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Cosmopolitan Contract: Kaitiakitanga and Multicultural Conservation Ethics

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“Cultural heritage conservation ethics are first a matter of appreciating values and significance...And then safeguarding them in...the most respectful way.”

- John Stubbs, Time Honored

The Spirit of Building

In the ever-evolving world of architectural conservation practice, no universal standard has been appropriated to encompass all region-specific cultural values. In the past, conservation ethics have largely been dictated by a Western dominated theory, condemning material replication in efforts to preserve original fabric and authenticity. Conservation has become the science of managing and preventing inevitable deterioration, while occasionally freezing specific historical moments in static museum time. In the East, however, time is not linear – nor do material replications falsify or defile authenticity. Instead, material renewal facilitates the spiritual revival of a building. As exemplars of buildings not solely considered ‘objects d’arte,’ *spirit* buildings derive their value from multidimensional layers of religious, community and traditional elements. Influenced by surrounding historic events, spirit buildings maintain a life kept alive by the heartbeat of their surrounding community.

The Ise Shrine, the Golden Temple, and the Hinemihi meetinghouse are multidimensional spirit buildings that heavily emphasize religious, community, or traditional elements. Truly unique among these three is the Hinemihi meetinghouse, located in Clandon Park, Surrey, England. Hinemihi represents a spirit building removed from her indigenous environment. As she has not evolved in the same way traditional meetinghouses do, Hinemihi now signifies a bicultural ambassador of the architectural conservation exchange between England and the indigenous Maori of New Zealand. Hinemihi’s current process of “Decolonizing Conservation,” done in cooperation with the Ngati Ranana (London’s Maori group), Ngati Hinemihi (her original tribe), Dean Sully (of the Institute of

Archaeology), and the UK National Trust, demonstrates the instrumental role of architectural conservation in promoting international dialogue and *kaitiakitanga*, or shared resource management. As East meets West in this little meetinghouse, Hinemihi's conservation process presents a method of preserving the intangible properties of spirit buildings: community values, nationalism, religious tradition, and cultural craftsmanship.

Morris and Ruskin: The Lamps of Western Architectural Conservation

The first formal guidelines for Western conservation practice in England developed from the scholarly movements of the 19th century. Among these are the principles of John Ruskin and William Morris, who form the basis for early conservation theory. Ruskin acknowledged a spiritual quality to building, believing that God is present in every household (Jokilehto 179). With a deep appreciation and love of nature, Ruskin emphasized the use of locally available materials constructed with the highest level of quality. Believing architecture could be used to achieve sacrifice, truth, power, beauty, life, memory and obedience, Ruskin thought that monuments provided a tangible reminder of the past (Jokilehto 175). However, he also realized that man must understand his role in being a good steward of architecture, and must be responsible for taking care of it.

Ruskin's philosophies included a severe denouncement of restoration, since the loss of monuments would damage future generations. Claiming new materials immediately compromised authenticity, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* emphasized this point:

“Neither by the public, nor by those who have the care of public monuments, is the true meaning of restoration understood. It means the most total destruction which a building can suffer...accompanied with false description of the thing destroyed...Do not let us talk then of restoration. The thing is a Lie from beginning to end.” (Ibd., 175).

All restorations, even those done with the best intentions, include new material. Thus according to Ruskin, the authentic work by the original artist is compromised, falsifying and defying time and history. If the owner of a building is faithful as its steward and protector,

daily maintenance and repair should avoid the need for extensive restorations. Similarly, the quality of materials chosen at construction should stand the test of time, minimizing deterioration.

To enact Ruskin's ideas, William Morris founded The Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) on 22 March 1877. Ruskin was among the Society's first members, and the SPAB produced a *Manifesto* condemning modern restorations. In evaluating historic buildings, protection was only allowed if the monument exemplified authentic material, "undisturbed and preserved in situ; any attempt to restore or copy would only result in the loss of authenticity and the creation of a fake" (Jokilehto, 185). Guided by the principles of 'conservative repair,' the society formed the foundations for today's well known and often heard preservation mantra: "it is better to maintain than to repair, better to repair than to restore, better to restore than to rebuild" (Orbasli, 56). The conservative policies of Ruskin and Morris are justifiable when applied to *monuments* of unique and outstanding importance. As 'objects d'arte,' the application of a non-replacement philosophy to monuments specifically is logical to protect the loss of original value and form.

Morris and Ruskin thus began a long series of debate over the nature of restoration, which continues unto today. A follower of Ruskin and Morris, Hermann Muthesius, studied the training of both scholars and traveled to Japan. The result of his studies was a severe condemnation of reconstructions: "Maintenance instead of reconstruction; that is the general aim of conservation. Additions...can no way be allowed" (Jokilehto, 194). Similarly, the early 1900s Rhineland Conservator Paul Clemen wrote of Ruskin's theories. Clemen, however, took a more scientific approach towards conservation, yet still recognized that there is a 'historic spirit' that dwells within buildings (Ibd, 198). This recognition of spiritual value had previously been ignored by the founding fathers of Morris and Ruskin.

Yet Clemen did not take into account community building traditions or religious renewal practices.

Following the devastating effects of two World Wars, and the massive structural damage of countless buildings, it was clear that larger bodies of government were needed to regulate architectural conservation. Many attribute current conservation policies to Cesare Brandi and Alois Riegl. The modern theories of C. Brandi placed the creative process of building over cultural value judgments (Ibd, 215). Brandi's theories were combined with the concepts of Alois Riegl, the General Conservator of the Central Commission of Austria. Riegl's theories were revolutionary, in that they recognized a difference between *intended* monument and *unintended* monument. Both monuments contain commemorative value, yet the *unintended* monument gains significance through personal experience. Although Riegl's process was based on a Western, linear progression of historiography, it was the first to consider that a buildings value may be relative. Conservation, then, should find the median ground between a building's age value and its use value.

UNESCO

Formed in 1945, UNESCO (The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) works to preserve and respect the values of different cultures. UNESCO seeks to "promote cultural diversity, with special emphasis on the tangible and intangible heritage" as well as "intercultural and interfaith dialogue and understanding" (UNESCO). The latter part of this statement concerns architecture, and seeks to marry differing conservation policies shared worldwide. Although largely considered a persuasive and not a legislative keeping body, the standards enacted by UNESCO serve as a model for most nations. Finally, UNESCO's creation of the World Heritage List designates sites under the protection of the international community.

As one of the first attempts to establish a universal conservation policy, the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (The Venice Charter), was formulated in 1964 largely from a Western perspective. With no representatives to advocate the Eastern rebuilding traditions, several of the articles, while in tandem with the West, were incompatible with traditions of the East. Article 9 outlines that any new additions to a building must bear a contemporary stamp, yet Article 11 states: “contributions of all periods are respected.” Perhaps the greatest contradiction to Eastern practice is in Article 12: “replacements of missing parts must integrate harmoniously with the whole...but at the same time ...not falsify the artistic or historic evidence” (The Venice Charter). For cultures that ritually rebuild their most sacred shrines, how would this be accomplished?

The answer came in the later part of the 20th century, when delegates met in both Japan and Australia to adapt the Venice Charter to meet the needs of Eastern practice. Thanks to the introduction of the Australian Burra Charter and Japan’s Nara Document, authenticity and integrity may now be judged on the basis of “values attributed to cultural heritage...” with “respect due to all cultures.” Similarly, “attributes such as spirit and feeling...are important indicators of character and sense of place, for example, in communities maintaining tradition and cultural continuity” (Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, 21-2). Thus Eastern buildings may now be included in UNESCO coverage, recognized as important spiritual structures.

Three buildings: the Ise Shrine, the Golden Temple, and the Hinemihi meetinghouse, demonstrate that spirit buildings embody religious, political, nationalistic, and cultural elements. Molded and shaped by the historical events surrounding them, spirit buildings are more than just the material fabric they possess. Through tradition they maintain their value, revered generation after generation. They exemplify that spirit is an “important indicator of

character and sense of place,” as outlined in the Nara Document. Regardless of any method of reconstruction or deconstruction, or removal from original environment, the spirit still remains. This is reinforced through building tradition and practice, which at times may favor deconstruction or reconstruction. Although all three examples demonstrate the multidimensional spirit of buildings, each favors one of these qualities above the rest. In the Ise Shrine, it is the religious spirit of building that is perpetuated through time. The Golden Temple, however, emphasizes community values and continuity. Finally, Hinemihi demonstrates both traditional values of the Maori and acquired multicultural significance.

The Ise Shrine – Spirit Building

The Ise Shrine, located in Ise, Japan, is revered as the pinnacle of Japanese architecture. Rebuilt almost every twenty years since its seventh century construction, Ise has not been awarded World Heritage status. Ise is denied listing by UNESCO on the requirement that newly constructed buildings are not authentic (Stubbs, 33). Yet, as the “exemplar of architecture devoid of unnecessary ornament,” and the “prototype of Japanese architecture” Ise contains tremendous spiritual and nationalistic meaning. Most importantly, Ise demonstrates that architecture can be used as means of political propaganda, while preserving the ancient practices of Japanese craftsmanship in the art of *sengu* (Reynolds, 317 and Tange, 14).

Similarly, Ise exemplifies many of the Eastern philosophies of building technology. Japanese architectural tradition is highly sensitive to the unstable environmental conditions of the region, with buildings purposely made to be easily replaceable. For the Japanese, it is “impractical to defy the violent and unpredictable setting” of nature by creating permanent structures. The materials chosen for construction, usually timber, are flexible and easily

replaced if destroyed. The materiality of the building is not its crucial element. Thus, permanence is conveyed in other ways, in continuing the life of the spirit located within.

The history of Ise begins with its initial construction in the seventh century. Although a shrine dedicated to the Sun Goddess had existed since the fourth century, it was not located in Ise. By the sixth century, however, the imperial house of Empress Jito decided to build an ancestral shrine to the royal family (Reynolds, 317). Claiming to be the direct descendant of the sun goddess Amaterasu Omikami, the princess Suinin declared the order to build Ise was given by Amaterasu herself. Amaterasu also dictated that the shrine be rebuilt once every twenty years, in order to keep the spirit of the building alive (Bock, 56). Ever since the order was given by Amaterasu to rebuild the Ise Shrine at regular intervals, Japanese tradition has faithfully followed through. Today, the entire Ise Shrine complex is comprised of the earliest or *Naiku* (Inner Shrine), and the *Geku* (Outer Shrine). Ten auxiliary shrines accompany the *Naiku* and four auxiliary shrines surround the *Geku*. Overall there are a total of 100 buildings in the complex, not including the Bridge over River Isuzu.

The spirit of the building finds tangibility in the form of the *Naiku* (Inner Shrine), whose life is located in the sacred mirror within. Unpainted Japanese cypresses express Ise's clean simplicity, delicately ornamented with small metal embellishments of elegant detail. The *chigi* (extensions of the rafters) perch diagonally atop the thatched roof, framing the horizontal elements of the *katsuogi*. Originally used as weights to hold the thatch down, *katsuogi* now demonstrate the building's prestige; the more used, the more prestige the building displays. The entire *Shoden* (main sanctuary) is raised over vertical posts, deflecting weight to the exterior walls. The interior of the shrine contains the "heart," a boat-shaped chest containing the sacred mirror of the Sun Goddess. The mirror is said to

have been given by Amaterasu to her grandson to serve as a reminder of herself: "Think of this sacred mirror as none other than myself, take care of it, and worship it forever" (Isejingu, 1). Since then, the mirror has been worshipped as the essence of the goddess living inside Ise (Moffett, 102-103).



“The Ise Shrine.” Photo. <http://www.gonomad.com/alternatives/0509/images/ise-holyofholies.jpg>.

Ancient Shinto

The preservation of the construction process of Ise is intertwined with the strong religious element of the Shinto faith. In ancient Japanese societies, the indigenous faith of Shinto, or “the way of the gods” expresses thanks for all of nature and mankind. Shinto rituals are practiced to push away evil spirits through purification, offerings, and prayers. Similarly, Shintoism focuses on right practice, therefore supporting a tradition of rebuilding technique. Ancient followers of Shinto believed the deities existed in all of nature, not in personalized images (Kidd, 1). Because of this belief, rice straw ropes were first used to designate the sacred areas of the gods not open to the common people. These ropes symbolized both the space occupied by the deities and also the deities themselves (Tange, 33). As reverence was given to “nature itself,” there was initially no need for large

constructive elements dedicated to the gods. Similarly, there remained little understanding of their preservation.

The form and development of the Japanese shrine serves to manifest the intangible properties of the Shinto gods. As the role of wet-rice cultivation and fishing grew in importance for the ancient Japanese, so too did the need arise for a designated space to enshrine the gods. Known as *geku*, these shrines developed hand-in-hand with the concept of private ownership of land and the introduction of new construction skills. Since agriculture was equated with the gods, it logically followed that raised-floor storehouses used for crops became the prototype of Japanese spirit buildings. What began as a place for celebrating the birth of a new harvest became the space for the deities, in effort to “symbolize the supernatural through spatial form” (Tange, 26). Thus the image of the storehouse became the image of the gods. Among all the gods worshipped, the Sun Goddess, Amaterasu Omikami is revered above all. The Ise Shrine is dedicated to Amaterasu, thus exemplifying its importance above all others.

Shikinen Sengu

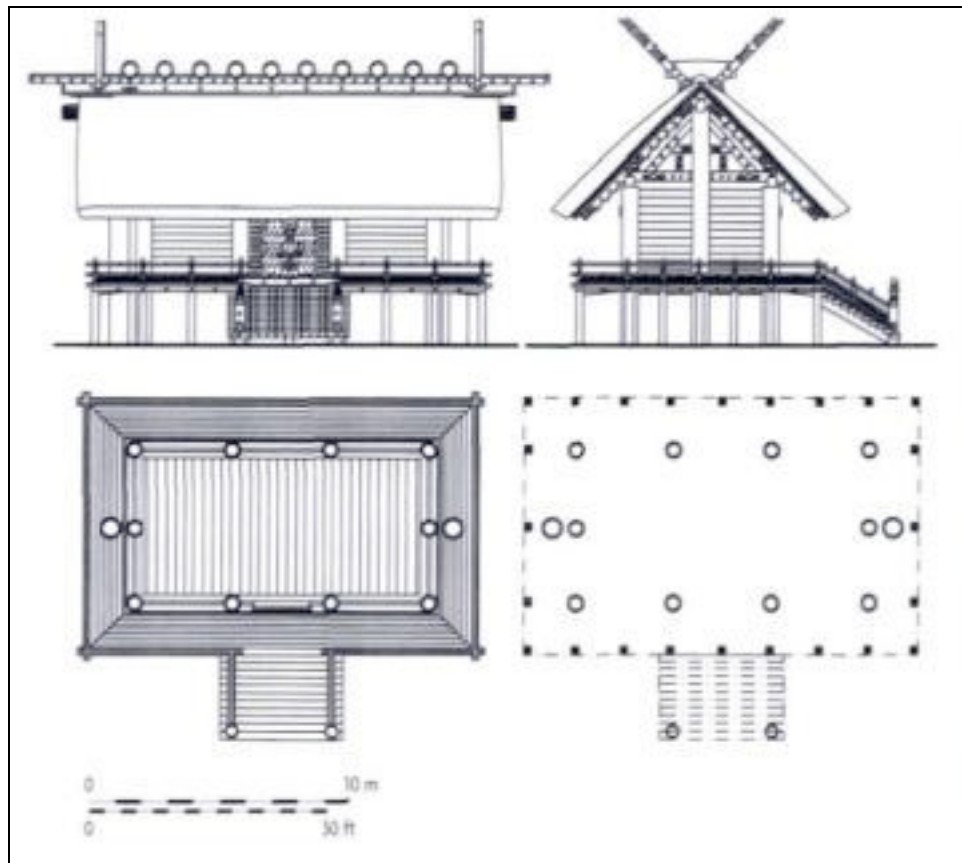
The rebuilding process of the Japanese is known as *Shikinen sengu*, and includes planning, material procurement, and installation. Literally translated, *Shikinen sengu* means “ceremonial year of moving the *kami*’s ‘body’ to the new shrine” (Adams, 59). Each time Ise is rebuilt, both the spirit and the building are renewed. Traditions of *sengu* vary according to levels of importance, as the most sacred of shrines are rebuilt more often than the less sacred. The goal of each reconstruction is to reproduce Ise as closely as possible, however, few minor and slow changes have occurred over time (Adams, 56). For example, today carpenters use electric saws and sanders in the work yards, but take care not to use them on sacred building sites. Final work is still done by use of hand tools only. Overall, the process of change has been minimized by *sengu*, and the only alterations made are those

deemed absolutely necessary. It matters not that the material is changed, but rather that the spirit of Japanese tradition is kept alive (Adams, 49-51). Thus, the conservation has remained in tandem with cultural tradition.

To keep reconstruction under strict regulation, the new construction of Ise is overseen by the *Shikinen zoecho*. Today, there are several subgroups that work under the *zoecho*, but the primary goal of the whole process is to transmit the skills and technologies of craftsmanship to the next generation (Adams, 54). This knowledge is not written down, but passed on orally. Persons are individually selected based on their professional résumé and undergo an intensive testing process for skills. To accompany these highly skilled workers, hundreds of thousands of unskilled worshippers assist in the moving of timber and the placing of pebbles. The entire process takes approximately seventeen years from beginning to completion.

This process of *sengu* is coupled with some thirty Shinto rituals involving the thanking of the *kamis* (deities) for the natural resources given to construction, prayers for the worker's safety, and installation of particularly sacred elements (Adams, 56). The first practice of thanking and appeasing the *kamis* is done in the hopes that they will not be hurt by killing natural elements. "The Shinto relationship of humanity *to* the environment is through a feeling of gratitude to the world of energy and matter, as much *for* it" (Cleary, 108). It is a ritual of apologetic action for the harm done to the natural world. The second ritual of worker safety serves to remind all participants of the sacred nature of the new construction. It also promotes awareness of the danger of working on the job site. The third set of rituals includes carrying the elements of the sacred heart pillar and the boxes containing the sacred mirror. The pillar has no structural function, but serves to symbolize the connection of the earth with the heavens. The final group of ritual activity includes the act of placing a river-washed pebble on the ground within the shrine.

All practices of ritual are overseen by the *zojingu*, an organization dating back to the eighth century. The primary function of the *zojingu* is to ensure that ancient religious practices are still maintained in their original form. Like the *sengu*, there have been minor ritual changes over time. For example, the final act of placing the pebbles inside the shrine was added to Ise practice some centuries after it was built. Acting as a link between present and future generations, community and the shrine, the rituals both old and new exemplify the rebirth of values had in conjunction with the past. Each act of ritual still serves its purpose in giving life to the Ise Shrine.



“Structure of Ise Shrine.” Plan.

Spirituality and Commercialism of Ise

The meaning conveyed by the Ise Shrine is different for different people. For many, Ise invokes an “aesthetically charged religious experience” (Reynolds, 319), which is

believed to originate from the spirit embodied in the physical form. The Japanese poet and priest Saigyō wrote this upon his visit: “What the cause may be, Is a thing I cannot tell; But spontaneously, with awestruck reverence Do my eyes with tears o’erflow” (Saka, 70). From 1600 to 1868, the visits to Ise increased as many shared the feeling of a religiously charged experience similar to Saigyō’s. By 1830, the number of pilgrimages to Ise reached its height at an estimated 5 million people (Reynolds, 318). However, it was not just religious devotion that drew the Japanese to pay homage to the shrine. During the Edo Period, Ise came to embody the spirits of the Shinto faith and the Japanese nation. Travel was severely restricted to pilgrimages alone, based on an ethnocentric knowledge of the Western world and its perceived negative influence. Among these influences were missionaries, foreigners, and priests. In this highly restrictive climate, non-religious persons used trips to Ise as “a means or pretext by which to obtain official permission to travel” (Reynolds, 318 -319). Ise therefore gained a commercial dimension, as a place to travel for travel’s sake. Guidebooks became available to purchase, providing visitors with traveling tips, historical information, legends and poems. Ise now had a dual spirit of commercialism and Shinto tradition intermixed.

Ise...For the People and By the People?

Ise’s mixed identities of religious, nationalistic, and commercial natures continued through the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Emperor Mutsuhito “restored” the ancient form of Japanese imperial rule by issuing a new constitution for the people. The constitution, fashioned after the Prussian model of Otto von Bismarck, was created to mainly show the rest of the world that Japan was finally a nation-state. The resulting climate was a mixture of Japanese and German authoritarianism. This mixed environment manifested itself in the Emperor, who was known for his Western sympathies not only in government, but in fashion and foreign policy as well. Emperor Mutsuhito opened Japan’s borders to foreign

visitors (mostly Victorians), bringing Westerners to Ise for the first time. With no sort of spiritual framework for understanding Ise, visitors were welcome to view the outer shrines of the complex, but not permitted to the holiest inner part. From the Western perception, many found themselves disappointed by what they deemed “nothing to see” (Reynolds, 320). Preferring the lush landscape above the clean lines of Ise, many visitors were also annoyed that they were restricted from seeing the most sacred inner shrine. The American architect, Ralph Adams Cram commented that Ise was “sufficiently ugly and barbarous” (Cram, 92). These reactions were made with little understanding or appreciation of the ancient traditions of Ise, ignoring centuries of building technique.

Politically, 1869 marked the first time since the seventh century that a member of the imperial family paid a visit to Ise. The visit by the Meiji Emperor to Ise reestablished the role of the shrine as a legitimate ancient imperial institution, thereby reinforcing the nationalistic identity of the Shinto faith. Citizens of Japan were now required to register with their local Shinto shrine, irrespective of personal faith. Similarly, the emperor encouraged Shinto pilgrimages throughout Japan and the enshrining of talismans in *kamidana* (altars) at home. By 1940, the number of visitors to Ise reached almost eight million, and thirteen million talismans were sold in 1943 alone (Reynolds, 322). Thus Ise became the most important institution among state Shinto shrines. The Meiji Emperor had therefore created a climate that blurred the boundaries of religious and political life in efforts to reinforce his nationalistic agenda. Ito Chuta (1867 – 1954), a researcher of Buddhist architecture, reflected the nationalistic agenda of the Emperor in 1921. Approaching Ise first and foremost as an architect, he wrote of Ise as “architecture that manifests the spirit of simplicity... characteristic to the Japanese people” (Chuta, 228). Ito similarly created connections between the nature of Ise with that of the imperial court,

comparing the similarity of the ritual of *sengu* at Ise with the ancient rebuilding of palaces in the seventh century.

In 1933, the German architect Bruno Taut visited Ise and equated its construction to that of the Parthenon. “After the first visit...one knows what Japan is” (Bruno, 143). Before the advent of World War II, Japanese identity found representation in Ise. Following Japan’s defeat in World War II in 1945, however, Japan found itself in an identity crisis. The institutions of religion and nationalism began to crumble under massive defeat. All large cities, industries, and transportation networks were decimated. From August 1945 to April 1952, the Allied Powers, under the direction of the United States, occupied the Japanese territory. By 1947, the Emperor lost all political and military power under the institution of a new constitution. As a constitutional monarchy with only a symbolic head of state, Japan officially separated religion (Shinto) and government. To find answers for the derivation of nationalism, the writer Kenzo Tange turned to Ise. Tange proposed that tradition is not “in-itself a creative energy” but that Ise embodies an ancient spirituality as the traditional form is passed on throughout the generations (Reynolds, 323). For Tange, Ise perpetuated tradition in Japan, serving as an emblem to identify with, and the home for Shinto spirits. While history had decimated the lives of many Japanese, the Ise Shrine retained ancient practices that many Japanese could be proud to be a part of.

Concluding Remarks on Ise

Today, Ise is still revered as the “prototype of Japanese architecture.” Ise’s identity is threefold: the nationalistic (once imperial) demonstrated by the lineage claimed by the imperial court, traditional in the practice of *sengu* rebuilding tradition, and religious in the sacred worship of Amaterasu. Although Ise’s material fabric may be replaced, it is the spirit of the building that has sustained the test of time. The rebuilding brings together both the

specialist and the community to keep ancient tradition alive. Even today, Amaterasu is still worshipped at Ise at the Inner Shrine, just as she has been for over a thousand years. In the same respect, those that visit Ise can appreciate any, all, or some of the many qualities attributed to it: tradition, national identity, architectural appreciation, or religious devotion.

The Golden Temple – Spirit Building

The Golden Temple, also known as Harmandir Sahib, is revered today as the holiest of all Sikh temples. Located in Amritsar, India, the Golden Temple is a unique spirit building, which has seen times of both war and peace. The spirit of the Golden Temple differs from Ise in that it is not dedicated to a god. Instead, Harmandir Sahib brings together all people, regardless of age, gender, religion or class, in a community centre for the renewal of personal faith, spirit, and devotion. Open on all four sides to welcome all religions, the temple has recently been used as a spot of negotiations between the Canadian Prime Minister and India's Prime Minister, who similarly paid reverence at the temple. Thus, the Golden Temple demonstrates how architecture can be used as a means of political exchange and dialogue. Most importantly, Indian conservation practice exemplifies a community-based system that emphasizes the continuity of tradition to "improve the quality of life" (Krishna, paraphrased). The preservation of this Sikh temple, therefore, includes a heightened awareness of community values in India.

The Golden Temple was constructed in 1585, when the 5th Nanak Guru Arjan Sahib (also known as the Prophet of Humility) decided to create a central Sikh place of worship in Amritsar, India. Sources believe Guru Arjan was the sole designer of the Temple, however, the first foundations for the building were laid with the help of the Muslim saint Harrat Mian Mir of Lahore, now a city in modern day Pakistan (www.sgpc.net). The pair chose to build the temple in the midst of a large tank of water, dug out previously by the 4th Sikh

Guru Ram Dass. The 40 ft temple was placed on a 67 square foot platform in the centre of the tank. A bridge served to connect the temple with the *pardakshana*, or circulation path, surrounding the temple. By 1601, the temple was complete, representing the dual effort of both Muslim and Sikh exchange.

Architecturally welcoming in design, Guru Arjan Sahib created a model for Sikh architecture in the Harmandir Sahib. Standing three stories tall, half the building was later plated in 24 carats of pure gold. This gold plating occurred in 1830 by Punjab's King Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who generously donated the 100 kilograms of pure gold painted on copper sheets (Times of India, 2007). Structurally, four chattris are perched atop the highest level, their golden pagodas gleaming in the hot Indian sun. The Gumbaz (main dome) bears a lotus petal and Kalash (metal pot) motif. With the Golden Temple, visitors must descend inside to pay homage, representing humility. Upon entering, visitors find the holiest scripture known to the Sikh faith, the Sri Guru Granth Sahib. The book is believed to be a divine revelation, and a spiritual guide for all for all mankind. Although copies of the original have since been made, the one dwelling inside the Golden Temple is considered to be the first, thus making the Golden Temple the holiest place for Sikhs to visit.

Sikhism and the Gurdwara

As a religion intermixed with elements of both Islam and Hinduism, Sikhism promotes a peaceful intertwining of both beliefs. The word 'Sikh' means "disciple," or those who follow the writings and teachings of the Ten Sikh Gurus. Essential beliefs inherent to Sikhism include the belief in only one God, who is one in the same for all religions. Blind rituals such as fasting are condemned, and people are encouraged to seek salvation in living an ordinary life. The Sikh temple is known as the *Gurdwara*, or Gateway to the Guru. Although gurdwaras follow no specific design, in general, they are typically characterized

by their openness on all four sides, flat-topped roof, and white or gold *gumbaz* domes, which are fluted or ribbed. Gurdwaras are placed on a low platform so that one must descend to enter into the holiest inner shrine, where the Sri Guru Granth Sahib is located. Although there are slight variations to these typical defining features, all gurdwaras are distinguished by the Sikh flag.

Similarly, all Sikh temples contain a Langar (communal meal) served free of charge in an auxiliary building. Started by the 5th Nanak Guru, the same man that built the golden temple, the community meal began as a means to combat the injustices of the caste system in India (www.searchsikhism.com). The meal manifests the ideas of equality in the Sikh religion, while running solely on volunteer and community support. The meal must be simple, and is vegetarian to encompass all dietary restrictions for those who visit. Typical meals include dal, vegetables, and rice pudding. Food is also served to congregation members after daily service takes place in the gurdwara. These services revive religious spirit through the singing of hymns and the recitation of prayers. A lesson is then spoken from the holy text of the Guru Granth Sahib. The meal served afterwards is more sizable than the Langar, and consists of the *parshad*, or sweet treat made from wheat flour, sugar, and clarified butter (www.bbc.co.uk).

Conservation Practice and Community Values

As a community building providing food, shelter, rest, and congregational worship, the preservation of the Golden temple serves to demonstrate the value of tradition in Indian conservation. Conservation tradition in India includes a strong awareness of the spiritual and cosmic energy endowed to the built environment. Intervention is therefore kept at a minimum, as the conservation professional considers heritage value before aesthetic appearance. Similarly, Professor Jaideep Barman has stated that architectural heritage conservation must take into account the local's reaction to change, understanding that an

object, such as a temple, is part of a larger integrated community and town. The historic building must not be isolated from its surroundings, but conserved through active use in the area. Thus continuity is preserved through the on-site teaching of craft and skill and generational practice of artistry. Conservation, therefore, is defined by values of tradition, rather than scientific approach.

This “symbiotic relationship of both old and new” understands that conservation “today is less naive, because we are coming to terms with a more complex world, and...operating in a plural cultural environment...even as the world is shrinking” (Menon, 24). Indian conservation recognizes that there is no uniform technique to preservation practice. Therefore, there is a need to localize a building’s context, and learn from the people living amongst and around it. Indian conservation also underscores the value of conservation among developing communities, acknowledging its role in historical community revitalization. This philosophy pairs excellently with multicultural heritage sites like the Golden Temple. Conservation is not looked at as a means of benefitting one sole person or group, but as a means of bettering the community as a whole.

Conservation of the Golden Temple

With this in mind, the Golden Temple has been rebuilt and added to multiple times in history. These re-buildings coincide with several historical events surrounding Hindu-Islamic relations, British colonialism, and the Indian independence movement. In the 1750s invading armies of Ahmad Shah Abdali destroyed the Amritsar region (Times of India). This destruction occurred long after Ghengiz Khan and Tamerlane had established the great Mughal (predominantly Muslim) Empire in India. Concretized in 1526, the Mughal dynasty enjoyed more than 2 centuries of rule. Largely inhibited by their opulent tastes, however, the Mughals began to lose dominant power after 1605, under the reign of Akbar. Beginning his reign as devout Muslim and later questioning it, Akbar became known for promoting

peaceful Hindu-Islamic relationships and religious tolerance (McLeod, 50). He abolished the jizya (tax on non-Muslims) and thus created the ideal climate for the first Guru Nanak to become the founder of Sikhism.

The second restoration of the Golden Temple occurred during the entry of the British into India, as the Mughal Empire was slowly fading away. As India rose to become the Jewel in the Crown of the Empire, the territory itself became the battleground of invading Afghan forces. In 1761, a restoration of the Golden Temple occurred after Jassa Singh Ahluwalia defeated these Afghani forces in Amritsar (Times of India). There is little or no documented evidence to suggest which parts were rebuilt. However, a photo taken in 1870 shows the building in full standing form, with its golden domes and chattris. By 1858, England remained victorious over the aged and dying Mughal Empire, and the period of colonialism thus began (Wolpert, 41 – 63).



Edward, John. "The Golden Temple, 1870." Photo. <http://www.unp.co>.

The period following 1873 marked the beginning of a more distinct boundary line drawn between Sikhism and other religions. This socio-religious division occurred simultaneously with both Islamic and Hindu reforms. Among the Sikhs, a group known as

the Amritsar Singh Sabha, developed in order to educate and persuade Sikhs that had converted to Christianity and Islam. In 1905, these fundamentalist reformers seized the Golden Temple and removed any Brahmin priests, rituals and images of Hindu gods located therein, therefore creating a third major change to the Sikh temple (McLeod, 92). This division occurring in Sikhism has been recorded by author John McLeod: “The census reveals a measure of their [the Amritsar Singh Sabha] success in separating Sikhism from Hinduism: In 1881, 54 percent of Punjabi Jats...identified themselves as Sikhs...In 1931 however, 80 percent of Jats called themselves Sikhs. This was not because they formally converted from Hinduism to Sikhism, but because the reformers convinced them that the two faiths were mutually exclusive” (McLeod, 92). What once was a peaceful cooperation between faiths, thus found friction through the efforts of the Amritsar Singh Sabha.

The factors contributing to Britain’s removal in India were many, including the economic hardship created by World War II and the uprising efforts of Indian nationalists. By 1932, a new constitution for India was formulated by the Round Table Conference. At the same time, the Muslim League, transformed by the radicalism of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, was becoming increasingly afraid of a “Hindu communal streak” (McLeod, 118). The Indian National Congress, instrumental in formulating Indian politics and society, seemed to be predominately Hindu, not Muslim. Jinnah then declared that support for the League meant support for an independent Muslim nation: Pakistan. By 1945, the British relented to the calls for Indian independence. Lord Wavell was sent as viceroy and mediator to delegate between the needs of both the Muslim League and the Indian National Congress (still the predominant political party). Independence finally occurred in 1947, and both Pakistan and India were granted their own, self-ruling governments.

Major structural damage occurred to the Golden Temple again in 1984. During the bloody conflict known as Operation Blue Star, a group of separatist Sikhs declared the desire for their own autonomy in Punjab, similar to that granted to India's Muslim-majority state, Kashmir. The group formed a dissenting sect of Sikhism known as the Damdami Taksal. The leader of the Damdami Taksal, Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, advocated a pure Punjab region exclusive to his division of Khalsa Sikhs. With the Taksal claiming to hold the rightful form of Sikhism, violence broke out in 1983, ignoring the peaceful circumstances established previously. The Prime Minister at the time, Indira Gandhi, ordered Bhindranwale's arrest out of fear. In turn, Bhindranwale hid inside the walls of the Golden Temple and took several Hindus hostage. On June 4, 1984, the Indian army attacked the Golden Temple complex. The event resulted in the death of 492 terrorists and 83 army soldiers. The Temple suffered massive structural damage in the façade and dome, the result of heavy militia and artillery tanks.



Tayal, M.K. "Destruction of the Golden Temple, 1984." Photo and drawing..
http://www.sikhtimes.com/blue_star_akal_takht.jpg

Today, India's current Prime Minister (who recently won his second term in May of 2009) remains the first Sikh to establish this position. The New York Times has noted the Prime Minister for his accomplishments including a nuclear agreement with the United States, and a moderate approach to the issue of Pakistan. The Prime Minister, in accordance with Sikh practice, visited the Golden Temple in March of this year, following the common rituals including the bowing before the holy book Guru Granth Sahib. The Prime Minister's family is originally from Pakistan, interestingly enough. Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper similarly visited the Golden Temple in early November. In accordance with traditional practice, Prime Minister Harper removed his shoes, covered his head, and washed his bare feet. Finally, he stood inside the temple and prayed for world peace. The current use of the Temple as a place for such political figures to congregate designates a spirit of architecture instrumental to political dialogue.

Concluding Remarks on The Golden Temple

Today, the Harmandir Sahib is revered as the holiest of all Sikh buildings. With its gleaming domes and elegantly perched *chattris*, the temple stands as a welcoming beacon for all who visit the region of Amritsar. The Golden Temple's spirit is multidimensional: religious, in its openness to all faiths, political, as the spot of negotiations for several prime ministers, and traditional in the umbrella of Indian conservation. The Indian practices of conservation tradition perpetuate cultural continuity above all else, keeping the spirit of a collective Indian identity alive. Thus, one may visit the Golden Temple and partake of any or all of its meanings, while perhaps gaining some physical nourishment through food or faith.

The Maori: 8,000 Miles from India

Eight thousand miles from India, the Maori were practicing their own theories of conservation, just as the Golden Temple was undergoing its second restoration. The history of the Maori is both old and mysterious, surrounded in legend and myth. The name Maori means “the local people” or “the original people” (New Zealand Information Network). As the first people to land on the island of Aotearoa – today New Zealand – the Maori were originally Polynesians living in the Marquesas and Tahiti. Around 900 AD, the Maori left their homes to settle the small island. By the fourteenth century, they had established *kaingas*, or small, undefended areas of one or more inhabitants. These later developed into structures called *pa*, fortified with defensive terraces and dedicated to a tribal god. Thus, the carved Maori meetinghouse (*whare whakairo*) did not, in effect, come into full form until the nineteenth century.

As a relatively recent form of Maori construction, meetinghouses are typically large rectangular buildings with a gabled roof and front veranda. The size and degree of ornament demonstrate the *mana*, or prestige of the owner group. All carvings are derived from Maori mythology and are imbued with *tapu* (sacred) elements. The apex of the meetinghouse is traditionally topped with an outstanding figure known as a *tekoteko*, while the veranda is painted with striking curvilinear *kowhaiwhai* patterns in white, black and red. The doorway is placed towards the right, and the interior is covered with flax mats (Bowden, 10).

The function of the meetinghouse is two-fold: to provide shelter in the event of rain and to also serve as a ceremonial centre. The ceremonial function of the meetinghouse is its most sacred element. This event occurs initially outside the meetinghouse, in a space known as the *marae*. Whether it be sharing meals or participating in dance, typically orators will greet the meetinghouse on the marae with “*Te whare e tuu nei, teena kae; te marae e takoto nei, teena koe*” (House standing here I greet you, marae lying here I greet you.) This welcoming ceremony is crucial, as the most important aspect of the Maori meetinghouse is

the actual embodiment of the ancestors of the past. The structure itself represents the body of the ancestor: the junction of eaves forms her face, the window is her eye and the porch forms her brain. Her arms are the bargeboards, with each extension being her fingers. The interior of the house is her chest with the ridge pole at the center her spine. Out of respect for the Maori, meetinghouses should always be referred to as people using the appropriate pronouns *he, she, him or her*.

The Maori perception of ‘architecture’ is similar to that of other Pacific cultures: it is a definition that includes more than just the built environment but also includes intangible, cosmological, and environmental features. This philosophy dictates that the meetinghouse exists in time rather than space. This idea is exemplified in a study of Maori linguistics as, for example, the Maori word for future (*muri*), also means behind. Both past and future cannot be seen, thus they mean the same to the Maori. Similar to this are the words for north (*raro*) and south (*runga*), in which both words can take on opposing meanings – *raro*: below or bottom, and *runga*: top or above. Time is not linear, nor measured: it is cyclical. The meetinghouse serves as a “mnemonic function” to aid in remembering Maori heritage by exemplifying the ancestors of the past. Thus for the Maori, everything in the physical world provokes remembering. Maori scholar Bill McKay has arguably stated “The implication is that, in contrast, (white men) live more out of time, removed from history, easily forgetting, putting it behind them, living in a purely physical and spatial world” (McKay, 89). The Maori do not do this.

As the ‘architecture’ represents a respected aged ancestor encompassing all aspects of Maori belief, she is allowed to decay naturally in the environment. Maori practice again shares the Pacific-area mentality in buildings are meant to be mobile, “lightly fabricated and impermanent” (McKay, 94). In contrast, Western conservation tradition is based on the premise that weathering, erosion and decay are largely negative elements that should

cautiously be avoided. What occasionally then occurs is what Pacific scholars have dubbed the “mummification” of buildings – creating the illusion of a timeless space or artificial condition by avoiding the replacement of material. Unlike Western tradition, once the Maori house falls into disrepair, later generations will adapt and rebuild it in new forms in order to meet the needs of that generation. This approach differs from standard “preservation,” in that new materials may be introduced.

If the Maori meetinghouse is created to be a person existing in time, it seems only logical that a full understanding of its sacredness can only be achieved through an explanation of a Maori. Visiting a Maori meetinghouse should not just be a view of a three dimensional object in space. It should include participation in the living heritage of the Maori, in the formal greeting of welcome, and festivities of eating and dancing. The meetinghouse is not meant to be a static emblem of history frozen in time. It is a living reminder and an educator of cultural heritage.

The *Endeavor* of England in New Zealand

The placement of Hinemihi as a Maori meetinghouse on English soil may today seem an oddity, but her construction from the outset reflected the mechanisms of colonial influence and British tourism. Living nearly in isolation until 1769, the solitude of the Maori was disrupted by the arrival of Captain James Cook. Sailing from Tahiti on the vessel *The Endeavor*, Cook claimed the “discovery” of New Zealand. Cooks “discovery” led to wars between the Maori and arriving settlers over land ownership, resulting in devastating casualties for the Maori. By 1830, the Maori population was reduced by a quarter.¹ In order to “protect” the remaining Maori, the British crown insisted on annexing the New Zealand territory to English sovereignty. Earlier in 1835 the Maori had asserted their autonomous

¹ 1830s population estimate: 125,000 Maori and 2,000 settlers (<http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/treaty/>).

rights through the Declaration of Independence of New Zealand, which granted sovereign but hereditary power to the Maori chiefs and tribes. Despite the fact that fifty-two people signed the Declaration, the Crown did not view the Declaration as a suitable solution.

On February 6, 1840, the controversial Treaty of Waitangi was drafted by Lieutenant-Governor William Hobson and translated overnight by a British minister. The document was meant to form the nation-state of New Zealand and establish the basis on which to build a government; full Maori sovereignty was to be ceded to England.² The treaty's contents were debated for a little over 24 hours, but ultimately, 500 Maori *rangatina* (chiefs) signed. By this treaty, the British Crown possessed the exclusive right to buy any lands the Maori agreed to sell. Britain established a New Zealand parliamentary system based on the English model, with the right to vote based on possession of individual property (something the Maori did not believe in). Virtually excluded from voting, the terms of the Treaty would remain a subject of dispute for years to come (New Zealand History Online). Waitangi left some Maori trying to live among the arriving white settlers, while others resisted assimilation efforts.

The conflict that existed between the Maori and the arriving settlers had no effect on the continued influx of British tourism. Publicized as “the overseas home of true Englishmen” (Gallop, 11), 1870 marked the beginning of large-scale tourism to New Zealand. The beautiful Pink and White Terraces of the Te Wairoa region drew white settlers, or *paheka*, to the island to satisfy a curiosity about Maori culture and practices. Hence, the political climate briefly favored the Maori – with universal suffrage granted to all Maori in 1867.³ The Maori were even granted four seats in parliament. By 1873, however, the Native Land Act fragmented land ownership and caused frustration amongst

² Issues of translation are still debated today.

³ White *paheka* still were required to meet specific property qualifications in order to vote.

the indigenous tribes. Any Maori attempt to unify as a collective unit remained unorganized. The results of colonialism in New Zealand thus created a bicultural climate of Maori-British relations, with the Maori often stuck between both worlds.

Hinemihi

Chief Aporo Te Wharekaniwha of the sub-tribe Ngati Hinemihi was among those who seemingly embraced both cultures of both the English and the Maori. Commissioned and paid for in 1880, Aporo hired the aged Wero Taroi (then 80 years old) and Tene Waitere (his apprentice) to build a meetinghouse for the popular Te Wairoa region. Both carvers were known for their ability to create traditional Maori designs by using European metal tool technique (Neich, 60). Completed in 1881, Hinemihi stood 9.5 meters long, 6.7 meters wide, and 3.4 meters high. Aporo chose to name her after the female Maori chief who had lived in the Hot Lakes area some 250 years earlier, making her the only meetinghouse to receive a female name. According to Maori legend, Hinemihi was a descendant of Ngatoroirangi, a priest who led the Te Arawa canoe that brought some of the original Maori to New Zealand.

The carvings of Taroi and Waitere for Hinemihi included the traditional *pare* (lintel) surrounding the doorway and depicted the Maori story of creation: Tane, the eldest child of the Earth Mother and Ranginui, the Sky Father. The carved *poutokomanawa* (centre pole) inside the meetinghouse playfully included the depiction of Hinemihi's pet *taniwha* (monster), Kataore. The base of the centre pole displayed a large figure, either Ngatoroirangi (the Te Arawa priest) or one of Hinemihi's ancestors. These figures were all fashioned in traditional Maori style. However, where tradition ended, innovation picked up. The *tekoteko* apex figure on the exterior of the meetinghouse sported a European snap-brimmed hat and several carvings bore European style boots instead of bare feet. The final, highly unusual touch was in the eyes of the *poutokomanawa*. Where traditionally paua shell

should have been used for this important feature, Aporo placed English gold sovereigns. On the exterior tiki, silver coins were applied. With her glowing appearance, visitors dubbed the house “Hinemihi of the Golden Eyes” (Gallop, 40).

Hinemihi’s carver Waitere is yet another bicultural character in the history of her spiritual life. Waitere originally produced replicas of traditional Maori artifacts (in precise stylized form) to sell to British tourists and royalty. With the comfort of British patronage, Waitere’s unique style broke from Maori orthodoxy and conventional stylization – exemplified by his designs with “non-traditional composition” and “oblique profiles sprinting across a panel and various foreshortening effects...with narrative scenes” (Neich, 67-68). Waitere’s work, summarized by Maori carving scholar Roger Neich, clearly displays the influence of the European concepts of time and space on Maori artistry. This experimentation did not occur until the late 19th century, exactly the same time Hinemihi was being built. Waitere removed the “tapu (sacredness) off carving...[making it safe] for his grandchildren to watch and touch the work” (Neich, 67). In ancient practice, Maori objects were considered untouchable to all but the carver during the carving process. Similarly, he is now considered one of the most prolific carvers of his time (Neich, 66). His works include Te Tiki-o-Tamamutu, Kearoa, Rauru, Tuhoromatakaka, Uenukukopako and Hinemihi.

What Aporo had perhaps intentionally created was a blend of both Maori tradition and European appeal – a “traditional” meetinghouse acting as an attraction for white visitors. For the Maori, Hinemihi functioned as a “statement of tribal prestige”: combining “the function of church, assembly hall, chief’s house and ancestral memorial” (Sully and Gallop, 130). Contrarily, white visitors paid to see the carvings, participate in dances, and partake of refreshments. The dances were often noted for being “lewd,” no doubt

encouraged by intake of alcoholic drinks. This touristry element of the Hinemihi meetinghouse allowed it to seemingly be Maori, but function in the context of colonization.



The National Trust. “Hinemihi with Te Wairoa’s female tourist guides Sophia Hineragi, Kate Middlemass and Ngareta”

Hinemihi remained a tourist attraction and traditional meetinghouse until 1886, when suddenly Mount Tarawera erupted and decimated the Te Wairoa region. The natural disaster claimed 153 lives and the only surviving villagers (about 50) were those who found shelter inside the walls of Hinemihi. Interestingly, one of these survivors was Tene Waitere himself. Now considered an *urupa* (burial ground), the entire area was deemed wahi tapu (sacred), meaning untouchable. The status of urupa did not constitute neglect, but rather a respectful action for the consequences of the volcanic eruption. According to the Maori, the spirit of Hinemihi was then scattered, as carved pieces were removed (Sully and Gallop, 133). James Shuster, a descendant of Tene Waitere and a native born Maori, suggests the carvings were removed by white *paheka* relic hunters (Shuster, 180). However, the Maori still consider the spirit of Hinemihi to have been alive, although buried in the urupa. In speaking about all three Hinemihi meetinghouses currently standing, Shuster has similarly stated “to Ngati Hinemihi, the wairua (spirit) of their ancestress dwells in each of these

houses and her mana is as strong as ever” (Shuster, 178). Although there is no documented evidence as to say exactly what was removed, Sully and Gallop suggest it was most likely “three large carvings:” the lintel above the door and the window surrounds.

As Mount Tarawera spouted smoldering flames, New Zealand was on the brink of becoming a dominion, rather than a colony, of the British Empire. As a dominion, New Zealand was now a self-governing commonwealth part of a community of nations under the British Empire. The parliament of New Zealand thus enacted the Land Settlements Act, in which confiscations of land were justified by a perceived but not actual act of “Maori rebellion.” Attempts to correct unlawful seizures were settled under the compensation court, which heard the claims of the Maori. Previously, Maori claims were brought to the governors installed by British parliament. The political act of creating the Dominion of New Zealand demonstrated the slow removal of England’s influences, but not the Empire, of the English flag.



The National Trust. “Hinemihi at Te Wairoa, after the volcanic eruption.”

Hinemihi Becomes a Maori Ambassador Overseas

The fourth Earl William Hillier Onslow served for four years as Governor of New Zealand from 1888 to 1892. By all accounts, Onslow was considered an energetic man, with a passion for hunting and a genuine interest in the Maori. The *New Zealand Mail*'s praise for Onslow included the statement: "No other governor has ever been so honored" (Gallop, 120). Loved and respected by many of the indigenous tribes, he was gifted two whalebone clubs and several precious greenstone ornaments during his time as governor. Onslow returned the honor to the Maori by naming his son Huia, after the now extinct New Zealand bird. Huia was accepted into the Maori tribes and was gifted a beautiful feather cloak now on display in the Clandon Museum room, located inside the mansion. In 1892, Lord Onslow left New Zealand to brave the long and arduous journey home to England, never to return to the island he loved dearly. The Maori were saddened by his departure, and he remained a part of their community in spirit. Perhaps the most moving testimony of the relationship established by Onslow and the Maori is a letter of condolence upon his death, sent to Onslow's wife, Florence:

"Always will we remember your great love for the Maori people, how you visited our chiefs in friendship... You gave us your son, your love and friendship which every Maori now treasures in his heart... *Akr nein oho noa, takeo litero noa nagaro noa ko le hoa si*... Farewell Onslow our friend father and own former Governor."⁴

Upon Lord Onslow's return home to his stately mansion in Clandon Park, Surrey in 1892, he immediately wrote to the Native Office of New Zealand of his interest of purchasing a Maori meetinghouse. Although the full reasons for this desire are unclear, it may be assumed that he wanted a memento of the beautiful island abroad. Hinemihi was offered for the price of £50 and Onslow accepted. The 23 pieces of carving that constituted Hinemihi were dismantled and shipped overseas to Onslow's home. There, she was reassembled as an element in the landscape of the Governor's property. At this time,

⁴ Letter of Condolence, dated 25 October 1911. Surrey History Centre

Hinemihi acquired a thin thatched roof, carved wooden panels for the door, and window surrounds to cover for the lost original carvings. There is no documented evidence of the Maori being involved in this process. Functioning as a summer storage and boathouse, Hinemihi now had a new home, very far from her origins in New Zealand.



Dean Sully and the Surrey History Centre. “Hinemihi at Clandon Park, pre-1914.”

War Comes to Clandon

Hinemihi again found herself a refuge of safety and spiritual comfort for her native Maori comrades in 1919. The Clandon property was still in Onslow possession when the First World War began. The Onslow family in residence decided to open Clandon as a military hospital to house both New Zealand soldiers and members of the Maori Pioneer Battalion. In 1919, the Maori Pioneer Battalion “concerned over poor the condition” of Hinemihi decided to clean all of her carvings (Sully and Gallop, 139). Similarly, they attempted to restore her (closer to the Clandon mansion) to her 1880s appearance. The door panels added by Onslow were removed, but no new lintel was put in. The reasons for this choice likely derive from the fact that native building materials would have been rare and original plans were not available (Sully and Gallop, 139). Thus the Battalion was likely working from heritage tradition in this restoration process. This event marked the first time

that the Maori were actively involved in the conservation of Hinemihi since she left her home in New Zealand.



Alan Gallop. "Hinemihi in 1919."

The Maori Pioneer Battalion that rebuilt Hinemihi was a non-combatant troop that suffered 155 casualties from the war. The Battalion was largely responsible for carrying out important labor and construction tasks on Belgian battlefields. Although some Maori opposed enlisting in the War due to resentment from the 1860s land wars, many believed that their efforts would strengthen Maori-English relations. Statistically, 2,227 Maori enlisted – as opposed to 485 Pacific Islanders. The British were at first cautious about allowing the Maori to take arms, however with casualties mounting, they soon consented. The subsequent 1916 Military Service Act applied a forced conscription to New Zealand paheka (white men), but Maori were excluded. Ultimately, fifty Maori fought and lost their lives in battle, earning the “respect and admiration of British troops” (Ministry for Culture and Heritage). The inclusion of the Maori in World War I served to demonstrate that friendly relations could be established between both England and the indigenous tribes.

At this time, the haka was introduced by the Maori in World War I into the New Zealand armed services and later, into sports. Alan Armstrong has described the haka, or traditional Maori dance, in his book Maori Games and Haka as: "a composition played by many instruments. Hands, feet, legs, body, voice, tongue, and eyes all play their part in blending together to convey in their fullness the challenge, welcome, exultation, defiance or contempt of the words." The *haka* is a free-formed, ceremonial or war oriented dance, often occurring outside the meetinghouse in the marae court. Interesting, the *haka* was introduced to the New Zealand rugby team's pre-game ritual in 1888 (<http://www.rugbymuseum.co.nz>). Today, the All Blacks New Zealand rugby team performs the *haka* to demonstrate their male muscle and intimidate the opposing side. Derek Lardelli, an expert in Maori culture, composed 'Kapa O Pango' specifically for the All Blacks in order to "unite the team together" (www.allblacks.com). It is performed with the consent of the Ngati Toa tribe. The team, not comprised entirely of Maori members, demonstrates this intermixing of culture similar to Hinemihi.



New Zealand History Online. "Maori Pioneer Battalion haka 1918."



“New Zealand Rugby Team performing their own interpretation of the Haka.”
www.allblacks.com

Moving Towards “Decolonization”

Sometime between 1919 and 1945, the front wall of Hinemihi was removed – thus no window, door, lintel or window surrounds remained. Similarly, her roof was removed, and the carvings were left askew. Reeling from the side effects of war, this period of Hinemihi’s “conservation,” or lack thereof, was accompanied by a period of “decolonization” as the British began to remove their influence over territories, including New Zealand. This development was reinforced by the 1926 Balfour Declaration, which defined the (white) dominions as ‘autonomous communities within the British Empire, *equal in status, in no way subordinate* one to another in any aspect of their domestic or

external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown” (New Zealand Information Network, emphasis added). Later, the Statute of Westminster further removed British influence by taking away London’s right to legislate for the dominions. During this period of decolonization, the 5th Earl of Onslow reportedly stated:

“It has taken us centuries to develop from the Maori state of Stone Age culture. That the Maori have won through is due rather to their own toughness than to our help. In more recent times the tendency has been to encourage native civilization to develop on its own lines and to absorb rather than imitate European ideas (Onslow 1934, taken from Sully and Gallop, 140)”

Finally in 1945, New Zealand joined the United Nations as ‘New Zealand’ and was no longer considered a dominion.

In 1956, Hinemihi gained a new guardian, one that would make an extensive effort to embrace a better conservation plan. The UK National Trust acquired Clandon Park and its entire property as a donation from Gwendolyn, Countess Iveagh. The Trust, founded in 1895 by three Victorian philanthropists, currently protects and maintains over 612,000 acres of countryside, 700 miles of coastline, and more than 200 buildings and gardens of “outstanding interest and importance.” As a registered nongovernmental organization, the Trust relies strongly on membership donations and support. Conservation remains one of their foremost goals and is defined as the “management of change...revealing and *sharing* the *significance of places* and ensuring that their special qualities are protected, enhanced, enjoyed and *understood* by present and future generations” (The National Trust Website, emphasis added).

In 1960, the first National Trust renovations occurred at Hinemihi in which both English and Maori sources combined to form a more Maori-sensitive conservation plan. The National Trust consulted with the New Zealand High Commission, located in London, who relayed the message to various Maori organizations. The Maori graciously provided a

supply of totara timber for the ridgepole, wall slabs and rafters. The building firm currently employed in the restoration of Clandon Park, Cummings, was given the task of bringing Hinemihi back to life. The firm chose KA Webster, an expert in Maori art, to advise. Hinemihi then received new *heke* (rafters) and a *tahuhu* (ridgepole). The consequences of this conservation effort, even though preformed in consultation with New Zealand, included an inaccurate placement of the carvings and the addition of a thatched roof. This damage was the result of a misinterpretation of a photograph. What appeared to be thatch in the picture had, in fact, been layers of volcanic ash that had accumulated on the reed roof after the eruption. Similarly, Hinemihi was left naked, without her front wall.



Sully, Dean. "Hinemihi, 1975."

A report written in 1974 by the New Zealand's Historic Places Trust confirmed the need for more extensive restoration. Bernard Kernot, from Wellington's Victoria University, stated that the restoration of 1960 "shows little appreciation of the house as a cultural object with its own system of symbols, as distinct from a collection of carved posts and painted scroll designs...it should be properly erected and maintained" (Kernot 1975). Thus, the

National Trust attempted the preservation of Hinemihi again in 1978. A firm specializing in historic wooden buildings, JW Draper & Sons of Titchfield, Hampshire, was called in. A team of expert advisors, Mr. Campin from the New Zealand Historic Places Trust, John Bevan Ford from Massey University, John Perry from the Rotorua Museum of Art and History, Harold Gowers from the British Museum, and Leslie Charles Lloyd, the Dunedin Public Art Gallery Director, combined their expertise to create the new completed Hinemihi. This conservation plan included a new front wall, door, and window. The carvings were correctly replaced, and the color scheme was restored to its original 1880s red and white. Again, there were scarce resources available to reference for the preservation plan. Evidence was taken from the same one photograph used before in 1960 (Sully and Gallop, 142). This consultation with the Maori resulted in a more accurate interpretation.



The National Trust Photographic Library. "Hinemihi 1980."

In 1971, Hinemihi was awarded the status of Grade II by The Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport (DSMS). The Secretary is responsible for enacting Government policy on the arts and museums, improving "the quality of life for all through cultural and sporting activities." There are approximately 372,905 listed building entries. Listed

buildings mandate that consent must be granted before changes are made. English Heritage, the Government's statutory advisor on the historic environment and sponsored by the DSMS, enforces that listing does not "freeze a building in time," nor does it prevent change (English Heritage). Grade II-listed buildings are of the third highest importance in the listing process, and rank under Grade I and Grade II*. Part of the criteria for listing a building with the Department rests in a physical fabric survey. In fact, a large part of the principles of determining significance are based on appearance and conservation of original fabric. For example, all buildings before 1700 that contain a significant proportion of their original fabric are listed. After 1840, "greater selection is necessary." However, the state of repair is not relevant in designating whether or not a building should be listed (Department for Communities and Local Government). In total, Grade II buildings constitute 92% of all listed buildings, and 32% of all buildings date from the 19th century.

Hinemihi was chosen because of her national importance and special interest, which includes her ties to English social, economic, cultural, and military history. She also demonstrates close associations with nationally important people, such as the 4th Earl of Onslow. Hinemihi's inclusion with other British sites recognizes a new spirit, gifted to her by the British in recognizing her value. Her significance thus bears the weight of a tremendous historical lens – one that has seen the colonization of the British Empire and the aristocratic history of Clandon Park. Most importantly, she has protected her people in times of trouble and need. Hinemihi does not serve her natural use as a traditional meetinghouse and cannot without Maori participation. Her initial spirit, birthed some one hundred years ago in the lush New Zealand landscape, needs a rebirth.

A damage report, recently conducted in 2007 by Dean Sully of the Institute of Archaeology, outlines the structural damage to Hinemihi. Most notable among the damages are the fallen branches that have pushed the *tekoteko* gable carving horizontally askew.

Visible damage remains on the bargeboards, and previously existing cracks have become larger. The physical stability of Hinemihi is in jeopardy as the main *heke* (rafter) bears a large structural crack. Water leakage continues to damage the interior of Hinemihi and several roof carvings are stained. Cracks remain in the *tahuhu*, or ridgepole of the meetinghouse. Animals have bored holes into the perimeter. Finally the paua shell decoration, reportedly lost between June 2004 and June 2005, still remains un-restored.

In an effort to repair the damage done to Hinemihi over the years, Dean Sully has taken the lead in creating a new conservation plan for Hinemihi. Partnerships have been created between all the stakeholders involved: Ngati Hinemihi, Ngati Ranana, and the National Trust. The first part of the National Trust's cooperative conservation plan deals largely with the replacement of structural fabric and decorative motifs. Giles Quarme & Associates completed this conservation plan in 2007. Plans include restoring the original dimensions to Hinemihi by extending her current length of 8.2 meters to 9.5 meters. The angle of her roofline will be readjusted to a height of 45 degrees. Fabric conservation plans include replacing the thatch roof with totara bark shingle. Unlike other meetinghouses, Hinemihi has no central post under the front gable. The *maihi* will be strengthened to accommodate the outward thrust of the gable. Existing posts will be replaced with narrower versions. Small horizontal pins will be re-introduced to support the bamboo reeds and provide the proper framing for the totara-shingled roof. An outdoor service facility will be placed on the back of Hinemihi, providing the public with restroom facilities. The front *marae* will be covered with a white pavilion, to designate the space for open ceremonies.

“Decolonizing Conservation”

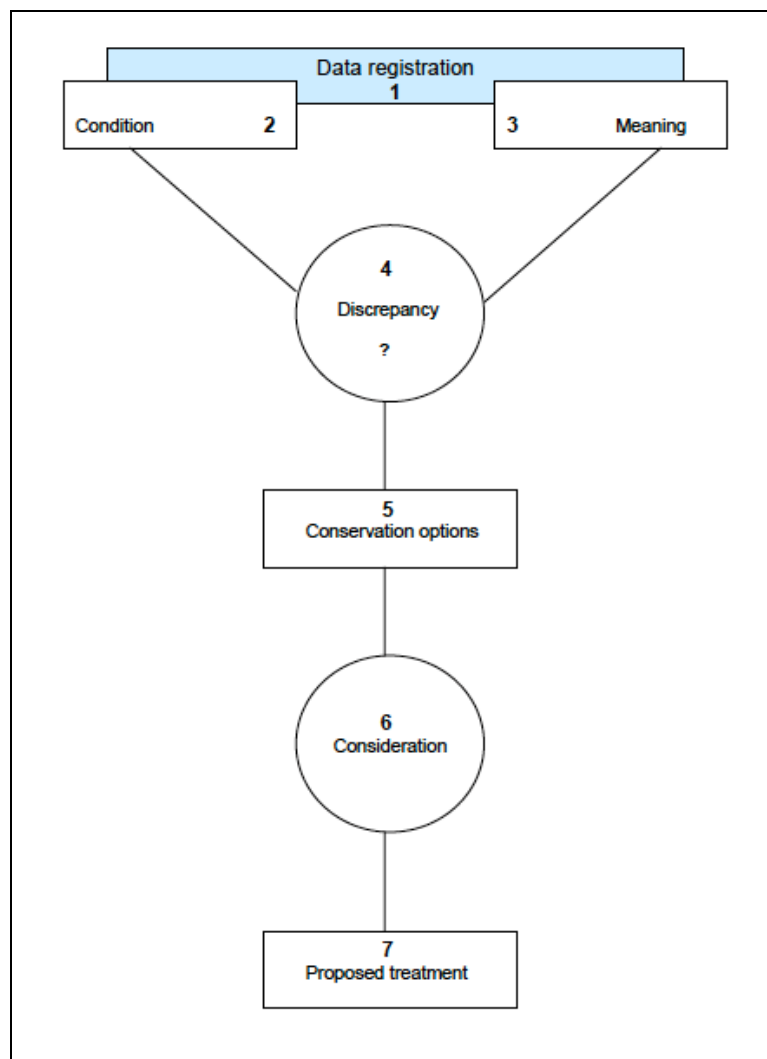
Dean Sully's procedure for formulating the new conservation plan for Hinemihi has been extensively documented in his book Decolonizing Conservation, which proposes a method of intercultural exchange for Hinemihi's conservation. The process of “decolonizing

conservation” solidifies the use of architecture as a mechanism for creating dialogue between groups, while taking previous political issues into account. As an unselfish approach to understanding the values held by other cultural groups, decolonizing conservation establishes new, cooperatively mediated relationships between stakeholders. Through this process, the sensitive issue of colonialism (as in Hinemihi) is met head on with decolonization, which serves as the first step in making amends.

Decolonizing conservation first serves to connect people and encourage dialogue between owner groups. In formulating this connection, a community-based conservation plan is established. Involving the community makes for better long-term maintenance of the site when multiple parties recognize a unified policy, while creating new, meaningful relationships between the people and the object. However, there are slight contradictions in negotiating this policy. Inherently, there are difficulties when arriving at this rather universal approach. Whose voice will be heard the loudest, when competing ideas of conservation come into play? Sully has proposed perhaps the best answer in a degree of compromise: “The claims of some groups such as cultural descendants...may need to be given more consideration than others” (Sully, 226). As the building was first and foremost the property of the indigenous owner, it is therefore their primary responsibility to oversee its continued maintenance. As in the case of Hinemihi, preservation may be accomplished through educating new stakeholders of indigenous values. Similarly, a redistribution of power may need to be established, reorganizing the hierarchy of conservation ethics.

To better understand this process of “decolonizing,” John Edward Terrell has proposed a method for understanding this decision making process in conservation ethics. He suggests using the Decision-making Model for the Conservation and Restoration of Modern Art (CRMA), to determine the preservation strategy for Maori meetinghouses outside of New Zealand. The model makes room to include both historical and

contemporary meanings acquired to heritage sites, while underscoring that the ultimate decision must be made on a case-by-case basis. The philosophical nature of the model makes it ideal for multicultural spirit buildings. The model first requires gathering information on both the condition and the meaning of the object, and then determining where the discrepancy between cultural values may exist. Options for conservation may then be broached, considered and weighted. Through negotiated efforts, groups may then arrive at a proposed treatment. The method proposed by Terrell provides a tangible flow chart for conservation professionals to follow.



“The CRMA

model.” http://www.incca.org/files/pdf/resources/sbnk_icn_decision-making_model.pdf

This negotiated plan, produced through the CRMA model, pairs excellently with Maori philosophy. The Maori word *kaitiakitanga*, or spiritual and customary guardianship of cultural resources, exemplifies a cosmopolitan contract of negotiated cultural resource management - regardless of place or new designated owners. Heritage, as the “property” of all mankind, allows outside, non-indigenous groups to collectively appreciate and experience cultural treasures. Sully has again emphasized this point – “The most effective way to address questions of contested ownership is...to develop partnerships with source communities of the cultural material” (Sully, 232). *Kaitiakitanga* brings both the Maori and the non-Maori together, on a median ground of appreciating the built environment.

Community involvement looks at resource management through a new perspective, or what Sully deems a “collaborative approach that blends the strengths of Western scientific understanding with the knowledge of local communities” (Sully, 233). Sully emphasizes that this approach deals with the present social issues of conservation, hybridizing both Western and Eastern techniques for community benefit. Examples of a hybrid approach may include replacing the lintel on a meetinghouse and burying it according to Maori practice, rather than memorializing it in a museum. By intermixing and sharing values, conservation goals are “expanded...rather than limited,” through local tradition.

In his book Indigenous Diasporas and Dislocations, Dr. Graham Harvey has claimed Hinemihi is in a state of diaspora. Nonetheless, her conservation effort has created “friendly relationships, but also...reconsideration of dominant heritage management and art history understandings and discourses” (Harvey, 131). While Hinemihi undergoes her new conservation procedure, the influence of the Maori is “now the basis of a growing bi-cultural and even multicultural situation in Aotearoa/New Zealand...Maori celebrate

Waitangi Day both at home and in London and elsewhere in diaspora” (Harvey, 131).

The reflection by Graham Harvey, a religious studies and anthropology professor, emphasizes the impact Hinemihi has had on both conservation professionals and anthropologists alike.

With the challenge of Hinemihi, the National Trust is now seeing the beginning of a new conservation practice removed from its scholarly Western origins. Conservators, even those working within the stately mansions, are now asked to restore or repair in front of the public view. Conservationists are beginning to embody the role of making “balanced judgments that will help maintain the continuity of buildings and townscapes, while serving present-day communities and their needs” (Orbasli, 6). Conservation is moving towards a community-based effort, thus making it more tangible and less elitist for the public view.

Hypothetically speaking, the CRMA model would similarly work well to settle disputes at the Ise Shrine. Although there may never be issues of multicultural discrepancies at Ise, there is a possibility that the *Shikinen zoecho* could decide to introduce a new method of construction at the site. This new method may be introduced based on the lack of traditional materials available, or the need may arrive for a more efficient and financially suitable process of conservation. Both justifications are legitimate in today’s changing global climate. The first step, then, is to hear the claims of all persons involved in the process: the *Shikinen zoecho*, the *zojingu*, all specialists usually consulted, and all religious figures highly knowledgeable in Shintoism. All information must be gathered regarding the specifics of the change.

As the new method is introduced, both the old and new options must be weighted for how they affect both the condition and the meaning of Ise. The discrepancy therefore may exist between the new method and the effect on the traditional form of the shrine. The

introduction of different materials may damage the traditional form of the shrine, as it is the goal of *shikinen sengu* to reproduce Ise as close as possible. Specialists should therefore take into consideration the overall effect new materials may have on the aesthetic nature of Ise. Similarly, more efficient methods of production may not produce the same quality of work in the end result. Currently, electric tools are allowed only in work yards, but not at sacred sites. If it was proposed to use electric tools on the sacred sites, religious persons must be consulted for their opinions on the affect of Ise's Shinto spirit.

Taking into consideration what would be a justified proposal of the *Shikinen zoecho*, a mediated form of conservation must be created. If there is absolutely no timber available for Ise, the conservationist will therefore be left with no choice but to change the traditional material. The new material should be chosen based on its similarity to the original, or ties it may have to religious significance or meaning. Similarly, it is important to note that efficiency is not always the best method of financial aid. Governments, as well as local communities, can be consulted for both economic stimulation and volunteer work. As the claims of all the various stakeholders are heard and mediated, it is possible to create a proposed treatment to satisfy the needs of all. All parties involved should agree to the preservation of the spirit of Ise, and how the new treatment would affect its legacy.

Returning to the example of the Golden Temple in India, multicultural values and interfaith exchange have found a median ground. However, pollution is a growing problem for conservationists, as the golden domes, replaced in the mid-1990s, are already beginning to blacken. Using the CRMA model, all stakeholders – Sikhs, conservationists, and local governments, should be brought together to discuss the issue at hand. In this example, the negative condition of the building may extremely effect its meaning. It therefore may be

necessary to involve the local government to enact change, as the role of the conservation professional may seem never ending in the light of a bigger problem.

A logical answer may be to enforce a no traffic zone, similar to that surrounding the Taj Mahal. This action would help to alleviate some of the closest causes of blackening to the golden domes. Similarly, it may be proposed that local workers be employed to clean the damage to the façade. The discrepancy existing in this situation, therefore, may entirely rest in the hands of political figures. If the conservationist cannot persuade the government to enact change, only temporary methods may be conducted to lessen the damage. The role of the community in the conservation process, however, is favorable in Indian practice. Community involvement not only serves to connect people together, but also creates jobs to stimulate revenue in a country suffering from a thirty-eight percent malnutrition rate (United Nations, www.wfp.org). This work would also lessen the immediate discoloring.

Therefore, those involved in the revitalization of the Golden Temple should take into consideration its political significance as well as its spiritual value. The proposed treatment of cleaning the polluted façade would involve community artisans, brought together to facilitate restoration in tandem with cultural values. Similarly, the revitalization of the Golden Temple would provide a means of combating the growing and pressing issue of hunger in India – as all who arrive may share in a meal with the Sikhs.

Conclusion

When sacredness and cultural value come into play, conservation must be thought of in the light of another's eyes. The Ise Shrine demonstrates the traditional rebuilding practices of the Japanese, maintained by both procedural elements and ancient Shinto. The Golden Temple recognizes the value of conservation in community revitalization, keeping its doors open to all walks of life for food and refreshment. Hinemihi, removed from her

original environment and brought into the West, illustrates shared cultural guardianship, negotiated “decolonized” conservation practice, and the return of traditional function and building techniques. Most importantly, Hinemihi shows that the spirit of the architectural “body” remains, although it may be far from home. Conservation professionals should share in the process of *kaitiakitanga*, integrating multicultural methods of preservation for the benefit of the community.

What will the future of architectural conservation look like? If the West refuses to acknowledge some level of spiritual value to structures, there is a risk of death in our historic buildings. Rather than memorializing houses in a frozen period of time, conservationists should integrate the community in understanding significance and value. For the next generation of preservation professionals, an awareness of multicultural and multidimensional layers of spirit conservation is essential for the “preservation” of historic preservation.

