the strict requirements were clearly set at the beginning by the national heritage conservation authorities of these two projects. Regarding the Storhamar Barn for the excavated fortress of the bishop (*Storhamarlåven*), the archaeological ruins inside the building were preserved well, but many parts of the ruins, which were exposed outside in the courtyard, were in a vulnerable condition due to natural damage, as claimed by Tor Sæther, the curator of Hedmark Museum in an interview that I conducted with him in October 2012. As an archaeologist, Sæther mentioned that the continuous maintenance of the site and ruins

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<sup>94</sup> Curtis, 1996, p. 287, 685.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>96</sup> As Alois Riegl (1858-1905) suggested in 1903, "every monument of art is, without exception, a historical monument as well, since it represents a particular stage in the development ..." Jokilehto indicated that "Riegl was the first to provide a clear analysis of the values that distinguish traditional and modern approaches, i.e., the distinction between a monument in the sense of being intentionally built as a memorial to carry a message, and a historic monument being subsequently recognized as historical, and associated with specific values." See Riegl, trans. Karin Bruckner with Karin Williams, "The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Essence and Its Development (1903)" in *Historical and Philosophical Issues in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage*, eds. Nicholas Stanley-Price, M. Kirby Talley Jr., and Alessandra Melucco Vaccaro, (Los Angeles, CA: The Getty Conservation Institute, 1996), pp. 69-83: p. 70; Jokilehto, 1999, p. 295.

<sup>97</sup> Frank Lloyd Wright, "In the Cause of Architecture" (1908), in *In the Cause of Architecture, Frank Lloyd Wright: Essays by Frank Lloyd Wright for Architectural Record, 1908-1952*, eds. Andrew Devane and Frederick Albert Gutheim (New York: Architectural Record, 1975), p. 53.

<sup>98</sup> WU Xiaocong, the former director of Han Yangling Museum, mentioned the alkalization on the excavated objects, the vapor condensation from the concrete beams, and other problems in the maintenance of the site in the interview conducted by the author September 29, 2009. See details in Appendix II.

was needed due to this exposure. Although, when I made a field visit in the same period, there was a newly built temporary shelter on the site.



**Figure 6.25** Exterior View of *Vernebygget* with Vapor Condensation in 1998. (Photo: Dag Nilsen)

Concerning the relationship between the setting and the architectural approach, both the Storhamar Barn and Han Yangling underground museum (see Figure 6.16) were carried out with a contextual design approach, but the *Vernebygget* was realized by a different method. Like the pyramid designed by I. M. Pei in the Cour Napoléon in the Louvre in Paris, the protective building for the cathedral ruins is made of glass and steel. It forms an apparent volume with a contrasting image to the existing built environment as a new layer. This is due to the reflection of the glass surface, which is not as transparent as the architects had claimed (see Figure 6.26, 6.27). By rejecting the construction of a protection shelter, Art Historian Hans-Emil Lidén points out that the central values of ruins is about the beauty in connection with the surrounding landscape. He argues that a protection structure could destroy the beauty of the interaction between the ruins and the landscape.<sup>99</sup> This might be partly true. As a result, the connection was changed, and the ‘loss’ of the ruin as a familiar landscape

<sup>99</sup> Hans-Emil Lidén, “Ruiner og ruinpleie,” in Forseth, Terje (red.): *En reise gjennom norsk byggekunst*. Oslo 1994: p. 138; cited by Pedersen, 2011, p. 105.

element to many people was the price for safeguarding the authenticity of the existing formal structure of the ruins.



**Figure 6.26** Exterior View of the *Vernebygget* in 2012.



**Figure 6.27** Bird's-eye View of the *Vernebygget*, *Storhamarlåven*, and the Site<sup>100</sup>

<sup>100</sup> Source: Aerial photography was from <https://kart.finn.no/> accessed on July 10<sup>th</sup>, 2013.

Respecting the impression of architectural design quality, I think that Sverre Fehn indeed produced a mature work of a high order that stands the test of time. As Christian Norberg-Schulz commented, “[t]he result is an exceptionally rich experience in which old and new play up to one another.”<sup>101</sup> The work is concerned with both the materiality and craft of construction “which is carried out through a masterly combination of ancient masonry, large modern glass surfaces, all covered by a roof construction of laminated wood.”<sup>102</sup> The *Vernebygget* from Kjell Lund is also an impressive work, but not as good as its picture looks. The interior view of the building structure is visually very noisy (see Figure 6.23, 6.28). It is true that “the only way to judge architecture is to visit a building and sense it.”<sup>103</sup> The Han Yangling underground site museum, designed by Chinese architect LIU Kecheng, has received numerous recognition and awards in the years since it was completed.<sup>104</sup> However, when I revisited the building ten years after its completion, I got the impression that it was not a mature work with the spatial control, the materiality, and the detailing in architecture. According to the reflection from the architect himself, this is because it was one of the first few museum projects that the architect conducted in his early professional years. To this end, his lack of experience with the design of site museums was largely an impediment.<sup>105</sup>

As a protective building for the cathedral ruins, one interesting feature of *Vernebygget* is that the building space has also been used for diverse functions such as concerts, church services, and wedding ceremonies for the local community (see Figure 6.28).<sup>106</sup> During an interview, Mr. Pål Biønstad, the key associate architect to

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<sup>101</sup> Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Modern Norwegian Architecture* (Oslo: Norwegian University Press, 1986), p. 119.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>103</sup> Vette, 1989, p. 10.

<sup>104</sup> For instance, the project was awarded ‘National Top Ten Exhibitions of Chinese Museums’ (2005-2006), which is the highest level of awards in the museum field in China since 1997 and under the guidance of the Chinese State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH) and Chinese Museums Association as judging committees. See <http://www.chinamuseum.org.cn/plus/list.php?tid=18>; Official Website of Chinese Museums Association, accessed on September 21, 2017. In December 2007, the Han Yangling underground museum project was awarded the silver medal of National High Quality Projects in China. See Official Website of China’s High Quality Projects Award, <http://guoyou.cnerent.com/2007/yinzhijiang/464.html>, accessed on November 19, 2013.

<sup>105</sup> See detailed comments with different angles by the participants of the Han Yangling case in the documented interviews in Chapter 5 and Appendices I-V.

<sup>106</sup> See detailed description about this topic in the documented interviews in Appendices VI-VIII.

Kjell Lund in the project, pointed out that the functions were intentionally designed through the negotiation with the clients. Due to the Norwegian Directorate for Cultural Heritage (*Riksantikvar*), the client of the project was not interested in the proposal of the additional function, the architects had to persuade the Hedmark Museum authority to find the funding independently for the design of the pavement and church altar for a public gathering purpose.<sup>107</sup> One dimension to assess the quality of a site protection building as a museum facility is to measure if it could serve its function for the continuity of the site and build a close bond with the people. To achieve this goal, *Vernebygget* has reached a high degree of excellence. It may also be interesting to point out that several museum people complained about some functional problems of *Storhamarlåven* during the interviews. For instance, because Architect Fehn stressed the formal expression of a clear ‘material chronology’ and did not provide any thermal insulation, the building remains closed in the winter season. As the exhibition design, including the design for display cabinets, is very much into the details for each exhibit, one informant also complained about the low mobility for new exhibition arrangements inside the building.<sup>108</sup> This is, in fact, a significant example that reflects the form versus function debate within architectural design, related to the analogous controversy in society. Anyway, these two architectural works serve as the physical evidence for the interpretation of the site based on the conception of reality in their ongoing development of history. I think that both *Storhamarlåven* and *Vernebygget* fulfilled their roles as site museums by expressing different ideas about architectural conservation from their different time periods.

As Gionata Rizzi observes, “each site has a different story, each case calls for a specific approach,” and there is no intervention to the site in reality that “satisfies all the criteria of an abstract idea of ‘conservation correctness’” because “all cultural activity is controversial” and “there are no ready-made recipes.”<sup>109</sup> The international documents, especially the ICOMOS *Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage* (1990) and *Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites* (2008), provide many specific principles and

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<sup>107</sup> See in Appendix VII, pp. 275-276.

<sup>108</sup> As Curator Tore Sæther commented, “We love it and we hate it.” See detailed discussion in Appendices VII-IX: Selected Anthropological Field Notes on Hedmark Museum.

<sup>109</sup> See Gionata Rizzi, “Preface” in John Ashurst ed., *Conservation of ruins* (Burlington, MA: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2007), pp. xix-xxiii: xxii.

guidelines for the execution work on archaeological heritage sites.<sup>110</sup> But, the different interpretations of these principles also constitute a more complicated situation for real practice. Specifically, a man can be caught in his own trap with too many rules. Therefore, a concise assessment framework is needed as a reminder to get through the whole working procedure.



**Figure 6.28** A Gathering Event inside the *Vernebygget* in 2002 (Photo: Dag Nilsen)

## 6.5. Conclusion

From the discussion in the previous sections, a summary can be drawn as follows. The result of building a protective museum structure in an archaeological site would always add cultural value as the expression of the time, whether positively or negatively, which is an irreversible approach of continuity. Based on that comprehension, it is necessary to revisit and examine the validity of the reversibility and minimal intervention principles in the installation of site museums. These principles can be considered as ways of expression that call to the richness of

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<sup>110</sup> Full text available at <http://www.icomos.org/en/charters-and-texts> accessed on October 21, 2017.

conservation methods, but cannot be considered complete guiding principles to follow for the conservation and presentation of site museums.

Archaeological site museums, as an approach to modern cultural heritage conservation, combine the site and the objects from the excavation, the recorded traces and its exhibition *in situ*, the natural environment and the built environment, and the museum and the community. As such, they obtain diverse stratification as a living heritage. Even for an archaeological shelter or enclosure, as Zaki Aslan points out, it is often considered advantageous to prevent or minimize the decay and prolong the life of the site, while concurrently presenting the site and making it accessible to the public.<sup>111</sup> The architectural measure of archaeological sites should firstly safeguard the physical evidence of the site. In the meantime, however, it is necessary to make the site more readable as a museum through moderate approaches. As there is no simple answer for ensuring that the work is good in real practice, balanced solutions which fit to each individual case have to be made from the different approaches proposed by different participant groups.<sup>112</sup> And, any decision should only be taken after thorough consideration.

As I suggested, the principles of authenticity, integrity, and continuity could constitute a fundamental framework for assessing different implementations of site museums. This framework may serve as a methodology for the conservation of the various types of in situ archaeological remains, as well as their settings and values held therein. The framework will not necessarily lead directly to a satisfactory outcome for conservation, or produce good architectural designs for site museums, but, as a concise assessment framework, it can serve as a reminder to assess the different approaches of architectural additions in site museums.

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<sup>111</sup> Zaki Aslan, "Protective Structures for the Conservation and Presentation of Archaeological Sites," *Journal of Conservation and Museum Studies* 3 (1997), pp.16–20.

<sup>112</sup> As it was expressed in the ICOMOS *Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage* (1990), these include the responsibilities of public authorities and legislators, principles relating to the professional performance of the processes of inventorisation, survey, excavation, documentation, research, maintenance, conservation, preservation, reconstruction, information, presentation, public access and use of the heritage, and the qualification of professionals involved in the protection of the archaeological heritage. Full text available at <http://www.icomos.org/en/charters-and-texts> accessed on October 16, 2017.

The intention of raising a critical discussion in this chapter is to clarify the effect of architectural additions to archaeological sites as museum facility in cultural heritage management which may be expectantly useful for later relevant works. All the discussion about the Norwegian and Chinese examples in this article is based on the fieldwork that I have conducted from 2009 to 2015. Sixteen informants related to the selected cases (ten informants for the Han Yangling Museum, and six informants for the Hedmark Museum) in different professional fields were interviewed. The details of the selected documented interviews can be seen in the Appendices of this dissertation. In addition to setting up a foundation for the further research, these collected field notes of different informants including museum staffs, archaeologists, architects, civil engineers, contractors and conservation officers are also valuable documentation as an oral history which may draw an overall picture of the Chinese and Norwegian cases.



## **Part IV Conclusions**



Chapter 7  
**The Challenges of Site Museum Management in China**  
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<sup>1</sup> This chapter is a summary base on the analysis of documented long interviews carried out by Author on Chinese and Norwegian cases from 2009 to 2015. See details of the selected interviews in Appendix I to IX.



## 7. The Challenges of Site Museum Management in China

### 7.1 Introduction

With respect to ‘the cult of heritage’ as a fashion in the contemporary world, David Lowenthal points out the causes of modern heritage concern in his *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* as follows:

Dismay at massive change stokes demands for heritage. Market forces swiftly outdate most things now made or built; migration uproots millions from familiar locales; technology transforms familiar scenes at shocking speed. The intricate texture of downtown Boston visible in 1930s photos is today totally effaced by packing-crate office blocks; the old Massachusetts State House, a minuscule survivor among overgrown monsters, becomes an ornamental snuff box in a museum case. Landscape itself is replaced ever sooner: London's trees, the mighty oaks and majestic limes Victorians planted to endure, give way to fast-growing, short-lived species. Beleaguered by loss and change, we keep our bearing only by clinging to remnants of stability. ... Mourning past neglect, we cherish islands of security in the seas of change. “In a throwaway society where everything is ephemeral,” a London College of Arms spokesman explains the rise of ancestor hunts, people “begin to look for something more lasting.” (David Lowenthal, 1996)<sup>1</sup>

Further, Lewis Mumford once described how the old ideas, institutions, and traditions in every department including the venerable buildings had been swept away in the inexorable social and cultural transformations in the West during the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (New York, NY: Viking Press, 1997), p. 6. In this book, Lowenthal mainly discussed the distinction between heritage and history, examined the elusive and paradoxical nature of heritage, and explored the uses and abuses of heritage and history. He argued that the purpose of heritage is to deform history as “heritage clarifies past” and “infuse[s] them with present purposes” as a contemporary commodity. Evidently, it would be a luxury to discuss heritage conservation in this way in the context of contemporary China since the conservation professionals, in the most of cases, are racing against time from the vandalism of cultural heritage so far.

<sup>2</sup> Lewis Mumford, ed. Donald L. Miller, “The Case Against ‘Modern Architecture’ (1962),” *The Lewis Mumford Reader* (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, First Edition, 1986), pp. 73-83: 75; also see an overall description in Chapters 14-15 in Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects* (New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961), pp. 410-481.

More than a hundred years later, a similar process took place in China on a more violent scale and in a much shorter period.<sup>3</sup> During the radical reconstruction of the existing built environment in urban and rural areas, many historical districts have disappeared and cities have become homogeneous and what could be termed as boring. According to William Curtis's observation, there is 'a form of cultural schizophrenia' in modern architecture in developing countries because the social and cultural transformations there, from a rural and agricultural economy to an urban and industrial economy, were achieved with the imported tools from the West only over a single generation.<sup>4</sup> China is without exception. Fortunately, the desire for cultural identity in contemporary Chinese society is growing stronger. As such, the importance of heritage conservation has been gradually accepted by the public over the past few decades.<sup>5</sup>

## 7.2 Challenge of Preservation and Use of Heritage Sites

From the interview documentation of the Han Yangling Site Museum, it is not surprising that conflicts between the preservation and use of heritage seem to always be a main topic. There are two types of conflicts that occur frequently in the practice of conservation in China. One is to deliberately ignore the existence of cultural heritage sites in the development of urban transformation, and the other is the abuse or misuse of the listed heritage sites. Speaking of the first type of conflict, ZHANG Tinghao, the former president of the Chinese Academy of Cultural Heritage and former director of Shaanxi Provincial Cultural Heritage Bureau, expressed his view as follows:

There were so many cases about the serious damage to cultural heritage sites caused by the ardor of economic development. For example, in Dinghai Historical Town (Zhoushan, Zhejiang Province), the historic districts were torn down for real estate

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<sup>3</sup> During an interview in 2010, XIE Chensheng (1922-), Honorary President of Chinese Society of Cultural Relics, stated that the 1990s was 'the most tragic period' for cultural heritage remains in China and even worse than the period of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). See details in SHANG Qianming, "After Learning Shaolin Temple is Ready for Listing", *Outlook Weekly* 2010 (26), Xinhua News Agency, pp. 26-27.

<sup>4</sup> William J. R. Curtis, *Modern Architecture Since 1900* (London, UK: Phaidon Press, 1996), Third Edition, p. 568.

<sup>5</sup> CHANG Qing, "Editorial: Introducing the First Issue," *Heritage Architecture*, Vol.1, No.1 (2016), p. 1.

purpose.<sup>6</sup> And it was led by a professional with a Doctorate degree in Architecture or Urban Planning. During the process of modernization, we will inevitably make some mistakes but should not pay such a huge cost. Confucius once said that one should not make the same mistake twice. But we have made the same mistakes so many times. In the past, in the name of renovation of the city, many historic buildings were demolished, and nothing was left. Take Xi'an as an example, the city now has only the Ming City Wall together with several listed buildings. In the past, there were several historic districts inside the City Wall. Now there are almost none left, except a few of them in the Muslim District. (ZHANG Tinghao, 2014)<sup>7</sup>

Zhang also pointed the reason for this conflict from his point of view. He claimed that because many local government chiefs in China knew very little about the history of the country and the cultural identity of Chinese people, they were confused about their roots and foundations during the modernization progress. To this end, they thought that “the mushroomed skyscrapers in the cities indicate the modern improvement.”<sup>8</sup> Accordingly, their understanding of modern improvement was not rooted in China's reality, and everything was simply measured by the growth of GDP with the rigid indexes, which would consequently cause problems.

I have chosen the Daming case to raise the discussion and compare the different historical backgrounds in one chapter because it reflects a significant difference in the interpretation of the concept of architectural heritage conservation in China and Norway (thus Europe). For the same reason mentioned in the above paragraph, the decaying residential area of the Daming Palace Site and the typical urban structure of the 20<sup>th</sup> century modern development, could unsurprisingly be considered as defects in the structure of the city by the decision-makers. The government officials wanted

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<sup>6</sup> The demolition of Dinghai Historical Town was a significant public event in 1999 in China. The place was the first group of the provincial listed historic cities of Zhejiang Province since 1991, and torn down following the urban renewal project carried out by the Zhoushan Municipal Government which has since 1996 been met with the great resistance from the local community. See detailed story in English in Marina Svensson, “Heritage Struggles and Place-makings in Zhejiang Province: Local Media, Cross-regional Media Interactions, and Media Strategies from below,” eds. Wanning Sun and Jenny Chio, *Mapping Media in China: Region, Province, Locality* (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 193-211.

<sup>7</sup> Interview conducted in October 2014 in Beijing in Chinese and translated into English by the author. See details in Appendix I.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. Since the ‘bureau chief responsibility system’ was adopted in 1982 for the leadership structures of Chinese government, it makes sense that the local government chiefs should take the major responsibility for the result. This is a point to which I will return later.

to present some grand history of Xi'an city in the Tang Dynasty (AD 618–907); a period of extreme prosperity and unprecedented strength. Nevertheless, the conservation experts were more divided on this issue. Indeed, some of them especially with training backgrounds in classical Chinese architecture may have had the same illusion, but many did not argue with this because of the difficult existing situation faced and the limitation of the methodology used.

In the previous chapter of the Daming case, I mentioned that many Chinese archaeologists tend to focus on the main discovery of a certain period in their field excavation, but often underestimate the value and integrity of different remains in the later periods, thus leaving an impact on the conservation practice of many listed heritage sites in China. According to Lothar von Falkenhausen, because Chinese archaeologists have to keep up with high-paced construction work all over the country, and rescue sites threatened with destruction, “they are understandably prone to dig wherever they expect [are] the most valuable objects, rather than to apply scientific sampling strategies that might yield more representative data.”<sup>9</sup> Due to the lack of interest, experience, and funds, there is ‘a dearth of information’ on the sites of human settlements. As a result, serious archaeological work on such topics has been limited, “and almost nowhere does the available information allow meaningful inferences on the lifeways and social interactions of their inhabitants.”<sup>10</sup>

For the case of the Han Yangling Museum, there were also sharp conflicts between urban development and heritage site preservation. These conflicts mainly lie in two aspects: one is the administrative conflicts between the Shaanxi provincial government and the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH) on the higher level; the other regards the different understandings about the preservation and use of the heritage site on the practice level. As for the second aspect, there were also two specific challenges: one is the risk of overuse injury because of the involvement of tourism from the local government; another regards how to explore the capacity of the large-scaled heritage sites to a moderate degree for their use. Both WU Xiaocong, the former director of the Han Yangling Museum (2003-2007), and LIU Kecheng, the

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<sup>9</sup> Lothar von Falkenhausen, *Chinese Society in the Age of Confucius (1000-250 BC): The Archaeological Evidence* (CA: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California, 2006), p. 18.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

chief architect of the Han Yangling underground museum project (2000-2006), mentioned the case of Yangling Town site which is a symbolic example (Figure 7.1).

As Wu mentioned in an interview in September 2009 in Xi'an,<sup>11</sup> the cultural heritage experts convened by the SACH all agree that the archaeological site of Yangling town is an important component as a human settlement to the whole Han Yangling Site; a typical example of China's earliest satellite town to Han Chang'an city, the historical name of Xi'an.<sup>12</sup> However, the proposal of conservation planning approved by the SACH in 2002 has been suspended by the Shaanxi provincial government for more than twelve years.<sup>13</sup> This is because the local government had already sold the district covering the site of Yangling town to real estate investors. Speaking of the case of the Yangling Town Site, Liu made his interpretation even clearer:

From the planning point of view, this matter is very simple. The coverage of the area should be based on the archaeological investigation. Han Yangling Mausoleum possesses great values in terms of several aspects. First, it is the most complete preserved imperial cemetery of the Western Han Dynasty including the main cemetery, the accompanied cemeteries, and the site of Yangling Town. In this sense, to maximize its value lies in preserving its 'condition of integrity'. We are not just talking about how wonderful this historic site is, but as a whole, the site has provided us some irreplaceable values. It is clear in theory, but difficult in practice. Paralleled with the conservation plan, another so-called Jingwei Development Zone planning is also underway. The plan of Jingwei Development Zone is trying to grab a part of the archaeological sites, the Yangling Town into its own hands. Why is this conservation plan not approved by the provincial government? It is because the agreement between the State Administration of Cultural Heritage and local interests couldn't be reached.

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<sup>11</sup> See details in Appendix II.

<sup>12</sup> See detailed background introduction to the site of Yangling town in Notes 38-39, Section 5.6, Chapter 5.

<sup>13</sup> As the revised version of the Conservation and Utilization Plan of Han Yangling Mausoleum, the Master Plan of National Site Park of Han Yangling Site was approved by the Chinese State Administration of Cultural Heritage and Shaanxi Provincial Government in May 2015. See <http://www.hylae.com/view.asp?id=1029>, "the Chronicle," Han Yangling Museum Official Website, accessed on November 4, 2017.

This leads to a sort of ‘dragging tactic’ with an intention to form a fait accompli. (LIU Kecheng, 2009)<sup>14</sup>

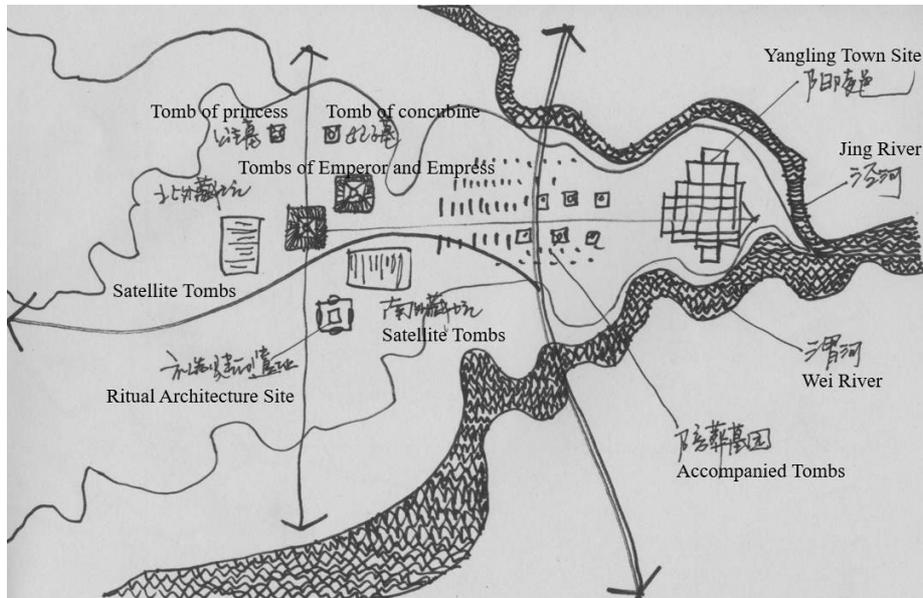


Figure 7.1 Location of Yangling Town Site in Han Yangling Imperial Cemetery (Sketches by LIU Kecheng)

XUE Kai, the former project manager of the Han Yangling Museum during the construction of the underground museum from 2004 to 2006, also mentioned some exclusive details in an interview about the administrative conflicts between the local government and SACH while reflecting on the Han Yangling case.<sup>15</sup> In December 1998, the Shaanxi Tourism Corporation Group was established under the direction of the Shaanxi provincial government for revitalizing local economies. As an important measure, the Han Yangling and Terracotta Warriors Museums were partly merged into a state-owned company of Shaanxi Province, causing many conflicts and disputes between the conservation and tourism departments.<sup>16</sup> In response to this situation, the

<sup>14</sup> Interview with LIU Kecheng conducted in October 2009 in Xi'an in Chinese and translated into English by the author. See details in Appendix III.

<sup>15</sup> See details in Section 5.6, Chapter 5.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. The branch company of the Shaanxi Tourism Group for the tourism management of the Terracotta Warriors Museum was formed in May 1999, and the branch for the Han Yangling Site was set up on June 30, 2000. See CHEN Xiaowei, “Double Sides of Terracotta Warriors Museum,” *New West* 2014 (04): pp. 14-18, text available at <http://www.bmy.com.cn/contents/172/13662.html>, Emperor Qin Shihuang's Mausoleum Site Museum Official Website, and “the Chronicle,” Han Yangling Museum Official Website, <http://www.hylae.com/view.asp?id=1029>, accessed on December 5, 2017.

SACH and Ministry of Culture of the Chinese central government jointly issued a document in July 2001 declaring that this action was prohibited and against the law.<sup>17</sup> Meanwhile, without informing the provincial government in advance, the SACH directly listed all the provincial heritage sites of the imperial tombs from the Han (206 BC–AD 220) and Tang Dynasties (AD 618–907) as state-level protected properties on June 25, 2001. This was a reaction against the expansion of tourism on the heritage sites in Shaanxi Province.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, one article of the then newly revised National Cultural Relics Protection Law for China in 2002 specifically aimed at this problem, stating that the listed cultural heritage sites are prohibited from being run by business corporations.<sup>19</sup> As the result, the administration power of the two site museums was finally returned to the Shaanxi Provincial Cultural Heritage Bureau in December 2007.<sup>20</sup>

During the interviews, ZHANG Tinghao, WU Xiaocong and LIU Kecheng all mentioned the above conflict.<sup>21</sup> As the former director of the Shaanxi Provincial Cultural Heritage Bureau for the Han Yangling case, Zhang said that he was not quite in favor of the combination of the provincial tourism department and conservation department. He thought that the administrative reform launched by the Shaanxi provincial government made the situation very complicated. For instance, some people from the tourism department planned to arrange the Han Yangling Site as a

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid. This document, “Notice on Prohibiting the Change of the Management System of Cultural Relics Protection Institutions, Ministry of Culture and State Administration of Cultural Heritage, SACH [2001] No. 24,” was issued on July 11, 2001. Though the main points have been clearly stated in the revised National Cultural Relics Protection Law, the continued validity of this official document was stressed again by the SACH on December 2, 2010. Full text available at [http://www.haww.gov.cn/zwdt/2006-11/15/content\\_109123.htm](http://www.haww.gov.cn/zwdt/2006-11/15/content_109123.htm), Henan Provincial Cultural Heritage Bureau Official Website, accessed on December 6, 2017.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> See in the *Law of the People's Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics*: Article 24: No immovable cultural relics owned by the State may be transferred or mortgaged. No State-owned sites for their historical and cultural value, which are established as museums, cultural relics preservation institutes, or tourist sites may be made enterprise assets for business operation. See official English translation of this legal document at the UNESCO Database of National Cultural Heritage Laws: [http://www.unesco.org/culture/natlaws/media/pdf/china/cn\\_lawproteculturelics1982\\_engtof.pdf](http://www.unesco.org/culture/natlaws/media/pdf/china/cn_lawproteculturelics1982_engtof.pdf), accessed on November 17, 2017. This national law for heritage protection in China was adopted on November 19, 1982, amended on June 29, 1991, greatly revised on October 28, 2002. It was thereafter amended on December 29, 2007, June 29, 2013, April 24, 2015, and November 4, 2017. See different versions at the Chinese Laws and Regulations Database, The National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China Official Website, <http://law.npc.gov.cn/FLFG/>, accessed on November 17, 2017.

<sup>20</sup> Chen, 2014, pp. 14-18.

<sup>21</sup> See details in Appendices I-III.

place for the collection of all excavated objects from all different sites of the Han Dynasty, which would be good for tourism but a violation of the preservation goal.<sup>22</sup> Conflicts such as those occurring in the Han Yangling case are typical problems that can be seen in the management of Chinese site museums. These problems are very much related to the organizational structure of public museums and heritage conservation in China, which precisely match the communication pattern concluded in Chapter 5. These will be further discussed in a later section.

### 7.3 Challenge of a Top-down Administrative Structure

In her *Museums in China: Power, Politics and Identities*, Tracey Lie-dan Lu notes that the establishment of Communist China in 1949 was a significant turning point in China's history.<sup>23</sup> With regard to the organizational structure of museums and heritage conservation in China between 1949 and the 1980s, one of the biggest changes was the complete disappearance of private museums and associations.<sup>24</sup> As part of the ideological control of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), the CCP took over the leadership of all public museums.<sup>25</sup> In November 1949, the State Bureau for Cultural Relics was set up under the governance of the Ministry of Culture – renamed the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH) in June 1988<sup>26</sup> – which today is an independent bureau directly accountable to the State Council of P.R. China<sup>27</sup> (Figure 7.2). Since its establishment, the SACH and its regional counterparts have

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<sup>22</sup> See details in Appendix I.

<sup>23</sup> See details in Chapter 5 “Museums under the Communist State” in Tracey L-D Lu, *Museums in China: Power, Politics and Identities* (Abingdon, UK and New York, NY: Routledge, 2014), pp. 112-139.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p.121; see also Section 3 “Museums in Communist China” of Chapter 2 “Museums in China: Origins and Development” in Marzia Varutti, *Museums in China: The Politics of Representation After Mao* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2014), pp.28-31.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> SACH ed., *Chronicle of Works for Cultural Relics and Museums of the P.R. China* (Beijing, China: Cultural Relics Press, 2002), p. 8; cited in Lu, 2014, p. 121. Also see SACH, Government of the P.R. China, “Public Summary Request of the People’s Republic of China to the Government of the United States of America under Article 9 of the 1970 UNESCO Convention (2004)” in “Appendix: A Guide to Art and Cultural Heritage Resources” in Barbara T. Hoffman ed., *Art and Cultural Heritage: Law, Policy, and Practice* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 498-500: p. 499. The name and administrative structure of the SACH have been changed several times and finalized in 1988. See detailed description in SACH ed., *The Organizational History and Name-Lists of Personnel of the State Administration of Cultural Heritage and Subordinate Units* (Beijing, China: Cultural Relics Press, 2002).

<sup>27</sup> Ibid. Also see in Lu, “The Management of Intangible Cultural Heritage in China,” in Michelle L. Stefano and Peter Davis eds., *The Routledge Companion to Intangible Cultural Heritage* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2017), pp. 121-134: p. 123.

been responsible for the management of museums and cultural heritage sites and properties, which are two major missions of the institution in China.<sup>28</sup>

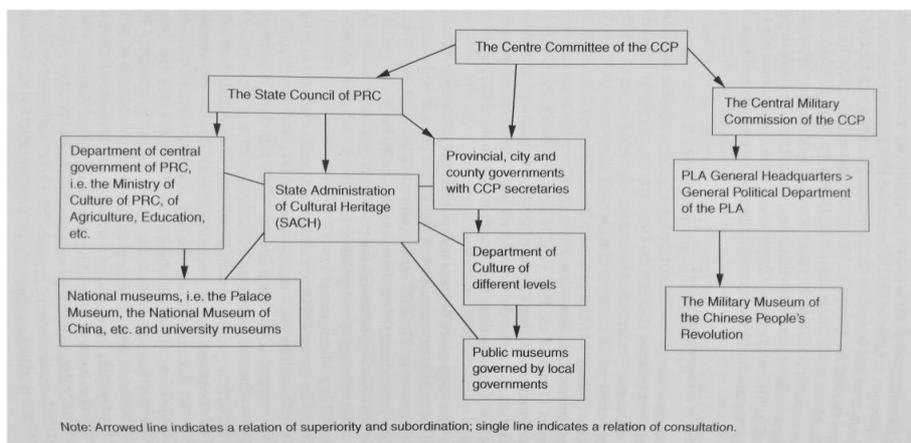
To be specific, the responsibilities of the SACH today are divided into ten different areas which include: 1) the study, formulation, and supervision of the implementation of development guidelines, policies, laws, regulations, and plans for cultural heritage properties and museums; 2) providing policy guidance and coordination for the management, protection, rescue, excavation, research, international transfer, promotion, and other works of cultural heritage properties; 3) the examination and approval of excavations, protections, and preservation projects of the listed sites in accordance with the relevant laws and regulation, and the applications for national listed cultural heritage properties, listed historical/cultural cities, and UNESCO World Heritage sites; 4) providing policy guidance for the construction of large-scale museums and the cooperation among museums; 5) providing professional consultation to the major cases of looting, vandalism, and smuggling of cultural heritage properties; 6) formulating the management rules for the circulation of cultural relics, as well as examining/approval for the establishment and revocation of the relevant certification bodies; 7) making budgets, examinations, and supervisions for the use of various funds; 8) directing scientific research, as well as making overall plans for training specialists in cultural heritage conservation and museums; 9) directing international exchanges and collaborations on cultural heritage conservation and museums; and, 10) undertaking other commissions from the State Council and the Ministry of Culture.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> The original Chinese text is from “The Notice of the State Council on the Establishment of the State Bureaus under the Management of the Ministries and the Commissions of the State Council (Chinese Government 1998, No. 6),” and “The Notice of the State Council on Publishing the Regulations for the Allocation Function, Organizational Divisions and Official Staffing Positions of the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (Chinese Government 1998, No. 72),” the official documents associated with the institutional reform proposal of the State Council approved at the First Plenary Meeting of the Ninth China National People’s Congress in 1998, translated into English by the author. Text available at [http://www.gov.cn/zhengce/content/2010-11/23/content\\_7793.htm](http://www.gov.cn/zhengce/content/2010-11/23/content_7793.htm), the State Council of the P.R. China Official Website; also see in ZHU Bing, “China’s Cultural Heritage Management System and the ‘Five-inclusions’ Measures,” 2008, text available at the National People’s Congress Official Website, [http://www.npc.gov.cn/npc/xinwen/rdlt/sd/2008-05/26/content\\_1430187\\_2.htm](http://www.npc.gov.cn/npc/xinwen/rdlt/sd/2008-05/26/content_1430187_2.htm), accessed on December 11, 2017.

In collaboration with the SACH, there are two more parallel government institutions in charge of cultural heritage management in China. First, the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development and its regional counterparts have been taking the major responsibility for the management of listed historical and cultural cities, towns, villages and districts in China since 1982.<sup>30</sup> Second, the Ministry of Culture and its regional counterparts have been responsible for the management of intangible cultural heritage since 2006.<sup>31</sup> As for the organizational relations between the SACH and public museums in China, we can gain an overall impression of the administrative structure from a diagram made by Tracey Lie-dan Lu (Figure 7.2).



**Figure 7.2** The Organizational Structure of Public Museums in China (© Tracey Lie-dan Lu)<sup>32</sup>

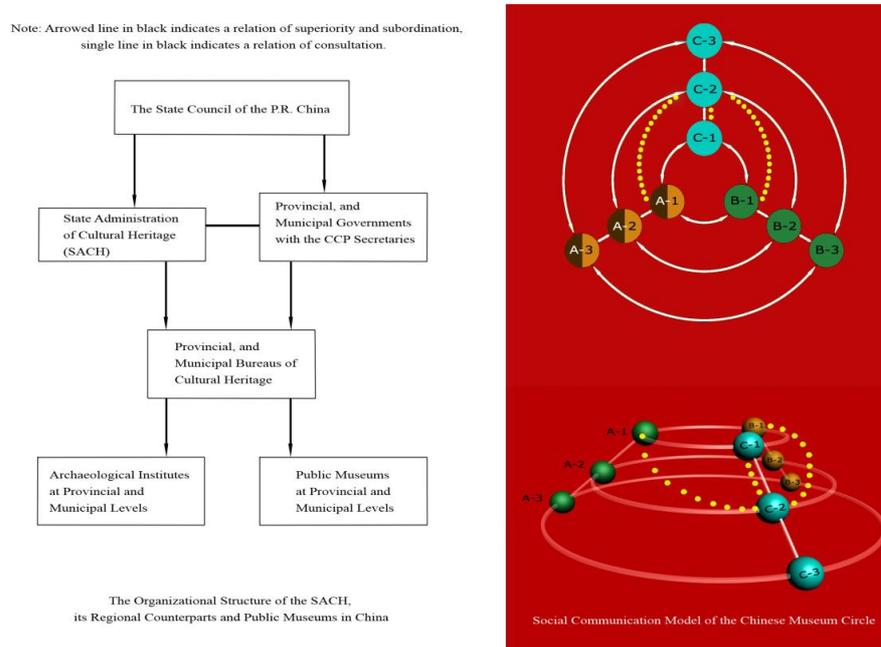
Nevertheless, there are some small errors in the above diagram as it does not precisely show the organizational relations between the SACH, local governments, regional counterparts of the SACH, and public museums governed by local governments. Therefore, a more detailed diagram is presented in Figure 7.3. As we can see from the left picture in Figure 7.3, the provincial and municipal counterparts of the SACH are in fact the subordinate units of the SACH and local governments

<sup>30</sup> See in LIN Yuan, "A Brief History of Architectural Heritage Conservation in China," Proceedings of the 4th Urban Planning Society of China (UPSC) Annual Conference, 2005, pp. 1218-1224; also in Section 2 "Development of Architectural Heritage Conservation in China" in Chapter 2 "Development of Architectural Heritage Conservation: Theory and Practice" in LIN, *Fundamental Research on Theories of Chinese Architectural Heritage Conservation* (Ph.D. Diss., Xi'an University of Architecture and Technology, 2007), pp. 44-55: p.51.

<sup>31</sup> Lu, 2017, p. 123; see also <http://www.ihchina.cn/index.html>, Official Website of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in China, accessed on December 11, 2017.

<sup>32</sup> Source: Lu, 2014, p. 122.

simultaneously. To be specific, the regional counterparts of the SACH are subordinate to the local governments in a more nominal way and receive financial allocation from the local governments as structural funds. But, in most instances, the SACH has the actual administrative power.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, the provincial and municipal public museums and archaeological institutes are the subordinate institutions of the regional counterparts of the SACH and follow their instructions.



**Figure 7.3** The Organizational Structure of the SACH, its regional counterparts and public museums in China (Left); and the social communication model of Chinese museum circle (Right)

To a large extent, the social communication model of the Chinese museum circle, which was concluded in Chapter 5, is also connected to the organizational structure mentioned above. Associated with the organizational structure, it would be much easier to understand the conflicts occurring in the Han Yangling case among the people from the different departments through the communication model. For instance, both ZHANG Tinghao (former director of Shaanxi Provincial Cultural

<sup>33</sup> See detailed description in ZHU Bing, "China's Cultural Heritage Management System and the 'Five-inclusions' Measures," 2008, text available at the National People's Congress of the P. R. China Official Website, [http://www.npc.gov.cn/npc/xinwen/rdl/sd/2008-05/26/content\\_1430187\\_2.htm](http://www.npc.gov.cn/npc/xinwen/rdl/sd/2008-05/26/content_1430187_2.htm) accessed on December 11, 2017.

Heritage Bureau) and WU Xiaocong (former director of Han Yangling Museum) mentioned that they, as the technocrats in the subordinate position, used to ignore the proposal from the provincial governor,<sup>34</sup> which sounds unbelievable in the current political system in China. The reason for this is simple. As they follow the actual instructions from the SACH, it would not matter very much to refuse the instruction of a nominal leader in their professional fields if they at least show respect to this leader.

This independent top-down administrative structure of the SACH could enhance the effectiveness of the implementation of professional instructions to a certain degree. But, it does not always work when the SACH and local authorities have conflicts of interest. For instance, the dispute between the Shaanxi provincial government and the SACH on the archaeological site of Yangling town mentioned in the previous section is a typical case. Mr. HOU Weidong, the director and chief engineer of the Chinese Academy of Cultural Heritage, also gave an example at the Sui and Tang Luoyang City National Heritage Park about the overuse injury of the heritage site. In the name of the presentation of the archaeological site for the foundation ruins, a five-story tower, 67 meters high in the classical style of traditional Chinese architecture, was built on top of it, which actually serves a commercial purpose for tourism.<sup>35</sup> Because the works of the SACH basically focus on the examination, supervision, and approval of heritage site projects in accordance with the relevant laws and regulations, the implementation of the approved scheme by the SACH always relies on the collaboration of the local governments.

There are several challenges associated with the current hierarchical administrative structure that need to be addressed. As a part of the institutional reform of the State Council of the P.R. China at the beginning of the 1980s, the ‘bureau chief responsibility system’ was adopted to improve bureaucratic performance.<sup>36</sup> This means that the chief officials at different levels of the Chinese government have the

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<sup>34</sup> See details in the interviews conducted by the author in Appendices I-II.

<sup>35</sup> See details in Appendix IV, an interview conducted by the author October 27, 2014.

<sup>36</sup> It has been stated in the new Constitution of P.R. China passed at the Fifth Plenary Session of the Fifth National People’s Congress (NPC) in December 1982. See in Section 3.2 “Bureau Chief Responsibility System with Chinese Characteristics” in Chapter 8 “Executive Leadership” in XUE Bing, Liang Zhongming, CHENG Yabing eds., *Principles of Public Administration* (Beijing, China: Tsinghua University Press, 2007), pp. 199-201.

power of making final decisions. They also take the full responsibility for projects in their own fields. As a result, it has largely improved the efficiency and performance of bureaucracy, but also produced many dictators and further limited the possibilities for democracy. According to Lucian Pye, the uncertainty which always prevails surrounds the question of succession in authoritarian systems.<sup>37</sup> This uncertainty is also reflected in the continuity of a project when the chief official leaves the position. Taking the Han Yangling case as an example, WU Xiaocong, former director of the Han Yangling Museum, especially stressed that the success of the underground museum project would be impossible without the strong support from the heads of the provincial cultural heritage bureau and local government under the present political system in China. For the same reason, he said that they had also lost many opportunities for better developments in the years after Vice Provincial Governor ZHAO Dequan and Shaanxi Cultural Heritage Bureau Director ZHANG Tinghao left their positions.<sup>38</sup> The term ‘institutional problem’ was often mentioned when informants explained the difficulty of museum management they had met.

Tracey Lie-dan Lu once noted that the visitors and especially local communities are, in theory, important stakeholders. As such, they should make their contributions to the formation of ‘knowledge’ in museums. However, in reality, this is not the case in China.<sup>39</sup> The lack of democracy and popular participation is one reason. There is also a lack of the recognition of social equality among many members of the elite groups in China, which is another type of ‘heritage’ or ‘legacy’ from the continuous hierarchical social structure in this country.<sup>40</sup> As I have already illustrated in Chapter 5, China constituted a stable bureaucracy of official-scholars in the pre-industrial period, where the agrarian bureaucratic-authoritarian regime had been the dominant political system for over two thousand years.<sup>41</sup> The structure of political leadership

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<sup>37</sup> Lucian Pye, “The New Asian Capitalism: A Political Portrait,” *In Search of an East Asian Development Model* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books 1988), Peter L. Berger, Hsin-Huang Michael Hsiao eds., pp. 83-84.

<sup>38</sup> See details in Section 5.6 of Chapter 5, and in Appendices II, an interview conducted by the author on September 29, 2009.

<sup>39</sup> Lu, 2014, p. 214.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> The term ‘bureaucratic-authoritarianism’ was first coined in mid 1970s by Guillermo A. O’Donnell, an Argentinean political scientist in *Modernization and Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism: Studies in South American Politics* (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 1973); Charles F. Andrain concluded in his book in 1994 that the bureaucratic-authoritarian (BA) regime is one of the four major types of

was elitist and hierarchical, and organized by Confucian official-scholars for the implementation of government decisions. The emperor stood at the top of the bureaucratic hierarchy. Confucian principles about the elitist relationship between rulers and the ruled supplied the flexibility and stability of the agrarian-bureaucratic systems of imperial China.<sup>42</sup> With the above historical social context, it is not surprising that many Chinese intellectuals, including the museum professionals, often view the less well-educated people as ‘knowing nothing’ and underestimate their capacities.

As I have mentioned in Chapter 4, similar to the Fortidsminneforeningen in Norway, several non-governmental organizations, including the Chinese Museums Association and Society for Research in Chinese Architecture, used to play a fundamental role to the Chinese state and the public before 1949. After their complete disappearance from 1949 to the 1980s, such cultural organizations and private museums have now been revived again, but under the guidance (or surveillance) of the state and the CCP.<sup>43</sup> The influence of the CCP ideology and nationalism remains. It is hard to anticipate what is going to happen in the future. In 1985, Pye noted that “[u]nlike the Japanese encounter with modernization, which turned a heritage of Confucianism to productive economic and political purposes, China’s encounter with modernization has been one of history’s great balancing act, whose outcome is still far from certain.”<sup>44</sup> Pye used these words in the 1980s, but unfortunately the observation is still valid today.

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political systems in the world, which has been the dominant form for three thousand years. See Charles F. Andrain, *Comparative Political Systems: Policy Performance and Social Change* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1994), p. 24.

<sup>42</sup> See in Reinhard Bendix, *Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1962), pp. 98-141; John K. Fairbank, *The United States and China*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. enlarged (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), pp. 1-139; John King Fairbank, *China: A New History* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992), pp. 46-161; Benjamin I. Schwartz, *The World of Thought in Ancient China* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1985); cited by Andrain, 1994, pp. 28-31.

<sup>43</sup> Lu, 2014, pp. 196-207.

<sup>44</sup> Lucian W. Pye, and Mary W. Pye, *Asian Power and Politics: The Cultural Dimensions of Authority* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), p. 182.

#### 7.4 Challenge of Experience Accumulation

Jukka Jokilehto has concluded that there are six main approaches to conservation which have evolved over the past two centuries associated with different schools of thought. These are: the *Traditional Approach* (existed as early as human society), *Stylistic Restoration* and *Historic Restoration* (appeared from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century), the *Conservation Movement* (emerged as an ‘anti-scrape’ approach to the previous one), *Philological Restoration* (originated from the 1880s, and later developed as *Scientific Restoration* in the 1920s), *Modern Conservation Theory* (grown from the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, maturing in the aftermath of the World War II), and *Culturally and Environmentally Sustainable Development* (since the 1970s).<sup>45</sup> Inspired by Jokilehto’s reflections, I summed up three approaches to the formation of modern conservation institutions in China in Chapter 4 describing how archaeology, museology, and architectural conservation, as three major relevant professional fields of site museums and architectural conservation, have been formed under Western influence from late 19<sup>th</sup> century to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. To begin with, the practices and concepts of museums and modern conservation were introduced to China relatively late, and further development has been greatly delayed by the interruption of the war and the wave of radical political movements for more than two decades. The Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), the following Chinese Civil War (1945-1949), and the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) are probably three of the most difficult periods. As Marzia Varutti notes, all cultural heritage was considered as ‘Four Olds’ (old ideas, old culture, old customs, and old habits of the exploiting classes) during the Cultural Revolution, which had to be destroyed. The decade of terror not only swept away the old things entirely, but also left deep wounds on all aspects of social relations in Chinese society.<sup>46</sup> There were no comprehensive writings on the loss of cultural heritage in the whole country during the Cultural Revolution with reliable records due to political reasons. The

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<sup>45</sup> Jukka Jokilehto, “Conservation concepts” in John Ashurst ed., *Conservation of ruins* (Burlington, MA: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2007), pp. 1-9: 3-4. In 1988, Jokilehto first summed up three different approaches which evolved in Europe to the treatment of ancient monuments and works of art of the past in his article “Conservation Principles and Their Theoretical Background,” *Durability of Building Materials*, Vol. 5, No. 3-4 (1988), pp. 267-277. Also, see a comprehensive writing of this theme in Jokilehto, *A History of Architectural Conservation* (Oxford, UK: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1999).

<sup>46</sup> See Varutti, *Museums in China: The Politics of Representation After Mao* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2014), pp.23-24.

documentation on this subject still can be found in many archives and local annals. For instance, in a volume of Beijing Annals completed by Beijing Municipal Administration of Cultural Heritage in 2006, it states that only 2,529 registered cultural properties were left from 8,060 items registered from 1958 to 1959 in Beijing Municipal District (including 2,666 ancient temples, 616 historic buildings, 700 ancient tombs, and so on) when the second national census of cultural heritage remains was undertaken throughout the country from 1981 to 1984.<sup>47</sup>

Though the number of museums has been dramatically increasing since the 1980s, and their types and themes are becoming more and more diverse with the development of museology in the context of globalization and ‘modernization’ promoted by the Chinese government,<sup>48</sup> many challenges still remain. To this end, experience accumulation remains an important challenge. During the interviews of the Han Yangling case, both ZHANG Tinghao and WU Xiaocong mentioned the importance of experience-accumulation.<sup>49</sup> Zhang thought that the Han Yangling underground museum showed ‘a proper way’ as an initial stage for making a good balance between preservation and development. As there was ‘path dependence’ for planning site museums and site parks, he stressed that the conservation of large archaeological sites has to focus on the specific traits of the heritage sites.<sup>50</sup> Wu gave many specific examples of situations and problems throughout his career involved with museum management. He criticized that there was there was a lack of interest in, and an absence of, systematic research within the broader scope for heritage site

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<sup>47</sup> See in Beijing Local Annals Committee eds., *Beijing Annals: Culture Relics Annals of Culture Relics Volumes* (Beijing, China: Beijing Publishing House, 2006), p. 648. Full text available at <http://www.bjww.gov.cn/zhuanti/bjwwz/bjwwzylzs/bjwwzbjz/>, Beijing Municipal Administration of Cultural Heritage Official Website, accessed on December 9, 2017.

<sup>48</sup> In her *Museums in China: Power, Politics and Identities*, professor Tracey Lie-dan Lu (1959–2016) divides the origin and development of museums in China into three phases. Phase I was from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to 1949, marked by the emergence of modern museums and museology in China founded by the Western missionaries, Chinese scholars, or Chinese governments at different levels. Phase II was from 1949 to the 1980s, and featured Marxism and Maoism as the only ideological frameworks in museums. Phase III was from the 1980s to the present. See Tracey L-D Lu, *Museums in China: Power, Politics and Identities* (Abingdon, UK and New York, NY: Routledge, 2014), p. xvi and comprehensive descriptions and reviews in different chapters.

<sup>49</sup> See details in Appendices I-II.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

conservation in the museum circle of China due to self-restriction among professionals.<sup>51</sup>

Based on this consensus, CHANG Qing pointed out in the editorial of the first issue of *Heritage Architecture*, an interdisciplinary magazine on architectural conservation in China by Tongji University, that “architectural heritage conservation in the light of modern cultural heritage theories, research methods, and conservation systems is still in its initial stage in China.”<sup>52</sup> When it comes to site museums, one challenging issue is that a large amount of archaeological site museums and site parks are planned for and constructed over a very short period of time, in many cases, with the uncritical adoption of models from a few ‘successful’ cases, yet without clear guiding principles. Therefore, this suggests the need to revisit and examine the basic principles and essential issues of site museums, which I have chosen as the main theme in the previous chapter.

In Chapter 6, an integrated concept of site museums concerned with the whole of its natural, cultural, and social territory and setting was explored. I suggested that the principles of authenticity, integrity, and continuity could constitute a fundamental framework for the assessment of these executions, which can hopefully make “the bad difficult and the good easy.”<sup>53</sup> The concepts of the framework are not new. One of them (authenticity) has even been over-interpreted and thus become elusive. Meanwhile, the other two need to be clarified in light of the specific context of site museums. This framework may serve as a methodology for the conservation of various types of in situ archaeological remains and their settings. As such, the framework will not necessarily lead to a satisfactory outcome for conservation or

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid. According to Lothar von Falkenhausen, in the field of archaeology, stratigraphic excavation and typological seriation (the methodology formulated by the Swedish archaeologist Oscar Montelius (1843-1921) at the beginning of the twentieth century) are the twin core methods still practiced in China with an exclusiveness and orthodoxy since they were first introduced to the country in the 1930s. Because of the forty-years-long isolation (1949-ca.1990) from international developments of the archaeological discipline in other parts of the world, there is an absence of statistically-based methods and a need for the transition to new modes of inquiry in Chinese archaeology. See in von Falkenhausen, 2006, pp. 13-19.

<sup>52</sup> Chang, 2016, p. 1.

<sup>53</sup> Le Corbusier, trans. Peter de Francia and Anna Bostock, *The Modulor: A Harmonious Measure to the Human Scale Universally applicable to Architecture and Mechanics* (Basel, Switzerland: Birkhäuser-Publisher for Architecture, 2000), 1954 Edition permission by Faber & Faber, p. 58.

produce good architectural designs for site museums. Rather, it may serve as a reminder to assess the different approaches of architectural additions in site museums.

The philosophical inspiration for this framework comes from the division of ‘human learning’ given by Francis Bacon (1561–1626). Bacon divided human knowledge into three primary categories according to the cognitive faculties of man. In his *De Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum* (1623), an expanded Latin version of his earlier *The Advancement of Learning* (1606), he wrote that “[t]he parts of human learning have reference to the three parts of Man’s Understanding, which is the seat of learning: History to his Memory, Poesy to his Imagination, and Philosophy to his Reason.”<sup>54</sup> He further stated that “History is properly concerned with individuals, which are circumscribed by place and time,” and Poesy is “with individuals invented in imitation of those which are the subject of true history,” but “Philosophy discards individuals” and is “the office and work of Reason”<sup>55</sup> As far as I see, the motive behind his reclassification was grounded on philosophical inquiry about the three terms of the transcendentals: Truth, Beauty, and Integrity (Goodness).

Together, the documentation of the collected interview notes also provide valuable insights into the role of archaeological site museums in the operation of cultural heritage management and enhancement. Sixteen informants from different professional fields were interviewed (ten informants for the Han Yangling Museum, and six informants for the Hedmark Museum). Overall, these interviews can be considered the valuable documentation of oral histories which draw an overall picture of the selected Chinese and Norwegian site museum cases.<sup>56</sup> Particularly, many of the

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<sup>54</sup> See “Book II. Advancement of Learning” in Francis Bacon, *The Works of Francis Bacon, Lord Chancellor of England*, ed. Basil Montagu (Philadelphia, PA: Carey and Hart, 1848), Vol. I, p. 187. There are different translations of these words. For instance, “[t]he justest division of human learning is that derived from the three different faculties of the soul, the seat of learning: history being relative to the memory, poetry to the imagination, and philosophy to the reason.” See in Lord Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, ed. Joseph Devey (New York, NY: P.F. Collier and Son, 1902), p.93; and “[t]he best division of human learning is that derived from the three faculties of the rational soul, which is the seat of learning. History has reference to the Memory, poesy to the Imagination, and philosophy to the Reason.” See in Francis Bacon, *The Philosophical Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. John M. Robertson, reprinted from the texts and translations, with the notes and prefaces, of Ellis & Spedding (London, UK: Routledge, 2011), first published in 1905 by George Routledge & Sons Limited, p. 426.

<sup>55</sup> Robertson, 2011, p. 426.

<sup>56</sup> See Appendices I-IX; the text in Chinese of these interviews was selected for Journal publication in a serial column named “Conservation Dialogue” in *Community Design* (Beijing, China: Tsinghua University, Architecture & Building Press) from February 2017.

interviewees, as professionals in different relevant fields of museum and architectural conservation, express their different thoughts and ideas on the practice of architectural conservation in China and Norway, meriting this study as a baseline for future research. As CH' IEN Chung-shu, the distinguished Chinese literary scholar and writer who once gave a reflection in his essay "On Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's Laocoön", notes:

Many accurate and comprehensive theories and philosophical frameworks cannot stand the test of time and fall. Like magnificent constructions collapse and turn into ruins, except some piece of wood and tiles still available as the good material. It is always the way to have the fragments of thoughts as such which are remaining valuable from the whole theory. (Ch'ien, 1979)<sup>57</sup>

In the spirit of that understanding, these collected thoughts and ideas from different angles on the practice of architectural conservation in China and Norway are also unexpected benefits of this PhD work.

## 7.6 Conclusions

A site museum is, or should be, an important carrier for connecting the tangible and intangible culture of its locality, and not merely a collection of things without explaining their connections. With its potentially unique substantial language, it tells the stories of human history and natural evolution. Today, a museum is not just a museum in itself; it is an epitome of a place and its life. The planning of museum buildings and premises is, in a quite different way than before, a continuously running task which presupposes the creative interplay of competence from the professions of museology and architecture.

Through a site museum, we can form an idea of the history of a particular place such as its community, origins, growth, and many other aspects. In this sense, a

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<sup>57</sup> CH' IEN Chung-shu, "On Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's Laocoön," in *Four Collected Old Essays* (Shanghai Chinese Classics Press, 1979), pp. 26-27. The cited text was translated by the author in English. Full text in Chinese: 更不妨回顾一下思想史罢。许多严密周全的思想和哲学系统经不起时间的推排销蚀, 在整体上都垮塌了, 但是它们的一些个见解还为后世所采取而未失去时效。好比庞大的建筑物已遭破坏, 住不得人、也唬不得人了, 而构成它的一些木石砖瓦仍然不失为可资利用的好材料。整个理论系统剩下来的有价值东西只是一些片段思想。

museum can be a window through which you can see through a locality, knowing both the past and present. It should also convey an understanding; posing crucial problems in a way that contributes to an informed debate on the future of the community. In a world where commercialization is steadily invading our life and culture, one of the tasks of a museum should be to form a non-commercial social arena for its community. The value of a museum of this kind lies in its contribution to the community's identity formation, not just in the museum's collection of artifacts or its architectural merits alone. As Tracey Lie-dan Lu notes in her monograph on museums in China, when a museum can really serve the people of the community, "it would be ideal if museums could empower the weak and the marginalized, and promote social equality and inclusion in mainland China."<sup>58</sup> However, as indicated, we may have an even a longer way to go to achieve such goals in this country.

This dissertation has focused on several issues of site museums by conducting a multi-perspective approach. In Chapter 4, a historical approach to the formation of Chinese conservation institutions was undertaken. I described how archaeology, museology, and architectural conservation, as three major relevant professional fields of site museum management and cultural heritage conservation in China, have been formed under Western influence in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Taking the case of the Xi'an Daming Palace National Site Park as a thread, a brief history of Norwegian conservation as a reference was introduced to China for the first time in this published article. The role of modern Chinese archaeology has been intentionally stressed because the importance of this has often been underestimated in the writings of Chinese modern conservation history by architectural historians. As far as I see, the reason is that the rigid division of different institutions and academic areas makes this blind.

In Chapter 5, based on an anthropological investigation of selected interview data from the fieldwork of the Han Yangling Site Museum, I discovered a social communication pattern among the project management of site museums in the Chinese museum circle; or maybe even in a wider range of contemporary Chinese society. As far as I am concerned, this finding is significant because a pattern like this

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<sup>58</sup> Lu, 2014, p. 215.

has never been thoroughly discussed before in the academic field. It is connected to the organizational structure of Chinese museums, which reveals how the concepts of traditional Chinese culture influence people and have been rooted as a hidden rule among the people. Professor Harald Høyem, who had participated deeply in some conservation projects in China, commented that he finally understood all the confusion he has spread in a conservation project in Xi'an by talking to people on all levels, without paying this a second thought.

In Chapter 6, I first explored the origin and definition of site museums, which is a topic that is of less concern in museological studies within a European context. This deliberate absence is also because of the division of different professional organizations and academic arenas. I have further revisited some essential conservation principles. Such principles were sometimes stressed as 'certain immutable principles' in architectural conservation by some professionals, but as far as I see, this is not true for the installation of site museums. To this end, from an architect-oriented perspective, I suggested that an assessment framework composed of the authenticity, integrity, and continuity concepts may be expectantly useful as a methodology for the different approaches of architectural additions to archaeological sites and their settings.

As has become clear from the previous discussion, the self-restriction or self-limitation among the specialists due to the rigid division of different institutions and academic fields could easily make for deliberate or unintentional blindness, and limit our imagination. Regarding this, I would like to quote a few lines from a letter written by Albert Einstein in 1932 to end this dissertation:

The area of scientific investigation has been enormously extended, and theoretical knowledge has become vastly more profound in every department of science. But the assimilative power of the human intellect is and remains strictly limited. Hence it was inevitable that the activity of the individual investigator should be confined to a smaller and smaller section of human knowledge. Worse still, as a result of this specialization, it is becoming increasingly difficult for even a rough general grasp of science as a whole, without which the true spirit of research is inevitably handicapped, to keep pace with progress. A situation is developing similar to the one symbolically represented in

the Bible by the story of the Tower of Babel. Every serious scientific worker is painfully conscious of this involuntary relegation to an ever-narrowing sphere of knowledge, which is threatening to deprive the investigator of his broad horizon and degrade him to the level of a mechanic. (Albert Einstein, 1932)<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Albert Einstein, "In Honor of Arnold Berliner's Seventieth Birthday" in *Ideas and Opinions by Albert Einstein* (New York, NY: Crown Publishers, 1954), based on *Mein Weltbild*, ed. by Cal Seelig, and other sources, new translations and revisions by Sonja Bargmann, p. 69.

## **Part V Appendices**



## Appendix I Interview with ZHANG Tinghao on the Han Yangling Museum

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<sup>1</sup> The text in Chinese of this interview was published as “Anthropological Field Notes on Hedmark and Han Yangling Site Museums: An Interview with ZHANG Tinghao,” Column of “Conservation Dialogue” in *Community Design*, 2017 (1) Vol. 77, (Beijing: Tsinghua University, China Architecture & Building Press), pp. 100-112.



## Interview with ZHANG Tinghao on the Han Yangling Site Museum

**Time:** ca. 14:00-16:00

**Date:** Tuesday, October 28, 2014

**Place:** Chinese Academy of Cultural Heritage, Beijing, China

**Interviewee:** ZHANG Tinghao

**Interviewer:** XU Dongming

About the Interviewee:

Mr. ZHANG Tinghao (born 1948) is a senior researcher at the Chinese Academy of Cultural Heritage (CACH), vice chair of the China Society of Cultural Relics, and member of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC). He was the former president of CACH from 2005 to 2008, and had been in charge of the Han Yangling Underground Museum project when he was the director of the Shaanxi Provincial Cultural Heritage Bureau from 1998 to 2005.

*DM: How did you formally engage in Han Yangling Underground Site Museum Project? Would you like to say something in detail about this?*

**Z:** Are you clear about the archaeological excavation (of the Han Yangling Imperial Cemetery)?

*DM: Well, then could you please briefly talk about the excavation?*

**Z:** The excavation started from the time of constructing the airport expressway which needed to be built near the Han Yangling Imperial Cemetery, but I forget the exact year of excavation.

*DM: It was in May 1990 when the Shaanxi Provincial Archaeological Institute was doing the coordinated archaeological fieldwork for the Xi'an-Xianyang airport expressway project and then they discovered the burial pits of the Imperial Cemetery.*

**Z:** In Xi'an, especially around the high land area of five famous mausoleums of the Han Dynasty (206 BC–220 AD), archaeological prospection must be done first before any construction project is launched. Once some relics are found, the archaeological excavation will follow up. At that time we were sure that is the area for the Han Yangling Imperial Cemetery.

*DM: The Chronicle says that this place was listed as the Shaanxi Provincial Cultural Heritage in 1963.*

**Z:** A stone stele engraved with the calligraphy of Bi Yuan was found in Han Yangling Mausoleum, which was rather rare.<sup>1</sup> Base on the written historical records, we were

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<sup>1</sup> BI Yuan (1730-1797) was the famous scholar-official in the Qing Dynasty (1644-1912). He has erected the identification stele of the Han Yangling Mausoleum when he worked as the Provincial

sure it was Han Yangling Mausoleum. But we were not clear about the scale of the internal sacred town and whole mausoleum. So we made an archaeological prospection and found that there were massive burial pits residing in both the south and north of the location of expressway. The whole funeral custom of the layout for this area belonged to that of the Han Dynasty and thus was similar to the pattern of the Qin Dynasty (221-206 B.C.). Accompanied with other auxiliary pits and tombs, there were two main burial mounds in the mausoleum, with the emperor buried in one and the empress buried in the other, reflecting funeral custom for emperors in the Han Dynasty. These two huge pyramid-shaped mounds were enough to prove the location of Han Yangling Mausoleum.

Besides, some construction foundation and a huge stone were found to the south of the imperial cemetery. A cross-like character was engraved on the stone but no conclusion is confirmed on what the stone was for. Some archaeologists said it might be a stone of compass for functioning as a measurement point of the location. HAN Wei contended that it was a foundation stone of a shrine.<sup>2</sup> Some experts from Shaanxi Provincial Administration of Surveying, Mapping and Geoinformation drew a speculative conclusion that the stone was right on the central axis from the north to south of Xi'an City today.<sup>3</sup> But it is hard to conclude what it is only according to this speculation. It still remains to be further studied. However it is a site of the left building foundation for sure.

Through the excavation, we found that there were several building foundation sites as above together with massive burial pits both in the south and north of the mausoleum. I can not remember clearly how many pits there were in the south. At least there were five or six. As for the northern area of the Mausoleum, we firstly explored from the east part of the area. There were four symmetrical site ruins where the four towers of the Emperor's Tomb located. Through the prospection we learnt that there existed the burial pits. Some trial excavations were then conducted under the lead of Mr. WANG Xueli, which carried out very well. At first, no massive but only some trial excavations were done. Part of burial pits in the north and south of the Mausoleum were excavated. There were some well-preserved animal pottery figures such as pigs, sheep and cows in a row. There were also timber-framed walls covering with the boards in the burial pits, which were rotten and collapsed later. But the unearthed objects here were well-preserved and not robbed.

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Governor in Shaanxi for more than a decade. See in ZHAO Chao, "Bi Yuan, Adachi Kiroku and Hanyang Mausoleum," *People and Archaeology*, 2014 (8), pp. 50-53.

<sup>2</sup> HAN Wei (1937-2011) was an archaeologist and the former Director of Shaanxi Archaeological Institute. See in HAN Wei, "Stone of Compass, or Shrine?," *Archaeology and Cultural Relics*, 2001 (2), pp. 56-58; WANG Xueli, "An Objection to Luojing Shi as the Base of Stone Phallus," *Wenbo (Relics and Museology)* 2001(5), pp. 54-61; WANG Zhankui, "Analysis of the Sacrificial Nature of Luojing Stone Site of Han Yangling Mausoleum," *Archaeology and Cultural Relics*, 2002 (6), pp. 61-65; LI Ling, "On the Architectural Plan of the 'Stone of Compass' Site near the Mausoleum of Han Emperor Jing," *Archaeology and Cultural Relics*, 2002 (6), pp. 51-60.

<sup>3</sup> DONG Hongwen, "The Field Survey and Study of the 'Stone of Compass' at Yangling Mausoleum", *Survey Bulletin*, June 1995, cited from HU Fang, *Discover the Yangling Mausoleum of Han Emperor Jing*, Northwest University Press, 2006.

About in 1994, LI Tieying<sup>4</sup> paid a visit here. Before that, there was rampant grave robbing because of the discovery of the burial pits. In that year Shaanxi Provincial Cultural Heritage Bureau launched several spot checks on the excavation site assisted by police. Mr. WANG Wenqing was the director of the Bureau then and I was the Deputy Director. We took several spot checks on the site but failed to catch the grave robbers. The rampant grave robbers often drilled some holes with the Luoyang shovels and then put the dynamite in them. We found more than 20 robbed holes in the site. The police tracked down those robbers and captured some of them, but more robbers escaped. When local farmers were ploughing their fields, their cows were even trapped in the robbed holes sometimes. So we applied to State Administration of Cultural Heritage for the approval of carrying out some rescuing excavation for part of it. Meanwhile we had formally formed the team for archaeological excavation of Han Yangling Mausoleum led by WANG Xueli as the chief archaeologist. ...

*DM: Was it in 1994 that LI Tieying visited the site? It was not mentioned in the Chronicle of Han Yangling Museum. And it says that in May 1990, the Han Yangling Archaeological Team was founded formally. Then in October of the same year, LI Ruihuan<sup>5</sup> visited the archaeological excavation site of the Han Yangling Mausoleum.*

Z: Yes. He surely did it. Mr. LI Ruihan also visited the site in 1990, and attended the National Cultural Heritage Conference in 1992 in Xi'an. LI Ruihuan's visit to the Yangling Mausoleum was accompanied by Director WANG Wenqing. In 1994, I accompanied LI Tieying during his inspection of the site. Because he heard about the rampant grave robbing in the Han Yangling Mausoleum, he went to the site as soon as he got off the flight. He visited both the robbed site and the excavation site. He was quite satisfied with the archaeological excavation work of the Han Yangling Mausoleum, but seriously criticized the lame management work of Shaanxi Provincial Cultural Heritage Bureau for dealing with the grave robbing. He requested the grave robbing must be severely cracked down. At that time, I was responsible for the work of archaeological management, rescuing excavation and cultural heritage conservation at the Bureau.

When the northern and southern areas of the Mausoleum were partly excavated, a line needed to be selected for building the airport expressway. The road should not be built on the top of these excavated sites and that is why the expressway is a bit winding. There were some requirements for its bedding course which should not be higher than the ruins of Southern Towers of the Mausoleum. So there were some requirements for the expressway because the expressway passed through the Mausoleum area. But at that time the protection zone of this listed heritage site was much smaller than the protection zone today. There were many burial pits outside the previous protection zone because we did not know the exact area of the site at that time. And the archaeological team lived in the small village at the foot of the

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<sup>4</sup> LI Tieying, born in 1936, is a former politician of the Government of China. At the time he was Member of Political Bureau of Central Committee of Chinese Communist Party (CCP), the state councilor and concurrently minister in charge of State Commission for Restructuring the Economy.

<sup>5</sup> LI Ruihuan, born in 1934, is a retired politician active in the late 20th century and early 21st century in China. He was a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of 15th Central Committee of the CCP until November 2002.

highland.

In 1997, Mr LI Jianguo came to Shaanxi as the Secretary of Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), who paid great attention to the conservation of cultural heritage sites. As he had worked with LI Ruihuan for a long time before he came to Shaanxi, he knew well Li's requirements for the management of cultural heritage in Shaanxi Province. In 1992 when LI Ruihuan attended the National Cultural Heritage Conference in Xi'an, he noted that "Protecting cultural heritage in Shaanxi is a special mission for Shaanxi Provincial Government and Provincial Committee of the CCP that conducted by the Central Government". He stressed that Shaanxi provincial government should also pay much attention to the cultural heritage preservation in addition to the economic and social development, which was quite special for Shaanxi because most prosperous dynasties in ancient China established the capitals in Shaanxi Province and left abundant cultural heritage under the ground. So when LI Jianguo came, he clearly pointed that cultural heritage preservation was one major task for Shaanxi Province. He often did inspections on the surrounding area of the Yangling Mausoleum. In 1998, after I succeeded WANG Wenqing as the director of Shaanxi Cultural Heritage Bureau, I often accompanied LI Jianguo to visit the sites. And I often informed the provincial leaders of some recent significant archaeological findings and asked them to pay a visit. When LI Jianguo and the Provincial Governor CHENG Andong once visited Han Yangling Mausoleum together, they were quite satisfied with the excavation work. At that time the archaeological team lived in some rented cave dwellings in poor condition. Besides, the temporary storehouse for excavated cultural relics was also quite shabby. So I suggested that an archaeological station was needed. And WANG Xueli, the chief archaeologist of the excavation team pointed out clearly that it would be better to build a base for the long-term archaeological excavation there.

*DM: I am a bit confused about the time. The Chronicle says it was in 1995 that JIAO Nanfeng succeeded WANG Xueli as the chief archaeologist of the excavation team, so...*

Z: Then it was earlier than that.

*DM: And the construction of Han Yangling Archaeological Station was settled from September, 1998 to September, 1999.*

Z: The idea of Han Yangling Archaeological Station was proposed earlier but was not implemented due to lack of money. Then LI Jianguo came to Shaanxi in 1997 as the Secretary of Provincial Party Committee and CHENG Andong was the provincial governor. Li visited the site of Yangling Mausoleum and decided to establish the archaeological station there. Later the project was approved upon the application of Shaanxi Cultural Heritage Bureau. In addition to functioning as the base of archaeological team, the building also served as the storehouse and repair house for the excavated objects. ...

*DM: Yes, this was Professor LIU Kecheng's first involvement with the Han Yangling Mausoleum. That work was designed by him in 1998.*

Z: As for the requirement of function, there should be of some exhibitions at the archaeological station so that visitors were able to view those unearthed relics. The station was a building of comprehensive functions. I first got acquainted with LIU Kecheng in 1993 when we were working together on the planning of Mausoleum of the Yellow Emperor. I thought he was good. So he was invited for a serial design works of Han Yangling Mausoleum later. Meanwhile, he was also commissioned with the conservation planning of Emperor Qinshihuang's Mausoleum Site Museum and Site Park.

The archaeological station at Yangling Mausoleum was Kecheng's first architectural design commission from Shaanxi Cultural Heritage Bureau. I gave some suggestions to the style of the building. First, I advised to limit the height and volume, which should not be too tall and too big. Secondly, I expressed an idea that we should make visitors impressed more by the site, the excavated pottery figures and the archaeological preservation work after their visit, but impressed less by other things. We should integrate the whole building with the site rather than the building itself. Kecheng also designed a large window wall, which made the visitors to have a perfectly view for the Emperor's and Empress' burial mounds in the north. Such the design was good. The design principles were decided as such based on our discussion. However, some officials still suggested that the building should be built in the Han Dynasty's architecture style so as to demonstrate the glory of history. I held that the site itself would be good enough to draw much attention, and there was no need for us to do more. As for the color of this building, both Kecheng and I agreed "Yellow" was the best. The land and its soil are yellow. Thus seen from the distance, the whole building would be harmonious with the landscape.

*DM: When I first saw that work, I was rather impressed. It was integrated with the landscape very well.*

Z: Yes, the archaeological site was built with rammed earth material. The scale, volume and the color of the building looked the same as the soil. Consequently the site and excavated cultural relics are highlighted instead of the building. In front of the building there was the excavation site of Pit 8. In today's view, we took a very simple design approach with a Minimalism scheme for comprehensive functions. This might be the idea for that project.

*DM: I think it was a rather impressive design in 1990s in China. I remembered Prof. LIU Kecheng mentioned that one provincial leader demanded to uplift the height of the ceiling in lobby, which in his view was terrible.*

Z: I will talk about that in detail later. When Mr. JIAO Nanfeng took over the leader position for archaeological excavation in 1995, Mr. WANG Baoping was in charge of the drilling work. ....

*DM: I found something odd. Professor WANG Xueli had been responsible for two very important archaeological excavations in Shaanxi Province, the Terracotta Warriors and Han Yangling. Why he did not complete his work for both two cases?*

Z: A Terracotta Warrior's head had been stolen when he was the chief archaeologist of the excavation team for the Mausoleum of the First Qin Emperor, which led him leave the team. He was later in charge of the archaeological excavation work at Han Yangling. Wang was very thoughtful man with great competence for doing archaeological work. As for the shortcomings, I think nobody is perfect.

*DM: I have read some of Prof. Wang's monographies before. It was about the archaeological findings of Terracotta Warriors and Han Yangling Mausoleum. I thought he was a very knowledgeable man.*

Z: ..... (This paragraph was omitted on the interviewee's request.)

There was another thing worthy of note before the construction. Paul Janssen (1926-2003), General Manager of Xi'an Janssen Pharmaceutical Ltd., once visited the excavation site of Yangling Mausoleum. He was very glad to see the burial pits of unearthed pottery sheep and cows in the north. He said the excavation was of great importance and decided to donate about 400,000 RMB through Xi'an Janssen Pharmaceutical Ltd. to sponsor the preservation work of Han Yangling. Paul Janssen was very kind-hearted man and showed great love for Chinese culture. Later he told me that it was because his friend Shafick George Hatem (1910-1988), a Lebanese-born American physician who practiced medicine in China since 1930s, and enthusiastically advertised Communist China's accomplishments. Hatem told him a lot about China and the favorable place for business investment in China. That's how Xi'an Janssen Pharmaceutical Ltd came from. His donation to the excavation of Yangling Mausoleum was well publicized.

In 1992, LI Ruihuan took charge of the 1<sup>st</sup> National Working Conference on Cultural Heritage Conservation in Xi'an, and some principles were set up. Then on the 2nd National Working Conference in 1995, the idea of large archaeological site conservation had been clearly stated by LI Tiejing, the Chair of the conference. In 2004, a research team under the State Council was dispatched for a field investigation of the large archaeological sites in Shaanxi province and Henan province. Then the notion of 'large archaeological site' was put forward and the relevant work was on agenda.<sup>6</sup> The work of conservation planning is the first step to preserve those large archaeological sites. An integrated thoughts and good planning would help to do the trick. Then archaeological survey was the foundation to launch the conservation planning work.

The archaeological survey of Han Yangling aims to learn about the covering area of the Mausoleums, the burial objects inside the tombs, the Mausoleum's original appearance and our speculation on it after the excavation. The archaeological work carried out either by WANG Xueli or JIAO Nanfeng was a great success, which provided a concrete evidence for people today to learn about the planning principles of imperial tombs in the Han Dynasty. Previously, Prof. LIU Qingzhu specially

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<sup>6</sup> A comprehensive study for the formation of 'large archaeological site' as a notion for the practice of cultural heritage conservation in China can be found in Chapter 2 of "The General Report: Overall Assessment and Suggestions of the Large Archaeological Site Protection since the Eleventh Five-Year Plan in China", *Tracking on the Large Archaeological Site Protection Scheme*, ed. by Chinese Academy of Cultural Heritage, Cultural Relics Press, 2016, Part I, pp.9-20.

conducted studies on the emperors' tombs in the Han Dynasty, which were mainly a macro-perspective field work and thus were far different from the results of trial excavation and formal excavation later. Of course in 1965, SHI Xingbang and LI Yufang excavated the tombs of Han Dynasty in Yangjiawan (Xianyang, Shaanxi Province), and also did significant studies on the imperial burial system in Han Dynasties. Those studies provided an overall understanding of the imperial tombs in the Han Dynasty.<sup>7</sup> Later, after the excavation led by Wang and Jiao, we basically understood the main structure of Han Yangling Mausoleum.

Through the successive work as above, we found that hundreds of satellite tombs in the east of Han Yangling Mausoleum and in the accompanying tomb area were well planned. With the help of above field research and excavations, many pieces of the history puzzle had been put together, which enabled us to get a general understanding for the layout of Han Yangling Mausoleum, including the burial chamber, the architectural ruins on the ground, the ruins of Mausoleum Town and Towers, and the satellite tomb area as well as the burial pits. Based on that, a conservation planning work was needed. So we launched a competition for its planning. Among those submissions, Professor LIU Kecheng's planning proposal was the better one in accordance with the preservation requirements for large archaeological sites. In his planning proposal, the protection zone, buffer zone and exhibition zone were settled. Soon this planning proposal was approved by Shaanxi Provincial Government and the State Administration of Cultural Heritage. Also during that same time, Shaanxi Provincial Government launched a reform on the tourism system and was planning to combine the relevant tourism department and conservation department as a company to run the Han Yangling Site. But I was not quite in favor of it.

*DM: It was the establishment of Shaanxi Provincial Tourism Group. I have read the Chronicle and learnt that in April of 2004 the Leading Office for Planning and Architectural Design Competition of Han Yangling was founded. You were the leader in chief, and ZHANG Xiaoke from the tourism department was the deputy-leader.*

Z: Right. There is another important step. After the provincial leaders LI Jianguo, CHENG Andong and JIA Zhibang inspected the site, I suggested the requisition of land for the protection and exhibition of the Yangling Mausoleum. Because the farming work would unexpectedly damage the site and the grave robbing was

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<sup>7</sup> The earlier modern archaeological investigation of Han Yangling Mausoleum mainly includes: Japanese engineer and antiquarian Adachi Kiroku (1871-1949) wrote about Han Yangling based on his field visit in Chapter "The Tombs of the Han Dynasty" in his book *The Study of Historical Sites in Chang'an* published in 1933, which was the first modern archaeological record on this topic; in 1972, Du Baoren from Shaanxi Provincial Museum took charge of the archaeological excavation of the cemetery of prisoners in the northwest of Mausoleum; in 1978, WANG Pizhong, ZHANG Zibo, SUN Derun and their colleagues from Xianyang Museum made a field investigation on the territory of Han Yangling and published *The Brief Archaeological Report of Yangling Mausoleum of Han Emperor Jing* in March 1980; from the late 1970s to the early 1980s, LIU Qingzhu and LI Yufang from Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences made an archaeological field research of the imperial tombs in the Western Han Dynasty, then published the monograph of their research as *The Eleven Tombs of Western Han Dynasty* (Shaanxi People's Publishing House, 1987), which identified the location of the Emperor and Empress' mounds at Han Yangling; See in HU Fang, "Archaeological Memorabilia of Han Yangling Mausoleum", *Discover the Yangling Mausoleum of Han Emperor Jing* [M], Northwest University Press, 2006.

rampant, this proposal was approved by the Shaanxi Provincial Government. The lands around the Mausoleum were growing crops and trees planted by the local farmers. When the Provincial Government decided to acquire the land, Mr. LI Juxi, ZHOU Kuiying, JIAO Nanfeng and WANG Baoping led some people to count the number of those trees and meanwhile measured the land's acreage to make clear of all the attachments to the lands. That work was assisted by the people of local village organizations in Xianyang area. The lands covered an area of more than 2000 *mu* and cost RMB 115 million.<sup>8</sup> The land acquisition was managed simultaneously with the design work of construction planning.

According to the construction planning of the site, we started to discuss what kind work could be launched first. For example, the exhibition based on the archaeological excavation was put on agenda. When we were discussing the scheme, many provincial leaders were also here. At that time the Vice Provincial Governor ZHAO Dequan was taking responsibility for the whole Han Yangling project. There were suggestions from him and other officials that a large scaled exhibition hall should be built in the site for presenting the unearthed objects from all different tombs of the Han Dynasty in Shaanxi Province. And the architectural design should follow the Han Dynasty's style. They also suggested that a Han style roof should be added to the newly completed Archaeological Station. When discussing those ideas, I, as the director of the Jury Committee, proposed an idea of "the Greatest Form Has No Shape"<sup>9</sup>. I told them about one story widely known in our circle of museum and cultural relics. In the 1950s, ZHANG Xiruo (1889-1973), the former Minister of Education from the United Front paid a visit in Xi'an. When he returned to Beijing, Chairman Mao asked him about his impression of Xi'an. He told Mao what he saw. When Mao learnt that he visited Maoling Mausoleum of the Han Dynasty and then asked about Zhang's feeling of Maoling Mausoleum. Zhang replied with a short answer of eight Chinese words. He said it was a grand image there with nothing to be seen. The sense as such is connected to the existing situation of the sites for all imperial tombs and mausoleums in Shaanxi Province. When a person witnessed the image above, he then reflected a sense of history.

It was the same case with Han Yangling Mausoleum. There were vast farming fields. In a clear day, we could see the mountains in the north, Qianling Mausoleum of the Tang Dynasty (618-907), Mount Jiuzong as well as other sceneries. If the sky is clear enough, we could even see the mountains in the south, which provides a grand and magnificent view of Guanzhong Dao, the Central Shaanxi Plain. Wuling Plain is suited as a highland, with Wei River running through the foot of the highland and Mount Beishan sitting in the north. Farther south is Qinling Mountains, which was mentioned in the historical record as a natural watchtower of the Mausoleum of First Qin Emperor. The landscape as such constituted a natural background for the capital of both the Qin and Han Dynasties. If we built the additional constructions randomly

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<sup>8</sup> From January to June of 1999, the Shaanxi Provincial Government invested 160 million Yuan RMB to the requisition of the land of 2,894 *mu* (126 ha) around the imperial burial mounds of Han Yangling Mausoleum as the cultural heritage protection area. See in "Chronicle of Han Yangling Museum", Official Website of Han Yangling Museum, <http://www.hylae.com/list.asp?id=1029> Accessed on January 15<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

<sup>9</sup> It is a line cited from *Tao Te Ching*, a Chinese classic text and the fundamental book for Taoism. See Details in "XLI. The Unreality of Appearance", *Laotzu's Tao and Wu Wei*, trans. by Dwight Goddard, New York: Brentano's Publishers, 1919/1935, p. 32.

on the Mausoleum, it would ruin the original color of it. And it did not pay any respect to the aesthetics and rituals of our ancestors. So I proposed the idea of ‘the Greatest Form Has No Shape.’ The Mausoleum is like a historical scroll. With the increase of people’s cultural taste, they would feel it.

But it was another challenge on how to present. One night when we were discussing the construction planning scheme, I remembered, LIU Kecheng was quite in favor of the story I had told about ZHANG Xiruo. When we discussed, I insisted the idea that there should not be any form of structure built on the top of ground. Actually, the protective building for the ruins of Southern Towers was a mistake, which was a design from Shaanxi Design Institute of Ancient Chinese Architecture. The purpose of that building was to protect the ruins inside, but there was no need to build it so flashy with the Han Dynasty’s style.

*DM: Like the archaeological hall of Danfeng Gate Site today, it is in soil color and distinguishable from the site. Maybe that would be a better solution.*

Z: Right. Even we can preserve the original architectural ruins and then covered with the brick envelope in order to protect the site. But at that time we had too many thoughts for attracting more visitors. As a result, it was designed as the one we see today. The scale is much larger than the original size. That is what we need to draw lessons from it in the future. But now the completed archaeological hall preserves the ruins of Southern Towers effectively. So it is not all that bad except for its form and shape.

When the excavation of burial pits was going on, we built a temporary archaeological shelter on the top of the site. It would be easier for the further work of excavation, meanwhile enable people to visit the archaeological site. I cannot remember which year that was in, maybe 1996 or 1997.<sup>10</sup> Under the roof were the burial pits. On the pits people can see those unearthed objects. We adopted an approach that people can walk down those steps on the unexcavated area and view those unearthed relics from upward side, where they would have a more clear view. President JIANG Zemin<sup>11</sup> also visited the excavation site with the temporary roof.

*DM: It was June 16<sup>th</sup> in 1999 when President JIANG Zemin visited it.*

Z: Yes, President JIANG Zemin visited it in 1999. It was a heavily raining day. Then in the morning of that day when he was visiting the Mausoleum of First Qin Emperor and Terracotta Warriors Museum, I told him about our plan of land acquisition for the preservation of large archaeological sites. The idea of massive land acquisition for preserving the cultural heritage sites in fact started to be put into practice from the cases of the Mausoleum of First Qin Emperor and Han Yangling Mausoleum. During his visit, Jiang expressed his approval for the idea, which meant the conservation

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<sup>10</sup> The temporary archaeological shelter was built in February, 1999 on the site that the underground museum is located today; see in “Chronicle of Han Yangling Museum”, Official Website of Han Yangling Museum, <http://www.hylae.com/list.asp?id=1029> Accessed on January 15<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

<sup>11</sup> JIANG Zemin, born in 1926, is a retired politician in China who served as General Secretary of Central Committee of the CCP from 1989 to 2002, and as President of China from 1993 to 2003. He has been described as the "core of the third generation" of CCP leaders since 1989.

project as such could be launched and brought into agenda. We did not dare to think about this before. The Site Park of the First Qin Emperor's Mausoleum covers an area of 2.13 square kilometers, which is larger than the Han Yangling Mausoleum's acreage of no more than 1.3 square kilometers. Such large land was quite difficult to be acquired in any other areas. Besides they were all fertile lands in Guanzhong area.

It was afternoon that President Jiang Zemin decided to visit the excavation site of Han Yangling Mausoleum. Since it was raining heavily in the morning, I asked Mr. LI Juxi to lead some workers and pave the road to the excavation site. Because it was a dirt road and the van could not go there in rainy days. Finally Li negotiated with the municipal leaders of Xianyang City and arranged the truck to collect the crushed stones and pave the road. It was done before 4 o'clock in the afternoon. President Jiang almost cancelled his trip. I stood firm that anyway we must pave the road and asked the President to pay a visit. After his visit, he would have a better understanding of the difficulties in our preservation work of cultural heritage. The Central Leadership would then understand and support our proposed measures. That was all my thoughts then. So when he visited the excavation site, he was very happy and agreed that land acquisition was a good way to preserve the large archaeological sites.

When we launched the design for the exhibition hall, some people suggested building a glass floor on the top of the burial pits so that visitors could see everything from above. I disagreed. Those pottery figures of the Han Dynasty were at a height from 30 to 40 centimeters which were much smaller than the figures of Terracotta Warriors the Qin Dynasty (221-206 B.C.). And the pottery animals were even smaller. People could see those tall Terracotta Warriors very well from above. As for these smaller ones, how could visitors see them clearly if they just view them from above? A visitor would not be interested in this presentation nor be impressed in his soul. I was thinking how to make people feel the charm of those excavated figures from the Yangling Mausoleum. I thought it should enable people to view the cultural relics from different angles. My experience was that the closer you got to the history, the more attractive it was. It is just like the archaeological excavation. The moment that you excavated something from the earth, you felt that you were taking a dialogue to the history. When the site exhibition can make visitors feel in that way, it would be a success.

Therefore we should not simply copy the preservation and exhibition methods of Terracotta Warriors' Museum, which was its own way. We should apply the methods in accordance with the feature and burial condition of cultural relics at the Han Yangling Mausoleum. At that time, LIU Kecheng was commissioned with the architectural design of the exhibition hall. He was quite in favor of my idea in that the whole project should be built under the ground because any form of the building beside the Emperor's burial mound would damage the existing environment of the site. Moreover, the exhibition hall was built just between the Emperor and Empress's burial mounds. There should not be any building structure between them to separate the two burial mounds. Concerning about this, we were thinking of the sunken approach. An underground building would not do any harm to the existing environment of the Mausoleum while the sunken design would enable people to get closer to see those small pottery figures, and make a dialogue with the history.

*DM: Professor Zhang, were all these principles confirmed in October 2000 when the architectural design competition for the museum of burial pits was launched?*

Z: No, these ideas came out gradually from the discussion with LIU Kecheng. After he won the competition, we continuously discussed over his design plan, and then we had more and more complete ideas. Then these ideas were applied into the design drawings. But there still was one difficulty. How to enable visitors to have a closer view for those small pottery figures? I suggested that an anatomical approach can be adopted so that the original pits could be preserved and then visitors could view those cultural relics from the above or from the bottom level of the pits. Then Kecheng said it was good solution in terms of the design, but was it possible in terms of conservation principle? I confirmed that it was fine to take a try. We could take such a new approach to remove the rammed-earth partition wall between two neighboring burial pits and the site and cultural relics would not be damaged. Kecheng also proposed the idea of applying glass corridor to create a great visual impression. He offered many ideas about it, which I thought were practical. But the design scheme should apply for approval by the State Administration of Cultural Heritage. So in the final design, we took away one partition wall between two pits but present the excavated objects according to their original status. After two years' construction, some people again suggested to build a traditional Chinese curved roof of the underground museum, which was denied by me.

*DM: So was this idea put forward after the completion of the underground museum?*

Z: Before the completion of construction, some officials kept suggesting it should be built in Han Dynasty's style with a traditional curved roof. I said No, since the State Administration of Cultural Heritage approved this architectural scheme, we have to follow it.

By the time the underground museum was completed in 2005, I left Shaanxi Cultural Heritage Bureau to Beijing. Then the 15th General Assembly of ICOMOS was held on 21 October 21<sup>st</sup> in Xi'an. The theme of that conference was concerning about the Conservation of the Setting of Heritage Structures, Sites and Areas.<sup>12</sup> There was one important program of the conference that all the participants were invited to visit Han Yangling Mausoleum and the newly completed underground museum. I was confident at first, but in all of sudden I was quite unsure when I learnt that so many international professionals all around the world including the experts in China would visit it. So I said I would not go for this visit. Later if any of those experts criticize the design would ruin the site and cultural relics, then it would be all my fault which had nothing to do with others.

After those experts came back, I asked them anxiously about the impression. Mr. Michael Alfred Petzet (born 1933), the President of the International Committee of ICOMOS at that time told me it was great. He said the site environment of the Mausoleum had been so well preserved and the exhibition of the excavated site and cultural relics was also excellent. I then asked about other experts' feelings of visit. They all said that it was an impressive trip and the design approach was a further

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<sup>12</sup> See detail at the Official Website of ICOMOS: [https://www.icomos.org/xian2005/home\\_eng.htm](https://www.icomos.org/xian2005/home_eng.htm) Accessed on January 15<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

progress made from the achievement of Terracotta Warriors' Museum. I was suddenly relaxed. At that night, all the participants were going to see an evening show held on the site of Daming Palace. I would not go either. I was excited and told FU Qingyuan, the Chief Engineer and my new colleague at CACH that I would like to invite him to try the Basin Mutton, a famous local food in the Muslim District in Xi'an. And I did not go for the conference the next day but directly went to the Han Yangling Museum. I felt totally relaxed and more confident because the recognition of the experts. I said to Mr. WU Xiaocong, LI Juxi and other colleagues that I could withdraw from the work of Han Yangling now, and the later operation and management of the museum would all rely on them. We were all very happy at that moment.

So from the whole process, I learnt that all cultural heritage sites are different. Even in Xi'an, the different sites from the different dynasties have their own feature and context. Therefore, the conservation work has to focus on the traits of the site and excavated cultural relics.

*DM: Professor Zhang, what is your specialized field?*

Z: I studied archaeology. Later when I was at the Shaanxi Provincial Bureau of Cultural Heritage, I had always been working on the management of archaeology and cultural heritage conservation. I think that cultural heritage conservation should coordinate with archaeological work. Archaeological work is indispensable for learning about the site and cultural relics. Without it you cannot really understand the site and cultural relics.

*DM: Before the completion of Han Yangling Museum, there were many review meetings. For example, how could the archaeologists from the Consultant Experts Group of State Administration of Cultural Heritage later agree to move away the rammed earthen wall between the two pits? Because from a traditional view, the main body of cultural relics and the site is untouchable. So I think this seems to be a significant change.*

Z: As for the experts from the State Administration of Cultural Heritage, they were not the people answering no for everything. They all started from reality to make decisions in many aspects. Of course we had to communicate with them and explain about our ideas. Some of them had not been to the site yet and know little about it. So we need to explicate our scheme of the underground museum to them. The explication will make them basically know the Yangling Mausoleum and then understand it, so that they will gradually approve our design proposal.

*DM: I also heard that some renowned experts are pretty open-minded if you explain your ideas clearly to them.*

Z: Sure, many of these experts are masters and quite open-minded towards others' ideas if you could explain it well.

*DM: What an excellent story of your narration of the whole process of the project! I once talked with Mr. WU Xiaocong, the former director of Han Yangling Museum. He mentioned all the difficulties and changes for running the museum before and after*

*the completion of the underground site museum of Han Yangling Mausoleum. It is always a challenge for the management work of such a large archaeological site. Before the project, he said that the Yangling Mausoleum attracted a smaller number of visitors, and the income could not cover the operation expenses. Since the underground site museum opened, the financial situation had completely changed. He also noted that he had a plan to make some small construction projects for the museum facilities in different areas of the site park because the instantaneous accommodation capacity of the underground museum was limited. But you left from your position as the director of the Provincial Bureau. So many ideas have not been put into practice.*

Z: At that time I was quite in favor of the idea to hold some performances there in the evening. I suggested acrobatics were good choices for the performances, which were also quite special arts in the Han Dynasty. In *Discussions on Salt and Iron* of the Han Dynasty,<sup>13</sup> acrobatics spreading from the Western Regions along the Silk Road were mentioned several times, including many wonderful performances like magic show and rope-walking, etc. Those performances were also described as images in many portrait bricks in the Han Dynasty. So if such a performance could be launched, it would also mean a good economic opportunity for Shaanxi Acrobatic Troupe. The tourists may visit the site in the day and watch the performance on a temporary site in the evening, as long as the performance site does not damage the environment of archaeological site.

DM: *That seems to be a good idea for running the site park.*

Z: Sure, but it was a pity there is no time for it.

DM: *When I talked with Director Wu and other interviewees, they also mentioned the conflicts between the conservation planning of Han Yangling Mausoleum and the development goal of the provincial government. For instance, the archaeological site of Yangling town was not able to be preserved because of that. What's your view of this conflict between the urban development and cultural heritage conservation?*

Z: Surely during the past three decades in China, much attention has been paid to the economic development, which is necessary. Without the fruit of economic growth, we would even not get chance to preserve the Han Yangling Mausoleum or the Terracotta Warriors so well. I always think if the relation between development and preservation is dealt with well, it will bring out win-win results, otherwise a contradiction will arise. I do not think there are irreconcilable contradictions between the preservation and development at the very start. They are related to each other. Of course, from a philosophical perspective, they are a pair of contradiction, and contradiction means confliction. But through the case of the Han Yangling underground exhibition hall, it has initially proved that we are able to deal with the relations between the preservation and development in a proper way. But this is just a beginning step.

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<sup>13</sup> It was a historical record written by HUAN Kuan about the debate held at the imperial court in 81 BCE on state policy during the Han Dynasty in China. See detail in K'uan Huan, trans. Esson McDowell Gale, *Discourses on Salt and Iron: A Debate on State Control of Commerce and Industry in Ancient China*, E. J. Brill Limited, 1931.

However, there are many cases which in fact are failure. Now in our country, the cultural heritage departments want to preserve based on their understanding while the relevant economic departments make decisions according to their own inherent mode of thinking. When the Scientific Development Concept was first put forward by the central leadership in 2003 as one of the guiding socio-economic principles of the country, I was quite interested in it. I thought it would be a guiding principle to coordinate the economic development with cultural heritage preservation. But it seems that many people did not follow in that way. There were so many cases about the serious damage to cultural heritage sites caused by the ardor of economic development. For example, in Dinghai Historical Town (Zhoushan, Zhejiang Province), the historic districts were torn down for real estate purpose.<sup>14</sup> And it was leading by the professional with a Doctorate degree in Architecture or Urban Planning. During the process of modernization, we will inevitably make some mistakes but should not pay such a huge cost. Confucius once said that one should not make the same mistake twice.<sup>15</sup> But we have made the same mistakes so many times. In the past, in the name of renovation of the city, many historic buildings were demolished, and nothing was left. Take Xi'an as an example, the city now has only the Ming City Wall together with several listed buildings. In the past, there were several historic districts inside the City Wall. Now there nearly none is left except a few of them in the Muslim District.

*DM: Prof. XU Pingfang<sup>16</sup> once commented that the preservation of those historic cities in China was in fact a failure on the whole.*

Z: Indeed, I agree. But there is still one good example, Hancheng in Shaaxi. The historic town of Hancheng was well preserved, meanwhile a new urban district were built and located on the top of highland next to the old town. Many government institutes in the old downtown area were relocated to the new Hancheng district. On the foot of the highland sits the old Hancheng town. That project was settled in 1980s,<sup>17</sup> and I think that is a very good example.

*DM: Actually, Mr. LIANG Sicheng and CHEN Zhanxiang applied the same idea in their proposal of Master Urban Planning for preserving old historic town of Beijing*

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<sup>14</sup> The demolition of Dinghai Historical Town was a significant public event in 1999 in China. The place was the first group of the provincial listed historic cities of Zhejiang Province since 1991, and torn down following the urban renewal project carried out by Zhoushan Municipal Government since 1996 met with the great resistance from the local community. The detailed story in English can be seen in Marina Svensson, "Heritage Struggles and Place-makings in Zhejiang Province: Local Media, Cross-regional Media Interactions, and Media Strategies from below", eds. Wanning Sun and Jenny Chio, *Mapping Media in China: Region, Province, Locality*, Routledge, 2012, pp. 193-211.

<sup>15</sup> "There was Yan Hui; He loved to learn. He did not transfer his anger; he did not repeat a fault." See in Chapter 11, Book VI. Yung Yey of *The Chinese Classics: Confucian Analects*, trans. by James Legge, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893, p. 185.

<sup>16</sup> XU Pingfang (1930-2011) was a renowned Chinese archaeologist and the former Chair of the board of Archaeological Society of China.

<sup>17</sup> The Master Urban Planning of Hancheng City was launched in 1985. The new city was built in the north of the old city region with a height difference of 70 meters. Meanwhile there is a buffer zone area for about 5.04 square kilometers on the outer district of old historic town. See in SHAN Jixiang, "From the Mode of Old City Centered Development to Developing New City and Protecting Old City: Study on the Scientific Method and Organic Order for Protecting Historic City," *Cultural Relics*, Vol. 5 (2006), pp. 45-47.

in 1950.<sup>18</sup>

Z: It is indeed very important to both preserve the old and develop the new separately. Whether it is a historic city, a historic village or a historic district, they are all alive with the people's life in it. The approach for this topic is quite different from the method we have taken in Han Yangling. In those historic cities and towns, there are many people with their own mode of production as well as life style. Even the mode of production is still developing. Surely their life style is changing with the modernization, but there is still something unchanged. That is similar to Chinese traditional way of cooking: the food is cooked in the stir-fried way with oil. Such life style in the Chinese kitchen remains unchanged today. So when it comes to the preservation of those historic cities or towns, I think people's life modes there should be carefully studied. Those valuable ones should be kept and continued.

*DM: When I first went abroad, I got a strong impression. The history of many cities in Norway is not as profound as the history of Xi'an, but many historic buildings from different times are well preserved. So that even brings a visitor stronger sense of history than in Xi'an.*

Z: In China, some local government chiefs have known very little about the history of this country, letting alone the essence of it. Now the central collective leadership stressed that each nation has its own cultural identity. So what is the identity for China? Recently WANG Qishan<sup>19</sup> expressed that the cultural identity of Chinese people are filial piety, brotherhood, loyalty, trust, courtesy, righteousness, honor and shame which are the virtue ethics of Confucianism from a historical view. However, with the modernization progress, many people are confused about our root and foundation. They think the mushroomed skyscrapers in the cities indicate the modern improvement, which is actually not. Modernization should root in China's reality. It has its own developing environment and thus cannot be simply measured by making rigid indexes. For instance, we cannot simply count the percentage of primary industry, secondary industry and tertiary industry, but should also consider about the contribution rate. We cannot simply consider their contribution to the GDP's increase or earn how much money for the government finance. We cannot measure everything with money.

I think employment rate is also an important index. How many jobs can primary industry create for the people? Modernization does not simple mean that all the labor force is driven to migrate to the cities. If our agriculture industry can attract enough labor force and its operation is continuously updated in a humanistic way, then it will draw much labor in countryside. But our present agriculture is just pushing much labor force of the right ages away. If we still ignore this and simply pay much attention to the index of GDP, it will cause problems. It is wrong to implement different policies among rural residents and urban residents, and divide people's

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<sup>18</sup> The full name of Liang-Chen Proposal is "Suggestions on the location of central government district", an English description can be seen in Sidney Wong, "Searching for a Modern, Humanistic Planning Model in China: The Planning Ideas of Liang Sicheng (1930-1952)", *Journal of Architecture and Planning Research*, 32:4 (Winter 2015), pp. 324-345.

<sup>19</sup> WANG Qishan, born in 1948, is a senior leader of the CCP. He has been a member of the seven-man Politburo Standing Committee, China's highest decision making body from 2012 to 2017.

registration residence into rural and urban as before. Both rural residents and urban residents are equal and they are just doing different jobs. Since China is a traditional agricultural country with large agricultural population, we can solve the current problems only by increasing rural production rate as well as agriculture's contribution to China's economy. The preservation of traditional villages also relates to it. They cannot be built into empty nest villages or Old and Young villages.

*DM: Speaking of the preservation of traditional villages, it seems that there are still great potentials to work with those living heritage in rural areas in China. However in Europe, as far as I feel, most authentic regional traditions and vernaculars were dead. There is a clear rupture with pre-modernity.*

Z: So I think it is definitely important to preserve some traditions in the countryside in China. In addition, agricultural population is one of the most stable factors for a society. Traditional Chinese agriculture stresses that the plantation should be done according to time and seasons. The agricultural labor force is a very stable force of our society. If all is changed, and these people go to the bottom of the city or become marginalized population, then the whole society will be unstable. From all angles, modernization is the key to increasing the whole rural area's living standards, including the modernization of people, production and service. If those farmers feel proud of and gain satisfaction from the work they do, then there will be a stable society.

So I suggested that the preservation of traditional villages should be based on solving the problems of agriculture, rural development and farmers. It does not simply mean to reduce the agricultural population. Agricultural population will decline in the future but it should not be regarded as the only way. We should find a solution to increase the productivity, the deep-processing rate and market rate of agricultural products. We once made the conservation planning for Yaoli Traditional Village in Fuliang, Jiangxi Province, which I think is a good project. About seven or eight years ago, I first went there when we were making the planning. I revisited that place again this year. There were no great changes with the townscape, natural and built environment since it has been well preserved. Besides, the average income of local people increased to 10,000 Yuan RMB from several thousand Yuan before.

*DM: That is a great progress.*

Z: Right, it was. What do the people do for living there? They do not live rely on the crops farming. Instead they plant tea on the mountains. Nearly every family plant tea or do tea-picking. Moreover, Fuliang has been a major tea growing area since the Tang Dynasty (618-907). It produces the tea with high quality, which was mentioned by the renowned poet BAI Juyi (772-846). In his poem "The Song of the Pipa Player", he wrote that a merchant's wife was home waiting for her husband who went to Fulia for tea business. So, it is important for the local people to maintain this as a local feature and then improve its quality to make it unique local product.

I went to Denmark this year. There is a small island where Denmark's best potatoes are growing. Those potatoes are sold for more than a hundred Danish Kroner per kilogram. That is rather expensive, but they are all of high quality. I also went to

visit the Honghe Hani Rice Terraces in Yunnan Province, where rice without chemicals or pesticides is planted. However, I think the agriculture there has not been well managed. If so, then the rice there can be sold for several dozen Yuan RMB or even more than a hundred yuan per kilogram. If the rice agriculture can help the local farmers there become rich, and those farmers can be proud of that they are the growers of such high-quality rice, then their life will change. In large plain great machines can be used in rice growing while in those terrace area, rice growing can only rely on manual work. However, the manual work should show its value in the market.

*DM: Since China has a large population base, we cannot simply say that things with less manual work are better.*

Z: The Honghe Hani Rice Terraces are also listed cultural heritage and closely related to local people's production mode and living mode. Some suggested that we could invite some developers to come and run it. Then the local farmers would work in the developer's company as employees. That is nonsense.

*DM: Speaking of the preservation of historic cities, I think the homogenization effect on cities from the modern urbanization is universal. Several days ago, Prof. LU Di from Tongji University stressed that the preservation of architectural heritage, built environment, and natural geographical heritage would be the key to avoid the identical imagines of different cities. He thinks it is a natural result that cities are getting more and more similar under the globalization process. Many factors have made this result including a global capitalism market, the similar educational system for architects, similar demands for building physics as well as similar building materials and construction methods. The only way to keep cities distinctive is to preserve the architectural heritage.*

Z: Yes, then there is another important question. During about two thousand years' history of China, the big cities, medium-sized cities, and smaller towns had all followed the similar institutional pattern and been homogenous in some way. For the general layout of historical town in the past, there must be office buildings, Confucian Temples, Guandi Temples and City God Temples with the similar forms. And the historical buildings in Southern and Northern China are only different in some details.

*DM: So, what you said is that the traditional Chinese official-style architecture was in a homogenous way.*

Z: Yes. Therefore, we have to preserve the built and natural environment because the historic buildings were built adapting to their urban and rural environment. If the environment is not preserved, they will become homogenous from the root. So the integrated environment is so important such as the mountains, waters, and trees. They are linked with our homesick feelings. Without these, there will be no so-called nostalgia.

*DM: Another question. Are there any other good examples of site museum or site park for the conservation of large archaeological site in China impressed you? Especially these cases made a good balance between preservation and operation?*

Z: Well, frankly speaking, we are now at the beginning step for taking a tentative exploration of balancing the economic development and preservation. I cannot say which one is very good. Take the Site Park of Yin Ruins for example, the design is good but attracts few visitors. I think that is because people's aesthetic taste is connected with their cultural taste and it takes time to improve. In other words, suppose all people have a high cultural taste like ZHANG Xiruo, who could ponder on the ancient ruins as well as the history. But many of us cannot do it. I think our people can make it in the future when most of them have better cultural taste. The cultural taste does not simply equal to the ability to read and write how many words. The mass of our people still have got long way to go for this. What we are doing now is to increase the cultural taste of the people. But there are some misleading cultural heritage sites like the Old Town of Lijiang, where many fake performances are conducted there for tourism. For both museum circle and intellectual circle, it is important for us to do some cultural accumulation work to increase people's cultural taste. Cultural accumulation is very important but has often been neglected. The continuity of Chinese culture lies in cultural accumulation. So each generation should make contribution to our cultural accumulation.

*DM: It reminds me an example of Han Yangling underground museum project. After the completion of the construction work, Director Wu and Prof. LIU Kecheng, the architect had a debate on the interior design and exhibition. Wu suggested a more popular way in concrete form for meeting the common people's appreciation, but Prof. Liu held the opposite view.*

Z: I think it is quite difficult to suit both refined and popular tastes when it comes to the question like this. In my view, we shall accept laymen to be a little bit too arty, and soon they may have better taste. Do not look down those arty-crafty people. Now we can see the common people's appreciation taste is increasing in China. Even for those things we once despised, later we will realize them as the necessary results of the development in our history.

*DM: I have not visited the Site Museum of Yin Ruins yet, but I have been to Jinsha Site Museum several times. Though I think that the modern architectural addition seems to be too much for the archaeological site there, the presentation of the archaeological findings is good one in China. And Mr. WANG Yi, the Director of Jinsha Site Museum is a man of great competence who made a good balance between the management of site museum and its surrounding real estate development.*

Z: If the urban development in China does not rely on the real estate and land economy so much, there would not be so many so-called 'ghost towns' now. Throughout the nation, all apply a similar way with a Path Dependence for running archaeological site museums and site parks would be a problem. If there are more diverse approaches, the problem can be solved. As for the practice of cultural heritage conservation in China, whenever a new idea comes out from one place, the other places will copy it as a shortcut. Some will do blindly imitation and thus will cause ludicrous result. It is better to start from their own reality and take such factors into consideration as the local natural environment, historical background, and the burial condition of cultural relics together as the approaches of the cultural heritage and sites.

It has to focus on the specific traits of the archaeological sites and excavated cultural relics. Only in this way, a better solution for the conservation and presentation can be found.

*DM: Right. The cultural heritage conservation for large archaeological sites has to focus on the traits of the site and cultural relics. I think that is all my questions. Thank you very much!*

(End of the Interview)



## Appendix II Interview with WU Xiaocong on the Han Yangling Museum

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<sup>1</sup> The text in Chinese of this interview was published as “Anthropological Field Notes on Hedmark and Han Yangling Site Museums: An Interview with WU Xiaocong (Part I),” Column of “Conservation Dialogue” in *Community Design*, 2018 (3) Vol. 85, (Beijing: Tsinghua University, China Architecture & Building Press), pp. 90-99.



## Interview with WU Xiacong on the Han Yangling Site Museum

**Time:** ca. 13:30-16:20

**Date:** Tuesday, September 29, 2009

**Place:** Room 207, Shaanxi Cultural Heritage Bureau, West Yanta Road, Xi'an, China

**Interviewee:** WU Xiacong

**Interviewer:** XU Dongming

### About the Interviewee:

WU Xiacong (born 1951) is a museologist and the former director of the Han Yangling Museum from 2003 to 2007. He also worked as the vice director of the Terra-cotta Army Museum (present name: Emperor Qinshihuang's Mausoleum Site Museum) in the 1980s, and the deputy supervisor of the Shaanxi Provincial Cultural Heritage Bureau from 2003 to 2011.

*DM: Thank you for accepting this interview on the Han Yangling Museum Project. I had worked at Prof. LIU Kecheng's architecture studio before I took my PhD study in Norway, and as an architect I had been involved in the design work of the Han Yangling Underground Museum. The topic of my research is case study of site museums in China and Norway. Han Yangling Museum is the selected Chinese case of which you have been in charge of the construction work.*

WXC: As you had been involved in the design work of the museum, surely you know the process well. I have been to Norway before, and there was once also an exhibition of Han Yangling Museum held by NTNU Museum. You must have visited some site museums and cultural heritage sites in Norway as well.

*DM: Yes, I have been to some heritage sites in Norway. Compared to other European countries such as Italy, France or Britain, large-scale historical monuments do not constitute a big part in the cultural heritage system in Norway. Many of the Norwegian cultural heritage properties are the buildings and heritage sites related to the common daily lives in the history, like open-air folk museums. The mining town of Røros, listed as a World Heritage Site, used to be a copper mine, and its wooden town in the pre-industrial era has more than three hundred years history since the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Maybe you have visited some of these sites as well.*

WXC: Yes, we have been to the Vegaøya, a UNESCO World Heritage Site. We were sort of shocked by the heritage site there and could see that the Norwegian understanding of heritage is quite different from ours. When I was back to China from that trip, I had written an essay named "Silent Vega".<sup>1</sup> Although we did not make any comments during the trip, the truth was that we were surprised at the beginning how that could be a heritage site. It has a lot of prehistoric relics, but they were hardly visible due to the local natural environment with strong wind at the sea. We were impressed by the local people's attitude towards the heritage site. During the dinner,

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<sup>1</sup> See WU Xiacong, "Silent Vega: a paradise far away," *Chang'an: Stories behind the Cultural Heritage*, Shaanxi Publishing House, 2009.

we talked with the local officials in Vega. They did not seem to be quite thrilled by the title of world heritage site, which might bring them some publicity and economic benefits. There was just a little place on the island hanging a small sign showing that this is a world's cultural heritage site. Compared to the Norwegians, we have too strong utilitarianism which could ruin the heritage.

I feel that we have benefited a lot through this diversity of understanding in world cultural heritage, like the visit of the copper mining town of Røros. We were in Norway in 2005, at which time there were five world heritage sites in Norway. The Han Yangling Underground Museum was also under construction at that time. I was impressed by Norway although it was a short visit. Norway has given me a totally different experience than other European countries like France. Being close to the North Pole, the landscape in Norway is unique and its beauty is not something that you could experience in Western Europe. The sea was cold and clear. When we were at the Oslo international airport, accidentally we saw a Chinese poem inscribed on the floor, by which we were sort of saddened. So, what about your questions?

*DM: I have prepared some questions. First, I would like to know something about your role at Han Yangling project. So when did you start to work there?*

WXC: My work at Han Yangling Museum began in the year of 2000, and I was involved in the project on behalf of the Shaanxi Provincial Cultural Heritage Bureau. The management system of cultural heritage sites in Shaanxi Province at that time was quite interesting. There was a Shaanxi Tourism Group Corporation, and this state-run company has sent its vice president (ZHANG Xiaoke) to represent them in the Han Yangling project. Meanwhile I was on behalf of the Shaanxi Provincial Bureau of Cultural Heritage, and of course there were also other people involved.<sup>2</sup> The initial stage of the project was bidding, and the bidding office took the main responsibilities for the designation of the conservation planning and feasibility study report of the two projects of Qin Shihuang Mausoleum and Han Yangling Mausoleum. The working staff of the bidding office was composed of people from the Shaanxi Tourism Group Corporation and Shaanxi Provincial Cultural Heritage Bureau. XUE Kai was a member of the Shaanxi Tourism Group but later joined our Bureau. This was the process in 2000. Before the formal international bidding, there had been planning and feasibility research about the Qin Shihuang Mausoleum, the land use of the Han Yangling Mausoleum, and Han Yangling Underground Museum.

There were about eight candidates in the international competition process, including the Shaanxi Provincial Architectural Design Institute, Northwest Architectural Design Institute, Tianjin University, and the project was finally entrusted to C.Y. Lee Architect Inc. and Xi'an University of Architecture and Technology, namely to C.Y. Lee and LIU Kecheng. In the first place we were supposed to choose one of them, but finally decided to use both. However, there had

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<sup>2</sup> See <http://www.hylae.com/list.asp?id=1029>, the Chronicles, Han Yangling Museum Official Website. The Construction Planning of Han Yangling Museum and Site Parks was approved by the Shaanxi Provincial Government in April of 2000. The bidding office was composed of working staff from Shaanxi Tourism Group Corporation and Shaanxi Provincial Bureau of Cultural Heritage. The leader team was composed of: ZHANG Tinghao (Team Leader), ZHANG Xiaoke (Deputy Team Leader), HOU Weidong (Head of Bidding Office), WU Xiaocong (Deputy Head of Bidding Office). Other staffs include: LI Naifu, CAO Fazhan, YAN Zongyue, TAN Ping, XUE Kai, CUI Wen, PANG Hong.

been some difficulties to pinch the two sides together, and C.Y. Lee gradually faded out of the project. Despite this, Mr. Lee had made a lot of contributions. He has a quite understanding of the Chinese traditional culture and has been involved in a lot of other projects in Shaanxi, like the Famen Temple. I think his proposals and design ideas on the Han Yangling site were quite bold. We were quite excited to hear his ideas, but at the same time saw there were insurmountable difficulties in practice.

For example, he once proposed that the Han Yangling Site be connected to the axis of the Southern Mountain in Xi'an and then named it as the 'Dragon Axis with the Pearl'. Besides, he has got another idea about the Sima Road (the ritual avenue),<sup>3</sup> proposing that we could hollow out the entire Sima Road, making it an enormous underground construction which even could hold international exhibitions. We kind of felt that the idea was too bold and sort of unrealistic as the Sima Road itself is very important part of the heritage site. Besides, his proposals demanded a budget which was far beyond the financial affordability of Shaanxi Province at that time. Nevertheless, many of Mr. Lee's architectural ideas are still admirable and inspiring. That was how it was about the bidding of the international competition.

*DM: Do you think the success of the Han Yangling Underground Museum project was connected to the Master Planning framework for the Han Yangling site?*

WXC: The Han Yangling Underground Museum has received quite positive recognition after the project was finished, some of which are beyond our expectations. We were full of hesitation and uncertainty during the process because it is a complete underground building which lies quite close to the burial mound of the Emperor and full of risks. ZHANG Tinghao, the former Director of the Shaanxi Provincial Bureau of Cultural Heritage, has been quite supportive for the project. Even so, he did not show up at the museum the first day when the experts of the ICOMOS conference<sup>4</sup> visited the museum. Afterwards he said that he was worried about if the experts would give critical comments. If so, he would have to take all the responsibilities as he was the principal official responsible for the project.<sup>5</sup>

Fortunately, there were all praises from the ICOMOS experts. Michael Petzets<sup>6</sup> commented that Han Yangling museum is an outstanding example of cultural heritage site protection. Hearing such positive comments, Zhang immediately took a few other people to the underground museum the following day. My personal view is that all the success and praise it has received should mainly contribute not to the master planning but the building itself. I am not saying that planning was not

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<sup>3</sup> Sima Road, also known as Road of Gods, is a main avenue and monumental axis with the ritual purpose in the imperial cemeteries in ancient China since the Qin (221–207 BC) and Han Dynasties (206 BC–AD 220). See in LIU Qingzhu, and LI Yufang, *The Eleven Tombs of Western Han Dynasty* (Xi'an, China: Shaanxi People's Publishing House, 1987), p. 163.

<sup>4</sup> The participants of 15th General Assembly of ICOMOS visited the newly completed Han Yangling Underground Museum on October 20, 2005. See <http://www.hylae.com/list.asp?id=1029>, the Chronicles, Han Yangling Museum Official Website.

<sup>5</sup> See the same story from Zhang's own interpretation in Appendix I; or in XU Dongming, and ZHANG Tinghao, "Anthropological Field Notes on Hedmark and Han Yangling Site Museums: An Interview with ZHANG Tinghao," Column of "Conservation Dialogue," *Community Design*, Vol. 77, 2017 (1), pp. 100-112: 108.

<sup>6</sup> Michael Petzet (born 1933) is a German expert in heritage conservation. In 1988 Petzet became president of the German National Committee of the ICOMOS. He was elected as the President of the International Committee of ICOMOS from 1999 to 2008.

important. Of course, it is important and is the premise of the whole project. The planning was not focusing on details of the museum itself, but on a long-term development plan for the entire site. When LIU Kecheng did the planning, he included the archaeological site of Yangling Town area, which after the approval of the project by State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH). The archaeologists convened by the SACH all agreed that the archaeological site of Yangling Town area was of great importance as the earliest small town in China<sup>7</sup> and should be included into the conservation project. This has created some difficulties between the conservation planning and the practice.

We immediately went to the site of Yangling Town when we began to work for the Han Yangling project. By that time there has already been built many high-rise buildings with the surprisingly high construction speed. Seeing that, my idea was that since there was no possibility to realize a full-scale protection plan of the entire site, maybe we could save some important areas which we could save. JIAO Nanfeng, the chief archaeologist, agreed with me. But that was just an idea, and we could not propose it in that way to the SACH, who stated that the entire area should be included in the protection plan. When we discussed the issue with the provincial officials, several vice governors opposed the protection plan because once the protection plan is approved, all the construction work which had already got the permission from the provincial government would have to be stopped. One of the vice governor said that they could not eat their own words and suggested us making some further research first to see if there is really a need for protecting the whole area. Under such circumstances, the approval of the conservation plan was suspended the by Shaanxi Provincial Government because of the dilemma between the realities and idealized conservation planning. The site which should be actually protected was already ruined by the built constructions, I have to say.

I visited the Han Yangling Museum recently and we were still discussing about this issue, hoping to get approval from the government. The approval of the SACH is just the first step in principle, and the conservation planning could just stay on paper without the official announcement and approval by the provincial government. That is to say the protection area is still limited to the original small scope. The planning was

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<sup>7</sup> More details about the site of Yangling Town can be seen in WANG Baoping ed., *Han Yangling Museum* (Beijing: Cultural Relics Press, 2006), pp. 92-97; also in LIU Ruijun and WANG Jianxin, "Accompanying tomb area in Yangling Mausoleum and Yangling Town Site" in LIU Qingzhu ed., *New Archaeological Findings in China, Chinese Archaeology Yearbook* (Beijing: Cultural Relics Press, 2006), pp. 349-350. As JIAO Nanfeng and MA Yongying pointed out, one of the main reasons for choice of location for Yangling Town was that the satellite city could be used as a shield town for the capital of Han Chang'an (the former name of Xi'an). The area of the emperors' cemeteries of the West-Han Dynasty was located on Xianyang highland. By forcing many elites and wealthy families in the east of China migrated to Xianyang highland, the emperor had strengthened the central government's power and put all the wealthy families under the supervision. Meanwhile, it had created a shield against the invasion of the Huns from the North. See JIAO Nanfeng and MA Yongying, "Study on Location Choice of Emperor Mausoleums in West-Han Dynasty", *Archeology* Vol. 1036, 2011(11), pp. 76-82: 79; RAN Wanli thought that the scale of Yangling Town was about one-eighth of Chang'an, having a typical city arrangement like the separation between residential area and governmental area, central axis dividing the roads into four different directions. The historical records show that small and medium-sized cities in the later dynasties could be traced back to the city planning at Yangling Town. See in RAN Wanli, "Research in Yangling Town - The Origin of City Planning in the Wei Dynasty, Jin Dynasty, Sui Dynasty and Tang Dynasty", *North-West University Journal* Vol. 43, 2013(01), pp. 133-137.

called “The Conservation and Utilization Planning of the Han Yangling Site”, but the experts convened by the SACH stressed that we should always consider conservation and protection first with this plan, which is still not approved yet by now by the local government.<sup>8</sup>

*DM: This is really a typical issue at the time. A few days ago, Fredrik Shetelig, vice dean of the Architectural Faculty at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), said on the trip of his visit to the Han Yangling Museum that today’s China is in great need of those experts working at the State Administration of Cultural Heritage, otherwise, the situation would be out of control.*

WXC: The rapid urbanization and transformation of the old cities have done serious damages to cultural heritage properties. The historic monuments and sites could be gone overnight, and the speed, scale and intensity are quite alarming. As some have joked about our role at the Shaanxi Provincial Cultural Heritage Bureau, saying that we were always looking for trouble and fail over and over again. The State Administration Cultural Heritage (SACH) now has also adjusted its strategies, trying to adapt to the economic development by not telling people what not to do, but telling them how to do it. It is always easier said than done. There are always contradictions, and some are hardly reconcilable, for example, the cultural heritage sites protection and the development of tourism. It was saying that we should “protect it effectively, use it appropriately”<sup>9</sup> and equal emphasis should be put on both of the protection and development. In reality, we could see that all the cultural heritage sites in China more or less will be damaged once becoming a tourist hot spot. Without the title, it would be totally forgotten in the corner.

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<sup>8</sup> The Conservation and Utilization Planning of Han Yangling was approved by the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH) in July 2002. The archaeological station, the Han Yangling Underground Museum, and other conservation facilities were built and open to public between the year of 2002 and 2006. In 2010, Han Yangling Site was approved as one of the first group of the National Archaeological Site Parks by SACH although the Master Planning for Han Yangling National Archaeological Site Park was approved until 2011. See in Chinese Academy of Cultural Heritage ed., *Tracking on the Large Archaeological Site Protection Scheme*, (Beijing: Cultural Relics Press, 2016), Part II, p. 526.

<sup>9</sup> When the National Conference of Cultural Heritage Management was held in Xi’an in May 1992, LI Ruihuan, one of the standing committee member of the Politburo of the Communist Party, suggested the guideline of “giving priority to protection, putting rescue at the first place.” In 1995, during the 2nd National Conference of Cultural Heritage Management in Xi’an, LI Tieying, committee member of the State Council, suggested to revise this guiding principle as “Effective protection, reasonable utilization, strengthened administration.” In 2002, by combining the above two guidelines, the principle of “giving priority to protection, putting rescue at the first place, reasonable utilization, strengthened administration,” was written in the newly revised *Law of the People’s Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics*. A description about the evolution of this guideline can be seen in *The Development of China’s Cultural Heritage Management in the Past Thirty Years since the Economic Reform*, ed. SACH (Cultural Relics Press, 2008), p. 22, p. 34. As XIE Chensheng, one drafter of the China’s first cultural heritage protection law in 1982 recalled, there had been other proposals during the National Conference of Cultural Heritage Management in Xi’an in 1992 which stated that the protection and utilization of cultural heritage should be of equal importance. This proposal was rejected by LI Ruihuan, who insisted that protecting and saving the cultural relics should be of first priority, and this has saved a lot of endangered cultural heritage properties. See ZHANG Yongheng, “XIE Chensheng, the Forerunner of the Study of Cultural Heritage Protection Policies” *People’s Daily* November 27, 2015.

*DM: Most of heritage sites and museums in China have to receive a high density of visiting population. This is a quite unique challenge. Once becoming a popular tourism spot, they have to face the huge flow of visitors. Then, what do you think of the unique feature of the Han Yangling Underground Museum project as a site museum?*

WXC : China has more than 2000 museums, and the latest figure in Shaanxi Province is 154 by the year of 2008. Or we can say it is actually between 154 and 157. Among those museums, one-third of them is site museums. Most of the museums in Shaanxi Province are site museums, while the southern part of China has many small private museums. In the site museums where we have worked before, the exhibition methods are quite alike. For example, at the Banpo Museum, the first site museum in China, it was circled a certain area where people could see the excavated site. The same method was adopted at the Terra-cotta Warriors Museum although the scale and size of the archaeological digging area were different. This is quite a monotonous way of exhibition. The only way to protect the site is to cover it with a large-span building protecting it from sunshine and bad weather. The internal microclimate environment was not taken into consideration, and air-conditioning is out of the question in such a huge area. Because there is no chemical treatment on its surface, the condition of the Banpo Site is deteriorating significantly. A new exhibition hall was built over the Banpo Site in the recent years. The old site was reburied during the construction. When the construction work was done, some ruins were excavated again and received certain chemical consolidation. This is an easy and low-cost way of conservation, at the same time providing an overall view of the archaeological ruins. But in the long run, it has certain issues to cope with. Like the Banpo site, because of the windy climate and much dust in the air, the site was covered with powder-like particles. Constant cleaning of the dust would ruin the earthen site.

We got the same situation when I was at the Terra-cotta Warriors Museum in Xi'an. There is no control and monitoring system of the indoor and outdoor temperature. In Pit 1, the earthen partition wall (balk) began to have many cracks. Then we took the physical consolidation method, drilled in the balk with the wooden boards clamped from the both sides. When it was getting thoroughly dry, it can be maintained for many years. In the Protection Hall of Pit No. 1, the sunlight was casted directly through the skylights at the ruins from nine o'clock in the morning. It was cold in the winter and hot in the summer, and the humidity level is not monitored. This could do much damage to the ruins, especially to the colored painting. In the Han Yangling Underground Museum project, we wanted to have some innovation in this aspect by creating a micro-climate environment. With such large area, air-conditioning is quite difficult. In the 1990s, we adopted Slovenian conservation technology in the Pit No. 8 to do an experiment,<sup>10</sup> and then adopted the same approach to the underground museum. There were altogether ten excavated burial pits next to the Emperor's tomb at the Han Yangling Site. In fact, we had eleven excavated pits. There was one more excavated pit on the south side of Sima Road (the ritual avenue). We would have quite many technical difficulties if we put the Pit 11 and the ramps of the east

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<sup>10</sup> The pilot project of Pit No. 8 was undertaken through the collaboration between the Han Yangling Archaeological Excavation Team and Slovenian Architect Milan Kovač in October 1997. See detailed description in the documented interviews with Mr. HOU Weidong and Milan Kovač in Appendices IV and V.

entrance of the Emperor's tomb into the layout of the underground museum. So, there were ten pits in the end, and the Pit 11 was reburied.

In the initial stage of design, it was not entirely glass partition, having several other ways as well. Later we found that the glass form could both meet the requirements of protecting the relics and audiences' needs to see the ruins. But, it is still too early to say if the approaches we have adopted at Hang Yangling project is the best way. Could this enclosed space bring other issues? If so, how to solve them? What could be the reasons of that? What about the high maintenance cost for such a huge museum? What should we do if there were not enough running budget?

*DM: How is situation of the maintenance cost for the museum?*

WXC: The financial situation now is quite good. If it could not keep the maintenance, we would definitely receive a lot of criticism. The museum has attracted more visitors than before because of its novelty and uniqueness. Besides, the entrance ticket is raised to 90 Yuan RMB. The annual income now is about fifteen million Yuan RMB. The annual income of Terra-cotta Warriors is about two billion Yuan RMB, but of course we could not compare ourselves to them. Before the underground museum was constructed, the annual income of the Han Yangling Museum was just about two million Yuan RMB. During the period of the SARS outbreak in 2003, there were only a few hundred thousand Yuan RMB income which was big deficit for the museum. We could see the bright future of the museum. I once said that we could set the profit goal to 10 million Yuan RMB a year, and Governor Zhao commented that I was too conservative and should instead set the annual income goal to a billion. The government of course wants to make more money.

However, we have to admit that the Han Yangling Museum cannot be compared with the Terra-cotta Warriors Museum. First, they belong to different historical period, one in the Qin Dynasty (221–207 BC) and the other in the Western Han Dynasty (206 BC–8 AD). Besides, there is only one imperial mausoleum from the Qin Dynasty, namely, the Terra-cotta Warriors in China; however, there are several imperial tombs from the Han Dynasty. The excavated figures of Terra-cotta Warriors are much taller and bigger than the ones in the Han Yangling Mausoleum. Qin Shi Huang (The First Emperor of Qin, 259–210 BC), who was buried at the Qin Mausoleum are far more household known than the Emperor Jingdi (188–141 BC) who was buried at Hang Yangling Site. The historians know well about the history of the Han Dynasty, but not the common people. Even some officials who have visited the Han Yangling Museum have no idea which emperor the Yangling Mausoleum belongs to. Qin Shi Huang, on the other hand, is a household known name, even abroad. All those adding together made it unrealistic to compare the Han Yangling Museum to the Terra-cotta Warriors Museum in terms of tourism profits.

Despite this, we could see that the annual income of the Han Yangling Museum is beyond expectation. With the annual income more than 10 million Yuan RMB, the museum has benefited a lot from it. We have got more fund to use, hired more staffs, and raised the salaries for the staff. We could not even afford the phone bill before the new underground museum was finished. I remembered that once at the beginning stage of the project, we invited all employees of the museum to go karaoke. They

were originally from the Shaanxi Tourism Group and the conservation department of Shaanxi Provincial Cultural Heritage Bureau. The intention of this gathering was to ease the conflicts between these two different groups. But we found that we did not have enough money from the museum to pay the bill. So, we had to ask the leaders of different departments to split the bill personally. Now, the situation is totally different, and there is no difficulty in maintenance. The key issue now is how to develop it and invest in new projects. The fund is still sort of limited, and as one of the largest museums in the area in China, the maintenance cost is after all very high, like the cost of watering, weeding, and cleaning works for the whole area.

*DM: The entire Han Yangling Museum area used to be farmland. Is it possible to continue to keep it that way?*

WXC: The land issue is one of the main challenges we are facing at the museum. For some time we all said that the government has had a firm hand in land requisition with thousands of acres of land. With the old land area counted, the Han Yangling Site is about three-thousand-mu (2 Square kilometers). Yesterday I was at the tenth anniversary of the Han Yangling Museum and we had talked about this issue again. The museum has done some contribution in terms of site museum preservation, but what else could it further achieve? I think the main issues are how to use the land resources and protect the cultural relics. The Terra-cotta Warriors Museum covers three-thousand-mu land as well, and there has been built a large archaeological site park. Because of the small scopes of many different pits, it does not allow large scale excavation at the Han Yangling Site. Then what should we do with the rest of the land area? Certainly, it is not possible to be used as farmland again. Those farmers who lost their land would be angry about it. We also participated in the feasibility report when Qin Shi Huang Mausoleum National Heritage Park (the extension of Terra-cotta Warriors Museum) was built, and at that time the main goal was to get the area we need for building the site park.

Feasibility report, as its name implies, means that we have to prove it is feasible. Many make a very wild boast about their plans in their feasibility report. Many factories and residents were living in the site area of the Qin Shi Huang Mausoleum, which made an impact on the site, but the impact was not so huge that all the residents there would have to be relocated. I do not think that land acquisition by the government is the best and the only way today. The reason that the government has adopted this method is because it is the simplest way of solving the problem. As long as the land is enclosed, no trespassing is allowed. The Han Yangling Museum is facing the same issue. What should we do with the vast land area? By renting the area out, any inappropriate use would inevitably damage the underground relics and the site. I have to say the utilization of the land resources is quite a tricky issue.

Some people even asked if they could rent the area and run a driving school or build a coal yard. I have given them a definite 'No Way'. The issue is how to combine the land use with tourism, and how to combine it with the protection of the cultural heritage site. The intention of building the underground museum is to protect the relics and site in situ and keep it as it was and not seeing anything above the ground. There is a lot to do concerning the next step of the Han Yangling Museum. The capability of the underground museum was designed to hold 1000 people, and this

does not match the vast area of the museum. We are thinking of using the large area to accommodate more people. LIU Kecheng has his ideas about the principle. That is, we should not do any large-scale buildings above the ground in the Han Yangling Site area.

We also said at the meeting yesterday that the contribution to the Han Yangling Museum by Governor ZHAO Dequan is huge. Without his support, there would be no Han Yangling Underground Museum. In China, you could not do anything without the support of top officials. Without his support, there would be no fund for the project. Some people even joked that the Han Yangling Underground Museum project was a son of Governor Zhao. It is true that the governor has given us enormous support. Whenever we needed some financial support, he was there for us. Once he even made a call to the financial department of Shaanxi Province because the financial department would not give us the loan. He stressed the importance of the Han Yangling Underground Museum project to the financial department, saying that the project was approved by the provincial government and was a key project for the incoming ICOMOS international conference. We got a grant of 20 million Yuan RMB afterwards when the project was almost about to be suspended.

We were also thinking that maybe we could further work with the accompanying tombs alongside the Sima Road (the ritual avenue) of the Han Yangling Mausoleum. My colleague CAO Fazhan, former deputy director at Xianyang Cultural Heritage Bureau, once told us that there were a lot of mounds of the accompanying tombs kept well before the 1970s. But they were flattened out during the Movement to Learn from Dazhai in Agriculture in the 1970s. Only about two hundreds of the eight hundreds tomb mounds survived. We have done some archeological work there and found many accompanying tombs underground.

Governor Zhao once suggested that all the eight hundred mounds on Xianyang Plateau should be restored, which would be a mission impossible. Afterwards, I got another idea. Although the total large-scale recovery of the mounds is impossible, we could possibly restore some of the mounds on both sides of the Sima Road. If there is a tomb underneath, we could excavate the tomb and then cover it with the mound-shaped structure, making it into a museum. By this means, we could build museums and at the same time no buildings are visible on the surface of the ground. Governor Zhao once criticized on Prof Liu's design of the Han Yangling Archaeological Station (1998–1999). He said that he could not see the point of the design, and suggested to add a huge roof with the Chinese ancient architectural style on the top of it. I explained to him that it was not working this way and he accepted it.

Therefore, we do not want to have huge-scaled buildings for the museum, but some mounds with exhibitions inside. However, it is difficult to put this idea into practice now. We have visited the Cheonmachong in South Korea,<sup>11</sup> and they have some

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<sup>11</sup> Cheonmachong, formerly Tomb No.155 in South Korea, is located in Gyeongju with excavation in 1973. The tomb is well-known for its famous painting of a pegasus which is depicted on a birch bark saddle flap during the Korean Goguryeo Kingdom from the 5<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> century. The historic site in Gyeongju was listed in the World Heritage List by UNESCO in December 2000. See Korean National Heritage Online, <http://chn.cha.go.kr/chinese/html/sub2/sub6.jsp>; UNESCO World Heritage Site: Gyeongju Historic Areas, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/976/>; and JIN Xueli, "The Historical Landscape

small-scale graves mounds scattered throughout the site. When you go inside, you found they are some very modern exhibition rooms. From the outside you could not see anything. We were also inspired by this. If that proposal were adopted, it may become a good example of the heritage sites protection, especially for large heritage sites. Then we may have made a bigger achievement than the present one because this would be a demonstration of the preservation of whole imperial cemetery in North China. Some of the ministers' tombs along the Sima Road could be excavated and some are not, but just made them as small museums, which could present the history of the West Han Dynasty, the funeral customs in the Han Dynasty, and the development history of the Han Yangling Site. I was quite encouraged by this idea.

The project did not receive much support after the change of leadership in Shaanxi Provincial Government. I was talking with Director Zhang yesterday. I said that if Secretary of Shaanxi Province LI Jianguo, Governor ZHAO Dequan were still at their post, the Han Yangling Museum would have had chance to take a big step forward. Secretary Li was not so into the project in the first place, but he became supportive afterwards. After the opening of the museum and his visit there, he was quite impressed and praised the design of the underground museum, saying that it is a perfect combination of ancient civilization and modern civilization, and protection and use of the cultural heritage. He even said that Han Yangling Museum is the best example combined the conservation and tourism that he had seen in Shaanxi Province in the past ten years (1997–2007). He immediately made a phone call to the Provincial Propaganda Department, asking them to give the Han Yangling Underground Museum as much publicity as the Terra-cotta Warriors. At that time, the construction of the Han Yangling Museum really had the opportunity to become a demonstration project which could become a good model. In some way, we have satisfied different sides: the common visitors, the experts, and the leaders. Some had complained the ticket price being high, but the admitted it was worthwhile after the visit.

In the long run, the protection methods adopted at Han Yangling Underground Museum need to be reviewed. When I still worked at the museum, some issues have begun to appear, and I have organized some research. When the site was sealed, alkalization began to show up in some pits. We could see that there were some slat-like thing on the surface of the pottery figures. During the research, we also found that the level of alkalization in different pits were different, with some quite serious and others not. We were wondering what those white salts were and what had caused this phenomenon. A lot of concrete were used in the construction of the museum, and some people suspected that maybe it was something from the concrete through the soil exudation. Seeing this, we have reflected that it would be wiser if we build the museum as soon as the archaeological investigation makes clear about the layout of the ruins.

The pits we put under protection has actually been exposed in the air for many years. During that time, there was a simple protection shelter built above the pit, and then opened for visitors. There were many cracks inside the pit, rat holes, and many archaeological objects were taken by the archaeologist for repair. In this sense, we

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Protection Experience and Enlightenment of Gyeongju, South Korea,” Master Thesis, Xi'an University of Architecture and Technology, 2013, pp. 19-20, pp. 61-63.

could say that this is a site with much information lost. Without excavation, the pottery figures would have been kept better with its original bright painting colors. When we got the problem at the underground museum, we checked the situation at the experimental project in Pit No. 8 and found that the humidity level there was much higher. There was no problem with the Pit 8. Our analysis was that, when the Han Yangling Underground Museum was constructed and the space of the ruins was sealed, the humidity level is relatively high for meeting the need of the cultural relics, but is not high enough because the water has evaporated a lot before the construction.

The earth in the Pit 8 could be pinched up and squeezed with water dripping down. This could not be reached in the present underground museum. So, when we went into the Pit 8, the color and brightness of those pottery figures remained fresh. The site in the underground museum actually has gone through a second-time excavation, which means that part of it had already been intervened. This may have some reference value to the later works of site museums. Without a complete archeological excavation, no one has the guts to build the museum on the top of the site. I remembered once Mr. YUAN Zhongyi<sup>12</sup> told me that when he was in the archaeological team, and they started to construct the first Protection Hall of the Pit No. 1 at the Terra-cotta Warriors Museum. They were quite worried what they should do if the museum was built and then found more ruins to be excavated beyond the boundary of the protection building. Therefore, they drilled over and over again very carefully, and just wanted to make sure about the exact boundaries of the archaeological site. Even so, during the construction of the museum, they discovered some new ramps at the edge of the building. We have faced the same challenge during the construction of the Han Yangling Underground Museum. When the blueprint was done, and it was ready to construct, we found that the building did not fully cover a pit in the far north. Then we had to revise the blueprint. Therefore, the best way is that we construct the site museum as soon as we have a thorough overview of the excavated pits. The excavation of the Han Yangling Site began in 1999. The ruins were exposed to the air for about three or four years, and suffered much damage although a temporary shelter was built to protect it.

*DM: That is to say, the effectiveness of this Slovenian Conservation Technology adopted at the Han Yangling Underground Museum is still being evaluated?*

WXC: Yes, it is. When the problems I have mentioned above appeared, we organized a team to launch a research project. The research team consisted of the experts from Xi'an Jiaotong University, Earth Environment Research Institute of Chinese Academy of Sciences (CAS), Terra-cotta Warriors Museum, and MA Tao, an expert at Xi'an Conservation and Restoration Center (present name: Shaanxi Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics Protection) was in charge of the team. Their research focused on whether there is some harmful substance in the pits, and where it comes from, what kind of damage it could make and how to prevent and solve the problem.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> YUAN Zhongyi (born 1932) is a Chinese archaeologist. Yuan was the first director and curator at Terra-cotta Warriors Museum, and in charge of the archeological excavation and research of Terra-cotta Warriors since the 1970s. He is respectfully named as "the Father of the Terra-cotta Warriors" for his distinguished work in the excavation and preservation of the Terra-cotta Army in Xi'an, China.

<sup>13</sup> The monograph of this research project was published in 2016. Based on the analysis of the collected data from the long-term monitoring of the site environment, the research team concluded that the crystalline salts on the excavated objects and sites are not originated from the water and salt movement

Technically speaking, a lot of experts engaged in cultural heritage preservation agreed that an enclosed environment preserve the ruins better than open environment. At least in an enclosed environment nothing could fall down on the ruins nor anyone could touch it. The humidity is certainly better than open environment, and the relative humidity level is higher. Because the whole museum is underground, the temperature difference is not so big. I remembered that when it was cold outside in winter, it was almost equally cold inside of the Pit No.1 Protection Hall at the Terra-cotta Warriors Museum, and the same case with the summer hotness. In this sense, the Han Yangling Underground Museum has done a good job.

Maybe in the future there is a better solution. When the ruins were sealed with the glass, electricity was needed for the glass. Some pieces of the glass were exploded, and we all know that all the tempered glass has a self-blasting rate. We asked once Mr. Milan Kovač about the issue, and he said that the tempered glass has a problem of self-blasting rate, and we can do nothing with it. Besides, no matter how strong the glass is, even if you wear a shoe cover while walking on the glass, the glass would be slowly worn off and affects its transparency. This will affect the viewing experience of the ruins through the glass. Of course, the glass can be replaced with new ones. But then there are cost issues. Each square meter of the glass cost about ten thousand Yuan RMB with the steel frame structure included. There is altogether 1,900-square-meter glass. Besides, the electricity on the glass must be on all the time, otherwise, it could cause other issues.

Once we were about to receive the French president,<sup>14</sup> but a few days before the president's arrival, a weak-current line enclosed to one piece of glass got short-circuit. The short-circuit has totally obscured the glass of three pits with vapor condensation, and the glass was full of water beads. That was really a panic. We could not find the cause and tried to rub away the water drops. However, within half an hours' time, the water appeared again because the high humidity in the space of ruins. We even tried with the soap, car window fog spray, but none of them worked. Luckily, we found out that the problem was caused by the short-circuit of one electric line under one piece of the glass and fixed it. Sometimes, this kind of high-tech stuff is not so reliable.

The 3D holographic projection movie we have at the museum was quite unique at that time in Shaanxi Province. The movie has combined modern science and technology with the history, making several small stories, like the stories of Yangling, Empress Wang, and Emperor Jingdi. The ticket of the movie costs 10 Yuan, which is included in the 90-Yuan entrance ticket per person. A lot of people were amazed by the phantom image of the three-dimensional figures. This is a modern technology. I remembered that once the central government officials LOU Gan, ZHOU Yongkang

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of the soil, but mainly from the atmospheric corrosion process of the pollutants from the outside environment. Since there is no interior ventilation system for the enclosed site, various pollutants carrying acidic and soluble salt aerosol particles are harmful to the preservation of the excavated objects especially for the painting ceramic objects. See CAO Junji, HU Tafeng, MA Tao, and LI Ku ed., *The Study of the Cultural Relics Preservation Environment of the Outer Burial Pits Exhibition Hall of Han Yangling Mausoleum* (Beijing, China: Science Press, 2016), pp. 263-264.

<sup>14</sup> See <http://www.hylae.com/list.asp?id=1029>, the Chronicles, Han Yangling Museum Official Website, accessed on October 27, 2017. The French President Jacques Chirac, accompanied by LI Jianguo (Secretary General of Shaanxi Province), YUAN Chunqing (Acting Governor of Shaanxi Province) and other officials, visited Han Yangling Underground Museum on October 28, 2006.

visited the museum and we were supposed to show them the 3D holographic projection movie. We have closed the entrance to the movie in advance for the reception of these officials. However, when we were going to show the movie, something went wrong. The computer was crashed which had never happened before, and there were also problems with the stage and the lights. Although these problems were quickly solved and have delayed the movie for just two minutes, we felt as if those two minutes were two years. A local official made a joke to ease the atmosphere and said that the figures in the movie were too scared to meet the officials from the central government. Everyone laughed and then everything came to work again. If something had gone wrong that day, the provincial governors would feel that they had lost their face in front of the officials from the central government.

Later we asked the company responsible the reason for the accident, and they replied that even Bill Gates could not prevent the computer crash. The same problem actually occurred again later, but two minutes would not be a big problem for common visitors. When it came to the reception of the leaders, it is a different case. You just become really nervous. So when we are going to receive some important guests, we would test the equipment in advance. When the French president was about to visit the museum, we were told that the president could not put on the shoe cover as we do, and to show our courtesy, we should prepare a shoe cover machine. We have bought two shoe cover machine and tested them before the arrival of the president. During the test, a governor got his feet stuck into the machine. It would be more embarrassing if the feet of the French President Chirac were caught in the machine. So you never know when it could go wrong with high-tech equipment. Like the shoe cover machine with pre-installed shoe covers, if a small part of the machine is not properly working, it may get the foot caught. Besides, many working staffs at the museum are not all quite qualified. Some of them are local farmers and do some temporary jobs here. We could not afford to hire many professionals.

*DM: As you just mentioned, glass is used in large areas of the underground museum. Is it very difficult to clean the glass? I have been to the museum several times and found that many of them began to become obscure.*

WXC: That is because the glass was not thoroughly cleaned. The glass must be cleaned from both inside and outside. It is difficult to clean the glass at higher places. Prof. Liu insisted that glasses should be used as well at higher places, which seem to be a troublesome choice for us now. We had suggested using metal plates or other materials to replace the glass in higher places, but LIU Kecheng insisted his idea. We respect the views of the experts. However, now we are experiencing the problems with that. The use of glass requires high cost, and it is difficult to change the glass after it has had self-explosion twice. Besides, it is difficult to clean. The architect considers the overall effect of his formal expression, and the units from the management and maintenance have to inspect it through their perspectives as well. However, there is nothing we can do about it now. There are a lot of things worthy of discussion since it is the first time this method was adopted.

*DM: As one of the assistant designers involved in the Han Yangling Underground Museum project, I feel that the whole process of design is a learning process for all of us, including Prof. LIU Kecheng. During the first round of the international bidding,*

*our winning plan contained a very strong formal expression, and has gone through revision for several times.*

WXC: Kecheng is a very competent architect with a lot of inspiring ideas and thoughts. Sometimes we persuaded him to adopt our proposal, but sometimes he resolutely stuck to his own ideas. We fully respect his professional advice as an architect. For example, the parts where visitors arrive after entering the door and going down the ramp had too low ceilings in the first place designed by Professor Liu. The low ceiling could give the visitors a depressing feeling, including the glass channel. If some tall guy goes in, he would probably bump his head on the metal sprinkler. The case would be worse if someone as tall as Yao Ming<sup>15</sup> came in. After our insistence, the ceiling of the slope into the hall was raised a little bit, which makes it better. Of course, generally speaking, the design is successful in many aspects.

*DM: I think the reason that the architect deliberately lowers down the ceiling is that they want to create a dramatic contrast effect. Do you think there are any other disappointment in the project?*

WXC: Our original plan was that nothing should be seen on the ground since the underground museum is very close to the Emperor's burial mound. I later have written an article "Invisible Rather than Magnificent Innovation," and the title comes from the comments of ZHANG Xiruo on his visiting experience to the Maoling Mausoleum in Xi'an. When Chairman Mao asked his impression about the visit, he replied that "it was a grand image there with nothing to be seen."<sup>16</sup> Our expectation was that the surface of the Han Yangling Site should be kept as its original appearance before the excavation: two large burial mounds of the Emperor and the Empress, and the ruins of four Towers at the four different sides of the Emperor's tomb. How to protect the ruins of South Tower has raised a lot of discussions, and as to the ruins of East Tower, we think the best way is to keep it as it was.

So when Governor Zhao saw that the roof level was higher above the surface of the ground, he was very angry and accused that to be the architect's fault. Prof. Liu was quite offended, saying that it was our request not to have a too low entrance. Frankly speaking, I did not expect to see the roof above the ground level as well. During the construction, I saw that the roof sticking above the ground surface and asked Prof. Liu about it. He said that it could only be the case, and this is really a pity in the project. Although we covered it with soil and grass, it still can be seen. Besides, the top of the roof was made into a checkerboard form with the concrete beams, which was also totally unexpected for us. This is another pity. We are not professionals in architecture, and when we saw the design of the building, we could not understand quite well about the specific contents and each detail. They did not make a rendering picture about the bird-eye view image for the roof of the underground museum. If they had and if the form of square 'grids' could be seen, we would not have had it approved. Another

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<sup>15</sup> YAO Ming (born 1980) is a renowned Chinese retired professional basketball player who used to work for the Houston Rockets of the National Basketball Association (NBA) in the United States.

<sup>16</sup> See detailed story in Appendix I, p. 192; see also in XU Dongming, and ZHANG Tinghao, "Anthropological Field Notes on Hedmark and Han Yangling Site Museums: An Interview with ZHANG Tinghao," Column of "Conservation Dialogue," *Community Design*, 2017 (1) Vol. 77, pp. 100–112: 106–107.

issue is the exposed ventilation shaft, which has to be there for the ventilation. We later solved it with planting cypress trees there to surround it up, and then at least it could not be seen on the ground surface. There are also other problems, like the glass problems I have mentioned. But there are no big issues.

There has been a period when we were quite worried about another issue, that is, when the site is sealed, water begins to dip down from the concrete beams. We found that in some of the pits in the north, there was water dipping. We had discussed why the problems have appeared in the north part. Our conclusion was that maybe it is because the cold bridges on the north side. When we checked the surface of the roof, we found that the ground at the north part had some brick pavement, but other parts are soil and grass which could keep the underground warmer. We then added some insulation under the bricks. After that we found that it was getting much better with just occasionally one or two drops of water dripping which is no problem anymore.

Actually, many problems were not thought of or discovered during the design stage, for example, the ventilation system for the environment of ruins. We thought that to keep a stable temperature and humidity would be the best, which means to have less air change with the outside environment. However, later we found that ventilation is quite necessary. Another problem is in one pit in the north. The earthen wall in the pit had cracks from before, and after several years of exposure in air by archaeological excavation, the cracks have widened. Every time I go to the pit, I would check if the cracks have become bigger. All we could do was to sprinkle some water to keep the humidity. Some suggested that we use a pipe to drip some water into it. This is very difficult to control and not practicable. The site is still relatively dry, and there is some pressure from the side walls. I think the cracks are getting bigger.

The temperature and humidity of the site area are monitored, including the air quality and pollution situation. It is a daily-based monitoring demanding a long period of time. The research team is doing the documentation. I do not know when it will be finished. As to the alkalization of the excavated figures, a simple solution that we adopted is to take out those pottery figures with alkali crystal instead of some replicas into the pits so that the exhibition would not be affected. Then we could observe them for a period of time to see if there are any more changes. Many of those pottery figures were taken away by the archeologist for repairing. They were glued with some chemical materials. When they were put back to the pit into very humid environment, maybe some chemical reactions would happen. Our goal is to protect the relics, and so I think it was necessary to do some work in this way.

*DM: As far as I know, there are quite limited means to protect and display the earthen ruins. Among them, the best way is to rebury the excavated site. Is that true?*

WXC: Yes, I would say so. In China, we have a lot of large archaeological sites and most of them are earthen site, which is quite different from the situation in the Western countries. For example, in Rome, we could see that the masonry ruins are more resistant to weathering and erosion. The Southern Tower Ruins of the Emperor's Tomb at Han Yangling Site were kept well as two mounds before the excavation. After the archeological excavation, a protection building was built over the sites. But many experts commented that the building is too big and too ugly. FU

Xinian, a renowned expert of Chinese Architecture History, suggested that it should be torn down. We felt embarrassed sitting there as the client of that project in Shaanxi. Of course, we would not tear it down since it has costed us more than 10 million Yuan RMB to build the protection building.

The protection building has kept the Southern Tower Ruins from erosion of the wind and the rain. However, because the archaeological excavation ripped of the outside layer, the earthen ruins get very dry and cracked. There is no ventilation in the protection building, and the humidity and temperature are not under control. The cracks were getting worse and bigger. We consulted some experts as to how to solve the problem. There were different proposals. Some suggested taking the chapped layer away, some suggested using some glue to put them together. It is not easy. It is like when you peel off the skin of an onion, how can you put the skin back? There are many challenges in earthen site preservation.

In China, we have quite a lot of earthen sites, including the archaeological sites of Chang'an city in the Han (206 BC–AD 220) and Tang Dynasties (618–907) in Xi'an today. There has not been a very good solution to the problems of the earthen site protection. The experts thought that the reburial of the excavated site is the best solution since it could preserve and keep the temperature and humidity of the earthen ruins well. However, there is certain contradiction. If the site is backfilled, things are not visible again and you could not continue to do some research or archeological work. Therefore, building a protection shelter over the site, or using the sealed glass method like the way in the Han Yangling Underground Museum would be an alternative option. Some use the plants to mark the site or build a simulated earthen model on the top of the ruins (e.g. the Luoqing Stone Site) when it was backfilled. It is difficult to say which solution is the best because none of them has fundamentally solved the problems of the earthen site protection. Every solution has its pros and cons.

*DM: I think this actually is also a problem that a site museum has to face in terms of conservation and exhibition. Namely, how to interpret the site in an understandable way to the visitors who are no expertise in site museums. I think this is the same challenge for the site museums in other countries: how to convey the information and knowledge of the site to the common visitors. As far as I see, you have done a good job at the Han Yangling Site.*

WXC: We adopted a variety of methods at Han Yangling Site. Pit 8 has used the Slovenia conservation approach, and the approach was later adopted in the underground museum. A protection building was built over the ruins of South Tower. Some of the excavated sites were reburied with a mark on the ground surface. My thought is that we could use the Han Yangling Site as a place for different pilot projects to experiment different approaches so that we could get some valuable experience for preserving the earthen archaeological ruins of the imperial cemeteries and ancient cities in North China. Many approaches are implementable in theory but face some technical challenges in practice. When people built a protection building over the ruins of the Danfeng Gate at the Daming Palace Site Park, the method they adopted was taken from the Han Yangling Site.

*DM: Is the mold problem in the Yangling Underground Museum very serious?*

WXC: When we planned to construct the underground museum, one of the biggest worries for us was the problem of mold. Many experts pointed out that at several meetings that once the site is sealed with glass, the temperature and humidity would give the mold a perfect growing environment. The mold problem has troubled us when I worked at the Terra-cotta Warriors Museum. There was a large area of molds on site which required money and labor for a constant disinfectant spray. Later we found that in some pits there was crisp alkali phenomenon. Experts were called in to do some sample analysis. The conclusion was that there was not much mold and then it does not constitute a threat to the site itself. We were wondering why it was like that. The humidity level is almost 99.8%, with the temperature around 20 ° C, and all those just provide a growing environment for the mold. Why there is not much mold growing? The reason is, in the sealed environment, the airborne mold-spore were seldomly brought in.

Then I thought that sending people down to the site for excavation performance could create a lot of problems. It is more of a show from the perspective of tourism. It is not necessary to show the excavation process which takes just a few days to finish in reality. So, we stopped sending people down to the site any more unless there is a special need for demonstrating the archaeological excavation process. The more frequently people get into the site, the more mold-spore they could bring into the site which could lead to the growth of mold. In this sense, it is much better when the site is sealed. The mold issue which was our biggest worries turns out to be not serious.

An issue which is totally out of expectations is alkalization, and from some samples we have taken from the site, we could see that some crystallization begins to erode the surface of pottery figures. There is no large area of alkalization, but it has happened to some site areas. Maybe it is related to the surrounding environment, because the situation is more serious in certain areas. The Xi'an Conservation and Restoration Center (present name: Shaanxi Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics Protection) has set up a research project concerning this issue.<sup>17</sup> I think, that is also part of the reason why the Han Yangling Underground Museum could not be used as a successful model yet. The underground museum has been a high-cost and high-risk project. We could not yet prove if the colors of the pottery figures are still the same in three years' time although it was believed to so in thirties years' time.

The Han Yangling Underground Museum project has won several awards after its completion. Many who have visited the museum comment that we have pieced the protection and exhibition together. The former governor of Shaanxi Province, Mr. SUN Daren commented that the exhibition approach in the Yangling Underground Museum has made the ordinary people have a chance to have a close observation of the cultural relics and the excavated sites, which usually was a privilege only for some important people. The exhibition approach adopted at the Yangling Underground Museum has created a zero distance between the visitors and the heritage sites.

*DM: It must have taken a lot of efforts to convince the experts convened by the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH) for the removal of the earthen balk*

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<sup>17</sup> See a brief introduction to this research project in Note 13.

*between the two excavated pits, right? As far as I know, the balk is concerned as a part of the main body of ruins which is untouchable.*

WXC: The experts only made a little concession and just approved the removal of one balk, which is between the Pit 12 and Pit 13. For the removal this part, we have done a lot of work. We visited and talked with the evaluation experts one by one, including some well-known experts in the architectural field like WU Liangyong and MA Guoxin. We explained to them our ideas and intention of why the balk need to be removed. Some of the experts, like ZHANG Zhongpei,<sup>18</sup> agreed with our proposal that the museum is underground instead of a building on the ground. The Shaanxi Provincial Government put huge amount of money in the Han Yangling project. This also shows the sincerity of the local government in the protection of large heritage sites.

But these experts obviously took a more secure approach to control the overall scale. The finalized scheme of Han Yangling Underground Museum project has been quite conservative in terms of scale. When the retired former governor of Shaanxi Province CHENG Andong visited the museum, accompanied by vice-governor ZHAO Dequan, he said that the exhibition would be much better if his idea was adopted. His idea was that we should have excavated all of the 81 burial pits, sort of completely hollowing the surroundings of the Emperor's tomb. His proposal would not have no way to get approved by the experts. We have excavated ten pits, one-eighth of the 81 pits. The design of the museum has also left some room for possible future extension. Actually, I think that ten pits are quite enough in the sense of presentation of the site. All the excavated pottery figures look similar, and I think the common visitors would not be interested in seeing all the pits. Despite the room we have left in design, there is no possibility to build another similar underground museum next to the present one. It would not be necessary to do so. If you have such money, it is better to use it in other ways.

After the completion of the underground museum, we have got various positive comments from many experts including Michael Petzets, the former President of ICOMOS. ZHANG Wenbin,<sup>19</sup> former director of the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH), also proposed an inscription for the project stating that it set a distinguished model for the scientific conservation of cultural heritage. Some renowned archaeologists, like ZHANG Zhongpei and SU Bai,<sup>20</sup> also expressed their positive views on the museum. It is not easy to get positive comments from these experts who are often very strict in evaluating the conservation work. There is always a danger to ruin the heritage sites just for the sake of innovation. The experts also shown their recognition of the approach of presentation. For instance, in Pit No. 12, it had been robbed before with nothing left. We had made a restored exhibition, which

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<sup>18</sup> ZHANG Zhongpei (1934—2017) was a renowned Chinese archeologist and the former director of the National Palace Museum. He is the founder of the Archaeology School at Jilin University.

<sup>19</sup> ZHANG Wenbin (born 1937) is a Chinese museologist, the honorary president of Chinese Museums Association, and the first Chinese receiving the title of honorary member of ICOM. He was the former director of SACH from 1996 to 2002, and the former director of Chinese Museums Association from 2002 to 2008.

<sup>20</sup> SU Bai (1922—2018) was a renowned Chinese archeologist in Buddhist archeology. He was the Honorary Chairman of the Chinese Society of Archaeology (2000—2018), the main founder of the archeological school at Peking University, and the founder of Chinese Buddhist archeology.

also received good feedback from the experts in the sense that it shows the original state of the pit based on archaeological speculation.

We have greatly increased our confidence with the success of the project. It is just yesterday that ZHANG Wen, deputy director of Shaanxi Provincial Cultural Heritage Bureau, said that the Han Yangling Underground Museum project has played a vital role for the work of heritage sites preservation in Shaanxi Province. This is not saying that the project is perfect. Some experts may have different opinions on this project. But the underground museum project truly has brought many benefits to the province, especially financially speaking. The State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH) used to give Shaanxi Province very limited funds for the heritage sites protection. After the completion of the Han Yangling Underground Museum, the State Ministry of Finance views this project as a successful investment. As long as there are some superior officials visiting Xi'an, the Shaanxi Provincial Financial Department would arrange them to visit the Han Yangling Underground Museum because they are very proud of it and think it is a success example in terms of investment. This has brought much more state funds for the heritage sites preservation in Shaanxi Province, just like what Director Zhang has mentioned yesterday in a meeting at the Provincial Cultural Heritage Bureau.

Of course, there are also some issues we must face, including the needs to do some further research for the site preservation. The experts would not see the problems in the beginning, but we, who carry out specific jobs at the site, see the amount of work need to be done. After the completion of the Han Yangling Underground Museum, the preservation of the Sima Road (the ritual avenue)<sup>21</sup> is listed on the schedule. Up until now, we are discussing the selection of materials. What material should be used on the top of the Sima Road? We used to put some gravel on the Sima Road, but it brought much dust in the air during the summer when cars drive on the road. Besides, the road gradually became bumpy and need a frequent maintenance. Some proposed using bricks or stones. The Sima Road of the Tang Qianling Mausoleum was made of a stone pavement which had been criticized by the experts convened by the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH) because stones were never used there as pavement in the Tang Dynasty (618–907). So I took photos of pavement whenever I saw one. At last, the decolored asphalt was adopted to the pavement of the Sima Road, which looks like an earthen material. In addition, we put some ceramic tiles along the two sides of the road. This is also one of the successful parts of the preservation of the Han Yangling Site, I think.

Another important issue is tree-planting, which has been quite a controversial issue. We have planted altogether more than one hundred trees, most of which are pine trees and they have created quite a glorious atmosphere alongside the Sima Road. We have put a lot of efforts in finding those trees, taking pictures inside the mountain and transplanting them to Sima Road afterwards. 95% percent of the trees we had planted have survived. As to the utilization of the rest area of the Han Yangling Site, it requires a systematic research. If we want to achieve the goal of making the Han Yangling Museum a model of preservation and utilization of the heritage sites, this would not be accomplished without at least an investment of twenty or thirty billion Yuan RMB.

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<sup>21</sup> See Note 3.

*DM: Research is one of the basic functions of museums. How is the work in terms of research at the Han Yangling Museum?*

WXC: Frankly speaking, I do not think we have done enough research work. Partly due to the unstable working environment, our attention was mainly focused on the construction project, which is of the ultra-most importance. Therefore, the museum was quite weak in research. Now, after the new leadership comes into power, more people are designated to the museum, including the director and vice director of the museum who used to work at the Shaanxi History Museum. Since then, the issue of research is receiving more attention, but actually the topic we are discussing today, namely the preservation of the Han Yangling Mausoleum as a large archaeological site, still has not received much attention.

TAN Ping, XUE Kai and I have written an article about the preservation of the Han Yangling Site. After the completion of the underground museum project, I have written an article for *China Cultural Relics News* titled “A Special Exploration in Conservation and Presentation of Heritage Sites,” which have discussed the reasons and ideas concerning the building project. Besides, I also published another two articles on *Architectural Journal* and *Time+Architecture*.<sup>22</sup> Probably apart from these articles, no one seems to have explored the issue. Most of the academic articles at the museum are focused on the historical and archaeological aspects of the excavated objects, or about the burial system of the mausoleum in the West-Han Dynasty.<sup>23</sup> So I could not provide you a systematic research results about the preservation of the Han Yangling Site. The project began with the museum-building, and research came up afterwards. It is true that there is no any in-depth research on this issue yet from the view of large archaeological site preservation, including the conservation technologies.

*DM: I am always quite impressed by the diversity of the employees' professional backgrounds when I visited some Norwegian museums. Concerning this, how about the professional background of those who are working at the Han Yangling Museum?*

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<sup>22</sup> The published articles about the preservation of Han Yangling Site include: WU Xiaocong, XUE Kai, and TAN Ping, “A Positioning Study on the Protection and Use of the Large Archaeological Site of Han Yangling,” *Relics and Museology* No. 3 (2001), pp. 53-58; WU Xiaocong, “A Special Exploration in Conservation and Presentation of Heritage Sites (Part I and II),” *China Cultural Relics News* January 27, February 10, 2006; WU Xiaocong, WANG Baoping, and LI Ku, “A New Underground Site Museum: the Outer Burial Pits Exhibition Hall of Yangling Imperial Cemetery of Western Han Dynasty,” *China Cultural Heritage*, No. 2 (2006), pp. 80-83; ZHANG Ping, CHEN Zhilong, and LI Juxi, “Development and Utilization of Underground Space for Protection of Han Yangling Site,” *Architectural Journal*, No. 2, (2006), pp. 70-72; WU Xiaocong, “Invisible Rather than Magnificent Innovation in the Protective Exhibition Building of the Museum of Yangling Emperor Mausoleum of Han Dynasty,” *Time+Architecture*, No. 6 (2006), pp. 46-51; LIU Kecheng, and XIAO Li, “The Outer Burial Pits Exhibition Hall of Han Yangling Mausoleum” *Architecture Journal*, No. 7 (2006), pp. 68-70; LIU Kecheng, “Preservation Exhibition Hall for the Outer Burial Pits of Imperial Mausoleum in Yangling of the Han Dynasty, Xi'an, Shaanxi, China, 2006,” *World Architecture*, No. 12 (2014), pp. 72-75.

<sup>23</sup> An overall academic review of the research on the Han Yangling Site can be seen in YAN Xinzhi, LIU Yusheng, and YAN Huajun, “Review and Prospect of the Study of the Han Yangling Mausoleum of Emperor Jingdi,” *Wenbo (Relics and Museology)* No. 1, 2009, pp. 25-33.

WXC: There is a big difference between the Chinese museums and the Western museums in terms of faculty composition. In old times, most of the staff working at the museum was specialized in history or archeology because all the museums in China were state-owned and most of them had focus on cultural relics and history. After the economic reform in the 1980s, the cultural heritage preservation begun to receive some attention and thus professionals from other areas like the chemistry of conservation started to join in the museums. Since then, the composition of museum staff has taken some changes, but I have to say that it is far from reaching diversity. Just like the issues we have just discussed, before building a site museum, we have to consider the protection of the whole archaeological site from a macro perspective, but who would do the study? If the director of the museum has the background as an archaeologist, he would not care about this because he would be more interested in the excavation. So this is the weak point of the whole museum circle. The major museological journals in China do not have the equally good quality as the journals like *Archeology* or *Cultural Relics*.

*DM: Prof. Wu, do you mind me asking your age?*

WXC: I am fifty-eight years old now. My main task at the moment is editing a yearbook of the cultural heritage management in Shaanxi Province, which is an annual job. The main contents are collecting the important events of cultural heritage management in Shaanxi, and the description of different departments.

*DM: When did you get back from the Han Yangling Museum to the Provincial Cultural Heritage Bureau?*

WXC: I was back to the Provincial Bureau of Cultural Heritage in 2007. We established the engineering office at the Han Yangling site, which took the main responsibility for the construction. In 2006, most of the construction projects were finished. Then I thought I have got to go back. This job also makes me feel quite exhausted. I had to run on the road for at least two hours a day. There was no long way to go, but there were traffic jams all the way back to Xi'an.

*DM: At the Terra-cotta Warrior Museum, there is residential area for the working staff. Are there any similar facilities at the Han Yangling Museum?*

WXC: There is no residential area at the Han Yangling Museum, but just some offices. The arrangement at the Terra-cotta Warriors Museum is quite good, and I worked there as the deputy director since 1984. Later, I began to work as the Head at the Museum Department of the Shaanxi Cultural Heritage Bureau. I had been visiting the museums in Shaanxi Province often, about sixty or seventy as the total number at that time. I found that some museums were under very difficult circumstances, so I have had an overview of the situations of the museums in Shaanxi Province. The experience as such has been helpful in my work at the Han Yangling Museum since I got the knowledge both related to the specific project and the whole context.

As for the preservation of the Han Yangling Site, there are both failures and success. Because of all the praises and awards has received from the underground museum project, many of us seem to have been quite satisfied. We have received the

awards like ‘National Top Ten Exhibitions of Chinese Museums’ (2005-2006),<sup>24</sup> the Silver Medal of National High Quality Projects in China, and other awards. In 2008, the Han Yangling Museum was entitled ‘First-level National Museum’, which had been through quite tough competition, because there were only 83 museums selected in the whole country for this award. The first selected museum in Shaanxi Province with this title is the Shaanxi History Museum, and then the Terra-cotta Warrior Museum, and the Yan’an Memorial Museum. The Han Yangling Museum was selected as the fourth one in Shaanxi which was ranking before the Beilin (Stone Tablets) Museum and the Banpo Museum.

Still, we have a lot to do in terms of research in the concepts and methods of large archaeological sites protection. Then we could play a better role in the protection of large sites in Shaanxi and China. Those who work in our museum circle with the management and practice seldomly care about the research in this area. They are narrow-sighted and just focus on the archaeological details of the history. But, I think, a good concept is very important in the construction and development of site museums. For example, we would rather plant more trees than we can build houses everywhere. We should have the faith that our next generation would do better job than us in the future.

*DM: Thank you so much for taking your time, Prof. Wu. I have learned a lot from this conversation, and I hope we could meet again for a further discussion when I get back from Norway next time.*

*WXC: Norway is a very nice country, and the trip there has left a deep impression on my mind. We spent a night at Vega Island. It was so quite there. I wrote about this feeling in that essay titled “Silent Vega.” That experience is something hard to be expressed in words with my knowledge of Chinese traditional literature. It has been quite a special experience. It was in October, and the sea breezes blow along the coast. We had on boots, raincoat and were at the sea side in the morning. We stepped into the thick seaweed, even some animal feces. It was really amazing ecological environment there...*

*DM: Would be possible to get more literature reference about the site museums in Shaanxi Province?*

*WXC: As for the literature reference, I have some information you may need for Shaanxi Province, but relatively less information for the whole country. We can contact by emails. Last year, we have also participated a research project about the museums during the transition period of the Economic Reform, taking the cases in Shaanxi as example. We have learned more information about the existing status of the museums in Shaanxi province from the project. All the participants involved in this research are those who have long been engaged in the museum management work. What I have said today is just based on some personal experience from the Han Yangling project. It is for your reference only.*

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<sup>24</sup> It is the highest level of awards in the museum field in China since 1997 and under the guidance of the Chinese State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH) and Chinese Museums Association as judging committees. See <http://www.chinamuseum.org.cn/plus/list.php?tid=18>, the Official Website of Chinese Museums Association, accessed on September 21, 2017.

I have also been involved in the construction work of the Pits No.2 and No.3 at the Terra-cotta Warriors Museum. When I began to work at the Terra-cotta Warriors Museum, the Exhibition Hall of Pit No.1 had already finished and been opened to the public. I was the deputy director there later and in charge of different jobs, such as reception, administration, and construction projects. My role at Han Yangling Museum was quite different from that, and I could have an overall view and take responsibility for the whole project. I have experienced the whole process from the beginning of making plans to the construction, and from the opening to the daily management. I was able to collect the comments and feedback from all aspects. That was a demanding and hard-working process, full of challenges. I could give an example. The emperor's tumulus is just beside the construction site, and many experts attended the assessment meeting were quite worried what would happen if the pressure on the grave mound caused landslide. Besides, what if rainfalls poured into the construction site and flooded the site? So whenever it rained heavily, we had to drive back hurriedly from Xi'an and send people down there immediately to pump out the water from the bottom of construction site. It was a tough experience. Only the people who have experienced it can really understand.

(End of the Interview)



### **Appendix III Interview with LIU Kecheng on the Han Yangling Museum**

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<sup>1</sup> The full text in Chinese of this interview was selected to be published in Column of “Conservation Dialogue,” *Community Design* (Beijing: Tsinghua University, China Architecture & Building Press).



## Interview with LIU Kecheng on the Han Yangling Site Museum

**Time:** ca. 19:30-20:45

**Date:** Monday, October 5, 2009

**Place:** Atelier LKC, Xi'an University of Architecture and Technology

**Interviewee:** LIU Kecheng

**Interviewer:** XU Dongming

### About the Interviewee:

Professor LIU Kecheng (born 1963) is the chief architect of Atelier LKC and director of the Shaanxi Conservation Engineering Institute of Monuments and Sites (SCEIMS). Previously, he was the dean at the Architectural School of Xi'an University of Architecture and Technology (XUAT) from 2000 to 2015. Prof. Liu is also the co-director of the UIA work program for cultural identity and architectural heritage, and chair of Docomomo China with his professional focus on museum design and the practice/research of architectural conservation in China. He worked as the chief architect of the Han Yangling Archaeological Station (1998-1999) and the Han Yangling Underground Museum project (2000-2006).

*DM: I have prepared some questions. Firstly, do you think there is a causality between the Conservation and Utilization Plan of the archaeological sites of Han Yangling Mausoleum and the Han Yangling underground museum project? I remembered you had putted forward the idea of the large archaeological sites protection for the Han Yangling Mausoleum in 2000. Despite that the Conservation and Utilization Plan of Han Yangling Mausoleum was approved by the State Administration of Cultural Heritage in 2002, but it has not yet been officially approved by the Shaanxi provincial government. Why is such a situation?<sup>1</sup>*

LKC: The main reason is the coverage area of the site. From the planning point of view, this matter is very simple. The coverage of the area should be based on the archaeological investigation. Han Yangling mausoleum possesses great values in terms of several aspects. First, it is the most complete preserved imperial cemetery of the West Han Dynasty (202 BC—AD 9) including the main cemetery, the accompanied cemeteries, and the site of Yangling Town.<sup>2</sup> In this sense, to maximize its value lies in preserving its 'condition of integrity'. We are not just talking about how wonderful this historic site is, but as a whole, the site has provided us some irreplaceable values. It is clear in theory, but difficult in practice. Paralleled with the conservation plan, another so-called Jingwei Development Zone planning is also underway. The plan of Jingwei Development Zone is trying to grab a part of the archaeological sites, the Yangling Town into its own hands. Why is this conservation plan not approved by the provincial government? It is because the agreement between

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<sup>1</sup> As the revised version of the Conservation and Utilization Plan, the Master Plan of National Site Park of Han Yangling Mausoleum was approved by the Chinese State Administration of Cultural Heritage and Shaanxi Provincial Government in May of 2015. See <http://www.hylae.com/view.asp?id=1029>, "the Chronicle", Han Yangling Museum Official Website, accessed on November 4, 2017.

<sup>2</sup> See a brief introduction of the site of Yangling Town in Note 33 and 34, Section 5.7, Chapter 5.

the State Administration of Cultural Heritage and local interests could not be reached. This leads to a sort of ‘dragging tactic’ with an intention to form a fait accompli.

*DM: In terms of the large archaeological site protection, is Han Yangling project one of the earliest cases in China which stressed the concept?*

LKC: As far as I know, it is the earliest case (in China). However, there is no absolute answer to that.

*DM: When I had an interview with WU Xiaocong, the former director of Han Yangling Museum, he mentioned an issue as following. As the manager and operator of the Han Yangling Site, he said that the most difficult challenge does not lie in the land requisition of the preservation area at the beginning, but lie in the management of the museum after it. It is a huge challenge for the museum people to think about how make use of the huge scale of land. What is your opinion about this?*

LKC: Han Yangling Site is the first case which puts the conservation and management with the large-scale land requisition. we have met with some difficulties and issues until today. The real challenge is that the museum people from cultural heritage department in general are not tourism-oriented. They are not the type of people who are always concerned about if the tourists would come or not. In general, they are more interested in doing excavations, writing articles and figuring out the facts of the history. Their habitual way of thinking, first and foremost, has created such problems.

At the same time, we have to admit that there is something new for us with the topic of the large archaeological site preservation. As new things, we have got to explore the unknown territories. This is not just a challenge in the context of China, but the same in some other countries. It is not learning by telling, but by doing. It does not work if we just borrow the experience from the previous small-scale conservation project. The investment of the small-scale preservation is just a drop of water in the sea in terms of the big scale project like the Han Yangling site. In such a new situation, there are a lot of aspects of the large-scale archaeological sites that needs a critical discussion. Taking the Daming Palace Site Park today (2009) as an example, it covers nearly about 4 square kilometers, and has spent huge amounts money. This shows the determination of the government to address this matter, but on the other hand, is this a model that can be borrowed? My answer is a clear ‘NO’. Then we have to find a more practicable, and a promotable way. There is a lot to explore. There is no simple right or wrong for this, that is my opinion.

There are many difficulties in the management of the Han Yangling Museum. I think it is natural to have these problems. However, these issues need to be put under specific examination. Some of the problems, such as the uncertain chronological issue of the different parts of remains in archaeology, are involved with the scientific principles of the conservation subject. Other things, like the operating structure of the museum, are different cases. The coordination between different departments has not been achieved. There are still conflicts between different interest groups. For example, there was dispute between the people from the Shaanxi Provincial Tourism Group and the conservation department. In such case, it is difficult to say who is wrong, or who is right. There were also some personal conflicts which made the whole matter more

complicated. In fact, to some extent, I think that Provincial Governor CHENG Andong's decision to merge the tourism sector and cultural conservation sector was well grounded in the first place. However, the things Qujiang Group are doing today on Daming Palace Site are the things which should have been done earlier by the Shaanxi Tourism Group with the Han Yangling site.

*DM: Director WU Xiacong of Han Yangling Museum also mentioned in the interview that the Han Yangling Site, with such a large area, actually possesses many business potentials and opportunities. However, how to use the opportunities is not an easy task for them.*

LKC: I think, first and foremost, the key point lies in whether there is motivation for them to solve this issue because of the habitual way of thinking. One reason that the Qujiang Group has achieved on the Daming Palace Site today is that the company is half-commercial and half-governmental. This special administrative structure gives the Qujiang Group many advantages in the competition in many aspects, which is not something that can be learned by other institutions.

*DM: My question is whether the tourism involvement of enterprises like the Qujiang Group in dealing with the heritage site is doing too much and appropriate or not.*

LKC: This is another issue. I think the model of the Qujiang Group has anyway shown us some potential approaches. As to whether their involvement has gone too far, we shall consider the practice of cultural heritage protection as a learning process. I think Qujiang Group has been quite cautious in dealing with the heritage site during the process. We have to say that there are some personal problems involved as well as institutional problems. It ought to be distinguished. I think we should pay more attention to the problems at the institutional level in the aspect of research.

*DM: How do you value the achievement of the Han Yangling underground museum in your career?*

LKC: As for how much we have achieved through this project, this will only be proved by time. In my personal view, it offered a precious opportunity in that it assembled the best brains in cultural heritage conservation in China through intensive reviews and discussions both at the provincial level and the national level. As far as I remember, the number of the review meetings altogether is about fifty to sixty times. It is the Han Yangling project which has given us an opportunity and brought great changes to all the people involved, including the architects, the museologists, the conservation officers, the tourism experts, and the government officials, and so on and so forth. It is not simply about the people involved who taught a lesson, and who learned. Everyone has changed through this process. This is very interesting for me. It has enhanced the understanding of the people and helped them reach a consensus on the practice of cultural heritage conservation in China. I think this is one of the most important achievements of this project that is beyond my expectation.

*DM: I was only involved in some preliminary design works of the Han Yangling project as an assistant architect, however, when I collected and read all the materials and information, I found that there is something very interesting. From our submitted*

*scheme of the international competition at the beginning to the final implementation plan at the end, we can clearly see that a minimalism's approach was finally adopted.*

LKC: Yes, the change was huge. It is not a process to see who is wrong or right, or whose proposal was finally prevailed. It would be shallow to think in that way.

*DM: Is there any big disappointment in regarding to the implementation of the specific design for the Han Yangling underground museum project?*

LKC: Frankly speaking, the biggest disappointment was from some parts of the spatial arrangement. The initial idea about the entrance, especially the exit, is correct and better. The original thought was to have the clear height of the glass tube (corridors) controlled around three meters, which would have made a better space experience. I was quite young at that time, and not experienced about this kind of project. As a result, we made compromise with the client and gave in to some requirements. This is a disappointment from the point of view in architectural design. Another big disappointment was about the interior design, which is actually typical in the country. The interior design was done by another firm, in which the client had a strong say. A variety of factors led to the vulgar result we see today. It has ruined the possibility to make a first-class thing instead of making a thing with much lower quality. The client could not see that even today, but this problem is clear for us. However, the interior design, after all, can be renovated in the future. It is not that serious mistake for the museum. But the architectural space is irreversible, which is really a big disappointment.

*DM: In the interview with the Director Wu, he also mentioned that the archaeologists from the expert database of the State Administration of Cultural Heritage in China always have the final say in the examination and approval of national listed heritage conservation projects, which made many things hard to progress. What is your opinion about this?*

LKC: In today's situation, the cultural heritage department does not have the advantage. Therefore, to enhance the power and voice of these experts from the cultural heritage department is doing more good than harm under the background of China's rapid economic growth and urbanization process. Although it has raised some difficulties, not giving power to the cultural heritage department would lead to much more huge damages to China's cultural heritage properties than what we could see today. I think this is a 'necessary' measure in this special period, and the cultural heritage department should be given more power on conservation issues.

*DM: As to design, there are some disputes about the 'complete underground' approach of the Hang Yangling underground museum.*

LKC: For the Han Yangling underground museum, I think the complete underground approach is the only right solution because the museum is located too close the Emperor's burial mound. If we put it into the same way adopted in the Terra-Cotta Warriors Museum, it would be a damage for the heritage site. However, one issue is whether this is the only option for this approach. There was another alternation of the plan which I think is better than the present adopted one; however, everything has a

better choice. The most important thing for architectural design is to put into practice and get realized.

*DM: Director Wu thought that the success of the undergoing museum completely changed the management situation of the Han Yangling Site.*

LKC: Without the Han Yangling underground museum, there would be not many visitors to the Han Yangling site. I think this case is inspiring not only in Shaanxi Province. The excavated figures from the Han Yangling site are rather small and not as attractive as the figures of Terra-cotta Warriors. But an eye-catching achievement was made at the Han Yangling underground museum from the architectural addition to the site. I am confident about how to express an 'elegant taste' in architectural design, but not so sure about the 'popular taste' or the 'common attractiveness'. Now the museum attracts lots of visitors even the pottery figures excavated from the Han Yangling site are quite small. It is proved that it is accepted by the common visitors which is beyond my expectation.

*DM: It was a surprising success for many people. Director Wu told me about some interesting antidotes about it. In 2005, when the experts of the ICOMOS 15th General Assembly were visiting the museum, Mr. ZHANG Tinghao, the director of Shaanxi Provincial Cultural Heritage Bureau who was in charge of the project, chose not to show up until he heard all the recognition and praise from the experts.*

LKC: Yes, the Provincial Governor was even more so (it refers to the Vice Provincial Governor ZHAO Dequan who was taking responsibility for the underground museum project). Before he went into the underground museum with the experts, he specially gave me some critical comments in front of them in case that the museum would not be well received by the experts attended the ICOMOS conference.

When I look it back today, I think that HOU Weidong and ZHANG Tinghao have played very important roles in the Han Yangling project. Zhang is very open-minded man and in the meantime is conscious of the conservation principles. He has blocked a lot of pressure from the upper level of the local government. Without his contribution, it is hard to imagine that this project could be finally accomplished. Hou also has a very important role for this work. Because of his openness, he brought the Slovenia conservation technology and Mr. Milan Kovač into this project. It is his efforts that promoted the early involvement of the Slovenian expert in the project, which has provided us an applicable protection technology. On the basis of this, we have further developed a new way of application of the Slovenian conservation technology.

Once, I have written an article entitled "Xi'an Experience", which has summarized the practice of the site museums and cultural heritage conservation in Xi'an. One of my conclusions was that Xi'an, from the founding of the P. R. China to the present, is in a leading position in many aspects in terms of cultural heritage conservation. Everything is grown under the certain historical context. In such a context, the cultural heritage protection of the heritage sites in Xi'an has a quality of exploration in this field. When Mr. SHAN Jixiang, the Director of the State Administration of Cultural Heritage, was talking about the Daming Palace Site Park, he commented that "Xi'an is a place where the experience and the value can be created."

*DM: Speaking of the 'Xi'an Experience', I have got a question: since you have been working so many years on cultural heritage conservation in Xi'an, what is your opinion of the overall situation in Xi'an in terms of heritage protection, especially the transformations over the past few decades in the historic districts inside the Ming City Wall in Xi'an?*

LKC: This is a complicated issue. I am quite open to everything except one thing. I am dead against the demolition of the authentic cultural heritage properties. As long as the authentic one is not torn down, I am quite open to many things. For example, we could not say it is definitely a negative thing to have those classical revival style roofs of traditional Chinese architecture in the West Main Street in Xi'an. We could see that many new approaches have been adopted in Beijing and other cities, but the distinguishable image of those cities are becoming more and more obscure. Classical revival style may not be a problem, but the biggest problem was there when you tear down the authentic one and replace it with a fake one. It is wrong to use the contemporary aesthetic value to judge the quality of a historical heritage construction, tearing down the old one and building a new one.

I think the modern city of Paris has set a good example for us. No matter the Eiffel Tower or Centre Pompidou, they all belong to their own period and do not need to be in the same style as anything. Building the Louvre Pyramid did not require the demolition of the historical buildings of the Louvre. By adding a new addition there is not necessarily wrong, and whether it has achieved harmony or not may also develop into arguments wherein both parties claim to be in the right. I would say that an intergenerational moral is very important as the professional ethics for architects today. You should show your respect to the existing things when you do other new things based on this this professional ethics. Others are open questions.

*DM: The 'intergenerational moral' is indeed a very critical issue. I have been to some cities these years in Norway and other Nordic countries. One thing that has impressed me a lot is that every city has preserved the buildings from the different historical periods, and through those buildings you could even experience the different attitudes and mentality of the people from different generations.*

LKC: I think this is actually more important than the so-called 'inheritance', which we have talked too much in China. We should take more balanced approaches and calmly deal with the cultural heritage from the history, ups and downs in life, and the rise and fall of a city because all of those are related to the cultural heritage conservation. Why older people are much interested in the appreciation of antiques than young people? I think there lies a universal law about this. We should adopt a mature attitude to see everything we have got in our cities.

*DM: What do you think about other site museums built in the same period, like Jinsha Site Museum in Chengdu city?*

LKC: Jinsha Site Museum has been a success on the museum management and marketing promotion, which is exactly what we did not achieve in Shaanxi Province. For the Jinsha case, the heritage site was used as a resource in the cultural heritage operation that was connected to the concepts of city culture. They made a success in

being a hot topic. However, they did not achieve anything new in the technical solution for the conservation of the heritage site. We could say that it is quite a success in the management for the Jinsha case in Chengdu city.

*DM: I think these are all my questions. The PhD research program I am doing at NTNU is about site museums. The Han Yangling Museum is the Chinese selected case for the fieldwork. I would appreciate it very much if you could leave some suggestions about this.*

LKC: I have been to Røros and Vegaøya, the UNESCO's heritage sites. What impresses me most in Norway is its own heritage framework. It was very consistent with my perceptions of heritage conservation. The selection of cultural heritage sites is not a beauty contest, but a narration of the story of a place, of the people, telling the stories where it is from and going, which are the fundamental issues of human society. I think the core of cultural heritage conservation is to tell people “who are you and where are you from,” instead of showing off the ‘magnificent history’ of the past. After all, all humans have got to escape the state of shallow showing off.

If we see it from a political point of view, Germany is also a best example in Europe. The German government has shown very frank way about the history of World War II, the dark heritage of this country, not hiding anything and admitting its historical mistakes in a responsible way. This sets a good example for us as to how should we express our history. In fact, I think this is the role of cultural heritage for all nations. Of course, there is also the relationship between human beings and the nature, which answers the same question. One good example is Vegaøyan which is exactly telling people “where are you from”. To go further, the heritage sites in Norway are telling what and where we are in the triangle of the human world, the society and the nature, which is relevant to our consideration for human society and the nature in the post-industrial and post-modern era. In my view, the people in Norway have done an impressive job on this topic and we could learn pretty much from that.

Speaking of site museums, they are a certain type of buildings from architectural point of view. However, I think that site museums could not exist without the historical background and the setting related to them. If we put this topic to the theoretical level, the principles like authenticity and integrity which have been thoroughly discussed. The point is that each individual case has its own context and features, which depends on the wisdom in design. ZHANG Tinghao once said that he did not think it is necessary to call an archaeological protection building a site museum, instead, it is just an exhibition hall of the archaeological site. A museum is a comprehensive institution, which should include a complete system. What is a site museum? The exposed archaeological ruins can also be called a site museum, but a protective shelter is just a technical approach of protecting the ruins.

(End of the Interview)



## **Appendix IV Interview with HOU Weidong on the Han Yangling Museum**

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<sup>1</sup> The full text in Chinese of this interview was selected to be published in Column of “Conservation Dialogue,” *Community Design* (Beijing: Tsinghua University, China Architecture & Building Press).



## Interview with HOU Weidong on the Han Yangling Site Museum

**Time:** ca. 15:00-16:30

**Date:** Monday, October 27, 2014

**Place:** Chinese Academy of Cultural Heritage, Beijing

**Interviewee:** HOU Weidong

**Interviewer:** XU Dongming

### About the Interviewee:

Mr. HOU Weidong (born 1957) is a senior researcher at the China Academy of Cultural Heritage (CACH). He was the former vice president and chief engineer of CACH from 2009 to 2015, and had been taking responsibility for the conservation design of the Han Yangling Underground Museum project when he was the deputy director and director of the Xi'an Conservation and Restoration Center (present name: Shaanxi Provincial Institute of Cultural Relics Protection) from 1993 to 2008.

*DM: Prof. Hou, when were you engaged in the project of Han Yangling Museum?*

H: That was quite early. Now I think maybe it was 2008, I am not sure...

*DM: According to the Chronicle of Han Yangling Museum, you were the director of the office with Mr. WU Xiacong as deputy director when the Han Yangling Mausoleum Planning and Bidding Office was established in 2000. You must be involved in some projects related to the Han Yangling Site earlier than that.*

H: Yes, much earlier before that. The first draft of the conservation planning for Han Yangling Mausoleum was done around 1996. Then in 1998, we conducted an experiment on *in situ* preservation of the burial pits No. 8 at the Han Yangling Site. At that time, there was no Han Yangling Museum, nor organization for the management or presentation of the sites. There was only an archaeological station under Shaanxi Archaeology Institute (SAI) along with an archaeological team whose leader was JIAO Nanfeng. He was the director of SAI later (2001-2014). That year, the archaeological team met difficulties in preserving such burial pits *in situ*. Near the archaeological station there was the Pit No. 8, which was excavated earlier. And the excavated relics in it were impressive.

At that time, I was also working on the preservation of cultural relics in Xi'an Conservation and Restoration Center. I happened to get the chance during that period when Mr. Milan Kovač, an expert from Slovenia was doing some exchange work on heritage sites protection in China. His first proposed project was the preservation of the murals in the Tomb of Princess Yongtai.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Kovač knew that place and thought

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<sup>1</sup> The Tomb of Princess Yongtai is a satellite tomb of the Qianling Mausoleum, the resting place of Emperor Gaozong and Empress Wu Zetian of the Tang Dynasty (618 – 907AD). It was excavated in 1960 to 1962. Following the excavation, the Management Office of Qianling Mausoleum was established in January of 1961, and the tomb of Princess Yongtai opened to the public in December of 1962. See details at [http://www.sxlib.org.cn/dfzy/sxdwljgb/dwlgs/stdl/201704/t20170426\\_696617.html](http://www.sxlib.org.cn/dfzy/sxdwljgb/dwlgs/stdl/201704/t20170426_696617.html), "Qianling Mausoleum", Shaanxi Imperial Tombs Database, Shaanxi Library Official Website, eds.

some conservation work could be done for it. So he came to Shaanxi Province and learnt that the Xi'an Conservation and Restoration Center was in charge such preservation. Then he visited me and talked with me over the Tomb's preservation. However, it was not proper to launch that work on the Qianling Mausoleum, because the Tomb of Princess Yongtai opened to public very early (1962) and the murals in the tomb passages were moved to the museums already. The murals left in the tomb were some replicas.

In that case, I suggested that we could do a pilot work of preservation in the newly excavated Han Yangling Site. He was very glad about it. Then we discussed with Mr. Jiao about launching a pilot work of Pit No. 8. The Archaeological Research Institute and our center set the requirements for this project and Mr. Kovač provided a conservation scheme. That was the start of the conservation work of Han Yangling Mausoleum, which was later called the demonstrative project. Mr. Milan Kovač also applied for the project fund from the Slovenian government. All the glass and equipment needed were produced in Slovenia and in Belgium, and then were transported to China. Then after the completion of the project, a signboard was set up in front of Pit No. 8, saying that the project is funded by the Slovenian government.<sup>2</sup>

*DM: The Chronicle said that this project was launched in October of 1997 and completed in April of 1998.<sup>3</sup>*

H: Yes, then it was launched even earlier. The completion of this pilot project gave an inspiration for the Han Yangling project: there were some effective ways for the *in situ* preservation. And such solution could also work for the presentation of the site. After the large-scale excavation was carried out, the Han Yangling project, as one of the key projects of Shaanxi Province, was offered 3000 mu land (200 hectares) from the land acquisition. We established a large protection site there, which we called large archaeological site protection of Han Yangling Mausoleum since there was no concept of 'Site Park' at that time. On the basis of that, we were considering that we could do it better in our planning.

With the site, burial pits and a large grave mound, Han Yangling Mausoleum just needed a museum. During that time, the archaeological station functioned as a museum but with limited covering area and imperfect function. We therefore began to consider whether we could build a museum on the site. Also in that period, great progress was made in archaeological excavation and Mr. Jiao was working on that aspect. I came to the site and found that the burial pits in the east of the Emperor's grave mound were on a large-scale excavation with steel protective shelter temporarily built above the burial pits. Part of the site was exposed to the air while the other part remained buried. But it could be inferred the site was massive. Besides, the discovered 21 massive burial pits were entirely in a row, with abundant unearthed

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Xi'an Conservation and Restoration Center, Shaanxi Provincial Cultural Heritage Bureau, accessed on November 5<sup>th</sup>, 2017.

<sup>2</sup> According to the interview with Milan Kovač, the pilot project of Pit No. 8 was half sponsored by the Slovenian Government and half sponsored by Milan Kovač. See in Appendix V.

<sup>3</sup> See <http://www.hylae.com/view.asp?id=1029>, "the Chronicle", Han Yangling Museum Official Website; also see <http://www.shxkgv.cn/contents/13/305.html> the official website of Shaanxi Provincial Archaeology Institute, accessed on November 4, 2017.

relics. So we were thinking it was a good opportunity for launching a preservation work. Could we build a museum to exhibit and protect the large site on the basis of the large-scale archaeological excavation achievement? The successful pilot preservation work of Pit 8 offered the preliminary condition for the project, and the discovery of such massive burial pits with rich unearthed relics in the east of the Emperor's grave mound provided the second condition for it.

And the third condition was that Han Yangling Site caught the opportunity when the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH) put forward the concept of protecting large archaeological sites, requiring such protection work should also have certain exhibition value. So we were thinking whether some new explorations could be made in protecting the Han Yangling Site. Later in October 2000, we held an international competition to choose the best protection scheme. Many entities participated in this competition, including Shaanxi Architectural Design & Research Institute, China Northwest Architecture Design and Research Institute, C. Y. Lee & Partners Architects and Planners and Xi'an University of Architecture and Technology (XUAT), etc. Their schemes varied in terms of their design scale. The scheme covered an area stretching from the east of Han Yangling Mausoleum to several hundred meters away. But we thought we should launch a special project for building the museum. And the SACH also presented some principles that the preservation of such large sites should not damage the authenticity and integrity of the Han Yangling site. Besides, the construction and surrounded buildings should not ruin the mausoleum's atmosphere. Thus we were considering how to build an underground site museum that cannot be seen on the ground but could protect and present the site. Then we thought the Slovenian method would be feasible.

Professor Liu (Kecheng) also joined in this competition and won the first prize. While the scheme of China Northwest Architecture Design and Research Institute was not so good and ranked behind. We all agreed that Professor Liu's proposal was in conformity with the principles for protecting cultural relics and its construction scale could also be well controlled. When Professor Liu made this scheme, he asked me for some advice because I was also one of the judges for the competition. So I knew it. After we decided to adopt his proposal in the next development phase, Shaanxi Provincial Cultural Heritage Bureau appointed Xi'an Center of Conservation and Restoration for Culture Relics to assist in advancing this scheme. However, the Center also put forward its own requirements, such as doing research on the site and probing into the site's demand like its protection environment. It also proposed some new concepts. MA Tao, Qi Yang and BAI Chonggang from the Center were also conducting research on heritage conservation, so the Center was qualified for that work. Besides, the pilot project that I once worked with Milan Kovač together, which played a big part in the museum's construction. Professor Liu worked as the chief architect for the museum, providing the form and function design. The Center did research on the facilities and on the work of preservation. Under the general principles of Professor Liu's architectural design, the center assisted in providing the conservation scheme for the museum. Specifically, this work was conducted by WANG Wei, the director of the Design Institute of the Center. Milan Kovač also contributed a lot to this project. He introduced the concept of the conservation and exhibition and provided the facilities as well as the building materials. Those created basic technical conditions and provided technical guarantee for this project. The client appointed Xi'an University of Architecture and Technology (XUAT) to participate in

the competition. XUAT won the prize and then cooperated with the Center. The Center not only made research on site protection, but also assisted in designing the exhibition scheme.

*DM: Was Mr. Milan Kovač engaged much in it when the Center was in charge of providing the technological support for the Project?*

H: Yes. We often discussed it together, because we were not clear about the technology for such site protection. Many people began to ask how much the humidity of the burial pits should be. What kind technical conditions could be achieved? Surely, opinions varied. It is natural to ask such questions in terms of its technical conditions. However, we found it later that it was not the core of problem. What really mattered was that our protection measures should maintain its original temperature and humidity rather than keep it at a certain number. Then we explained it in detail to those with doubts. For example, if the burial pit was dry, keep it dry. If it was wet, keep it wet. Maintaining its own temperature environment could protect it better. In 2005, over five years after the completion of the protection work of Pit 8 in 1997, it was still well preserved and the relics (including some unearthened ones) were still in good condition.

*DM: Director WU Xiaocong said that the conservation project of Pit 8 of Han Yangling Site got a much better result than the underground museum.*

H: Sure it is. There are some reasons. First, smaller scope. In terms of environment control, it is easier to control a smaller scope, otherwise not. Second, multiple methods used in the underground museum. Third, over excavation and long excavation time. One earthen wall (balk) between the pits was even removed for exhibition need. It is good for exhibition. But in terms of the disturbance of the original site, the east burial pits suffered more than Pit 8. Their conditions were not as good as before and were complicated. So this explains that why Pit 8 is preserved better. Several factors determine that a single small burial pit is better preserved, such as large-scale excavation, different excavation time, different preservation methods and the size.

*DM: Are there any published articles about Slovenian Conservation Technology in archaeological journals?*

H: Soon after the completion of the museum, The 15th General Assembly of ICOMOS was held in Xi'an in 2005. The Han Yangling Underground Museum was visited firstly, which made a big success. This conference itself was a rare publicity of the Han Yangling Site and the museum because the worldwide experts in conservation were attending the conference. Yet its own publicity was not enough. Later Professor Liu tried applying the Technical Progress Award of the SACH for this project, unfortunately it failed. Because it required that the Han Yangling Museum should apply the award vigorously, but the museum did not. And there were some other reasons. It was a pity, because I think that Han Yangling Underground Museum Project was much better than those winners. I do not know the reasons exactly, but primarily it was lack of vigorous publicity. Moreover, Professor Liu was not very interested in it because he did not work in the field of archaeology and museology. But it was nothing for him since he won many architecture awards later. But it is

really a pity that the underground museum project was not publicized well in the cultural heritage and museum circle. Yet in many large site preservation projects, Slovenian Conservation Method is referred often and even is used in some protection plans. Although there is no official name for it, people have realized it is a scientific method. We once considered applying an award for it but later gave up the idea, because all the participants, the Xi'an Conservation and Restoration Center and the Slovenian collaborator could not gather together. I feel sorry for that there was no scientific popularization or explanation to its achievement to turn it into a very formal method.

*DM: In your opinion, are there any cases of site preservation in China using similar technology?*

H: Many wanted to, but not doing in a scientific way. Some just imitated the technical form. For example, the Tang West Market Museum was also designed by Professor Liu. In front of its exhibition hall is the ruins, few of which remains. A glass floor was made to protect the site. But it is just glass, cannot be called a scientific method at all. And the only way to keep its own temperature and humidity is natural ventilation. Anyway, the site itself is of little historic value, so there is no need to do much scientific conservation. Others like Liangzhu Site also used glass protection structure. It was not protected in a scientific way but in an exhibition way. The same case with the Daming Palace National Heritage Park. It also applied such technology but soon problems arose. Then they wanted to invite Milan Kovač to solve it. Yet this idea was given up due to the cost was too high. If they did earlier, they could make it. Why is it impossible now? Because there is construction investment in such sites while no money to maintain them. This is China's reality. With no thoughtful consideration in the museum's construction, the cultural heritage preservation institutions are just in charge of its management and have no enough money for their maintenance. Later we visited the site and found we could not see the underground clearly due to the vapor condensation. Indeed, too much vapor will not help to protect the ruins but will destroy it. It is even worse when the vapor condenses into dew and drops on the site.

The major challenge for the such project was the cost. I communicated with some glass factories in Luoyang city and wanted to co-produce the glass with the factory in Belgium. The Belgium factory thought it was good to co-produce the glass for preserving cultural relics. However, it did not work out because of the far distance. In fact, the glass's manufacturing principle is not difficult, but requires a good coordination. One is its material (the glass) provider, the other being the site administration department. But the department lacked the sense of urgency. Han Yangling Museum grasped a good opportunity when large archaeological sites were highly stressed, and the government invested enough money on them. Because it is difficult to find a highlighted point for exhibition on the Han Yangling Site, it had been launched with large investment for the underground museum. The glass cost 3 million Yuan RMB, which was not much compared to the total cost of the underground museum, almost 80 to 90 million Yuan RMB.

*DM: As far as I know, many materials were made in China, the price was largely reduced.*

H: You are right. The steel frame and the fire-resistant glass cover were made in China, so the cost was reduced. But it was much higher than general glass structure. The glass frame was in a quite good quality and was very compact. But the Slovenian expert was still unsatisfied and thought they could make it better. I did believe that. Later I contacted the Chinese company again for the steel frame for another project, but they said they did not produce it anymore but just some high-grade steel frames used in luxury villas or large exhibition, which cost 5-6 times more than the price of ordinary ones. The higher quality costs much more money. Now we think we made the right choice to use their steel frame at that time. If we used the product from another company, maybe we would get it done badly. This is an interesting project. We are satisfied with its final result. The glass systems applied in the Han Yangling Underground Museum is full of innovations. First, we use the glass corridor to separate visitors from the site so that their breath would not influence the environment of ruins. Secondly, the whole site is sealed with the glass. Third, the remaining space (except the space accommodating visitors and the site) is also separated. As a result, three kinds space is created for their own needs: space for visitors, space for the site and space between visitors and the site. Each space functions respectively well.

Moreover, it was quite good result for the visiting experience. With the special technology, glass can solve the problem of condensed vapor. It looks good because it adds some underground atmosphere to the site museum. So the glass itself functions well. Generally speaking, if these burial pits could not be well-preserved, there would be some big problems. If it was in the open air, it would dry quickly. Inevitably there would be crevices and it would be difficult to preserve the color of excavated objects. So such conservation work was quite satisfying, except for some unsatisfying parts later. For example, there was mold and we did several sterilizations. The Center and MA Tao launched a research project named “The Observation for the Protection System of the Burial Pits of Han Yangling Mausoleum.” But I was not clear about the result.<sup>4</sup> Have you ever interviewed them yet?

*DM: When I interviewed Director Wu, he gave the similar conclusion to yours. Specifically, there are many factors, such as the high humidity environment's influence on those mineral objects under such sealed environment, mold, pests and condensation on the concrete beams, etc. They all took measures to deal with those problems.*

H: Absolutely. They know more details about that.

*DM: When did you withdraw from this project?*

H: Until 2007 the time for completion of the Han Yangling Underground Site Museum.

*DM: I remember that you were in charge of a serial of the previous bids.*

H: Including the bid for the museum exhibition. Many companies participated the bidding, among which a company in Hangzhou won it. I forgot its name.

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<sup>4</sup> The result of this research project was published in 2016. See CAO Junji, HU tafeng, MA Tao, and LI Ku ed., *The Study of the Cultural Relics Preservation Environment of the Outer Burial Pits Exhibition Hall of Han Yangling Mausoleum* (Beijing, China: Science Press, 2016).

*DM: In retrospect, do you see any problem or feel disappointed about any part of this Project?*

H: Speaking of disappointment, I think it would be better to do such protection and monitoring work as early as the archaeological work started, which will preserve its original environment better. But our project started from the half. It was almost entirely excavated and then was buried and excavated again. Anyway, it is inevitable. We know nothing without archaeological excavation; blind construction also makes no sense. Yet I think earlier is better.

I feel quite satisfied with the underground museum project in terms of the architectural design. It is well-arranged in terms of its space, size and covering area. But for us, there is a pity: the work of monitoring, recording and comparison should have been done at the beginning of construction. It would be much better if we did it from the groundbreaking to the completion. We did not do such work systematically until the underground museum was completed. Some data missed. And there was no comparison for the project's economic efficiency. A series of calculation was needed before making a scientific evaluation of its materials like the glass and steel frame. If doing such protection work next time, we can do it better in its safety, scientific rationality and economic efficiency. That is why such project was not popularized later, as there lacked a complete data chain to specify the design process and basis. So that is a bit pity.

*DM: What do you think of the architects you worked with in the Han Yangling project, like Professor Liu? I remembered that his first engagement with the conservation project was also recommended by you.*

H: Sure, Professor Liu got involved in many conservation projects before including the conservation planning for Han Yangling Site in 1994. Compared with other involved architects, he was more experienced in this aspect, and had more ideas. He happened to catch the opportunity, turning the burial pits into a highlighted project of both protection and presentation. In term of the architecture, his design well met the demand of cultural relics, though there were some different opinions. For instance, the roof level of the museum is one meter higher above the ground surface. I supposed it was the construction need. It is much difficult if the museum is completely underground. As an architect, he could understand the demand of the client well. We have been working together for many years. We are good in collaboration.

*DM: I still remembered that you two worked together in 1998 for the Guo Kingdom Tomb Project in Sanmenxia City in Henan Province.*

H: We have worked together for a long time, especially in the preservation of heritage sites. It is win-win cooperation. My team provides some conservation requirements and sometimes some feasible technology for it, such as this project, while Professor Liu made the architectural scheme. That brought out the best for each other.

*DM: May I ask you some more questions regarding the heritage conservation. Which other site museum project impressed you in China?*

H: I visited some, such as Yin Ruins Museum (Anyang, Henan Province), Hongshan Museum (Wuxi, Jiangsu Province), Niu Heliang Museum (Chaoyang, Liaoning Province), Jinsha Site Museum (Chengdu, Sichuan Province), and the Site Museum of the Sui-Tang Period Capital Luoyang (Luoyang, Henan Province), and so on. They can be divided into several categories. Though they are all called site museums, they are different. Their common feature is that they are all underground sites. I think Han Yangling Underground Museum is the best one. Yin Ruins Museum is just an underground museum for exhibition without the archaeological site. Others like Jinsha Site Museum and Niu Heliang Site Museum are not underground ones because they are built above the ground. Another example is the Site Museum of the Sui-Tang Period Capital Luoyang, which includes the Mingtang Pagoda and the Tiantang Pagoda, both in ancient Chinese architecture styles. Mingtang Pagoda is very tall, with a height of 80 meters. It has three floors and each floor is very high. While the real archaeological site covers a very small area, just with the ruins of building's foundation. Now the Pagoda is managed by a company, which built Buddhist shrines there. Each shrine costs 50,000 or 60,000 Yuan RMB. It is a fake religious building in the name of protecting cultural heritage. These buildings were both designed by GUO Daiheng from Tsinghua University, which in my opinion, are not good.

*DM: I think that the protection shelter of the Danfeng Gate Ruins at the Daming Palace National Heritage Park applied a similar method to the protection building of the Southern Tower Ruins at the Han Yangling Mausoleum.*

H: Danfeng Gate Project was a pity. Before I left, the project was approved by the State Administration of Cultural Heritage. Later it invited bids again and was conducted by ZHANG Jinqiu. It is a protection building with the restored architectural form of the ruins. Niu Heliang Museum is not built well either. It has a large protection building with a huge volume, but the form of the building has little to do with the site. Such a large volume is not harmonious with the setting. I am not clear about its preservation work. So is the Jinsha Site Museum. The site is not in good preservation condition and there were many crevices on the surface of the earthen site.

*DM: That probably an inevitable consequence after the exposure of the earthen site.*

H: It did not solve the problem of the protection for the site itself, but just provided a building to separate the excavated site from the outside environment. The staffs also work hard every day to spray water on it. But it still cannot solve the problem. They can only water the surface of the thick earthen wall, but the soil is thick so the changes inside it are inevitable and it is still cracking. All in all, the envelope structure of those site museums should consider the preservation of the site itself. It should not just look beautiful and splendid, while would not be able to protect the sites. This is the key point of the success of the Han Yangling Underground Museum. It is ok if the site park is not constructed perfectly. Yet it is in the right direction and we can gain experience from it. For others who do not go in this direction, they should prove themselves what they insist are good.

*DM: When I talked with Director Wu, I learnt that the Han Yangling underground museum project plays an important role in the management of the whole site. There were not many things to see before, so it was quite hard for them to run it with the*

*annual income of 1 or 2 million Yuan RMB. Since the completion of the underground site museum, it earns about 15 million Yuan RMB a year, thus can support the management work of whole site park.*

H: It proved that people prefer visiting authentic things. There are so many site museums with rather few items for display, which cannot meet some people's need. So why they go and visit there? Instead you can put them in some museums in Beijing, Shanghai and other cities, and people can go to these museums to see those exhibits. Therefore, the Han Yangling Museum is attractive because people could see those exhibits in situ. In addition, it is designed in a novel way which attracts many people to come to visit it. That is the balance point in its design. If there are just some signs on the site and few exhibits in the museum, it will decline soon. What sustains the Daming Palace National Heritage Park now? Just the ruins itself? No way. It mainly depends on the cinema and the third industries to make up for the lack of cultural relics. It is difficult because its cultural relics are in such cases. Han Yangling Underground Museum is indeed a special case. It is unique and rare.

If all the site museums are built in the same way, then there will be fewer visitors. That is the current situation of the cultural heritage sites in China. We cannot let all those heritage sites make money by themselves, except those like the Terra-cotta Warriors Museum or the Forbidden City, and so on, which are quite rare and precious. The particularity of the heritage sites determines their economic status, so it is difficult for people to change it. Now many site parks want to attract more visitors by doing something more, and that is difficult. Many like the Nihewan Sites (Hebei Province) and the famous Zhoukoudian Sites (Beijing) have few visitors. Their managers are just in charge of the preservation work for our country rather than earn profits. So do not argue over it. If the government invests money in them, then protect them well. If not, leave them underground but do not destroy them. That is my view.

*DM: Do you know any examples among the large archaeological site parks in China that are in good balance of the cultural heritage conservation and the marketing?*

H: I have no ideas because I have not done any research in this part. At least those museums of the World Heritages Sites are not bad. Take the grottoes temples as examples, they are artworks, so people would like to visit them from the aesthetic perspective. Therefore, what really matters are the contents and quality of cultural heritage sites themselves rather than the additional decoration from present day. It is difficult to make it in the way.

*DM: On the Architectural Heritage Forum held in Peking University yesterday, a participant was introducing the Virtual Reality (VR) visiting program at the Dunhuang Academy China because the caves of the Dunhuang Site (Gansu Province) cannot bear so many visitors.*

H: Sure. But it would be strange if all these sites are visited in that way. I think it is just a supplementary way, unlikely the main way.

*DM: So much for the questions. Thank you very much!*

(End of the Interview)



## Appendix V Interview with Milan Kovač on the Han Yangling Museum

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<sup>1</sup> This is a written interview through emails taken in November, 2015. The translation of this interview in Chinese was selected to be published in Column of “Conservation Dialogue,” *Community Design* (Beijing: Tsinghua University, China Architecture & Building Press).



## **Interview with Milan Kovač on the Han Yangling Site Museum**

**Date:** Sunday, November 8, 2015

**Place:** Opekarska 13A, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia

**Interviewee:** Milan Kovač

**Interviewer:** XU Dongming

### **About the Interviewee:**

Mr. Milan Kovač (born 1940) is a member of the Svenska Arkitekters Riksförbund (SAR) and KSE (Kuwaiti Society of Engineers). He is a Slovenian-born architect with his education and professional base in Sweden. He has spent most of his working life on the protection of archaeological sites and developed a revolutionary conservation technology that can preserve excavated ancient objects and sites *in situ* in near perfect conditions. His patent was the core of the technical solutions for the Han Yangling Underground Museum project which makes his contribution vital in the project.

*DM: Mr. Milan Kovač, thank you so much for taking this written interview. First, I kindly ask you if I could have your permission to use the content of this interview as the field notes in my PhD dissertation and the further publications. All the documented information will only be used for the academic purpose. Could you at first briefly talk about your professional backgrounds?*

**MK:** I was born in Slovenia on June 15<sup>th</sup> of 1940, completed architectural studies in Ljubljana 1964 (Diploma Problems of Abu Simbel, Egypt, Architectural History of Nubia after field visit in 1963), studied at KKH Stockholm Academy with the final degree in 1968 in town planning (Center of Stockholm) and Japanese gardens (after visit in Japan 1966). I took a short course at ICCROM ROME in 1969, and got the employment of UNESCO ARISBR Colombo from 1970 to 1971.

My first contact with archaeology I experienced was in summer holidays in 1953 to 1954 with work on archaeological site Roman Necropolis in Šempeter in Slovenia, a visit to Greece in 1961, and a visit to Egypt-Sudan 1963. Besides, I had a visit in Japan in 1966, and some frequent visits to nearby Italy. I had developed an interest in archaeology and architecture and decided to study architecture with my interest in archaeology and protection of the archaeological sites remained throughout my life.

Employment record prior 1970 in Stockholm: Summer holidays 1962 draftsman Gröwall & Hirsch; 1963 draftsman Stefan Szejnman; 1964 Hans Aakerblad position arch. Assistant; 1965 -1969 Alf Lundquist architect, responsible for Stockholm's office; a member of SAR (Svenska Arkitekters Riksförbund) in 1968, and member of KSE (Kuwaiti Society of Engineers) in 1972; Started practice in 1969 in Stockholm, which was my base of work decades to follow, had offices in Kuwait, Qatar, Emirates, Oman during 1972-1978.

*DM: How have you developed the "Eureka-Eurocare E! 1586 Arch in Situ" system before you worked with the Han Yangling project? Has it been applied to some other archaeological sites in the specific cases?*

MK: In 1978 I visited Egypt again and got permission to see the Ship of Khufu (Cheops), and talked to discoverer and the Minister of Culture. The boat discovered in 1954 was in a terrible shape in still unopened glass museum with damaging climatic conditions. Upon invitation I produced a proposal of an underground museum in which the public introducing pollutants would be separated from the artifact, and the artifact would be exposed to the same underground conditions as it survived in 5000 years. The project was widely published in several architectural publications. I received an invitation from England by the World Ship Trust headed by HH Prince Philip sponsoring the project. The project was accepted by President Sadat, but was then rejected by President Mubarak due to the sponsorship of previous colonial power.

The same year I worked out a mausoleum for Royal mummies at Muqqatam ancient query. The proposal was supported by UNESCO, but when visiting the site six months later we found a factory already constructed in the ancient query. These two projects were the base for developing the idea of separated glazed tunnels for underground protection of cultural heritage. The project was financially supported by the Swedish government and in 1983 I put up a full-scale model in a copy of Egyptian tomb in Historical museum in Stockholm. It was then presented to Italian experts (Etruscan tombs) and Egyptian authorities. I made several proposals for protection and presentation of the tombs in Saqqara, Valley of the Queens and nobles. The project had been realized in the Tomb of Nakht and Tawy in Sheikh Abd El Qurna, being the jewel of Art. The agreement was signed in the presence of Swedish King and the work was going on to 1986 with climatic studies of the tombs in the Valley of Kings (Tutankhamun). My work has been supported by many prominent Egyptologists (Mme Des Roches Noblecourt- Louvre, British Museum and American University in Cairo). With ICOM experts in team I worked on the renovation of Egyptian museum.

I continued working in Tarquinia with Etruscan Tombs. The project was sponsored by the funds of late Swedish King which had archaeologist working in Etruria. While it was rather simple to find solutions for Egyptian cultural Heritage due to dry climatic conditions, the problems were much more difficult in Tarquinia with changing climate during seasons. It took several years of testing different proposals to resolve the problem of condensation during different seasons on different sides of the glass. It is then I have developed with the producer of electrical heated glass a suitable product for the protection of underground.

The first project in which I used the new technology was built in Slovenia in 1992 (Protection of the archaeology in the church in Legen), followed by Roman and medieval archaeological site in Črnomelj, which are still in perfect condition. Not only physical protection against tourist erosion, but also improper illumination was causing destruction. For this purpose I have worked out a system resolving the problem of Ajanta paintings in India in 1992 approved by Indian Academy and Ministry of Culture.

*DM: When and how you started to work with the conservation project in China? What was your role and story in the conservation project of Pit No. 8 of Han Yangling archaeological sites in 1997?*

MK: I was contacted by the Swedish Cultural Attache in Beijing proposing a visit to China which was sponsored by the Swedish Academy. I had a presentation in Beijing and was the guest of the Academy visiting several archaeological sites in China. I then visited Han Yang Ling project for the first time. For the prototype, the Pit No. 8 was selected and the project was sponsored by the Slovenian Government (50%) and me personally (50%).

*DM: What was your role of participation in the Han Yangling Underground Museum project? Could you leave some details about this?*

MK: The prototype was studied by the Chinese experts several years prior to the decision to apply the system in the new large underground museum. The project of the new Museum was designed by Chinese experts applying my technology for presentation and protection. Some problems which were overcome were from fire regulations. We have produced the pilot project of suspended steel structure, which was then copied by another supplier.

*DM: What was the main challenge in the collaboration of Han Yangling Underground Museum project? When you look back, do you have any disappointment or dissatisfactory matter for realizing your idea? (For instance, Mr. Hou Weidong mentioned you once criticized the quality of the steel frame installed to Han Yangling Underground Museum.)*

MK: There are several mistakes in the execution of the project.

We have suggested glass panels to be put on aluminium frames, keeping the glass in permanent position. For reducing the cost, the aluminium frames were omitted and instead Jensen Steel system was applied, the glass was put only on ribbons of gum or plastic, allowing free movement (sliding) of glass panels. There are long corridors, the temperature change and glass and steel expand differently, so the glass panels press on each other to the extent that some panels due to side pressure broke and several were damaged, when I visited the Museum last time.<sup>1</sup>

The other problem is that several panels are mounted up and down with the heated side of glass on the wrong side. The illumination is not the best, mounted in the corridor instead of outside corridors which cause glare. However, the project was well accepted, I had not seen any negative report from the experts gathered in Pisa (Han-Pisa Project) and the former president of ICOM, Mr. Petzet<sup>2</sup> said to me that this is the best project in China, which was the best compliment I ever had.

*DM: What was your impression on the Chinese colleagues and collaborators you have met in Han Yangling Project?*

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<sup>1</sup> It was in July of 2009, Mr. Kovač visited Han Yangling Museum again following the Han-Pisa project, an international collaboration project between China, Italy, Germany and Belgium with the focus on Han Yangling underground museum and the archaeological discovery in San Rossor, near Pisa, Italy. See Han Yangling Official Website: <http://www.hylae.com/list.asp?id=984> ; also see a brief introduction of the Han-Pisa project at <https://culturelab.be/archive/hanpisa/> accessed on November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2017.

<sup>2</sup> Michael Alfred Petzet (born 1933), former President of the International Committee of ICOMOS (1999-2008) and the German National Committee of the ICOMOS (1988-2012), is a German art historian and monument conservator.

MK: I have been very much impressed by the knowledge of Chinese experts not only in Han Yang Ling but also in other projects in China. The problem which I experienced sometimes (not in Han Yang Ling project) was to coordinate different requirements and different opinions to an acceptable solution.

*DM: Since you are also an architect, what is your professional commentary on the layout and other architectural solutions of Han Yangling Underground Museum?*

MK: The design of the Museum is not my work. It is very nice project. Maybe as a tourist one could obtain more information of the time when the Mausoleum was created prior of seeing the artifacts in situ. This could be easily arranged by film and projections on walls when entering museum.

*DM: From the example of Han Yangling case, the "Eureka-Eurocare E! 1586 Arch in Situ" system is a revolutionary solution in the conservation of the earthen archaeological sites in China. But it is still applied to rather few cases. What is the main difficulty for the application and promotion of this conservation solution?*

MK: This is true. However most of the revolutionary ideas take long time to be generally accepted. (In the case of the protection of the Ship of Khufu 35 years.) The project of protection of Tutankhamun Tomb was rejected with the argument that a copy of the Tomb should be constructed and the Tomb be closed. Many years have gone, but the tomb is still deteriorating. My own problem had been that I am not marketing-minded and I work more or less alone without strong support.

*DM: Have you engaged with some other conservation projects in China after the Han Yangling case? How has it been applied to the "Eureka-Eurocare E! 1586 Arch in Situ" system?*

MK: Yes.

- Horse and chariots project at San Men Xia and Luoyang, proposals (proposal)
- The tomb of tragic prince Zhang Huai Qianling, Shaanxi Province (proposal)
- Protection and preservation of the remains of earth platform for the first Emperor of c China, Qin Shi Huang, Xian (proposal)
- Museum for the first Emperor of China (competition)
- Burial Han Shang Dong Jinan , Ding Tao (proposal)
- Daming Palace Xian: proposal to rectify the previous protective system by glass by many unknown contractor, which does not work in two locations. (proposal).
- Tomb of Wang Jian, Chengdu (site rehabilitation, protection of the tomb)

*DM: Could you leave some suggestions on the conservation works in China based on your experience?*

MK: Although the protective system Eureka-Eurocare E! 1586 (arch in situ) has been patented, its use has been copied in several projects, which in a way makes me happy. However, in several occasions the application of the system had been misunderstood, which can create more damage than protection. Example is the project of Wang Jian Tomb in Chengdu for which I was working several years elaborated seven

alternatives, result from the meetings and opinion of archaeologist taking into consideration their remarks and resolve their problems. In January this year I visited Chengdu and was happy to note that the rehabilitation of the site was under construction.

But from the leadership of the Museum, referring to my drawings as their property, I was told that the project shall be realized by a local contractor. The first stage of the project designed to resolve the problems of climatic condition, illumination and physical protection was intended to be a trial prior of applying the system in the whole tomb, as requested by archaeologists and Chinese experts. However, with omitting all the supportive systems, the only covering by glass cannot help. Improper lighting will cause the growth of algae and stone deterioration in higher speed than if not covered at all. Here is yet another problem, the misunderstood design was my work and maybe I can be accused of harming the cultural heritage sometime in the future.

What would be needed if the application of the system would continue in China is to forward the knowledge of how the system works, maybe in a conference-

*DM: Do you have any prospect for the application to the "Eureka-Eurocare E! 1586 Arch in Situ" system?*

MK: At present I am working on a few local projects (protection of the Lake Dwellers site, medieval underground museum, Roman underground museum), and what it makes me happy is a prototype for earthquake safe school for rural areas in Nepal. The project is financed by my family in memory of my late wife. I also work on a suggestion of restructuring the earthquake cultural heritage buildings.

*DM: I would appreciate it if you could recommend me some published texts in English (or other languages) about the "Eureka-Eurocare E! 1586 Arch in Situ" system and the application cases?*

MK: There are early publications of the Cheops boat project in Underground Space, supporting publication on deterioration of the wood of Cheops Vessel, transport system to underground museum (The ship cannot be dismantled any more). There is a Swedish academy book in which the Royal Mummy Mausoleum project in Muqqatam is included. The publication of underground palaeontological museum in Kvarntorp (not realized), publication of the application in Etruscan Tombs and other Egyptian tombs as reports on the state of Royal Tombs in the Valley of Kings including report on climatic conditions of the Tomb of Tutankhamon.

I appreciate your enquiry and wish you all the best in your Ph.D. degree- Maybe I could get a copy sometimes in the future- It is nice that somebody is making a research on the Eureka 1586 project. I myself am in spite of some events very happy with the work in China. It gave me possibility to get some knowledge on rich civilization – the oldest still surviving and continuing with the development in the world.

(End of the Interview)



## **Appendix VI Interview with Steinar Bjerkestrand on the Hedmark Museum**

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<sup>1</sup> The translation of this interview in Chinese was selected to be published in Column of “Conservation Dialogue,” *Community Design* (Beijing: Tsinghua University, China Architecture & Building Press).



## **Interview with Steinar Bjerkestrand on the Hedmark Museum**

**Time:** ca. 13:00-14:30

**Date:** Monday, September 24, 2012

**Place:** Nidaros Cathedral Tourism Center, Trondheim, Norway

**Interviewee:** Steinar Bjerkestrand

**Interviewer:** XU Dongming

### **About the Interviewee:**

Steinar Bjerkestrand (born 1952) has been the director of the Nidaros Cathedral Restoration Workshop (NDR) since 2011 in Trondheim. He graduated from the Faculty of Theology, University of Oslo in 1977, and served as a priest and advisor at different church institutions such as Haltdalen (1982-1991) and Hamar Bispedømmekontor (1991-1997). He was the former director of the Hedmark Museum from 1997 to 2011, and facilitated the transformation of the Foundation Domkirkeodden (2003) and later the Hedmark County Museum (2009) (Anno Museum from 2014).

*DM: Mr. Steinar, could you make a short introduction to your professional background and your former role in Hedmark museum?*

S: I have been studying theology with church history in medieval Norway, which is my specialty. In addition to that, I have been studying administration and personal psychology, and leadership. First, I was a priest in the church in Norway, and then I came to Hamar working as the chief of staff at the bishop office of Hamar. I was asked to lead the Hedmark Museum at Hamar. I started as a director at Hedmark Museum in 1997, and working as a director until last year, April 2011. Then I started as the director of administration of the Cathedral here at the Nidarosdomen. I started working as a director in Hamar in the middle of the process of the protection building for the Cathedral ruins.

*DM: I have heard that you were also involved in another smaller conservation project, in the north of the site?*

S: Yes. When I started working there, it is in the middle of the process of raising the glass cathedral and as a member of the bishop staff. Before I started at the museum, I was very active to solve all the problems and to get this building risen up. Then, it was open in August of 1998.

After that, as part of this project, we have asked several architects to work with the protection of two smaller excavations in the north-east corner part. Architect Sverre Fehn has then constructed the museum building over the excavations, part of the excavations there. Around 1990, He made how to protect the buildings and corners. In 1998 we started to formulate the protections of the two excavations as it is a project of the millennium of the Hedmark County. So, we sent in the paper to the authorities. We were lucky. The works by Sverre Fehn became the millennium project of Hedmark County. The money came in 2000, but it was open until 2005. Two special

buildings, very nice buildings. So, when I was leader, we got up three different buildings. One huge, two smaller, all of three very special.

*DM: I have been to Hamar in 2010, those are impressive works. As for the protection building of the Cathedral ruins, the scheme was selected from the competition of different proposals, not directly entrusted to a specific architect office like Storhamarlåven?*

S: It was a big competition. That was before I started. Somewhere around 1992 to 1994. No, maybe earlier, maybe 1987 or 1988.<sup>1</sup> Everyone had thought that the board will ask Sverre Fehn to draw this protection building, but Association of Norwegian Architects (NAL) wanted it to be an open competition. That was a big difficulty for the museum because the museum had a very good cooperation with Sverre Fehn. When the government decided that they are going to listen to the NAL and have an open competition, architect Sverre Fehn was very angry. He decided as himself would not deliver any suggestion to this competition.

Then it was huge amounts of discussion then. In the winter of 1986 to 1987, the ruins were falling down and we built scaffoldings around to keep it. That was when it started. So I think it is around 1987 or 1988. Sverre Fehn was angry and he did not want to take part in the competition. It was an open competition, and I do not remember how many projects or suggestions came in, but at least 8 projects were treated by the jury. Among those, architect Kjell Lund with the glass construction won. It was made official that he had won with this modern architectural glass construction.

And there was huge protest among the local people in Hamar. Of course, there was huge discussion. The discussion among the architects is the professional discussions, but the toughest discussion was in the village, in the town, and in the city. There were three different standings in this discussion. The first standing: it is a ruin, it is falling down. Let it fall down, let it be a ruin. The second statement is: why we did not do it as they did in Trondheim? Let us reconstruct the cathedral, do it in the way that you can see what is old and what is new. Let us get the cathedral back. Because the church in Hamar is very small, and Hamar wants to rise up its history again and get the cathedral back as they have done here in Trondheim. The third standing is that, let us preserve the ruin, let us stop the destruction, have the glass construction designed by Kjell Lund and his company Lund & Slaatto.

It was huge quarrel and discussion in and between the villagers. It was huge discussion in and between the people in Norway who were engaged in preserving heritage monuments. The Fortidsminneforeningen (Association for the Preservation of the Norwegian Ancient Monuments) protested heavily against the modern building construction, and they had the fourth suggestion of how to do it. They said let us keep repairing the ruins and let it keep standing. But we do not want to cover it up for

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<sup>1</sup> The competition was launched in 1987, and the submitted scheme for the protection building made by Lund & Slaatto Architects was awarded first prize from 52 different proposals. The building was constructed from 1997 to 1998. See detailed description in Ragnar Pedersen, *Hedmarksmuseet 100 år (1906-2006)* (Hamar Historielag, 2008), pp. 219-226; a comprehensive monograph on the construction of this project is *Vernebygg over en ruin: Fra kaupang og bygd, 1997-1998* (Hedmarksmuseet og Domkirkeodden, 1998).

anything. The town of Hamar has around 15,000 inhabitants; the board of the museum received the protesting list with 9,000 people writing protesting against it.

But the board of the museum was together with the Chief Curator Ragnar Pederson. He was very brave, and he said that this modern construction in many ways very inspired by the principal building by Sverre Fehn. It is giving the museum a very good protection for the old ruins, keeping it good for ever. And it is very important for the development of the museum not only get the old ruins capped but also the modern architecture pointed a way so that we can understand that it is in the middle of the history we can go forward. It is a question about how to use your history. Your history is nice. So you want to keep it or you want to use it and to go forward. The chief curator is very eager to use modernity to show how history can inspire the future. This is haunted in the museum of Sverre Fehn. So in many ways, it was Sverre Fehn's ideas which were put into practice by architect Kjell Lund. The Norwegian Directorate for Cultural Heritage supported the museum.

Then it was a gift from an American lady, an American-Norwegian lady who made the whole thing takes off. She was born in Hamar. She was married to a rich American. She has earned a lot of money by herself too. She got cancer then. She decided that 10 million Norwegian kroner were going to be donated to this project. Her name is ... She was a very wise lady. She knew the locals in Hamar and she knew the authorities. She said if the money was not used to the glass construction, if the work does not start within three years, the gift will fall away. They have calculated the building to 40 million kroner. The Norwegian law is that if the local can put up half of the cost, then the parliament will give you the rest. The lady gave 10 million, so it is very important to get another 10 million. So they started the collection in Hamar, and the local bank, rich people, the companies gave money. So they managed to collect money altogether for 20 million kroner. So the Norwegian parliament decided, in autumn 1994, that they would pay the rest of the cost. And luckily, they did not say how much money, they just said, the rest of the cost. Because the cost ended up not as 40 million, but as 73 million. That is another history. There was actually another protest against it, but the museum is very determined to make it happen. The Norwegian Directorate for Cultural Heritage is supporting it and the government will provide the money, so it started to build. We first started archeological excavation in 1997, which is why it costs so much money because they found so much. They started to raise the building. It was half way through when I took the job in 1997, and it was completed in 1998. Ragnar Pederson was the curator of the museum from 1987 and continuously working on this project. He was retired in 2005 or 2008, but he is still working in Hamar. He has been a very important man for the whole museum and also for the architecture because he also worked with Sverre Fehn, which were his early days together they raised the first museum building.

Everything is running and we then opened the glass construction. Afterwards we (had more) projects. We suddenly got the money, 20 million kroner. Then it was my job to go to meet Sverre Fehn, trying to persuade him. We have met Sverre Fehn and asked him if we were allowed to build, and if his office could make the sketch drawing. It was a little bit difficult because he was still angry with us that he was not allowed to build the protection building over the cathedral ruins. In 2002, I visited him once and he said I have to think about it. We had quite a nice talk. Then I referred Kjell Lund because he has written a lot about the glass cathedral, and there he

mentioned the connection with Sverre Fehn. I read it to Sverre Fehn, and he said then “it was anyway your fault.” Anyway, we are going to do more of the protection buildings.

Fehn was mainly supervising because he was quite an old man, and his students were drawing everything of the buildings. We had this project in 2004 and it was opening in 2005. It was quite interesting because I had never learned too much about architects before I had this talk with Sverre Fehn. We were sitting together, having dinner, talking about architecture, and philosophy. Then I learned that architecture is not a handicraft in his philosophy. I would not say we got to be good friend, but we got very good connections. He was not able to come to the opening because he could not walk then, but he was there during the construction. He was very satisfied. That was the last time he was in the barn and that was 2004, a year before the opening. He died in 2009. I was at the funeral. Sverre Fehn said “it was a small project in Hamar, but I have to finish the architecture of the museum. That is the main task before I die. I want that museum.” He did it.

As for the museum today, it is very lucky. Kjell Lund is a very famous architect in Norway. Sverre Fehn is the most famous of all, and both architects have built the buildings for this museum, so they should be quite proud of it.

*DM: That is true. Before I came to Norway, I knew very little about Norwegian architects, but I knew Sverre Fehn since I was in the college. I think he is one of the best known Norwegian architects.*

S: Yes, of course he is and for good reasons. The glass construction over the cathedral ruins, that was quite a challenge to handle all the protesters and handle with all those who did not want this to happen. Even Norway as a democratic country, we are quite bureaucratically. Even the Americans say that we are quite bureaucratically. The Norwegian soul is very conservative, and it is very difficult to get things change. The cathedral ruins of Hamar have been a national symbol, one of the oldest ruins in medieval history. Norway was in 300 years' colony of Denmark, 100 years' colony of Sweden. The last colony period is from 1814 to 1905. That was the period the Norwegian people and Norwegian historians started to understand or to find out Norway as a nation in medieval time because it had been the Danish policy to forget Norway as a nation. Norway was part of Denmark and all Norwegian histories should be wiped out of the history books.

When we were colony of Sweden, the Swedish king was a little bit more open, saying the national history of Sweden is attached to the national history of Norway, there was something linking the countries together, but there is definitely something dividing it. The Swedish king Charles XV was quite open about Norwegian history. He supported the development that Norway can learn its own history. It was founded from 1868. The Swedish king said, all right, you can start. The same thing happened to Hamar, in many ways, found out a lot of history about it. Realizing that it is not only a nice thing as a construction in a park, it is a symbol of strong medieval nation with the church that was meant to build huge stone buildings and so on. For the south-east of Norway, the ruins of Hamar had been a very strong national symbol, especially when we broke loose from Sweden in 1905.

It had been very actively used in the media during that period, showing that Norway is an old nation. It was used in many ways as a mental supporter for the nationalism. One hundred years later, the congress said that we are going to cover it up. It is not going to stand up here as a huge symbol in the park. We are going to put a building, of course, people were afraid because they have used to see the ruins standing there. They used to go to the park under those columns, having picnic, and morning coffee. They were very afraid that it would be closed off for them as part of the museum. That is why it is very important to build it in glass. It should be seen all the time.

There still was protest because the house under the roof is too old, not the fabulous glass construction Kjell Lund will build. They are afraid that they would not like this modernism, like we have got enough for this modernism. Sverre Fehn's modernism is in the barn is already too much. So, it is like we do not want it. 9000 people wrote "we do not want it." There were discussions on the newspaper. And there is discussion on national level between architects, between officials, bureaucrats, historians, and curators. It was quite a wild period. The discussion was still going on when I started in 1997. I was inspired by the glass building and I wanted it to be built. I came there, and we completed it. I came to the museum in 1997, but I came to Hamar in 1991, so I had been there, even taking part in the discussion as a private person. Before 1997, I was working as a chief staff of the bishop office, a priest in administration sense. I was the leader of the priests in the bishop reach, working with bishops.

*DM: Is the bishop office attached together with the Hedmark Museum?*

S: No, not at all. Because of the history, it was the old cathedral; the bishops were very interested in it, in the museum, both professionally and personally. I was working with two bishops, and both of them were very actively supporting this glass construction. Also since the old church is very small, and they saw the opportunity to borrow the cathedral as the representative building, filling with people and they needed it. They also had done that afterwards. But there is no official connection between the museum and the church. When the churches need the cathedral, they rented it. There is very close cooperation between the museum and the church. Because it is an old church and it is going to be preserved as an old church, and supposed to use it sometimes.

One of the reasons why the board employed me, I think, was that I could be some sort of link between the museum and the church. They had common interests, and since I had foot in both camps. They probably thought that was smart and I think that was smart.

When the protesters have done their work, and they were not heard. They accepted to build it, and the parliament gave the money. We constructed the whole thing and it was open in August in 1998 by the royal highness the crown prince with a lot of arrangements of officialities, nobilities... (The American lady) had died, but her husband was there. He was the one who opened it together with the royal highness. A week later we had a concert there, and after that, I almost never heard one protest against it. When you entered there, it was some sort of magic in this room. It makes me come back to the medieval time and at the same time you are in the future. It is

sort of strange mix and it was fantastic building in that way. When people saw this, saw the magic of the building saw the beauty in this modernism (there had been people saying: there are too much of modernism), they agreed that it is something special. They suddenly turned around from being protesters to be very proud that Hamar has got this beautiful building. They saw it was written all about it all around the world in the architecture magazines, the prize, and so on. Suddenly the whole town is happy.

I remembered there was an old architect who had helped us with some small reconstructions in the old wooden buildings surrounds the museum. He had been one of the main protesters against the glass building. He came up to me some months later after the concert. I saw him coming, and thought "Oh, you are coming here." He said hello and he had been at the concert and said, "Listen, Steinar, of all the things I have been against, this is maybe one of the few things I regret I was against." So it was totally accepted by all parts. It was nice to see and to hear that. So after 1998, it was a history of success. The concert was held a month later after the opening, maybe around the first of September. I do not remember very well.

In many ways, I think people are afraid of changing things. They are very glad that the things stay as they are because there is something safe around it. The established thing is good, nice. It makes me control my life. To fuss about a wellknown thing is difficult. But if the modernism thing is of good quality, then I think it is possible to change people's minds. It is the quality which is important here. If you just put something there and reconstruct it, it is not smart. But a good project of a good quality with a good philosophy behind.

*DM: That is very true.*

S: Then you can have a success history like this. The museum is very happy. Of course, there is maintenance problems with the building. It has functioned. It was planned to protect the ruins, which was the main plan. All the designs were just additional things. The important thing is to protect the ruins. The ruins stand there as a monument for the national heritage office. Continuously they are very satisfied the building has functioned. All the public loves it, at least, in summer.

*DM: At the beginning, was the jury composed by other professionals?*

S: It was a jury composed of other professionals. The jury was appointed by the NAL, but the chief curator of the museum was sitting in the jury. So the museum has its own person in the jury, Ragnar Pederson. I think there were four or five members, and four of them were architects. I am not sure of the number of people in the jury, but I am sure there are five members in the Union of Architects of Norway.

*DM: It is the jury that made the final decision.*

S: The jury decided who should win the competition, but it was the board of the museum together with the department of administration of culture to decide who to build the construction. The jury just said that: ok, this is the project that won the competition. But it did not automatically to be built like that. It is the job of Ragnar Pederson and the department of administration of culture to say that the winning

project is the best project for us and we suggested it to be built. In many ways, the board of the museum and the ministry of culture who decided to build this.

*DM: How many staffs in Hedmark Museum? What are their professional backgrounds?*

S: I am not sure how it is today. But when I started in 1997, there were 2 curators, 2 assistant curators, teacher working there, administration officers, photographers .... I thought 15 or 16 altogether working there. In addition to that, there are summer guides. Students who work there for a month or two. Most time in the winter the museum was closed.

*DM: I saw that in the schedule of the museum, so no people working during the winter?*

S: All the staffs work in the winter, but the staff of guidance doesn't work in the winter. There are 15 or 16 staffs who work all year around.

*DM: How about some local activities or the community strongly connected with the museum?*

S: there is a large organization called 'friends of the museum'. All the people are volunteers working together with the staff. There were around 150 members of the 'friends of the museum'. It diminished a little bit during the building period because around 40 of them were against the glass building, protesting. But after it was built, the 40 were back. They worked together when there are bigger arrangements on weekends. They come and help.

*DM: What about the church activities linked with the cathedral? How many times roughly a year....*

S: The board decided that the church, free of charge, can use the glass cathedral for eight services per year. That is usually Christmas, Easter, the New Year Eve and other big church feasts. In addition to that, if they want to have more services, they have to rent the glass cathedral. I think altogether they usually have ten or twelve services a year. Most of them in the summer, but also at Christmas or New Year Eve or important days. We open for weddings. If the couple wanted to be wedded in the cathedral, they can rent it for two hours. Then they needed to talk with the museum.

*DM: That is all my questions. Thank you very much!*

(End of the Interview)



## Appendix VII Interview with Pål Bjørnstad on the Hedmark Museum

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<sup>1</sup> The translation of this interview in Chinese was selected to be published in Column of “Conservation Dialogue,” *Community Design* (Beijing: Tsinghua University, China Architecture & Building Press).



## Interview with Pål Biørnstad on the Hedmark Museum

**Time:** ca. 10:00-12:30

**Date:** Wednesday, October 31, 2012

**Place:** Headquarters of Lund & Slaatto, 5th Floor at Drammensveien 145A, Oslo

**Interviewee:** Pål Biørnstad

**Interviewer:** XU Dongming

### **About the Interviewee:**

Pål Biørnstad (born 1960) is the general manager and chairman of Lund & Slaatto Architect's office. He graduated from the Arkitekthøgskolen in Oslo (present name: Arkitektur- og designhøgskolen i Oslo (AHO)) in 1990, and has been employed in Lund & Slaatto since 1990, becoming its co-owner in 1994. He has been working as the key collaborator and taking responsibility for the building realization of the protection building for the cathedral ruins (*Vernebygget*) at the Hedmark Mesuem.

*DM: Mr. Pål Bjørnstad, first, I should ask if I could have your permission to use the content of this interview as the field notes in my paper and the further publication. All the documented information will be only used for the academic purpose.*

P: Okay, that is fine.

*DM: As the plan, I have prepared some questions mainly focusing on the project of Vernebygget på domkirkenruinen in Hamar. Besides, as an architect, I am also very interested in how Lund+Slaatto Architects work before and today. So I also prepared a few more questions on that.*

P: Sure.

*DM: First, could you briefly make a self-introduction to your professional background and your role in this firm and in the project of Vernebygget på domkirkenruinen in Hamar, the "Glass Cathedral" project at Hedmark Museum?*

P: The competition of this project was actually done before I started to work in the office. The overall concept of the project is very much Kjell Lund's work. When I started in this office in 1990, I was quickly involved in many other competition projects. And after not so many years, I was the partner and I was gradually taking over Kjell Lund's position in the firm, and I have been the head of the office for about 20 years. So this is my position. I have been both CEO, I mean the managing director (MD) for the firm, and chief architect for the architectural development of the company. So, as I said, the competition was won before I actually started. Then they developed the project to a kind of pre-project. Then it was decided to be ceased I think, mainly for financial reasons. It could not be done at that time. I do not think it was only financial. There were quite a lot of uncertainties about the project like technical uncertainty at that time.

*DM: So you came to this company in 1990? From the literature reference, I found that the winning scheme by Lund+Slaatto Architects was selected from 52 different proposals at the end of 1987. There are more than two years in between.*

P: As I said, the development of competition project into pre-project level during those years before I started I am not quite sure. But there were quite a lot of risks involved in the project such as technical risks, and the financial situation was not clear. So nothing happened with the project for quite many years. (*DM: It was for ten years.*) But when they took the project forward again, I started to take the main responsibility for the whole planning process of the project. I could quickly see the pre-project had many difficulties. So we scrapped the pre-project totally and went back to the basic design. The overall design was decided again completely. We did not use the pre-project at all. There were many difficulties.

And you know Kjell Lund was really a very conceptual architect. He was not an architect for the detailing. He does not really have that kind of competence. He is a fantastic architect to make a conceptual answer and win the competition. But when it came to the detailing, he let others to do the detailing. And I was really very happy he understood it. Also after a while, we were both very happy that it did not come to the fruition earlier because it had been a big project, what will happen we are not quite sure, either technically or even architecturally. So we really started again and then we can go back and see. There is nothing actually. We did not use any of the technical solutions from the earlier pre-project.

*DM: Compared to the original one, what is the biggest difference on form and details?*

P: It is a long way back now. The biggest difference, you know, the whole construction principle was actually different. I have some literature with it shown the other one was based on the three-dimensional grid for all these sloping surfaces. So it was a three-dimensional grid of aluminium tubes. Well, when you look at this, you see all the main construction is really a simple one-lined and parallel to the transition. Because it was a double curved surface, a double curved surface of this kind really consists of just straight lines building and moving in a different slope of angles. So in a way, it is a simpler and cleaner geometry here. The problem with the other one was that you got so much loads into the system. So it became very... There was just so much material here in the construction. So it did not really become very transparent and had too much interferences. Actually in a theoretical way, it is a quite interesting way of doing it. But then you have to know the constructional distances became too long because in this big area the whole area was self-supporting. So it was a huge construction and then it became too many tubes here. So it both became expensive, but also did not really work very well because the transparency of course is the utmost importance of the whole concept. It was also to do with they actually did have. They did not have this plainer solution for the glass. You have to actually have a conventional profile system at first. So it was a combination of both the main construction and the glass solution. The first pre-project did not consist of this clear surfaces.

*DM: So being transparent for the new construction was a very important factor both stressed by the client and architects, right?*

P: Well, to have the ruins visually presented in the landscape and in the surrounding situation was of course very important for us. It is a very interesting play between the new building and the old ruins. So it is important to actually see the profile from a

distance outside. Of course, with a glass building like this, the transparency changes a lot depending on what kind of weather and what kind of sky. And also of course it changed very much for which view or which angle you capture. As you come alongside the glass, it is of course that the reflection is very high and the transparency is lower. But when you looked more directly at it from the side, the transparency is higher. So this is balancing situation. But it is important that the balances should not be too confined. It is a long time since I thought about the early pre-project, but it is interesting to think about it again. And there were really three main elements. The whole construction principle was the glass, the glazing of the project with a visual transparency. They also thought about... I do not know if that was true. I think they also had got the insulated glass in the first pre-project. And of course that was also a big problem both for the transparency and weight. When you have the glass like this it is less transparent. Also because of weight, because the whole construction had to have this, it would take fifty percent more weight. So this is one of the first things we questioned. Why do we actually need to have the isolated glass?

You know that the main focus for the project was to preserve the ruins and this had always been sort of two-sided thing because the actual client in this project is Riksantikvaren (Norwegian Directorate for Cultural Heritage), the authority for conservation. They were concerned with the conservation aspect. You know that they were the clients and they were not concerned with how the building was going to be used. So this was a strange situation because afterwards it has been called *Hamardomen*, and it has been used very much as a church building and it has been used also for concerts and other special occasions.

*DM: Yes, that is the part I have been quite amazed that the space of new building is a fitting for diverse functions.*

P: That is very interesting because the client did not have this focus at all. You know the Riksantikvaren said this is a preservation building, and our job is to preserve the ruins for eternity.

*DM: So the Hedmark Museum was not part of the institution of client?*

P: No, it was the Riksantikvaren, the main national authority for preservation of historical buildings and ruins.

*DM: Okay, I see.*

P: Statsbygg, you know, Statsbygg (Norwegian Directorate of Public Construction and Property) is the main authority for building activities. They became the official client after a while because they take all the big projects in Norway as an official business for actual construction. They are responsible for the realization. Let us say the realization that that is the one who are building the Opera House that we see. Statsbygg came on the part of the authority for preservation and actually did the project.

But all along the museum project, of course, the museum authority wanted to administer the building after it was done and they were very much involved. They were actually not the client, but they were very happy with our approach because we

wanted to start, with Kjell Lund, with another whole concept to do a building. That was not only technical preservation of the building but also have this spiritual aspect of a church building. This was part of the idea all along but it could not be said aloud in a way publicly because the preservation authorities always repeat this mantra that this is a preservation, it is not a church building.

So, it is in a way strange balancing act that Kjell Lund and I were very much concerned about the spiritual aspect because this is not because we wanted to make a church, but it has something to do with the fact that it has been the church before that is a part of the ruins' character, and so to preserve his character, we have to refill the elements in the building in a modern way. It would not be right just to put a completely neutral technical building around it. At the same time neutrality was something we were much concerned with. I think the main shape, the main form and the main space you could see directly that it is a cross-shaped and the place explains the old ruins church form. This is absolutely obvious when you come to the church today. But if you had seen the ruins before this building was built, it was actually quite hard to see what the main axis was because it was a completely asymmetrical ruins site. It has only one arcade standing and so the overall design of the building was very much related to explaining and giving an understanding of the old building, and make space inside which is sort of a reflection of the old space. It is not clear-cut, but the main vault was given this round, semi-circular shape as a reflection of the old church having a semi-circular interior space. It was a sharp exterior shape because of the rain and snow in Norway, but inside it is a semi-circular main axis.

It is very interesting because this semi-circular pattern really explains the old church's interior room but the rest of the shape is of course not directly connected to the old church. So it is a combination of the church and the reflection of the church, besides it is a combination with the landscape because the overall shape has much to do with the landscape: the soft curves, the asymmetrical form, the steep slope on the northern side and not so steep on the southern side. The landscape is twitching, and the whole building is twitching. The asymmetrical shape gives room to the practicality and the sacristy.

*DM: It was said that the height of this semi-circular is the height of the old church. Is it true?*

P: Not exactly. It is much something an idea after the old church. The old church is something completely different. I have quite an interesting book. This is going to tell something about the process. It is from Vernebygg to cathedral it tells something about the story. One thing is the shape. This vaulted dome creates the space and what makes a fantastic difference when it comes to the experience into the ruins is the flooring. The flooring originally was just grass, and you could go around the ruins but you could not understand it quite much. However, by recreating the flooring inside the church we could experience much more the space.

*DM: The features of the space, like the acoustic effect of the space of taking concert, have been intentionally designed by architects?*

P: We never really calculated the acoustic aspect of it and because the preservation authorities did not want to put money in this calculation. So all through the process it

was this kind of two-sided affairs because the museum people were very interested in how they use this building to all purposes and so on, but on the other hand the preservation people were not interested in that respect really. They are very hard core on preservation and it was an expensive project and they did not want to use any more money there like “we are just going to preserve the ruins.”

It was also very interesting when it happened to develop. When the project went along and began the actual building, even the preservation people began to understand that this was such an amazing opportunity to get the building have more functions and they became a little bit more open in the end. We also designed some actual Church elements inside the building, the altar, the preachers. And the lighting is especially designed, but that was actually the museum that has paid us for many of these elements because the preservation authorities did not want to pay for the altar, etc. So at this stage it was sort of a two-sided affair. It became a happy ending, and everybody was pleased in the end.

As I have said, when we started with the early pre-project, actually after we started with the early pre-project, we started again and the Statsbygg came to take the project as a professional builder. They were not involved in the first pre-project, and it was only the preservation people who had done it by themselves. Statsbygg people were very skeptical about the project. They were quite worried about this huge glass structure, the complicated geometry, and how to keep it sealed and not have a lot of leakages, and so on. They were quite concerned about that. It was a lot of convincing job to do. This whole detailing process I was in charge there. From the restart of the competition project to the realization I was very much in charge. We met every week and discussed matters. I can say I was responsible for the actual design, of course, Kjell Lund is responsible for the overall design, and the concept.

*DM: So this work has nothing to do with the Slaatto?*

P: No, not at all. In the latest stage of the collaboration between Kjell Lund and Nils, they were not working together. They never worked together those years. I have worked with both, so I was sort of the middle man. Nils was seven or eight years older than Kjell Lund. He became sick and died in maybe 1997.

*DM: What is your impression of the difference between those two architects?*

P: They have some similarities, but of course some differences. Both have very strong characters. Kjell Lund was never very much into the details. He is a good leader, knowing how to use the people working below him and see their talents. He is a little bit old-fashioned. He would work with some key people in the company, but not talk every other people. Now the way is like you need to involve all the office in different ways. He is very concentrated in his work. By using different collaborators, Kjell Lund could handle quite a few projects at a time because he was involved in many projects. Nils was never involved into many projects at a time because he was quite down to the details. I have less discussions with Nils, but more with Kjell Lund. Kjell Lund has the idea, then he had others handle the execution. So if you look at the projects at Lund& Slaato, there were more Kjell Lunds buildings. In Kjell Lunds buildings, there are also a lot of other people involved, like myself. But Nils' buildings are very much Nils look.

P: Kjell Lund was very open-minded in a way, and he was always searching for a better one. He definitely had an architectural agenda, but that agenda was changing all the time. He did not want to make two buildings which look alike. He was always searching, and that is how he used others, like me, to get more ideas. I reflected quite a lot. It was a kind of creativity that I have to understand Kjell Lund's univers. You have to match his path. This was very interesting for me because I learned very much from Kjell Lund about the creative process and his searching attitude is always there, finding something you do not know anything about. It is like you are trying to find the path to the wood, but you actually do not know where it is until you make it. Kjell Lund is very relentless in this searching. He never gave up. Even if the result is 90% satisfying, like we all like it. Then the next morning, he would ask "should we try something else?" I always say it at the office now that if you have a small doubt in your head, then it is not finished. As an architect, even if there is a slice of bad feeling, you have to take it and work on it. This, for the mental process, is very much trained by Kjell Lund. Something has fascinated me ever since. It is not actually how to do a building, but more of the creating process itself.

*DM: I totally understand this feeling. It is a very precious quality as a good architect.*

P: Yes, it is. Architecture is so complicated and is hard to envision it completely when you are working with it. I really have learned a lot from Kjell Lund in this project.

*DM: From my experience working with my former boss, he often drove the subordinated architects crazy about this changing process.*

P: Both Kjell Lund and Nils are very dedicated architects. They had their lives with architecture. For me, I am architect, but I need to do something else as well and get away some time from the architecture because when you come back the next day to architecture, you would feel fresh. But that is me. But neither Kjell Lund nor Nils was like that. They thought about architecture all the time. They were working all the time.

*D: From the literary reference, it also said that the construction was completed very fast without any accident because the computer technology was used and was able to get maximum accuracy in cutting elements and have control over construction progress. Do you know any details about this?*

P: That is also another reason when we retrospect we are very happy that the building was not built ten years earlier because at that time they did not have the technology to handle this complex geometry. Ten years later in the 1990's, we were quite at the forefront, at least in Norway, in digital planning.

*DM: When is the year the computer assistance design has taken into use for architects in Norway?*

P: As I said, our firm is very much at the forefront during those years. I do not know when they were commonly used, but now we are even talking about 2-dimensional digital drawing CAD. When I started in the office in the 1990s, the office had this huge project for one of the biggest banks, but it was never built. But this project was used for a new opportunity because the bank was very interested in the CAD

technology. The Lund & Slaato was able to convince the bank to finance this huge computer part, and then it was very expensive. I was very amazed because it had happened just before I started in the office. The CAD technology was nothing compared to laptop technology today, but they were immensely expensive. I think at that time it costed between two or three hundred thousand for each machine, and we had five or six of those. At that time that was an immense amount of money, like half a million of today. That gave our firm a big head start compared to other offices. So we had CAD drawing very early. We started the 3D CAD earlier than other firms. We understood that it was complex form and complex geometry, then we really had to use three-dimensional CAD tools to what we could use them for. It was definitely the first big building that was actually designed in detail in three-dimensional. We have this 3D computer model which is completely detailed. Everything was drawn into it, and we then made to dimensional drawing from that, of course. We had to have some to dimensional drawing because you had to every sheet of glass and everything, and all the constructional members. All measurements and all elements in this building were taken from the three-dimensional model. We did not have that technology ten years before, so everything had to be calculated in 2D. I could not think about how that project would have been without 3D technology. I think that would be a disaster. I do not think they could have handled it.

We have very clever and right guy. He is working on his model and I am working with him. I was designing and he put everything in there, and we could see every corner and all the differences. It is complicated geometry. You have to steer the geometry, going in and out in different direction, curves and surfaces. Without 3D I do not know how we could have done it. Statsbygg was very impressed because we did this building without any fault. We did not have any false measurement in any part. We were quite proud of that. In the system, everything is actually slightly different. Some are on opposite diagonal. They are two and two, but they are longer on the one side, and they are practically individual. And just those points, there are no fixed measurement, so they will actually be different from each panel.

We designed the whole construction, and the civil engineer only gave the whole construction input, but they did not actually do their own drawings. They made all the calculations from our drawings. When it came to the production line, it is not just the one who produced is responsible. They had also required this 3D planning for their own production. In a way, they took our model, but they constructed into a new program. That was how they got this quality assurance because they must check everything fitted their mode and our mode. At that time, those programs were not completely compatible, so they could not just take ours to their program. When it came to the construction, the civil engineer actually calculated the construction earlier for Statsbygg.

*DM: In China, the civil engineers always work together with the architects in one firm. That is how they collaborate with each other.*

P: In this project, it was much close to the Chinese model. There was one guy, and he was working with our drawings. He did not make separate drawings. It is very common in Norway. So our work is very closely knitted.

*DM: When I worked on the previous interview to the museum people, both Steiner, the former director of the Hedmark Museum and Tore Sæther, the present curator, have mentioned that there were quite strong opposition from the local community in Hamar before the construction of the cathedral. I noticed that that was not the only case for Lund & Slaato, for example, I have also read it was also the same in the project for the Stavanger Culture Center. I think that must be quite a challenge for architects, especially in a democratic society.*

P: Yes, it was a controversial project. Many people remembered the ruins as very beautiful ruins in a natural landscape, and so it is quite understandable that quite many, especially the old people, had this sentimental understanding of the ruins, the Hamarodden. Maybe you have seen some of the old romantic pictures. They were painted by famous artists two hundred years back and so on. Ruins by the big lake. So the whole idea of building a new modern structure above and around it was quite controversial. You may know that the preservation authorities had made a lot of measurement and so on, and they found the ruins deteriorated, and the deterioration of the ruins is actually accelerating because of the rain and frost, now it is better, but in the 1960s and 1970s it was a big problem because the polluted air and acid rain from the Britain. In the middle of the 1980s they put a big plastic preserving unit around it. Nobody could see the ruins, but this bad-looking plastic unit and it was standing there for more than ten years. Until it finished its job, I think it was almost like 15 years.

That was actually the only argument: do you want it to be like this, everything falling out, or do you want a preservation building? They want all the impossible thing: they want all the ruins standing in the natural landscape. But that was not an option because the preservation authorities are hard core, and they want the ruins to be preserved. It is more important for them to preserve it within this plastic bag rather than have it falling down. They do not care so much what the people see it. Their job is to preserve. So it was never an option to take down the plastic protection and let the ruins falling down. Ideologically, you can have this relevant opinion, like the ruins should have their own fate and as time goes by, it may disappear. But still that was never an option. So that was the starting point for the competition. I do not know if you have studied the competition proposals. I remember the one that took the second place in the competition was a very literal reconstruction of the church in glass. Anyway, it was a happy ending. The *Vernebygget* has become a very popular landmark.

*DM: Definitely, I was so impressed that when Prof. Steiner told me that the whole rejection just disappeared after the first concert was held in the building. All people has felt the magic of the place.*

P: So we were very pleased with the way it ended. It has got a lot of attention both from the architects and the general public. I think, we, not just as architects, but as a project team, has made the right decisions earlier concerning how to do this building. Everything has been through discussions. I have mentioned the floor, making new floor inside the ruins. The preservation authorities were quite uncertain about it because it was constructing something which was not original. They were quite uncertain about it for quite a long time, but we convinced that if you do not have this hard surface, you would not understand the old building very well and would not use the area quite well, actually not very usable space. All those kinds of considerations

have gone through long discussions. The floor has actually changed all through the years, so they did not actually know how it is.

*DM: That is a good arrangement. I think it is not difficult to recognize the different layers. As an architect, how do you feel the different features among all those architectural conservation projects in Hedmark museum, especially the different quality between the Storhamarlåven made by Sverre Fehn and the work of Kjell Lund?*

P: It is an interesting comparison. Sverre Fehn and his office has also made other small preservation units on the other side. *Storhamarlåven* is beautiful, and it is quite a different preservation project. It is quite beautiful, the way it interacts with the old elements. It did complete the overall building, but I do not think that is the main part of the project. I think the main part of the project is how you experience the old items, the old ruins, especially items. The way I see Sverre Fehn's project in *Storhamarlåven*, for me, I would not say it is an interior project, but it is more an exhibition project. It is a beautiful way of using quite a few materials, mainly steel actually, in a modern and quite specific aesthetic way: quite clean, but also architecturally shaped. It is more active in the direct relationship with the objects that were preserved. Sverre Fehn was in the 1980s with the Italian architect Carlo Scarpa. They had similarities aesthetically speaking with great sense of sensibility, feeling for the objects.

It is very interesting, but our project is quite different. We were not really that interacting. And our project is more a preservation project than an exhibition project, so it is really like we started from another side in a way. The main project was not what we talk about to make a church space, and the church space came very late in the process. They were quite different design processes because then we had to interact with the ruins, and they were much more closely related to the ruins. The whole construction is bending over the ruin, and it is not actually touching the ruins. That is part of the concept. We took certain main elements: the main vault, the main direction, the aisles, this cross-shaped form. So it took the elements on an overall level related to the church, but apart from that, it was a very technical structure.

For me, as responsible for designing all the details, it became very clear, whether it is the correct answer or not, that we have used very reductionist principle in a way that there is not much active shaping, because otherwise it would bring some disturbance. So I tried to make it clean, very pure. The purity in the construction. The overall shape has the activity, visually with the curving and slices on the big vault. That is enough, in a way, I feel. There is so much construction going on. We should definitely not do anything than what is actually needed. It was very strong in my mind, and very conscious with this. This is not to say that we had to do it as simple as necessary, but to do it as pure as possible. That is not necessarily the simplest way because you always have an engineering way that was simpler, more economical.

We tried to have it as visually, conceptually as pure as possible so that the construction does not distract the attention on the ruins. More than it is necessary because this is a big construction. So, it is a construction, and we did not want to this design actively. It was very interesting. It was almost like a clean scene for us who were working on this. And for me personally it is always reduced to the necessary elements making it clear-cut and precise. The beauty should be the reductionist. So it is very different from when you are doing a building that stands by itself. Of course,

as an office, we are working with no too much Niels Torp. Niels Torp is a famous Norwegian architect, and he is doing a lot of shapes. We do not think it apply to everything. We are very much far from that. As an architectural office, we are thinking structurally and functionally of making the structure. We are much of reductionist. But this is an extreme case. I have never worked through a process like this, and I am quite happy with the result. I think, people when they see the project, do not realise how complex and how difficult it was technically and architecturally speaking. That is also the reductionism itself. It should not be felt like something very present. I know if we had not made this all reductionist decisions, it would have been even more active with the overwhelmed interior space.

*DM: I think this sort of feature also makes the building have a very strong contrast and quality compared to the building next to it. It is very interesting. I can see that both Carlo Scarpa and Sverre Fehn approach to the old site and the new concrete things like that. It is very interesting that when I visited there during the field work I also heard about a lot of complaints from the museum people for the difficulties of using Storhamarlåven as a museum. For instance, like there is no insulation and heating system in the building, and this well-designed exhibition makes the mobility of the exhibition almost impossible. As the curator Tore Sæther commented, "We love it and we hate it." Many architects have got this kind of complaints like they are less user-friendly. Have you got such comments?*

P: This project is very peculiar because it is a preservation building and then became a sort of museum or multi-purpose building, which was never actually on the agenda. It would have been quite difficult in this case to make it a multi-purpose building as I have said, you have to have the insulation glass to have a chance in Norwegian climate and you have to have big heating system. We have insulation system, and we have dug into the ground. Of course, there are difficulties. I can understand the museum people. In the way, the Sverre Fehn building is more sentimental because he uses different approaches when it comes to the exhibition. As you say, it is completely static. Sverre Fehn designed this building in the 1970s or 1980s, and it was sort of fixed, sort of old history. For me, it is interesting and fantastic exhibition. It is Fehn quality, and it sort of constitutes history itself, the history from the 1970s. This static has become something to be preserved.

The curators and the museum people tend to like maximum flexibility. They want to have their own freedom. This is a big discussion for all kinds of museums. I think it is unfortunate that the curators have got their will in most projects lately. We visited a project in Portugal. They have this museum building with complete just general area. I am sure it has to do with the museum people, their agenda. It is the same with the national museum in Oslo. They just want this complete non-personal space without character, just white boxes and they could completely control the lighting, no natural light, just completely neutral light. For me, it is a pity. There is no interaction between the modern architecture and the thing in exhibition, whether it is a painting or object or whatever. This has much to do with the exhibition ideology. Museum policy.

During the age of Kjell Lund and Slaato, this was a sort of heroic age. It was a part of the late-modernism. They champion this special brand of late modernism. They have this late-modernism structure. It was very much kind of Nils ideology. When you have this strong ideology, it often becomes controversial because it has less

regard of the practicalities. If you have this strong ideology, you do not care too much about other practicalities. In the project, when certain practicalities and certain functionalities are not completely taken care of, I know that Kjell Lund and Nils would take the advice seriously, but it still always ends in their own ideological view in a way. Even if they say that “We are very much concerned about the functionality, all sides of the functionality,” they are not completely open-minded about it because they have their own strong ideology. I think that was more possible in that age, more than we are now.

We are in a kind of another age where all those pressures for architects and the consciousness is much higher. We know what kind of architectural concept of the work in certain ways, but during the 1960s and 1970s, the architects were able to convince the clients that this is the right way. “We do this way, and it would be great.” But the whole industry is more professionalized now, and you have more professional on each level, and on the clients levels at least, and maybe it is a pity in a way because they had made many characteristic buildings during those ages, and they were able to do it although it was in bit love and hate relationship, as you mentioned.

Many of the buildings, I think. Both Sverre Fehn and Kjell Lunds earlier buildings did not have much compromise. They were very hard-core buildings. They were beautiful and humane in many ways. It is quite interesting. One of the old projects which we liked very much from Lund & Slaatto, Chateau Neuf, the other cubic building for the students. It is a great building, but it was actually the most hated building in Norway when it was constructed of Slaatto. It was completely a hate object. Everybody thought it was horrible, just concrete block with so hard and concrete interior. But now it has turned completely. I am not saying that it is one of the loved buildings, but it is certain that it is one of the most respected buildings. For young people and for me, it is a very good building.

We have done some work within this building now. I have been there in the second phase. I feel now that people are related to this building, and the toughness of the buildings is very good for the young people. The students are not going there with the ties and suits. I myself experienced as a youth the building, and actually it is one of the buildings, I think, that made me interested in architecture because I did not know anything about Chateau Neuf at that time. It sort of spoke to me with its toughness. That building is not any more a hate building in many ways. It is a very peculiar building, but it was so hated at that age because at that time the building was quite revolutionary. It was interesting, it was finished just when the 1968 revolution came to Norway. All the youth organizations were quite radical. They were very like pro-Mao, pro-communism. But even they hated this building. That was strange. Kjell Lund would not understand that. It was a radical building, but even the radical group hated it. You could not understand it, and I agreed with Kjell Lund. He was convinced of his own project. All the buildings are without compromise, and they all had their difficulties, in one way or another. It is not a building that was catastrophic. They functioned.

Another project we liked very much is first part of the Veritas Complex. It is, I think, one of the best examples of structuralism which Lund & Slaatto is very well-known for. They developed this idea that the building structure should be aesthetic in itself. It is opposite to the idea that you build a structure and have something

completely different from the outside. It is all about honesty and clearness and using that to make the building aesthetic in itself. This is one without any compromise. You could see (showing a picture) that they used the system with open ends. It is a technical organism. At the same time they use it with a great sense of feeling: the material, how it matches the landscape. This is very much a Nils Slaato project. It is very much of him. They use this quite systematic structure to differentiate the volumns, and of course the functions around this into this landscape. It became a beautiful building from its very hard core, sort of. They used the structure, which is actually part of the landscape. People walk around this building, and they use it as a recreation of the space. They use concrete construction outside, and you could imagine the cold climate in Norway. It is not a very practical building when it comes to the technical aspect. It is not well insulated, which becomes problematic.

*DM: I think time would prove if it is a good architecture or not. I think people got this sort of complaining about known architects probably also because people tend to choose something familiar with their lives. I remember when I visited the St. Magnus church. The local people said that it was a strange way of church.*

P: That is true. Most people like what they are familiar with. If you are striving for something very specific, then you will go further away from what is a compromise with the normality. You will push it further. That comes to every aspect, especially artistic aspect. The fundamental difficulty with architecture is that it is always built for people. Chateau Neuf shows that you have to push to the limit, making your statement and opening up the society. It is like when people first heard of the Beatles, not many people liked it. Some people have to open up to have new experience whether it is musical, or architectural.

*DM: Yes, it is true that the people's mind is always changing.*

P: That is the cultural development. The sensibility, the general public. I have been working in architecture for many years, I could see that it is always changing in the general publics understanding, the general awareness of architecture is at a much higher level now, at least in Norway. That is a good thing. They are more tolerant to differences. They accept more difficult buildings. Of course, there are still many conservative people. But I think it is a positive development.

*DM: As far as you could remember, was there any dissatisfaction in building realization of this project?*

P: There is always something with a project that you would like to have it done, more to the client, or maybe your own choices. When you looked back, you found something you wished to change a little bit, like color or something. I was very much like this. In my first years joining the project, I always focused on the small parts that was not perfect. It is easier ten years afterwards when you looked at it. In this project, we were very respectful to the ruins, and the ruins is going to be there forever. So we were doing it pretty in a reductionist way, as I have told you before. I am quite happy with the choices we have made. All the main choices with the construction, the detailing. I do not think there is anything I would have done different.

The overall concept is not mine, and that is Kjell Lund's. I never questioned about that, and I never felt I need to question about it. In a way, if you ask me personally, I do not disagree with it, and it is not something critical or something. I just think maybe it is a bit too literal with the vault. The vault has the great aspect of explaining the space, making it very clear space, very a church space. Maybe almost a little bit too much, in a way, if I would question one thing. But I am not saying that I could have done something better. I think the twitched shape is very nice. It has a metrical asymmetry, which is very great at the site. If you ask different architects, they would have different conceptual ideas about it.

*DM: Has the Lund & Slaatto been involved in many conservation architectural projects before and after this case?*

P: No. There are not many. It is quite a unique project. Lund & Slaatto has involved in church projects. I do not think there are many preservation architecture that is so big project as this one in Norway.

*DM: Does Lund & Slaatto has sort of preference in building projects?*

P: Something just happens along the way. Most of our projects are actually commercial projects at the time, what I would call rather high-profile office buildings. That is sort of 50% of our projects. There is a chance element in this, like you are invited into the competition of such projects, and then you get successful. We have done a lot of projects. We won an open competition this year with 18 participants. That was an information center, sort of museum, which situates close to a stave church. It is partly church function because the priests are going to have their offices there and pray room, and room for burial service and so on. It is a partly museum and partly church in a way. This sort of project is what we are trying now.

*DM: What is your impression about the museum people and the conservation people in the project?*

P: There is a person called Ragnar Pederson. He was the most involved person in the project, playing an important part. He was always very interested in discussion and he gave us a lot of other perspectives in conservation, humanistic and historical side of the museum. He is a very humanistic person. He is very concerned with how the building is going to work, and how the space is going to be working, the feeling of the building. Very nice person to work with.

*DM: As an architect, what kind of work do you think make a good architecture?*

P: We have talked quite a lot about it. It is difficult to say in a few words. I often compare architecture to music because music is another my biggest interest. You can put words on it, but when it comes to the final level, it is something about your experience. You can not actually reduce artistic quality in two words. It is a directly-felt experience. Of course, you could go back to sort of analyse what makes this building such a good building, or what makes such museum such a good museum, and you would find certain answers, but there is always something which can not be said, which is the actual beauty. I am not afraid to use the word beauty because beauty is very common word, but on the fundamental level, we are talking about beauty. This

hard building has certain sense of beauty, a fundamental way of beauty, not in the pleasure or easy way. The fundamental beauty requires that you have to work to understand it, to experience it in a more fundamental way.

There are some architects I am not quite impressed with, of course. But of course, there are many architects who work quite differently from us. I have the deepest respect for them. Like music, there are different kinds of music. They are fantastic in their own ways. There are different ideologies. We could only work on our paths. You have to be true to yourself. I think all good artistic expressions have to with the notion that you really have to strive far enough, to push as far as you can, you have to realize certain qualities and certain characteristics. Architecture has less to do with how things look than people imagine. It has much more to do with how things are felt, and also in the fundamental way how things are understood. The spatial quality, the tactile quality, and its intellectual quality. All those together. If I must say what kind of architecture that does not appeal to me, I think it is the one that lacks in quality. You could always feel they were drawn on the to-dimensional paper. It may look nice, and not as a whole building. It is an easy way to make, and we are living in a commercial world. Of course, many people take the easy way. It is a very big question.

*DM: Besides Lund & Slaato, do you have any architectural heroes in your mind?*

P: I would not say one or two. Just like I love music and there are so many musicians that I admire. There are so many architects that I admire.

*DM: This parametric design and building information modeling become rather important topics in design field, how it the application of this sort of related way of working in Lund & Slaatto?*

P: It is a very relevant side of the *Vernebygget* because of this complex geometry. We do not work with this kind of complex geometry every day. It is sort of limited with the projects you have. We are very fascinated by it. We have done some of the convincing examples of complex geometry and architecture. We would like to do more of that, but as I have said, it is a question of opportunity as well. It is high-cost building. But we know how to handle the complex geometry in the firm. It would be an ambition to be more part of that.

*DM: How do you know about Chinese architecture?*

P: We have seen a lot of interesting Chinese architecture and it would be nice to go to China. China is developing fast, and so it is difficult to have the overall view. We have talked about it and we should probably try to understand better of it.

*DM: That is all my questions. I have some other practical questions to ask. I am wondering if I could get the authorization for using some drawings and illustrations of the project.*

P: No problem.

*DM: Thank you so much for the interview. (End of the Interview)*

## Appendix VIII Interview with Tor Sæther on the Hedmark Museum

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<sup>1</sup> The translation of this interview in Chinese was selected to be published in Column of “Conservation Dialogue,” *Community Design* (Beijing: Tsinghua University, China Architecture & Building Press).



## Interview with Tor Sæther on the Hedmark Museum

**Time:** ca. 12:30-14:15

**Date:** Thursday, October 4, 2012

**Place:** Hedmark Museum, Hamar

**Interviewee:** Tor Sæther

**Interviewer:** XU Dongming

### **About the Interviewee:**

Tor Sæther was the curator at the Hedmark Museum, and the leader of Cultural and Historical Section of Anno Museum (present name for the Hedmark County Museum). As an archaeologist, he has been working for 34 years at the Hedmark museum since 1983, and been involved in comprehensive archaeological research of the excavation site in the museum and writing the history of Hamarkaupangen (name of the medieval town of Hamar).

*DM: Firstly, could you make a brief introduction to your professional background and your role in the Hedmark Museum?*

Tor: My role in the museum is the curator, which is my title. I mostly work with medieval ruins, the conservation of them, and the archeological excavation. (DM: And you have been trained as archeologist) and Medieval historians. I studied archeology and medieval history in the university. For some years I work with the excavations in Oslo, and some years in the Department of the Environment which is responsible for the remains of the past.

*DM: When did you come to Hamar?*

Tor: I came to Hamar in 1983. I have been involved in many conservation projects, but not the building part of the old museums which was already there when I started here. I mean the old part of the museum. There are also two other buildings built by Fehn, and I worked a lot with those two. I took some part in the archaeological excavation there, but most projects are about the site museums.

*DM: Could you explain in detail about your role in those conservation projects? I mean the two buildings you have mentioned.*

Tor: My role with those buildings was to look after the building process that the ruins was not destroyed because those things can happen. Things can fall down and destroy the ruins. So I watched it, I was with the archeological excavation before the building started. The building was finished in 2005 and the excavation started in 1990s.

*DM: Could you say something about your responsibility as a curator in the museum?*

Tor: It is about looking after the medieval ruins, making plans for the conservations, applying for money, which is very important. Also, I also take part in making exhibitions.

*DM: As for those two conservation projects, how were they carried out, through competition or direct commission to the architects?*

Tor: With those two buildings, we just asked Sverre Fehn. I think that was just natural. But the glass dome over the cathedral was a competition. It was more natural to ask Sverre Fehn because he has done the rest of it.

*DM: What about the conditions about those archeological sites? I see that there are some works going on.*

Tor: We have been working there for three years. Before they started to make the museum, the excavation had been finished. They decided to conserve the ruins with cement, which was proved to be too hard for the ruins. So we take all the cement away, and put in some lime mortar. A lot of stones have cracked and we glued them together. Of course we have taken a lot of pictures during the process. When the building was done there, we took the concrete away from the ruins, and suddenly we found some old stairs inside the wall. We try to preserve the stairs, making it visible for the people. We were planning some glass protection around that part of the wall so that people can see inside. We have a plan for the conservation for the whole ruins. It needs a lot of money, so we take one part at a time. Next year we will start with the long wall going up there.

*DM: Is there going to be some temporary protection building for the ruins?*

Tor: On top of the walls, we plan to put a special kind of clay and grass there.

*DM: So that can be seen as a kind of protection for the ruins.*

Tor: Yes, earlier they used concrete, that is too hard, so now we use soft clay.

*DM: I think that is a common way. We also use similar ways to archeological sites in China. In China, most of the ruins are under the earth, even weaker than this. So we put another sort of clay on it.*

Tor: Some of the ruins, it is necessary to put on some new stone to prevent the old part to fall down.

*DM: They could be distinguished from the old ones.*

Tor: We put some marks on where the wall is new.

*DM: As a user, how do you feel about the different features between the different protection buildings? I mean the Storhamar Låven by Sverre Fehn and the glass Vernebygget by Kjell Lund.*

Tor: With the cathedral ruins, I think it is very interesting. I was also a little skeptical about putting that much technology into keeping the ruins. But I think it functions very well. The contrast between the old ruins and modern architecture is very interesting. That is also the case with the building of Sverre Fehn. The contrast is very interesting, and it may help to understand the old buildings. The Storhamar barn was

built in around 1740, so Sverre Fehn's job is to renovate it and put his new structure inside it.

*DM: At that time, the archeological site has already been excavated, right?*

Tor: They (archaeological excavation) were almost finished in 1964, I think, except for the two spots outside there. Shortly after that, they started to plan to make it possible for people to see it. It happened that the director of the museum, who is an architect himself and know Fehn, and he asked Sverre Fehn to take the job. I think the museum was mostly finished in 1974.<sup>1</sup>

*DM: As for the protection building for the cathedral ruins, you were already here when the project started?*

Tor: Yes, but I had very little to do with that. We had the director Ragnar Pederson at that time. My task was just to ... I took part in the archaeological excavations.

*DM: For that building, have the cathedral ruins been constantly monitored?*

Tor: They are constantly monitoring it. They check the moisture inside the walls, which is still very high. They checked if the ruins have moved.

*DM: Last time when I visited here, I have heard some complaints from the museum staff here about the winter in the Storhamarlåven ...*

Tor: It is not open during the winter. It is a problem to have a museum building that you can not use in the winter. We have to take away the most important objects and put them to the normal places. There are also problems in the summer. The glass structure (cabinet) is very difficult to put things in. They are very difficult to maintain if you put something new then you have to have five men working. It is very difficult to get the dust inside them out. For some reasons, they let in the dust. There is also problem with the exhibition made by Sverre Fehn. You can not change it because it is important monument in itself, which makes it very difficult to run a museum. We try to put small exhibition inside the old one. It is also difficult in the winter when you want to open some of the doors. You noticed that people there, you have to be very tall to take away the ice. You can say that we love it, and we hate it. It depends.

*DM: Is it very expensive for the maintenance?*

Tor: It has not been much. We have a fund that we can use if something goes wrong with it. The only maintenance has not done yet is to have the new tar on the roof here.

*DM: How often the cleaning is needed for the glass protection building (Vernebygget)?*

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<sup>1</sup> The archaeological excavation for the site was from 1947 to 1960. In 1967, Fehn was commissioned to design the barn into a museum. The construction work began in 1969, completed in 1971 with the north and west wings, then in 1973 with the south wing of the auditorium. The exhibition work was commissioned and completed from 1976 to 1980. See Ragnar Pedersen, *Storhamarlåven - en visuell oppdagelsesreise Sverre Fehns arkitektur* (Hedmarksmuseet og Domkirkeodden, 2004), p. 16.

Tor: Two times a year. When it is about the glass cathedral, it is the Riksantikvar who pays for the cleaning of the glass and the heating, all the kinds of maintenance. We do not have to worry about that.

*DM: Is the glass protection building also used by the church? How often is it?*

Tor: I think they have nine times a year. It is free for the church. When people want to marry there, nearly every Saturday we have weddings. They pay around 7,000 NOK to the museum.

*DM: Is there any other activities held in that building?*

Tor: There are a lot of concerts, and some theatres. We do not have funeral there. It is mostly concert.

*DM: How often is it?*

Tor: I think, it depends on whether it is a large or small concert. Large concerts with some artists from around the world, which is four or five times a year. Small groups wanting to play there, it must be around ten times a year.

*DM: All the concerts were arranged by the museum or other organizations?*

Tor: The other organizations ask for permission to use the glass cathedral, and they pay some rent for it. For large concerts, people also pay for the tickets.

*DM: AS for the running expenses for the museum, how much percentage coming from the national level and how much percentage from the county or the income of the museum?*

Tor: It is difficult to tell. The whole budget of the museum is around 45 % from the state, and some money from the municipality here, maybe three million, and the rest from the county.

*DM: What is the annual income of the museum?*

Tor: The annual budget is around 15 million NOK.

*DM: What about the visitors? How many visitors from Norway and how many from around the world?*

Tor: We have around 35,000 visitors a year. A large percent of visitors comes within Norway. Not many international visitors, otherwise mostly architects. We also have problems with the visitors. Some of them tried to climb on the old walls, which is not allowed but difficult to persuade them not to do so. If many did that, the ruins would be fallen down sooner or later. Some of the stones have very little conservation work, which make them vulnerable from the people who want to touch them or climb on them. We must prevent touching and climbing from the visitors, so we have given the architects very clear message. They have made the ramp which kept quite a distance from the walls so that people could not touch it. That functions very well.

*DM: It seems that most of the ruins here are masonry construction...*

Tor: It cracks all the time because of the coldness in the winter.

*DM: What about the Cathedral ruins inside the protection building?*

*Tor: That is much better.*

*DM: Most of the ruins in China are rammed earth structure, and they are very fragile when you open it. Ten or twenty years ago, we used a lot of chemical ways to protect it, which was sort of suicide. It would work for some time, but suddenly it could collapse... For the glass cathedral, I have heard something from Steiner. He mentioned that at the beginning there were leaking problem...*

Tor: Not leaking problem, it is condensation. In the winter, we want to keep the temperature inside the building. We gave some heating, but it was too much heating and it started to 'rain' inside.

*DM: The glass is not double-layer glass?*

Tor: No, it is thick but one layer. The water coming down was condensed from the moisture inside the building. But that was not a leaking problem. There was no water coming through the glass.

*DM: There is a heating system inside the glass cathedral?*

Tor: Yes, but the heating system is not inside. It is about 30 meters away underground where the area was heated and transported to the building.

*DM: But for the Storhamarlåven by Sverre Fehn, there is no heating system?*

Tor: No, there is no heating. As long as the ruins are kept dry, it is fine.

*DM: I have a question about some basic information of the museum. How many staffs are working at the museum? And what are their professional backgrounds?*

Tor: Twenty-three. We have two curators, and people in architecture and history. We have two conservators, looking after the objects and the preservation of them, not only for the museum, but for the whole county. We have two photographers. One mason, and two carpenters. And people who take after other things, like mowing the lawns and two persons for the administration. And three who are responsible for receiving visitors, like receiving the school children.

*DM: As for the two conservation projects you have mentioned, how was the work carried out? How did you communicate with the architects to present your ideas?*

Tor: With an architect like Sverre Fehn, that is quite difficult. We had a couple of meetings where we presented our ideas like the ruins should not be possible for visitors to touch or climb; the ruins should be kept dry; the ruins should be kept dry

with no leaking problem. He listened to that although the ruins now have some problem with moisture, not because the moisture from the earth, but because there is left space between the concrete and the glass with much snowing coming in. We are planning to do something about that.

*DM: What was your impression with the architects during the communication process?*

Tor: Fehn was a very interesting man to talk with, and he was very interested in history, cultural history, and of course in this museum.

*DM: I noticed that in the two new on-going projects, the architectural approach that Fehn adopted has become much lighter, not like the concrete...*

Tor: There is a lot of concrete actually. I agree, it is kind of lighter. The shape he has made there is because the cellar was extended there as a vault. It is cracked in the middle, but it is coming up like this. We just repeated that form. We discussed about it in the beginning.

*DM: As to the way you communicate with the architect, how was the meeting, I mean the people involved?*

Tor: I think we had two initial meetings in Oslo with the architect. He made some drawings, and we looked at them and we discussed about the drawings and some alteration to the drawings. After that we mainly communicated with his assistant because he was very old at that time. During the project, we had meetings going through what the next step should be, solving issues that had appeared.

*DM: What are the main contents of the preservation? Is it mainly about the archbishop palace?*

Tor: Yes, it is mainly about the bishop palace. Some of the exhibition is about the whole town, like the farm life around here in the 1600, 1700 or 1800. Another part of the museum is about prehistory, the time before the Middle Age, like the Viking age, things excavated in the municipality around Hamar. One-ninth of the exhibition is about that, and this part was not done by Sverre Fehn. We have our offices at the place and we have moved the offices over here, and put the prehistoric exhibition in there. I made it with the local architect, who is an admirer of Sverre Fehn. So he made it his own, but trying to make it getting along with Sverre Fehn's things. That was about 1984, I think. The central part of the museum is about the Bishop palace.

*DM: When I interviewed Steiner, he mentioned that there was quite much resistance from the local community against the Glass Protection building before the project.*

Tor: Yes, they have collected signatures of the people who were against it, about 3000 signatures, I think. They wanted to keep it look exactly like what the ruins looked like when they were children or at their parents' age. It is a tradition: they walked around it and looked at it on Sundays. Of course, it was free to look at it. Some people wanted to take away the ruins and rebuild the cathedral, not knowing that it would cost maybe a billion. *Riksantikvaren* had a discussion about it, with some for it and some against it. *Riksantikvaren* wanted to go through the project. When the glass

building was finished, it did not take long time before everybody liked it. Then there were no more protests from the people in Hamar. Even the people who protested it most strongly, she had her daughter married in the cathedral some years ago.

*DM: Could you give some comments about the conflicts between different experts and common people? If we looked back in the history, we could see that it is not always the case that the experts are right, and the experts could be wrong as well.*

Tor: People nowadays are more well-educated. They discussed the expertise when it is about cultural history, but not the knowledge like their dentists have. Even if we tried to give a lot of information about the status of the ruins, I do not think people quite understand what was really happening to them. It is almost impossible for to say to them like "In ten years, the ruins would fall down." They would not believe it. Once we had a journalist there, and a stone just came down, and then the press started to understand it. It was very difficult. I gave lectures about it, and Ragnar made lectures as well. Some antikvariats told people about it. When the project was done, people started to think that it is quite beautiful. It is very popular to go to the concert there, to have weddings there, etc. The sound effect inside there is just like in the cathedral. Church music is very beautiful there.

*DM: How do you think about this popular idea from museology, like Ecomuseum, encouraging local people to get involved in the management of the museum?*

Tor: We have very little of that. Once in a year we have medieval festival, and then we have a lot of people who want to help us. We appreciate it very much, and they come and do some certain jobs. But for the rest work of the museum, we do not involve the local population. The museum has some friendly relationship with some organizations, which collect money for the museum. But they are not involved in the daily running of the museum.

*DM: How is the connection between the museum and the local people?*

Tor: We have a lot of groups from school children coming. They write something about the museum, and they come and ask questions. We show them things, and we have a lot of programs for school children. Sometimes during the year, I sometimes have special lectures telling people about excavations in more details than usual tour guide could give. It is very popular, especially if we have special arrangement during the evening like 22:00 with only candle lights walking down the ruins and medieval cellars. In August, there were around 100 people, and it was very difficult to talk to all of them. So it is very popular.

*DM: How many times is it holding event like that? I mean the candle light.*

Tor: Twice a year.

*DM: From the different approaches from different conservation work, do you think they were influenced by the changing of conservation ideas?*

Tor: Of course. It is very difficult to make an architecture which does not kill the ruins. I mean it is the ruins that you should see, not the architecture. It is important

for the people to go and see the cathedral from outside, no need to pay for that. But when you get inside, it is totally different experience. The glass building also changed the ideas of the people who were against it, who were afraid that they could not see the ruins anymore. Now, they still could see the ruins from the outside. People were worried that the glass would get dirty and dusty. I have also used the Glass Pyramid at the Louvre as my argument for the glass building.

*DM: Do you any clue about the shape of the glass building? Why it has that shape?*

Tor: Because it has repeated the shape of the cathedral, and it underlines the shape of the cathedral. When you get in, the glass structure really helps you to understand the shape of the cathedral.

*DM: Thank you so much for your time.*

(End of the Interview)

## Appendix IX Interview with Ragnar Pedersen on the Hedmark Museum

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<sup>1</sup> This interview was taken in Norwegian with the assistance of Dag Nilsen. The translation in Chinese of this interview was selected to be published in Column of “Conservation Dialogue,” *Community Design* (Beijing: Tsinghua University, China Architecture & Building Press).



## Interview with Ragnar Pedersen on the Hedmark Museum

**Time:** ca. 10:30-15:30 (English translation included)

**Date:** Tuesday, February 26, 2013

**Place:** Hedmark Museum, Hamar

**Interviewee:** Ragnar Pedersen

**Interviewer:** Dag Nilsen, XU Dongming

### **About the Interviewee:**

Ragnar Ernst Pedersen (1941-2016) was the former director of the Hedmark Museum from 1976 to 1997, and the chief curator from 1987 to 2008. He was also a professor in ethnology and cultural history at the University of Oslo (UiO) from 1988 to 2011. As an ethnologist and museologist, he was deeply involved in several building projects at the Hedmark Museum, and wrote several books and numerous articles about these projects, as well as on local cultural heritage conservation and history in Hamar, including editing the year book of the Hedmark Museum.

*D: It was Sverre Fehn who designed the exhibition at Storhamarlåven?*

R: Well, yes, it is a sort of teamwork. He designed the whole exhibition, but the exhibition items were chosen by us in the museum.

*D: Yes, of course.*

R: I need to mention one thing. I think Sverre Fehn was easy to work with under certain circumstances. It is lucky that I have art history background and could speak his language. If there was something I was not satisfied with, I would say "It is overdrawn, maybe you should make it simpler," and Fehn would adopt it right away.

Precisely speaking, there is something essential for the Storhamar barn. That is, I had to translate my notions to visual notions. If one wants to understand the barn, one has to also realize that not everyone can understand the visual language. ... I have worked closely together both with Kjell Lund and Sverre Fehn.

*D: It might be interesting to know some differences between them two.*

R: Yes, there are some differences. Sverre Fehn is a better pedagogue, that is, he can explain things to manual laborers and the workers there. Those workers did not understand the drawings. And then he took the board and demonstrated.

*D: So Kjell Lund, he did not have quite the same...*

R: No. Kjell Lund kept some distance there. He had his concept, but he could not explain it so well to the manual laborers. So there are some small rebellions up in the shelter... But those two architects do share some common features. Both are philosophical in his own way. I would say that both of them are in structure form because they both think of structure.

*D: We can talk a little bit about the notion structuralism in architecture. It is a word coming from...*

R: From linguistics.

*D: It was a time that the architects were interested in French philosophy. There was a need to find a word for this new way of building, or we can say a new way to plan big buildings. Just as Norges Bank in Oslo or Dragvoll at the university in Trondheim. That is, to just make square modules, in three dimensions and then fill these with anything. And it was a Swedish, I would say “would-be” theorist that called it structuralism. And suddenly it was called structuralism because everything was in a square grid shape.*

R: We can say it with a daily notion: there is a logic and rationality in it. Sverre Fehn’s rationality, the visual rationality, is easy to understand, at least for me.

*D: Yes, Sverre Fehn is very clear about how he structures his plans or buildings.*

R: Yes, or maybe we can use another notion: constructionist. He constructs.

*D: Yes, he builds from the ground up so to speak... John Boyer Godal, the one with traditional roof constructions... He cares a lot about structure, the structure of the building. He thinks that the construction of the roof is the starting point for Norwegian wood buildings. And we should consider from the roof, and then think down to the bottom. In other words, everything is decided by the top part.*

R: No, I think I can use another notion we used in our field. That is format. The whole building is a sort of format. You cannot think of the roof separately. You have to see the whole building’s body. It is a format... I have a college in Norwegian Folk museum that is working on rehabilitating a medieval loft that the Directorate for cultural heritage has tried to rehabilitate before. And there we see a clear... error. The whole loft is a format. You cannot just focus on the roof.

D: Exactly. Everything is connected.

*R: Are there more questions?*

*D: The first questions is: can you make a short introduction of your personal background, and your role in the museum?*

R: My background? I was educated in cultural history, ethnology, or we can say anthropology, cultural anthropology. And my subject field is art history. Art history gave me some essential knowledge, which is also a sort of visual training. In 1976, I began to work as the director for the museum. At that time the museum was finished. The director before me was Per Marin Tvengsberg.

*D: It was he who had hired Sverre Fehn.*

R: Sverre Fehn was his teacher at the architectural school. At the time, the director was allowed to choose the architect directly without any competition.

*D: Yes, Per Martin is an architect. I forgot that.*

R: Per Martin was very open to modern architectural expressions. Should I say something about the conditions for the exhibition? First, Fehn did not want to recreate a fiction of the past. As he said, it should be “The simple, bare object”. Fehn cared a lot about ‘authenticity’. If you make a fiction, then you falsify history. We have to look at the background at the beginning of 1970s. Especially in Sweden there is the pedagogic illustration way of exhibition with a lot of texts and pictures, and the exhibition objects almost disappeared in the context. I remembered there was an exhibition about the 1000 years of Sweden.

*D: Yes, I was there as well.*

R: They had a mounted elk hound, and a spray with the smell of barn. But that was expensive, and they only used it on Sundays. And Fehn wanted to take away all the context, namely the pictures and texts, and he only wanted to keep the objects there. This is possible, especially for open-air museums because it is impossible to duplicate the natural surroundings of open-air museums.

Fehn's exhibition philosophy was an aggression to the philosophy at that time, I would say. thirty to forty years after Sverre Fehn's museology, it is very interesting to see that people begin to talk about things: how the exhibition objects influence us and the objects influencing power in itself. Exhibition objects create the atmosphere and at the same time create the associations. This idea is prevailing in museum world today. If you, for example, look at the National Museum in Belin, you see such arrangements there. Objects themselves must convey themselves.

However, under that social democratic background, especially in the Swedish philosophical pedagogy, Fehn was regarded as a provocation. For museums, there are two difficulties. First, we have to choose the objects which bear huge meaning, that is, it has a big potential for lots of information. Second, the objects must play well with the architecture. The second point is what I think about, not Fehn. It was tremendous space there, so we got to use some threshing machines and liquor apparatus to take up the room.

*D: Fehn had not thought about this?*

R: No, not in the first place. It was me who had to propose it.

*D: Yes, you had to do that with such a big space.*

R: something big, something monumental, otherwise it became ruined.

*D: Sure thing. You have to have something standing there so that you can also see the small things. I have not ever thought of that.*

R: It was difficult. The liquor apparatus saved us. Fehn's idea is that people should walk on the ramps and look at the objects through different ways, namely, which thing should be looked at from different angles. However, not many people get Fehn's intention.

Fehn went to agricultural institute, so it was not difficult for him to explain each objects' working ways. I think there are three things Fehn wants to convey. The first one is honesty which is his own concept, and the second one is authenticity. The last one is the objects' own value, or we can say, the objects' own influencing power.

These I have mentioned in the orientation of the museum, but I did not see the depth of this until recently. Sverre Fehn is keenly aware of the drama and the damage when he looked at *Storhamarlåven*: people's unwiseness or aggression in the past. I recently read something about the German philosopher Martin Heidegger, and he said: Common tools you are in, you are a tool in the usage. You do not philosophize about how you ride a bike, you are in the bike.

*D: Yes, once you start thinking about it, you fall.*

R: Yes, it is a dialog between the bicycle and oneself. But if you are to really understand an object, according to Heidegger, it has to be a damaged one. It must be something that....

*D: Yes, that is when you see it.*

R: Then you can see something. That is the depth of Sverre Fehn. I did not get it until I read Heidegger recently. I do not think anyone has understood or found out the depth of Sverre Fehn's philosophy. I did not get it until recently.

*D: Is there anything that is out of your understanding of utility?*

R: This is a very interesting point. Then we can go to the pedagogic.

*D: People get the whole thing here. At the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> century there were picturesque understanding of things. People look at the things than what they really are in themselves.*

R: Just like the Storhamar barn. The barns needs a special approach. That is why, some of the pedagogues became provoked in the beginning. Because Fehn is, I do not know what it is called in the architecture field, but I will call it depth-focus, or to grasp the depth of the intention. It is a demanding intellectual process so that the barn becomes meditative.

*D: Concerning Heidegger and Fehn, I can see some connection with Christian Norberg-Schulz. Christian Norberg-Schulz was older than Fehn, and he was a great theorist.*

R: He has actually written *Intentions in Architecture*.

*D: That was regarded as the most thoroughly written book. That was the adaption of his PhD thesis. He is very interested in Heidegger.*

R: I think there is something common between him and Sverre Fehn. Schulz's book has been translated in English as well, I think.

*D: It was first published in English.*

R: I read Norberg-Schulz because in my area we have quite a lot of theories about material culture and that helped me to understand Fehn. But he was very interested in this business with destruction and...The worst thing you could say about architecture was that it was indifferent, and the best thing you could say about it was that it was aggressive.

*D: Because it was attacking in some way.*

R: Yes, attacking. Attacking the feeling and the intellect. This is the way that you get a dialog going.

*D: There is some heavy art modernism in that.*

R: Yes, it is the modernism of art and installation. This is another place where he was ahead of his time.

*D: I remembered there was also some critique of Knut Knutsen at that time. That he had so little aggression in his own expression that he would rather hide it. That he was just going with the*

*terrain and hiding everything...And the question: should the protection building be always subordinated to the ruin?*

R: That is quite a discussion. It is kind of the same with *Storhamarlåven*. There was tension between the architecture and Culture Conservation. It did not like that *Vernebygget's* technical is possible to be reached. It is a subjective experience. Some feel that *Vernebygget* has deprived the ruin of its power.

*D: Really...*

R: It is a strong construction. It is a matter of subjectivity when we talk about the visual strength because to find the balance point is kind of in the eye of the beholder. I have heard of such comments. When you go in the *Vernebygget*, the ruins become very small. When you stand outside the *Vernebygget*, the ruins become very big. Therefore some people claim that *Vernebygget* has minimalized the ruins. But some others claim that when you come in, the room formation exposes the ruin and the rest of it is in proper position. In other words, the room has positioned the ruin as a building.

He was a little bit unlucky, Dag Myklebust.<sup>1</sup> There was the a public meeting and Dag Myklebust stated that *Domkirkeruinene* is more than just a open-air sculpture and that had raised very strong reaction.

*D: Exactly. It functioned as one park furniture on Storhamarlåven.*

R: Yes. It is like a big side scene behind a romantic garden.

*D: It was really a landmark at that time.*

R: The balancing between a cultural monument object and architecture. Ideally speaking, and this is my understanding, they should be reinforcing each other. I do not think we can find a complete balance because they are in different time space. When people are talking about their understanding of *Storhamarlåven*, they often think if it is a museum of Sverre Fehn's or the exhibition objects. For me it is a museum of both. Some people only see the concrete and such things.

*D: Yes, most people concentrate on what they have in their head.*

R: It is a matter of understanding. You could demand architecture suits everyone, and then it depends on individual's feelings on the basis of understanding.

*D: Exactly. There is a point very few people have got it in management.*

R: They do not get it. They always hold the popular ideas there.

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<sup>1</sup> Dag Myklebust was the former Department Head and Senior Advisor at Riksantikvaren (Norwegian Directorate of Cultural Heritage). He received a Master's Degree in Art History from the University of Oslo (UiO) in 1979 and worked with Building Preservation at Riksantikvaren since 1984. From 1991, he shifted to international work, representing Norway in the Cultural Heritage Committee in the Council of Europe. He has also made research on and written about the early history of Riksantikvaren. See the Official Website of Norwegian Directorate of Cultural Heritage: <http://www.riksantikvaren.no/Aktuelt/Nyheter/2014/MED-VILJE-OG-VITEN.-Om-kulturminnevern-i-Norge>

*D: I do not think they will go so far. That is technocratic way of thinking. Where there is a cause, there is a consequence. It is one to one. That is the way bureaucratic has to work.*

R: This is a discussion concerning principles and that can create a lot of new ideas other than the common discussions. This is something Sverre Fehn said. It is a meeting, at a deeper level. And how can you articulate and arrange that meeting?

*D: Yes, it is a meeting. It happens at a certain time and what happens when the moment is gone?*

R: I think that is the essence of his work. A meeting. It pushes at the boundaries. Because you are attempting to enter a past.

*D: In principle , to go into the past is impossible.*

R: It is a philosophical question. Fehn was characterized with the past's otherness. I mean, since we are all human beings, then we can to some extent come close in the power of our humanness. There is something in common between what we think and those who lived before us. I do not want to go as far as Sigrid Undset: "The heart of man never changes."

*D: There is a pattern we stick to, for the most part anyway.*

R: Just like the relation between architecture and cultural monument. It is actually a network. A lot of opinion in the field. Not many are making arguments or problematizing the field. They often say what is contradictory to what the architects mean, for example, Sverre Fehn or Kjell Lund. Although Fehn and Lund themselves said that "I do not have any other intention than to expose the cultural monument", still others might feel that it is a 'ego-trip.'

*D: In spite of the exposure and even if he did not do it as an 'ego-trip,' it became something other than what it was before it was exposed.*

R: It is impossible to restore it to its original state.

*D: No matter how honest you want to be and keep it, it will be gone or some parts of it will be gone.*

R: Something is gone and something is brought in. It is important that the new-added element is positive to the cultural monument to the largest extent. You are getting enough information to fill a lecture now. You could give a lecture about this.

*D: Yes, I do occasionally lecture on this subject.*

R: The popular understanding of architecture is always about adaptation, that is, to be alike. I think it is very interesting that you can never escape your own time. I had taken students to the Norwegian National Museum and Gol Stave Church. I had asked them to analyze this entrance part and that is of course Dragestil (Dragon style). You can see it at once. The drawing system is impure as related to the original church.

*D: Some people have taken the familiar from, but arrange it in a modern way. Those who are familiar with the form pattern can still see it at once although they are not used to see it. Then it becomes sort of like a doodle that belongs to that place.*

R: As for the *Vernebygget* by Kjell Lund, there was the past as I mentioned although no one sees it. The module system is the same, from which we get some space experience. Maybe the most important thing is that acoustics create the atmosphere. This is what it was like in the Middle Ages. I do not know how it was in the Middle Ages, but there is a reason to believe that. It is very abstract, a contact with the past.



D: That is the point, the acoustics. I think it is open to many people. But no one sees the module system.

R: Sometimes the architects do not see it.

D: The architects nowadays do not know the ups and downs of a folded ruler.

D: There is a meeting in the *Vernebygget*. Two meeting places: between the past and the present. The first point is the acoustics and the sound and the second point is not alike the past but I think it is the past's atmosphere with the light. The light which comes from the top make it to some extent in the basilica, but it is dark at the bottom. If you evaluate it as architecture, I would... I have experienced that and many others have experienced that. It is a light architecture. For example, it is very popular for Christmas Eve church service. When the snow falls on the building, cold inside, there was the light and sound 'happening'. Light and sound are important architectural tools. During the Middle Ages people were more aware of that than today. Fehn was very aware of the light at the place. It is a similarity or meeting with the past at many levels.

D: What is your opinion on the quality of good work and bad work for a conservation project or archeological site museum.

R: We can not just set one formula, but I can say that there is something about it in what we have talked about. The first point is that it must meet the cultural monument's authenticity. We discussed the interaction between the architecture and the cultural monument, and I think this is a conclusion. That is, how conscious the architect has worked with those questions, in some way, made a personal and intellectual message in the architecture. It is not just something simplistic. There is an intention and message outside the pure technic form. Both Fehn and Lund has a philosophy, a life philosophy behind what they have done. This we can find through the architecture or through what they convey or express. For me, that is the sign of quality. Then there is of course aesthetic and handwork's quality and such kind of things. The most important thing is that it can show that the cultural monument was conveyed through architect's message for our time.

*D: This is what we have talked about: the contrast between a good work for archeological museum or conservation project, or bad architectural work.*

R: This is what we work with. There are problems both for the architecture and museums. There is usually some conventions and there is some limits which has to be broken for each side.

*D: There are conventions attached to different professions. Musemologists have their own conventions, and so do the architects. I have seen this a lot in my own interaction with the society in architecture. I was wondering "why people do not understand it?" However, it is just like I do not understand football.*

*It is just like what some museum people have complained about the utility difficulties with Storhamarlåven as a museum , and the weak points of using the other two small protection buildings. Many famous architects' works are not quite user-friendly. How do you think of this issue?*

R: This problem has become a primary issue. It is just like lyric poetry: This is art, should it be understood by all the people? Should lyrical poetry be understood by everyone? Or is there a need to demand some depth. Then you have to take some time to come closer because it demands some deeper understanding and intellectual efforts.

*D: This also concerns the practical uses.*

R: You have to distinguish the surface focus and the deep focus. I can not deny it that there are some difficulties in practical uses in *Storhamarlåven*.

*D: Actually it depends on what you are emphasizing. For the architects, they want to express their intensions which they think will give the best balance. But this can of course create some utility difficulties.*

R: There are some basic differences. Both Kjell Lund and Sverre Fehn are quite visual-oriented. They are quite into using a lot of visual elements. But many museum people and museum pedagogues read the materials as a literature text. Now I am reading modern museumology, and there is a change about the exhibition objects' own value. So the objects themselves are something, and they are not just an expression or representation for other things that precede them.

*D: But still they have those things together.*

R: They have something direct. Museum pedagogic should evaluate the knowledge and it is bounded with language and certain knowledge. Something with experience, visual impression. But the visitors are not so quite into these.

*D: This is some flexibility with the room.*

R: Storhamarlåven had been ideally flexible with the exhibition's room. But it is quite rigid in construction. You can not take out something without ruining others. It is a finished work and you can regard as a whole part , an art work or a sculpture.

I think it is worth having restorations and museum exhibitions from different time periods. It gives us rom to see how time has thought. Many museum people are in the grips of modernity. The more modern it is , the more attractive it is.

I can tell a personal example about this. I brought the Hamar History association to Tøyen. It was a modern exhibition, a complete 'happening'. It was so dark, and it is not something for the near-sighted people, the whole illustration. The Riksantikvaren has reserved the museum hall, and there was the contrast. It was gigant mahogany display cabinets. I saw how the whole assembly was relaxed when they came in this. There was a lot of effect, the sound, the light, the pictures, but there were quite few exhibition objects.

*D: Atmosphere is the explanation.*

R: I am quite pluralistic, and that is something you learn from different expressing forms. Many people put what is quite conventional behind. That is the safest opinion.

*D: Why was it decided to have a competition for Vernebygget, but Storhamrlåven was directly appointed to the architect.*

R: *Storhamarlåven* is a direct task, but *Vernebygget* had an official competition according to the Norwegian competition rules.

*D: Sverre Fehn is the teacher of Per Martin Sverrige who was the former director of Storhamarlåven.*

R: I have to say there is one issue working with Fehn at least if we think on the bureaucratic side. These small conservation buildings Fehn has planned also had a certain budget. Then everyone thought that was the way it should be. Fehn has worked all the time with it, and he made changes throughout the process. This has led to a lot of extra expenses. On the northern side , there is very big space, 14X14 meters, and it is very low. This is a loadbearing wall or the front wall, and so he wanted some very solid shelves to carry the roof rafters. Technically speaking, it was quite unnecessary, but visually speaking, it has made the room quite open.

*D: The new modern building bureaucratic regulations, I think, are quite damaging for us because you can not see everything in advance.*

R: As a researcher, I understand it quite well. But not those in the bureaucracy, they become very angry.

*D: It is my experience as an architect. When the building is finished, you suddenly know what you should have done. It has not become what it should be.*

R: When we speak about the tasks, the competition, we have to look at the different time periods they were in. I think it is quite difficult to get a direct task. Maybe we should do it that way sometimes, but that is another question.

*D: Museum management, research, collection, exhibition, public activities, tourism... How many employees were there when you were the director? I mean the whole museum staff.*

R: When we started the project for *Låven*, there were four office positions: director, executive officer, assistant. When the *Storhamarlåven* had been commissioned, the number of staff was dramatically increased.

*D: So there was four permanent employees.*

R: Plus the craftsmen. But four were office staff, yes.

*D: That was before the barn. Then it grew.*

R: Because there came a new system for financing the museum in 1975, which meant a great increase in both finance and positions. So that it must be seen from its time period.

*D: How many employees today?*

R: I have to count. A director, a curator, an intermediary... It is a bit difficult, Hedmark county museum is included... It has been consolidated. I will go and ask the director. [goes out and returns] There are at least 20 employees today.

*D: And then is there communication between the Hedmark Museum and other museums?*

R: Now it has become a large unit in the county, Hedmark County Museum. So they have... That is one of the goals, to get cooperation between each unit.

*D: But then, earlier, it was exhibit exchange and ....*

R: We had the good cooperation with the Oldsaksamlingene and Riksantikvaren for the medieval items. So it has always been collegial cooperation in the museum sector... Now the county museum imposed forced cooperation. The thought of having larger units, specialization and such things.

*D: Then there is the issue with... Relations with the locals. How often are public activities held in the museum?*

R: The main activities are in the summer time. Then there are of course guides, and special events. There are some important: the medieval festival. Any age needs to have their festival. ... any decent museum should have a Christmas event. And also there are smaller events like ... lectures and special tours and such things.

*D: That is the way that most functioning museums have around the country. They tend to have ... as far as I understand it is important for museums to have events.*

R: Yes, it is events. You should have something ... What shall we call it ... it is event-oriented. So what might change ... in addition to what I have mentioned there is also much changes. There is a lot going on in the *Vernebygget*. But what has changed is that museums have changed from being knowledge institutions to centers of experience. It is this informal experience, which I call it a little

flippant for happening. You may not learn very much about the Middle Ages in medieval festival, but it will be something different. People dress up in medieval costumes, medieval craftsmen and all that ...

*D: Everything we old people do not feel so at home with. It was Kjersti Noak, She is retired now. She was there less than half an hour before she felt that she had to go.*

R: It is a bit the same as you have been in the medieval festival in Borggården in Trondheim.

*D: I know, I stay away. Shall we see ... there is a term: Eco-museum.*

R: It is completely out now, but it was a period. It was an ideology, a very prolific ideology that ... What characterizes ecology museum, at least before, was a dialogue with the population. And that the museum should be a motor, not necessarily that it should collect artifacts and documentation, but that it would get people to take care of their own things. Also, it was the decentralized museum, they moved not to the open-air museum but they...

*D: They had houses standing where they were.*

R: But that was then. With the new structures it is no longer possible. There has been strong centralization in the Norwegian museum area. So eco-museum is an outlier. But there was another thing that still remains. It is the museum like a dialog institn. You cannot lecture the audience. It is in some way a negotiation institution. One should negotiate with the audience or put it nicely: the audience will come with their knowledge so we come with ours, and out of this meeting a result. I call it often negotiation dissemination. So the knowledge is conveyed from the bottom up, not top - down. So, away with the authorities. And in that way Sverre Fehn is somewhat sidelined. Because both these buildings are authoritative. It is the authority that speaks.

*D: I remember I was in Canada, where the Eco-museum has gone partly out of fashion. Now they had found something called Economy-museums, which should provide for themselves. They should produce local stuff, local products ...*

R: It comes with inspiration from France, characterized by thoughts from Sweden. 'Dig where you stand.' ... But this is much ideology. From my mediating experience, it is that people are very happy to be told something they do not know. Then they learn to look ahead and see clearer. I think this is a misunderstanding of democracy. I learn from the craftsmen. Why should I negotiate with craftsmen when he knows much more and better than me?

*D: It is strange ... it is like democracy into a kind of parody.*

R: It is an outgrowth of democracy. One should learn from each other, rather than dumb it down.

*D: It is the same like why should one have three channels on TV... Does everything need to be customized?*

R: Now I think maybe we are seeing a counter reaction. That idea with the museum as a research and knowledge institution has come stronger again, like knowledge authority.

*D: Or at least that there is a reaction. The question is if someone in the bureaucracy has gone a bit too far, making change impossible. Some of these ideologies and thinking has been there for 10, 20*

*or 30 years since they have been petrified somewhere and then gets suspended again in some parts there ...*

R: There is something there. In the ministries, it is often very slow thought.

*D: When it comes ... We have talked a bit about the financing of Vernebygget...*

R: *Vernebygget* was financed. The problem was that: since there was much discussion and disagreement about it, the politicians wanted to get political legitimacy. It would also be financed locally. But based on the law as it was a state task. So it was financed through the donation from a lady, some from the local, but essentially the national budget, the Riksantikvarens budget.

*D: But the museum paid nothing for the building? The glass building?*

R: No, the museum pays nothing for the building.

*D: No because it is primarily ...*

R: We even get money for maintenance. Or, we have to have a technician to control the computer system ... Even mundane things are hard enough, like washing this building. There is a lot of advanced technology.

*D: Yes, and it would malfunction if you do not take care of it.*

R: Riksantikvaren pay daily operation and if there are any special maintenance tasks.

*D: And the same applies to the new protective buildings over here?*

R: No, it is covered by the museum budget. But these new protective buildings were funded by the county and state, because it would be a century memory.

*D: Exactly. It is related to that, yes. There are some things that need to be identified. The museum is generally financed by the government?*

R: The museum is generally financed by a coupling between the state and county, plus its own revenue because the museum has also come into this commercialization wave. That is why we must have that kind medieval festival... We had the much more mediation before, but now everything should have some profits, and the museum needs to have some surplus in the budget.

*D: Do you know anything about how much the annual income is ...*

R: That you have to ask the director afterwards.

*D: Of course... it is he who follows it. And the same goes well the composition of the visitors, surely man will have an overview of what sort of people come.*

*Is there some reference in English about it? I doubt it. It is a general problem in Norway.*

R: Now I have to think about it ... No, it probably does not. Apart from what is written about Sverre Fehn and the *Vernebygget*.

*D: Generally speaking, we have a huge problem. Someone should sit down and write... And Dongming wants to introduce the story about Hedmark Museum to the Chinese colleagues and students of architecture. And wonder if he can get an authorization to it?*

R: Yes ... he just has to translate what he wants. There is no copyright. It is just plain like research... so you say where you got it from, the reference source. Otherwise it is completely open. Here is the article in Dugnad, where it was published. But what is in the Yearbook is perhaps more interesting. Maybe both are interesting enough.

(End of the Interview)



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In the beginning, the cave and the earth itself were the dimensions of the cave.  
The floor had its own thickness of earth and the dimension of the walls of the cave  
stopped at the beginning of the sea.

Sverre Fehn,  
“How Our Dimensions are Born,”  
in *The Poetry of the Straight Line: Five Masters of the North*  
(Helsinki: Museum of Finnish Architecture, 1992).