

“Authenticity” in the context of Indonesia – foreign influence or inherent concept of cultural heritage? World Heritage Nominations from Indonesia as possible indicators

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ABSTRACT

This contribution examines the development of the concept of “authenticity” demonstrated by the nominations of cultural heritage properties from Indonesia for the UNESCO World Heritage List. The concept of authenticity, based on the Western paradigm of “truthfulness” of tangible cultural heritage, derives from the “International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (Venice Charter)” from 1964. Its world-wide notion goes back to the “test of authenticity” demanded by UNESCO as requirement for evaluation if a site fulfils the “outstanding universal value” for inclusion in the World Heritage List. The narrow European concept was widened in the aftermath of the “Nara Document on Authenticity” in 1994. The contribution analyses if and how the cultural World Heritage nominations from Indonesia reflect the changing character of the notion of “authenticity”.

Introduction

This contribution tries to identify if and how the Indonesian monument protection authorities have adapted the Western concept of authenticity in the context of World Heritage. The nomination practice of cultural World Heritage sites shall serve as indicator. Authenticity constitutes a principal element in the assessment of cultural heritage sites in terms of whether they fulfil the requirements for inclusion in the World Heritage List. One will note that Indonesia joined the World Heritage Convention in 1989; thirty years later, in 2019, its ninth World Heritage property was included in the List: five cultural sites¹ and four sites of natural heritage² demonstrate that Indonesia was successful with incorporating its natural and cultural monuments in the “common heritage of humankind” – the World Heritage.

Indonesia’s contributions to the common heritage and its cooperation with UNESCO has to be seen in the context of Indonesia’s “Cultural Development Programme” dating from 1973, which stated that “the development of Indonesian national culture under the Five-Year Development Plan” was to be based on several factors, among others³ “c) counteracting the possible negative effects of

certain foreign cultural influences.”⁴ Adopting the concept of authenticity on the occasion of Indonesia’s cultural World Heritage nominations raises the question if the (then) Western concept of authenticity could cause “possible negative effects of certain foreign cultural influences” (as stated in the above-mentioned cultural development programme).

“Authenticity” as a World Heritage Protection Concept

The term “authenticity” was used first in the *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites* (“Venice Charter”) dating from 1964.⁵ Its preamble refers to the duty to conserve historic monuments “in the full richness of their authenticity”. The 1972 World Heritage Convention itself does not refer to “authenticity” but has relegated this term to its set of technical rules, the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*. The concept of authenticity was introduced in the first edition of the Guidelines in 1977⁶ as a tool to assess the “outstanding universal value” of potential (nominated) World Heritage properties. According to Herb Stovel, this “test of authenticity” was adapted from the integrity requirements for nominating sites to the US National Register of Historic Places.⁷ The “test of authenticity” referred to the “truthfulness” of a monument regarding “design, materials, workmanship and setting”. The “test of au-

¹ The sites (with their year of entry) are: Borobudur Temple Compounds (1991), Prambanan Temple Compounds (1991), Sangiran Early Man Site (1996), Cultural Landscape of Bali Province: the Subak System as a Manifestation of the Tri Hita Karana Philosophy (2012), and Ombilin Coal Mining Heritage of Sawahlunto (2019)

² Komodo National Park (1991), Ujung Kulon National Park (1991), Lorentz National Park (1999), and Tropical Rainforest Heritage of Sumatra (2004, since 2011 also on the List of World Heritage in Danger)

³ The two other points were a) encouraging archaeology and museums as centres of research, preservation and cultural education and b) establishment and maintenance of art institutes and cultural activities in the provinces (UNESCO (1973), 12)

⁴ The whole paragraph reads as follows: “c) counteracting the possible negative effects of certain foreign cultural influences; promoting cultural tourism by providing art centres and conservatoires, and taking care of monuments.” (UNESCO (1973), 12) [Italics in the original text]

⁵ ICOMOS (1965)

⁶ UNESCO (1977)

⁷ Stovel (2008), p.10; Cameron (2019), p. 95

thenticity” with its four aspects represents a Western concept.⁸ (Figure 1)

9. In addition, the property should meet the test of authenticity in design, : materials, workmanship and setting; authenticity does not limit consideration to original form and structure but includes all subsequent modifications and additions, over the course of time, which in themselves possess artistic or historical values.

Fig. 1 The “test of authenticity” applicable to proposals for inclusion of properties in the World Heritage List was first elaborated in the 1977 Operational Guidelines. (Facsimile: UNESCO 1977)

The “outstanding universal value” of a cultural World Heritage property was defined by a set of criteria (i)-(vi) and the requirement of authenticity (for natural sites, instead, four criteria and the “conditions of integrity” were required.). (Figure 2)

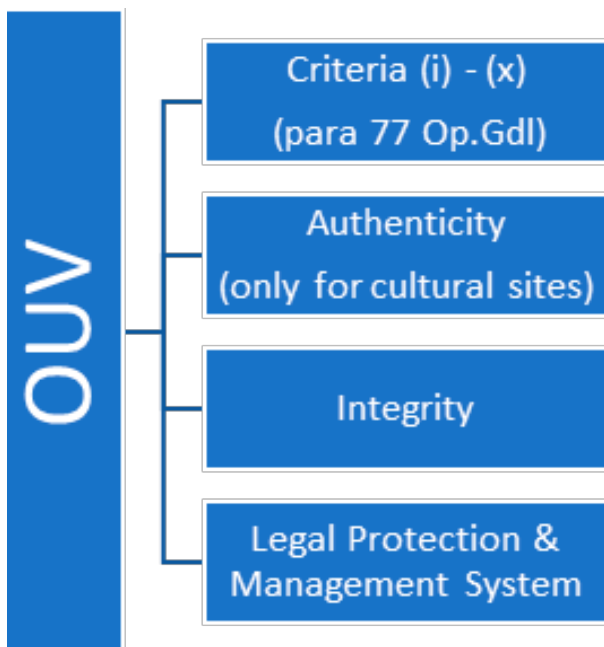


Fig. 2 The “Outstanding Universal Value” (OUV) as a condition for inclusion in the World Heritage List is based on a sophisticated concept elaborated by ICOMOS and IUCN in 1977 and redefined since. Cultural sites must meet four conditions and natural heritage sites three, to be included in the List. (Graphics by the author)

For more than 25 years – until 2005, when the “test of authenticity” was considerably reviewed – hundreds of candidate cul-

tural heritage sites nominated for inclusion in the World Heritage List from all over the world were “tested” in this “European” way. The test, which was required only for cultural sites and not for natural World Heritage, was performed in two stages. First, the nominating state party had to justify the authenticity in the nomination dossier. Then, ICOMOS, as advisory body to the World Heritage Committee, assessed the nomination including the authenticity of the site. It documented its results in its evaluation report. ICOMOS evaluations for cultural nominations (and, correspondingly, IUCN evaluations for nominations of natural heritage) served as recommendations for the World Heritage Committee. The Committee is not bound to follow these recommendations, but in most cases follows them.

Until 2005, when a broader “test of authenticity” was introduced, the testing followed the Western approach to authenticity. This testing system was in operation for a rather long period (1978-2005), although as early as 1994 efforts were made to base the notion of authenticity on a more global concept: Norway with the wooden houses in its World Heritage site Bryggen (Bergen) as well as Japan with its numerous wooden temples identified challenges in the strict approach of material authenticity in the framework of World Heritage: reconstructions – apart from small replacements in case of renovations – were not considered to be in line with the

⁸ Labadi (2010)

Charter of Venice and with the Operational Guidelines at that time. Norway and Japan (which joined the World Heritage Convention in 1993) followed traditional approaches by replacing wooden structures after a certain lifespan applying old traditional handicraft. In 1994 two workshops were held in Norway and Nara in Japan^{9,10}. The “Nara Document on Authenticity”¹¹ was an important step to acknowledge that the question of authenticity is strongly linked with the cultural background of the heritage: the concept of authenticity was understood as dependent on the cultural context of the heritage: whether a structure fulfilled the requirement of authenticity did not depend anymore only on its preserved form and material, but on whether the item was treated within its cultural context: while the demolition and subsequent reconstruction of a cathedral in Western Europe would constitute a “no go” in terms of authenticity, the entire replacement of wooden churches and houses in Norway and Eastern Europe and of temples in Asia would fulfil the criteria of authenticity, as the reconstruction of wooden buildings by new material (but on the basis of traditional handicraft) constituted the traditional life cycle of such buildings.

Despite the global relativism of authenticity which was finally acknowledged in 1994 in the “Nara Document on Authenticity”, it eventually took ten years or so for the World Heritage Committee to include this broadened concept in the *Operational Guidelines*. Since 2005, the “test of authenticity” is defined in paragraph 82 of the Guidelines by a broad range of attributes, which constitute

some aspects to establish authenticity:

[Paragraph] 82: Depending on the type of cultural heritage, and its cultural context, properties may be understood to meet the conditions of authenticity if their cultural values (as recognized in the nomination criteria proposed) are truthfully and credibly expressed through a variety of attributes including:

- form and design;
- materials and substance;
- use and function;
- traditions, techniques and management systems;
- location and setting;
- language, and other forms of intangible heritage;
- spirit and feeling; and
- other internal and external factors.¹²

As a result, authenticity is not to be based on the material (whether a building is still “original” in its material substance and not “reconstructed”), but – by taking the life cycle of buildings into consideration – e.g. wooden churches and temples rebuilt in the “old style” while applying traditional construction techniques will pass the “test of authenticity”. Therefore, the case of the nomination of the “Historic Centre of Warsaw” might nowadays not cause discussions anymore. However, in 1980, when the site was proposed for inclusion by Poland, members of the World Heritage Committee and ICOMOS questioned the “legitimacy” of inclusion of that town in the World Heritage List: its authenticity (in the narrow sense applied then) was put into question as it was destroyed by Nazi troops by more than 85% during the “Warsaw Up-

⁹ Falser (2015)

¹⁰ Larsen (1995)

¹¹ ICOMOS (1994), <https://www.icomos.org/charters/nara-e.pdf>

¹² UNESCO (2021)

rising” in August 1944 and afterwards reconstructed within five years. As the requirement of authenticity could not be met in 1980, the reconstruction itself became part of the justification for its entry on the List. Since then inclusion criteria “(vi)” (referring to intangible aspects)¹³ contributes to the “outstanding universal value” of that site:

Criterion (vi): The Historic Centre of Warsaw is an exceptional example of the comprehensive reconstruction of a city that had been deliberately and totally destroyed. The foundation of the material reconstruction was the inner strength and determination of the nation, which brought about the reconstruction of the heritage on a unique scale in the history of the world.^{14 15}

The Application of the Test of Authenticity in Indonesia

Did the “Nara Document” with its extended meaning of authenticity have any influence on the nominations of Indonesian sites for the World Heritage List?

¹³ The Committee considers a property as having Outstanding Universal Value if the property meets one or more of the following criteria. Nominated properties shall therefore [...] (vi) be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria), in: paragraph 77, Operational Guidelines 2021 (UNESCO (2021))

¹⁴ The entry of the Historic Centre of Warsaw on the List was not only based on the (rather rarely used) criterion “(vi)”, but also on criterion “(ii)” (which is defined as follows: exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design). The justification for criterion “(ii)” is as follows: The initiation of comprehensive conservation activities on the scale of the entire historic city was a unique European experience and contributed to the verification of conservation doctrines and practices. (UNESCO (2022))

¹⁵ UNESCO (2022)

Currently there are nine World Heritage sites in Indonesia, five of them belong to cultural heritage, while four represent natural heritage. Four of these properties were included at the same time in 1991, when Indonesia got its first World Heritage sites on the List. The latest entry took place in 2019. (Ombilin Coal Mining Heritage of Sawahlunto)

The following sites from Indonesia form part of the World Heritage (in chronological order of entry, C = cultural site, N = natural heritage, with number of criteria according to paragraph 77 of Operational Guidelines 2021)

- Borobudur Temple Compounds (1991, C, criteria: (i), (ii), (vi)) (UNESCO (2022a))
- Komodo National Park (1991, N, criteria: (vii), (x)) (UNESCO (2022b))
- Prambanan Temple Compounds (1991, C, criteria (i), (iv)) (UNESCO (2022c))
- Ujung Kulon National Park (1991, N, criteria: (vii), (x)) (UNESCO (2022d))
- Sangiran Early Man Site (1996, C, criteria (iii), (vi)) (UNESCO (2022e))
- Lorentz National Park (1999, N, criteria: (viii), (ix), (x)) (UNESCO (2022f))
- Tropical Rainforest Heritage of Sumatra (2004, since 2011 also in the List of World Heritage in Danger, N, criteria: (vii), (ix), (x)) (UNESCO (2022g))
- Cultural Landscape of Bali Province: the Subak System as a Manifestation of the Tri Hita Karana Philosophy (2012, C, criteria: (ii), (iii), (v), (vi)) (UNESCO (2022h))
- Ombilin Coal Mining Heritage of Sawahlunto (2019, C, criteria: (ii), (iv)) (UNESCO (2022i))

In the context of authenticity and its evolving meaning, the five cultural sites among the nine properties in Indonesia are of relevance here. The sites represent different pe-

riods of authenticity discussion: both temple compounds (Borobudur and Prambanan) were entered on the List in 1991, when the “traditional” meaning of authenticity from 1977 was applied and not yet questioned by the World Heritage “community”. The entry of the Sangiran Early Man Site took place in 1996, when the 1994 Conference in Nara and its “Document of Nara” already enriched the global discussion but did not yet lead to changes in World Heritage regulations. The later inscriptions in 2012 (cultural landscape) and 2019 (coal mining heritage) were already based on the far-reaching review of the Operational Guidelines in 2005.

Borobudur Temple Compounds and Prambanan Temple Compounds (included in the World Heritage List in 1991)

These two compounds were originally submitted in 1990 as one single nomination, however, ICOMOS recommended dividing this single submission in two separate entries.¹⁶ Following the practice of entries until the late 1990s, the World Heritage Committee did not formulate the statement of outstanding universal value, which would have included also the statement of authenticity. As the justification from 1991 is missing, the current statement was made in 2012, when the states parties of the World Heritage Convention were asked to provide a “retrospective statement of Outstanding Universal Value” for their earlier entered sites. In the cases of Borobudur and Prambanan, the dossiers for the nomination are not available on the website of the UNESCO World Heritage Centre. As the Committee

and ICOMOS remained silent about the proposed statement of authenticity, we are not in a position to analyse the original statement. However, the fact that ICOMOS in its evaluation reports did not elaborate any conflicting issue leads to the conclusion that the proposed statement of authenticity in 1990 did not cause any problem. In fact, both temples were abandoned about one thousand years ago and only discovered in the 19th century, at that time overgrown by jungle. At both sites alterations and reconstructions were undertaken, in Borobudur to a greater extent than in Prambanan. The statements, which are now accessible through the website of UNESCO, are from 2012.

Although Borobudur underwent reconstructions,¹⁷ it passed the “test of authenticity” by ICOMOS in 1990 during the evaluation procedure. As the same material (which were part of the original buildings and could be found in-situ there) was used for the reconstruction, the then narrow understanding of authenticity was still fulfilled. The current statement on authenticity – as formulated in 2012 – describes the reconstruction method:

The original materials were used to reconstruct the temple in two phases in the 20th century: after the turn of the century and more recently (1973-1983). Mostly original materials were used with some additions to consolidate the monument and ensure proper drainage which has not had any significant adverse im-

¹⁷ *The conservation of the temple complex including the “Borobudur Restoration Project” (1973-1983) is considered as one of the first international campaigns to preserve cultural heritage. As precursor to the creation of the World Heritage Convention (1972), the restoration constitutes the first project which involved the use of modern monument conservation techniques. The huge documentation was (following the proposal by Indonesia) included as “Borobudur Conservation Archives” in the Memory of the World Register in 2017. (UNESCO (2022j))*

¹⁶ ICOMOS (1991), 11

pact on the value of the property. Though the present state of Borobudur Temple is the result of restorations, it retained more than enough original material when re-discovered to make a reconstruction possible.

Nowadays the property could be used as a Buddhist pilgrimage site. Its overall atmosphere is, however, to a certain degree compromised by the lack of control of commercial activities and the pressure resulting from the lack of an adequate tourism management strategy.¹⁸

With regard to Prambanan, the statement from 2012 highlights the efforts which were undertaken to preserve the authenticity of the structures. Without referring to the term “reconstruction”, restoration methods combined the “original traditional method” with “modern methods using concrete”:

Prambanan Temple Compounds contains the original structures that were built in the 9th century AD. The temples collapsed due to earthquake, volcanic eruption and a shift of political power in the early 11th century, and they were rediscovered in the 17th century. These compounds have never been displaced or changed. Restoration works have been conducted since 1918, both in original traditional method of interlocking stone and modern methods using concrete to strengthen the temple structure. Even though extensive restoration works have been done in the past and as recently as after the 2006 earthquake, great care has been taken to retain the authenticity of the structures.¹⁹

Sangiran Early Man Site (included in the World Heritage List in 1996)

The “Sangiran Early Man Site”²⁰ was entered on the World Heritage List in 1996. It is an archaeological site, where 50 - half of the world’s known - hominid fossils were found. Its outstanding universal value, which justified the entry of this site on the List, is based on the global importance of the findings: “Inhabited for the past one and a half million years, Sangiran is one of the key sites for the understanding of human evolution.”²¹

With regard to authenticity, there is no evidence in form of human-erected structures at the site. The property – farmland – is an archaeological excavations site, with additional accidental findings by the local people, who – according to the ICOMOS evaluation report – “are conscientious over handing these to the appropriate authorities.”²² When ICOMOS evaluated the nomination, it concluded that “the concept of authenticity has no relevance to this site, which is essentially a series of buried and largely untouched geological strata.”²³ Although the test of authenticity was not applicable, the OUV statement contains some reference to authenticity:

This property illustrates the sequences of human, cultural, and environmental evolutions over two million years by means of the cultural materials from their original layers, which show specific periods and environments.²⁴

²⁰ Note that UNESCO or ICOMOS may have recommended a more “gender balanced” name of the site in case the proposal for inclusion would have been made recently.

²¹ UNESCO (2022e)

²² ICOMOS Evaluation in UNESCO (2022e)

²³ ICOMOS Evaluation in UNESCO (2022e)

²⁴ UNESCO (2022e)

¹⁸ UNESCO (2022a)

¹⁹ UNESCO (2022c)

Cultural Landscape of Bali Province: the Subak System as a Manifestation of the Tri Hita Karana Philosophy (included in the World Heritage List 2012)

In this case a broad concept of authenticity was applied, going back to the Nara Document. It combines a cultural landscape with a system of cooperative water management (“Subak”) and the underlying philosophical concept which brings together the realms of spirit, the human world and nature (“Tri Hita Karana Philosophy”).

Consequently, authenticity provides here a broad application of the attributes which are listed in paragraph 82 of the Operational Guidelines. The characteristic of this World Heritage sites forms a unique combination of material, use and function, traditions, techniques and management systems, location and setting, many aspects of intangible heritage and finally of spirit and feeling.

When the landscape was nominated in 2011 by Indonesia, the nominating authorities approached authenticity by questioning it from two perspectives: “Do the farmers of Bali consider the Subak system as an authentic manifestation of their beliefs?” and “Is the system proved by a well-documented history?”²⁵ No mention was made of the “traditional” (in terms of the UNESCO Guidelines from 1977) attributes of authenticity like material and form.²⁶ Therefore, with reference to the 1994 Nara Document, which stipulates that the authenticity of cultural heritage should be considered and judged within the cultural context, the dossier highlighted the temples’

traditional life cycle which includes the regular replacement of their construction material through new timber, rather than the material evidence (e.g. of the temples).²⁷ Consequently, the members of local community living at the site and carrying the traditions of the past to the future, play a vital role in the daily management of the heritage.²⁸ In the case of Bali, local communities were not only present and included in the preparation of the nomination dossier but also played a role in defining the monitoring plans.²⁹

Consequently, although the statement of authenticity, which contributes to the outstanding universal value of the site, highlights the wide sense of authenticity, it also refers to the risks of a system which is based on spiritual values and permanently endangered through economic, social and environmental changes:

The authenticity of the terraced landscapes, forests, water management structures, temples and shrines in terms of the way they convey Outstanding Universal Value and reflect the subak system is clear.

The overall interaction between people and the landscape is however highly vulnerable and, if the sites are still to reflect the harmonious relationship with the spiritual world and the ancient philosophical concept of Tri Hita Karana, it will be essential for the management system to offer positive support.

The village buildings have to a degree lost some of their authenticity in terms of materials and construction, although they are still functionally linked to the landscape. (UNESCO (2022h))

Although the notion of authenticity

²⁵ Indonesia (2011), III-19

²⁶ Lawless, Silva (2017), 155

²⁷ Indonesia (2011), III-20

²⁸ Pratihari, Martokusumo (2019)

²⁹ Lawless, Silva (2017), 156

in the context of this World Heritage site is widely referenced to spiritual and intangible aspects, the statement refers in its last paragraph to the loss of material evidence.

Such a broad understanding of authenticity is in terms of nominations for World Heritage also in Asia (which “triggered” the revision of the notion of authenticity in the mid-1990ies) not yet commonly applied.³⁰ The approach selected by the nominating bodies in Indonesia by referring broadly to the local population as bearer of tradition (and consequently as contributor to authenticity of the site) is rare: According to Lawless and Silva, who examined 31 World Heritage nominations from Asia, which were submitted to UNESCO between 2005 and 2014, only four of them applied the criteria of authenticity in an integrated way. Among them³¹ was also the cultural landscape of Bali.³² These nominations were characterised by *a clearly articulated application of an expanded authenticity framework with meaningful discussion. The test of authenticity for a site is established within the cultural context and relevant sources of evidence are convincingly presented. Descriptions of how intangible qualities of the site exemplified its universal value and authenticity were engrossing and complete.*³³

The nomination of the cultural landscape of Bali represents a “modern” type of World Heritage: a cultural landscape with high social (Subak system) and spiritual val-

ues (Tri Hita Karana Philosophy) which “exceeds” the notion of “Western” World Heritage sites. Its entry became possible thanks to the broadened concept of authenticity which was triggered by the Nara process. World Heritage as a “site-based convention” requires an immovable, tangible cultural heritage asset (like a monument, ensemble, or cultural landscape³⁴). Therefore, the protection of intangible aspects (like traditions and customs) is not directly covered by the protection-instruments of the World Heritage Convention. However, UNESCO applies for the protection of the intangible cultural heritage a similar protection- and registration system like World Heritage, namely the international convention from 2003³⁵ with a list, the “Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity”.³⁶ Indonesia contributed since 2008 with twelve elements to the representative list. The “Wayang puppet theatre”³⁷ (included as first contribution from the country in 2008) represents the intangible heritage of the cultural landscape of Bali.

Ombilin Coal Mining Heritage of Sawahlunto (2019)

Also, this site represents – as technical heritage – a “modern” World Heritage category. Technical heritage is still not adequately presented (in terms of numbers of sites) in the List. Technical heritage does not only contain manifestations of technology, but, with regard, for example, to workers and their working conditions, it also refers to intangible as-

³⁰ Lawless, Silva (2017)

³¹ The four sites are: *Cultural Landscape of Honghe Hani Rice Terraces, China (2013)*, *Bali Cultural Landscape, Indonesia (2012)*, *Royal Tombs of Joseon Dynasty, South Korea (2009)*, *Hahoe & Yangdong Villages, South Korea (2010)*, *Namhansanseong City, South Korea (2014)* (Lawless, Silva (2017), 153)

³² Lawless, Silva (2017), 153

³³ Lawless, Silva (2017), 152-153

³⁴ See the definition of “cultural heritage” in Article 1 of the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO (1972))

³⁵ Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (UNESCO (2003))

³⁶ UNESCO (2022k)

³⁷ UNESCO (2022l)

pects. In this regard the entry in 2015 of *Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution: Iron and Steel, Shipbuilding and Coal Mining*³⁸ prepared by Japan caused intensive discussions in the World Heritage Committee due to the occupation of forced labour workers from Korea and China in the past at these sites (this discussion – contrary to the intentions of the nominating party – added to those sites their distinctive quality of “dark heritage”).

The entry of the coal mining heritage of Sawahlunto took place in 2019. The mines constitute a site with European background forming part of Indonesia's colonial history. The discussions at the World Heritage Committee in Bonn in 2015 (with regard to the above-mentioned nomination from Japan) were in all likelihood known to the initiators of the nomination and might have helped them in dealing not only with the tangible, but also with the intangible aspects of technical heritage in the context of working conditions. In this regard, the description of the site at UNESCO's website refers not only to the technical infrastructure, technological achievements, and economic importance of the mines, but also to social aspects of that heritage: “The many skilled and unskilled workers included local Minangkabau people, Javanese and Chinese contract workers, and convict labourers called ‘chained people’ or orang rantai from Dutch-controlled areas within present-day Indonesia.”³⁹

However, the test of authenticity is based on the European understanding of authenticity: “Form and design, materials and substance, location and setting” (as known since 1977) thus highlight the European di-

mension of the site:

*Ombilin Coal Mining Heritage of Sawahlunto is a technological ensemble consisting of twelve components. Despite the deterioration of many disused elements, the technological ensemble of mines, mining town, railway, and port facilities meet the requirements of authenticity in relation to their original form and design, materials and substance, location and setting.*⁴⁰

Conclusions

The notion of authenticity represents an important aspect of the overall framework of restoration concepts. Introduced in the Charter of Venice in 1964, its broad notion is linked with the “outstanding universal value” of World Heritage. The assessment of whether a proposal for the entry of a cultural (not natural) heritage site on the World Heritage List is justified must be undertaken through a “test of authenticity”, a procedure laid down in the Operational Guidelines of UNESCO. However, the “globalisation” of the term “authenticity” thanks to World Heritage challenged the Eurocentric concept of authenticity. The “Nara Conference” in 1994 with its “Nara Document on Authenticity” broadened the meaning of authenticity to a considerable degree by linking it with the cultural context of the heritage and establishing its close relation to intangible heritage. Since 2005, proposals for entries on the World Heritage List have to follow this broad concept of authenticity.

The development of the notion of authenticity is closely linked with UNESCO's World Heritage. However, the broadened concept itself also exerts some influence on the

³⁸ <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1484> (accessed 14 February 2022)

³⁹ UNESCO (2022i)

⁴⁰ UNESCO (2022i)

nomination and entry practice as it enables proposing sites that would not have fulfilled UNESCO's criteria some years ago.

Indonesia's five cultural World Heritage sites provide an example of an evolving notion: its first World Heritage sites: the temple compounds of Borobudur and Prambanan, were included in the List in 1991 by applying a material-based concept of authenticity. On the contrary, the nomination (and entry in 2012) of the cultural landscape of Bali opened new dimensions of World Heritage in several aspects: the significance of a cultural landscape (consisting of rice terraces and temples) was defined by social practices (common water management system) on the basis of spiritual values. Following this broad concept, authenticity was not based on material evidence, but on the acceptance of the management system and the historical evidence of the underlying spiritual values. However, with the nomination of the coal mining sites of Sawahlunto and their entry on the List in 2019, the European-oriented approach returned somehow to Indonesia.

Indonesia's contributions to cultural World Heritage constitute a good-practice example of how to expand ideas which reinforce – after many years of domination of Eurocentric concepts – the global dimension of the World Heritage. Indonesia's participation in the discourse about World Heritage underlines its commitment which was formulated already in the “Cultural Development Programme” from 1973: The “development of Indonesian national culture under the Five-Year Development Plan” will be undertaken by “counteracting the possible negative effects of certain foreign cultural influences.”⁴¹

⁴¹ UNESCO (1973), 12

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