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UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

CONVENTION CONCERNING THE PROTECTION OF THE WORLD CULTURAL AND NATURAL HERITAGE

BUREAU OF THE WORLD HERITAGE COMMITTEE Twenty-fifth session

Paris, UNESCO Headquarters, Room X 25-30 June 2001

Evening Session (Wednesday 27 June 2001, 18.15 - 20.00): Discussion paper on the application of cultural criterion (vi)

BACKGROUND

At the twenty-fourth session of the World Heritage Committee (Cairns, 2000), the Chairperson informed the Committee that given the various issues relating to the application of cultural criterion (vi), a meeting to discuss all criteria would be held in Paris during the next Bureau session. Following consultation with the Advisory Bodies and the Chairperson of the Committee, the World Heritage Centre included an evening session for discussion of cultural heritage criterion (vi) on the timetable for the 25th session of the Bureau.

This document presents a summary of the evolution in the wording and application of cultural heritage criterion (vi) over time.

ACTION REQUIRED

The Bureau is requested to examine this document and make recommendations to the twenty-fifth session of the Committee to:

- a) clarify the use of cultural criterion (vi) with reference to the implementation of the Global Strategy for a Balanced and Representative World Heritage List;
- b) obtain agreement as to the final wording of cultural criterion (vi) to be suggested to the Committee for inclusion in the revised *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*; and
- c) establish a clear framework for strict application of cultural criterion (vi).

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I. Introduction

- 1. The earliest cultural heritage criteria were adopted by the World Heritage Committee in 1977. Since then, several significant changes have been made to all criteria including cultural criterion (vi).
- 2. According to the current version of the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation* of the World Heritage Convention (March 1999), cultural criterion (vi) can be used when the property nominated is (**bold** added for emphasis):
 - "... directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, ideas or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance (the Committee considers that this criterion should justify inclusion on the list in exceptional circumstances and in conjunction with other criteria cultural or natural)".
- 3. The wording of cultural criterion (vi) can be seen to have a basis in the *World Heritage Convention's* Article 1 definition of cultural heritage as follows (**bold** added for emphasis):

"monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity of their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of **history**, **art** or science;

sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and of man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological points of view."

- 4. In the past, a number of issues concerning the application of cultural criterion (vi) have arisen. These included:
 - lack of consistency of application due to different perceptions of the role and application of the criterion;
 - concern that restrictions to its application create a bias in favour of monumental heritage and limit the criterion's application to heritage related to living traditions, ideas and beliefs;
 - a desire to protect against political and nationalistic uses of the criterion; and
 - concern that there will be too many inscriptions using cultural criterion (vi) if restrictive wording is not adopted.

5. The aims of this document are to provide a brief overview of the evolution of the wording and application of cultural criterion (vi), and to raise key questions for discussion by the Bureau.

II. The Evolution in the Wording and Application of Cultural Criterion (vi)

a) Overview

6. **Annex I** is a list of all the 146 properties inscribed on the World Heritage List on the basis of cultural criterion (vi). **Annex II** is a list of 13 properties inscribed on the World Heritage List on the basis of cultural criterion (iii) and (vi) and any natural criteria. **Annex III** shows the annual number of properties inscribed on the World Heritage List partly or only on the basis of cultural criterion (vi) between 1978 and 2000. **Annex IV** lists the 9 properties only inscribed under cultural criterion (vi) and the one property inscribed on the basis of cultural criterion (vi) and natural criteria. **Annex V** lists the properties that ICOMOS has recommended for inscription on the World Heritage List under criterion (vi), to be discussed at the twenty-fifth session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee in June 2001.

b) 1977-1997

- 7. The first cultural heritage criteria associated with the *World Heritage Convention* were adopted by the World Heritage Committee in 1977. At the second session of the World Heritage Committee in 1978, the first two sites out of a total of nine to date were solely inscribed under criterion (vi). These sites were L'Anse aux Meadows National Historic Site (Canada) and the Island of Gorée (Senegal).
- 8. The next major changes to the criteria were initiated by the second session of the Bureau in 1979. The discussion centred on the concept of "universal value", the need to revise the wording of cultural heritage criteria (i) and (vi) and the notion of "combined" cultural and natural properties. Following consideration of Edison National Historic Site (USA) at this meeting, attention was drawn to the difficulties of using criterion (vi). It was recommended that cultural heritage criteria (i) and (vi) be critically re-examined to ensure that "an unreasonably large number of nominations" were not received (UNESCO 1979(a): 3).
- 9. In 1979, following the preparation of a "Comparative Study of Nominations and Criteria for World Heritage Criteria" and the creation of several working groups to discuss the criteria, the Committee adopted the following principle concerning the application of cultural heritage criterion (vi):
 - (v) Particular attention should be given to cases which fall under criterion (vi) so that the net result would not be a reduction in the value of the List, due to the large potential number of nominations as well as to political difficulties. Nominations concerning, in particular, historical events or famous people could be strongly influenced by nationalism or other particularisms in contradiction with the objectives of the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO 30 November 1979: 9).
- 10. At the third session of the World Heritage Committee in Cairo and Luxor in October 1979, the Committee decided to inscribe Independence Hall (United States of America), Forts and Castles, Volta Greater Accra, Central and Western Regions (Ghana), and Auschwitz Application of cultural criterion (vi)

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Concentration Camp (Poland), on the World Heritage List. Auschwitz Concentration Camp was considered a unique site and the Committee decided to restrict the inscription of other sites of a similar nature (UNESCO 1979(b): 11).

- 11. Since 1980 cultural heritage criterion (vi) has been limited in its application by the statement that "the Committee considers that this criterion should justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstances or in conjunction with other criteria".
- 12. Between 1981 and 1983, three sites were inscribed on the World Heritage List solely under criterion (vi). These were Head Smashed in Buffalo Jump Complex (Canada) in 1981, Rila Monastery (Bulgaria) in 1983, and La Fortaleza and San Juan Historic Site in Puerto Rico (USA) in 1983.
- 13. Although criterion (vi) was broadened in its applicability by the inclusion of living traditions and artistic and literary works in 1994, properties associated with **globally significant persons** were no longer specifically accommodated for inclusion in the World Heritage List using this criterion.
- 14. In December 1993 the Committee made a landmark decision for the recognition of outstanding intangible and indigenous cultural heritage values by inscribing Tongariro National Park (New Zealand) under cultural criterion (vi). The site had previously been inscribed under natural criteria (ii) and (iii) in 1990. The Committee decided that the stipulation in the *Operational Guidelines* that criterion (vi) only be applied "in exceptional circumstances or in conjunction with other criteria" refers to other natural or cultural criteria. (UNESCO 1994: 39). In the following year, Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park (Australia), already inscribed on the World Heritage List on the basis of its natural values, was successfully renominated on the basis of cultural criteria (v) and (vi).
- 15. At the twentieth session of the Committee (Merida, December 1996) Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome) (Japan) was inscribed on the World Heritage List on an exceptional basis under criterion (vi). Some States Parties expressed their opposition to the inscription.
- 16. As a result, the use of cultural criterion (vi) was further restricted. Cultural criterion (vi) was amended so that it should justify inclusion on the List only in exceptional circumstances <u>and</u> in conjunction with other criteria cultural or natural (UNESCO February 1997: 24). This restriction in the application of criterion (vi) makes the inscription of a property solely on the basis of its association with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works impossible. However, it is possible to inscribe a property solely on the basis of the other five cultural criteria. Such conditional usage of this criterion was not envisaged when the criteria were established.
- 17. A summary of changes to the wording of cultural criterion (vi) between 1977 and 1997 are indicated in Table A below.

Table A: The evolution in the wording of cultural criterion (vi) in the *Operational Guidelines*

Date	Wording of cultural criterion (vi)
October 1977	"be most importantly associated with ideas or beliefs, with events or with persons, of outstanding historical importance or significance"
October 1980	"be directly or tangibly associated with events or with ideas or beliefs of outstanding universal significance (the Committee considered that this criterion should justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstances or in conjunction with other criteria)"
November 1983	"be directly or tangibly associated with events or with ideas or beliefs of outstanding universal significance (the Committee considers that this criterion should justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstances or in conjunction with other criteria)"
December 1988	"be <u>directly or tangibly associated with events or with ideas or beliefs</u> of outstanding universal significance (the Committee considers that this criterion should justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstances or in conjunction with other criteria)"
February 1994	"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 justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstances or in conjunction with other criteria)"
February 1995	"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 justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstances or in conjunction with other criteria cultural or natural)"
February 1997 - March 1999	"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 justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstances and in conjunction with other criteria cultural or natural)"

(Text in bold indicates significant changes to the wording of criterion (vi))

c) 1998 - 2001

- 18. The World Heritage Committee at its twenty-first session (1998), requested that the Consultative Body examine technical issues including an analysis on the application of cultural heritage criterion (i) and (vi), the test of authenticity, the balance of the World Heritage List, and the implementation of the Global Strategy. (UNESCO 1998(a): 1)
- 19. At the Global Strategy Natural and Cultural Heritage Expert meeting in Amsterdam, March 1998, the experts proposed a unified set of ten evaluation criteria for the inclusion of natural and cultural properties on the World Heritage List. In discussions about the application of cultural criteria (i) and (vi), the delegate of Zimbabwe noted that cultural criterion (i) was often used in nominations and was creating an over emphasis on monumentality rather than on intangible heritage which is addressed in cultural criterion (vi) (Sullivan 1998: 4).

- 20. The Delegate of Australia informed the twenty-second session of the World Heritage Committee (Kyoto, December 1998) about the deliberations of the Consultative Body and also referred to some of the main findings of the meeting of experts held in Amsterdam. Whilst noting that no change had been suggested to cultural criteria (i) and (vi), the Delegate noted that it was deemed necessary to suggest sparing use and a better definition of exactly how they should be used. She suggested that the advisory bodies may wish to review the qualifying conditions used to apply cultural criteria (i) and (vi) as part of their work to propose revisions to Section I of the *Operational Guidelines* (UNESCO 1999(a): 32).
- 21. With reference to the application of cultural criteria (i) and (vi), the Committee did not suggest revisions. A number of Committee members did however suggest that a better understanding of the application of both criteria is required and explanatory text to accompany the criteria could be formulated to assist in this regard. (UNESCO 1999(a): 33)
- 22. The restrictive nature of the current wording of cultural criterion (vi) was evident in relation to the inscription of Robben Island (South Africa) on the World Heritage List at the twenty-third session of the World Heritage Committee (Marrakesh, 1999). The site was inscribed on the basis of cultural criteria (iii) and (vi) even though the primary justification for nomination was criterion (vi) as a "symbol of triumph of the human spirit over adversity". There was total agreement before and after the twenty-third session of the World Heritage Committee that the application of criterion (vi) was justified in this instance. The Delegate of Thailand suggested "that criterion (vi) could be amended during the session so that the inscription of the site would be possible only under this criterion (vi)". The decision however was taken not to amend the criterion at this stage. (Munjeri in UNESCO 2000(b): 2)
- 23. In Zimbabwe May 2000, a meeting on "Authenticity and Integrity in an African context" was held to provide a forum of discussions to European and African experts on the notions of authenticity and integrity for potential World Heritage properties in "traditional societies" (i.e. "non-industrial" and "non-urban"). In relation to discussions on the *Operational Guidelines*, it was pointed out that it is not judicious to make continuous changes to the *Operational Guidelines* because there is a need for continuity (UNESCO 2000(a): 14). Nevertheless, in relation to criterion (vi), it was felt that due to the specific spiritual character of some potential African World Heritage sites, the situation should be reviewed and a principled and specific recommendation be made. (UNESCO 2000(a): 14).
- 24. The recommendations of the Expert Meeting to the Scientific Committee in relation to criterion (vi) were as follows:

In considering criterion (vi) it was pointed out that cultural heritage can exist in spiritual forms in its own right with the absence of any tangible evidence at a particular site. Physical remains could be insignificant, which is often the case in sacred sites.

There could be cases where the absence of tangible evidence would not allow the inclusion in the List, although they may be of outstanding universal value. As a result two alternative solutions are being proposed:

- (a) To revise the existing criterion (vi) to the form it was before 1996. This would mean that this criterion could be used alone without any other criteria.
- (b) To consider the possibility of using criterion (iii) the exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or civilization or (v) traditional human settlement or land use -, in relation to intangible testimony of a civilization. This would mean using criteria (iii) or (v) together with (vi). It is noted that criteria (iii) and (v) so far have only been used for tangible evidence. Furthermore, it is pointed out, that outstanding universal value is the underlying concept of the Convention and has to be applied in all cases.

From an African point of view, it was expressed that there is a strong preference for option (a) since sites exist which may not be considered under any other criteria than (vi) (UNESCO 2000(a): 32).

25. Based on the recommendations adopted at the Expert Meeting in Great Zimbabwe, the Second Scientific Committee Meeting on "Authenticity and Integrity in an African context" was held in Paris in September 2000. A comprehensive discussion took place on the issues relating to the current wording of criterion (vi) (UNESCO 2000(b): 1). It was suggested that Paragraph 24 (a) (vi) be amended as follows:

"be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance (except in the case of living traditions, the Committee considers that this criterion should justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstances and preferably in conjunction with other criteria cultural or natural)".

- 26. The Scientific Committee also recommended to the Committee, when examining nominations, to widen the possibility of using criterion (iii) the exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or civilization, or (v) traditional human settlement or land use, in relation to intangible testimony of a civilization. Furthermore, it was pointed out that outstanding universal value is the underlying concept of the Convention and has to be applied in all cases (UNESCO 2000(a): 34).
- 27. At the twenty-fourth session of the World Heritage Committee in Cairns 2000, an extensive discussion took place on the application of criterion (vi) for cultural heritage properties nominated for inscription on the World Heritage List. It was evident that there were different perceptions amongst some Committee members and ICOMOS concerning the application of cultural criterion (vi) for the following sites:

Table B: Twenty-fourth session of the World Heritage Committee (Cairns, 2000) - nominations for which the application of cultural criterion (vi) was questioned (UNESCO 2001: 41- 45 and ICOMOS 2000: 108, 183, 223)

Property and ID No.	Criteria Inscribed under	ICOMOS explanation as to why criterion (vi) was applicable	Discussion and outcome
Gusuku Sites and Related Properties of the Kingdom of Ryulu, Japan (972)	C (ii) (iii) (vi)	The Ryukyu sacred sites constitute an exceptional example of an indigenous form of nature and ancestor worship that has survived intact into the modern age alongside other established world religions.	ICOMOS proposed criterion (vi) and there was no opposition from the Committee.
The Stone Town of Zanzibar, United Republic of Tanzania (173 Rev)	C (ii) (iii) (vi)	Zanzibar has great symbolic importance in the suppression of slavery, since it was one of the main slave-trading ports in East Africa and also the base from which its opponents such as David Livingstone conducted their campaign.	ICOMOS left the proposed application of criterion (vi) up to the Committee to decide, and no objections were made by the Committee.
The Historic Town of St George and Related Fortifications, Bermuda, United Kingdom (983)	C (iv)	St George represents the beginning of the English colonization of the New World, a step in the European settlement of North America that has resulted in developments of outstanding universal significance.	The Delegate of Thailand noted that the criterion had not been requested by the State Party. ICOMOS responded that the Advisory Bodies evaluated properties according to the procedures set out in the Operational Guidelines and recommended criteria deriving from their evaluations. The Committee inscribed the property only under cultural criterion (iv), indicating the possibility of re-nomination of the property under cultural criterion (vi) at a later date.
The Old City of Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina (946)	C (iv) (vi)	ICOMOS recommended that this property be inscribed under criteria (vi) as the historic town represents the encounter between the cultures of the east, in the form of its Ottoman Turkish heritage, and of Europe, as witnessed by the monuments of the Austro-Hungarian period.	ICOMOS left the application of criterion (vi) up to the Committee to decide. Following information received from the UNESCO Office in Sarajevo concerning the threats to the site the Committee decided to defer the inscription of this property.

The Historic Centre of Brugge, Belgium (996)	C(ii) (iv) (vi)	It was the birthplace of the Flemish Primitives, a centre of patronage and development of painting in the Middle Ages with artists such as Jan van Eyck and Hans Memling.	The Delegates of Thailand and Mexico questioned the application of criterion (vi).
Rietveld Schröderhuis (Rietveld Schröder House), Netherlands (965)	C (i) (ii)	The house is considered to be a manifesto of the De Stijl movement and can be directly associated with ideas and artistic works of outstanding universal significance	Some delegates had reservations about the application of criterion (vi) and proposed further reflection on its application. The Committee deferred the application of criterion (vi).

28. Other properties that were inscribed by the Committee in Cairns (2000) according to cultural criterion (vi) without discussion are listed in Table C.

Table C: Twenty-fourth session of the World Heritage Committee (Cairns, 2000) - other properties inscribed on the World Heritage List on the basis of cultural criterion (vi) (UNESCO 2001: 41- 45)

Property, Location and ID No.	Criteria Inscribed under	Why criterion (vi) was applied
Mount Qingcheng and the Dujiangyan Irrigation System, China (1001)	C (ii) (iv) (vi)	The Temples of Mount Qingcheng are closely associated with the foundation of Taoism, one of the most influential religions of East Asia over a long period of history.
Imperial Tombs of the Ming and Qing Dynasties, China (1004)	C (i) (ii) (iii) (iv) (vi)	The Ming and Qing Tombs are dazzling illustrations of the beliefs, world view, and geomantic theories of <i>Fengshui</i> prevalent in feudal China. They have served as burial edifices for illustrious personages and as the theatre for major events that have marked the history of China.
The Monastic Island of Reichenau, Germany (974)	C (iii) (iv) (vi)	The Monastery of Reichenau was a highly significant artistic centre of great significance to the history of art in Europe in the 10th and 11th centuries, as is superbly illustrated by its monumental wall paintings and its illuminations.
Assisi, the Basilica of San Francesco and other Franciscan sites, Italy (990)	C (i) (ii) (iii) (iv) (vi)	Being the birthplace of the Franciscan Order, Assisi has from the Middle Ages been closely associated with the cult and diffusion of the Franciscan movement in the world, focusing on the universal message of peace and tolerance even to other religions or beliefs.

29. Some Committee members and observers stressed that cultural criterion (vi) must be applied only in exceptional cases and remarked negatively on its liberal application. Following this discussion, it was recommended that further reflection be made on the application of criterion (vi) as it is indispensable for the future work of the World Heritage Committee.

30. At a meeting of the Advisory Bodies and the World Heritage Centre in March 2001, there was agreement that the current wording of criterion (vi) is not adequate to ensure the inclusion of certain types of heritage that are not currently represented on the World Heritage List. Possible changes were discussed, but it was stressed that a new change should not be seen as "going back", but rather going forward. The simplest solution was thought to be to follow the text developed during the Zimbabwe meeting, inserting the word "preferably" into the existing text as follows:

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 justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstances and **preferably** in conjunction with other criteria cultural or natural)(ICCROM 2001:2)

- 31. A thematic expert meeting on Asian Sacred Mountains as Cultural Landscapes will take place from 4-12 September, 2001 in Japan. The meeting will specifically address the use of criterion (vi) in relation to sacred mountains and its links with natural criterion (iii).
- 32. A summary of the proposed wording of cultural criterion (vi) made at meetings between 2000 and 2001 is included in Table D below.

Table D: Proposed wording of cultural criterion (vi) (2000 - 2001)

Source	Proposed wording of cultural criterion (vi)
May 2000, Meeting on «Authenticity and Integrity in an African context», Great Zimbabwe National Monument, Zimbabwe	From an African point of view, there is a strong preference to revise the existing criterion (vi) to the form it was before 1996. This would mean that this criterion could be used alone without any other criteria.
September 2000, Second meeting of the	It was suggested that the wording of criterion (vi) be altered as follows:
Scientific Committee – Authenticity and Integrity in an African Context, UNESCO Headquarters, Paris	"be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance (except in the case of living traditions, the Committee considers that this criterion should justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstances and preferably in conjunction with other criteria cultural or natural)"
March 2001 Meeting of the Advisory Bodies	It was agreed that the wording of criterion (vi) should be altered as follows:
(ICOMOS, IUCN, ICCROM) and the World Heritage Centre, ICCROM, Rome	"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 justify inclusion in the List only in exceptional circumstances and preferably in conjunction with other criteria cultural or natural)"

III. Key issues to be discussed relating to the application of cultural criterion (vi)

- 33. An emerging trend is for the *Global Strategy for a balanced and representative World Heritage List* and the category of associative cultural landscapes¹ to recognize outstanding spiritual and sacred associative indigenous and/or intangible values. The revision of cultural criterion (iii) in 1994 to accommodate cultural traditions which are "living" assists in this recognition. However, restriction of the use of cultural criterion (vi) limits these possibilities.
- 34. The wording and application of cultural criterion (vi) can be interpreted as being "out of step" with the implementation of the *Global Strategy*. The *Global Strategy* is one of the key priorities of the World Heritage Committee to identify new World Heritage properties in under represented regions and categories of heritage to better reflect the world's outstanding cultural and natural diversity. Since 1997 it has been effectively impossible to utilise criterion (vi) for living heritage without a site also meeting another criterion (King in UNESCO, 2000(b): 3).
- 35. The key issues below require discussion in an attempt to clarify the role and application of cultural criterion (vi).

Key issues to be discussed

- a) When the World Heritage criteria were established, it was understood that no criterion was of a higher order than another. However, according to the current wording, cultural criterion (vi) cannot be used by itself. This implies that the values it is assessing are not at the same level or threshold as the other outstanding universal values implied by the application of the other criteria.
- b) The exact meaning of "exceptional circumstances" in cultural criterion (vi) is not defined.
- c) Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome) (Japan), Robben Island (The Republic of South Africa), Island of Gorée (Senegal) and Auschwitz Concentration Camp (Poland) are inscribed partly or totally on the basis of cultural criterion (vi). If the application of cultural criterion (vi) is restricted to being used only in conjunction with other cultural or natural criteria, it is not apparent how other outstanding "places of memory" will be inscribed on the World Heritage List in the future.
- d) Cultural criterion (iii) can be used for the inscription of sites that "bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition which is living" and is therefore applicable for sites where there is a physical manifestation of the living cultural tradition. However, it is only cultural criterion (vi) that recognises an <u>association</u> with "living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs".

Application of cultural criterion (vi)

¹ Paragraph 39(iii) of the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, adopted by the Committee at its sixteenth session in 1992: "The final category is the associative cultural landscape. The inclusion of such landscapes on the World Heritage List is justifiable by virtue of the powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations of the natural element rather than material cultural evidence, which may be insignificant or even absent."

Cultural criterion (i) can be used for the inscription of sites that "represent a masterpiece of human creative genius", therefore cultural criterion (i) is applicable for sites where there is a physical manifestation of the "artistic". However, it is only cultural criterion (vi) that recognises an association with "artistic and literary works".

The restricted use of cultural criterion (vi) could continue the bias of the World Heritage List in favour of monumental heritage and restrict the recognition of outstanding intangible values (including spiritual, indigenous and artistic values) <u>associated</u> with a place.

e) UNESCO's Director-General proclaimed the first list on intangible cultural heritage on 18 May, 2001. This initiative, and the possibility of establishing an international standard setting instrument to protect intangible cultural heritage, demonstrates the current importance of international protection and recognition of intangible values. The implementation of the World Heritage Convention, and in particular the application of cultural criterion (vi) to recognise intangible or associative values, could be examined to ensure complementarity with the new intangible cultural heritage list and possible international instrument.

IV. Draft recommendation of the Bureau to the World Heritage Committee

- 36. The Bureau is requested to examine this document and make recommendations to the twenty-fifth session of the Committee to:
- a) clarify the use of cultural criterion (vi) with reference to the implementation of the Global Strategy for a Balanced and Representative World Heritage List;
- b) obtain agreement as to the final wording of cultural criterion (vi) to be suggested to the Committee for inclusion in the revised *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*; and
- c) establish a clear framework for strict application of cultural criterion (vi).

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List of 146 properties inscribed on the World Heritage List on the basis of cultural criterion (vi) of the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention

Unique	Date	Property	State Party	Criteria
no.	Inscribed	rioperty	State 1 arty	Officia
147	1981	Kakadu National Park	Australia	N (ii) (iii) (iv) C (i) (vi)
147	1501	Transact National Fair	rastrana	
181rev	1982	Tasmanian Wilderness	Australia	N (i) (ii) (iii) (iv) C(iii)
				(iv) (vi)
447rev	1987 &	Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park*	Australia	N (ii) (iii) C (v) (vi)
	1994	,		
784	1996	Historic Centre of the City of Salzburg	Austria	C (ii) (iv) (vi)
322	1985	Ruins of the Buddhist Vihara at Paharpur	Bangladesh	C (i) (ii) (vi)
996	2000	Historic Centre of Brugge	Belgium	C (ii) (iv) (vi)
420	1987	City of Potosi	Bolivia	C (ii) (iv) (vi)
309	1985	Historic Centre of Salvador de Bahia	Brazil	C (iv) (vi)
216	1983	Rila Monastery	Bulgaria	C (vi)
4	1978	L'Anse aux Meadows National Historic	Canada	C (vi)
		Site		
158	1981	Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump	Canada	C (vi)
300	1985	Historic District of Québec	Canada	C (iv) (vi)
437	1987	Mount Taishan	China	N (iii) C (I) (ii) (iii) (iv)
				(v) (vi)
438	1987	The Great Wall	China	C (i) (ii) (iii) (iv) (vi)
440	1987	Mogao Caves	China	C (i) (ii) (iii) (iv) (v)
				(vi)
441	1987	Mausoleum of the First Qin Emperor	China	C (i) (iii) (iv) (vi)
449	1987	Peking Man Site at Zhoukoudian	China	C (iii) (vi)
704	1994	Temple and Cemetery of Confucius and	China	C (i) (iv) (vi)
		the Kong Family Mansion in Qufu		
705	1994	Ancient Building Complex in the Wudang	China	C (i) (ii) (vi)
		Mountains		., ., .
778	1996	Lushan National Park	China	C (ii) (iii) (iv) (vi)
779	1996	Mount Emei Scenic Area, including	China	N (iv) C (iv) (vi)
		Leshan Giant Buddha Scenic Area		
911	1999	Mount Wuyi	China	N (iii) (iv) C (iii) (vi)
1001	2000	Mount Qincheng and the Dujiangyan	China	C (ii) (iv) (vi)
		Irrigation System		
1004	2000	Imperial Tombs of the Ming and Qing	China	C (i) (ii) (iii) (iv) (vi)
		Dynasties		
707bis	1994	The Potala Palace and the Jokhang	China	C (i) (iv) (vi)
		Temple Monastery, Lhasa		
285	1984	Port, Fortresses and Group of	Colombia	C (iv) (vi)
		Monuments, Cartagena		
79	1980	Paphos	Cyprus	C (iii) (vi)
616	1992	Historic Centre of Prague	Czech	C (ii) (iv) (vi)
010	1552	Thousand Contro of Frague	Republic	
526	1990	Colonial City of Santo Domingo	Dominican	C (ii) (iv) (vi)
320	1990	Colonial Oity of Gainto Dollingo	Republic	
			rehanile	

86	1979	Memphis and its Necropolis – the Pyramid Fields from Giza to Dahshur	Egypt	C (i) (iii) (vi)
87	1979	Ancient Thebes with its Necropolis	Egypt	C (i) (iii) (vi)
88	1979	Nubian Monuments from Abu Simbel to Philae	Egypt	C (i) (iii) (vi)
89	1979	Islamic Cairo	Egypt	C (i) (v) (vi)
80	1979	Mont-Saint-Michel and its Bay	France	C (i) (iii) (vi)
83	1979	Palace and Park of Versailles	France	C (i) (ii) (vi)
84	1979	Vézelay, Church and Hill	France	C (i) (vi)
160	1981	Palace and Park of Fontainebleau	France	C (ii) (vi)
163	1981	Roman Theatre and its Surroundings and the "Triumphal Arch" of Orange	France	C (iii) (vi)
601	1991	Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Former Abbey of Saint-Remi and Palace of Tau, Reims	France	C (i) (ii) (vi)
770	1996	Canal du Midi	France	C (i) (ii) (iv) (vi)
868	1998	Routes of Santiago de Compostela in France	France	C (ii) (iv) (vi)
3	1978	Aachen Cathedral	Germany	C (i) (ii) (iv) (vi)
367	1986	Roman Monuments, Cathedral St. Peter and Liebfrauen Church in Trier	Germany	C (i) (iii) (iv) (vi)
729	1996	Bauhaus and its sites in Weimar and Dessau	Germany	C (ii) (iv) (vi)
783	1996	Luther Memorials in Eisleben and Wittenberg	Germany	C (iv) (vi)
846	1998	Classical Weimar	Germany	C (iii) (vi)
897	1999	Wartburg Castle	Germany	C (iii) (vi)
974	2000	Monastic Island of Reichenau	Germany	C (iii) (iv) (vi)
34	1979	Forts and Castles, Volta Greater Accra, Central and Western Regions	Ghana	C (vi)
393	1987	Archaeological Site of Delphi	Greece	C (i) (ii) (iii) (iv) (vi)
404	1987	Acropolis, Athens	Greece	C (i) (ii) (iii) (iv) (vi)
454	1988	Mount Athos	Greece	N (iii) C (i) (ii) (iv) (v) (vi)
491	1988	Archaeological Site of Epidaurus	Greece	C (i) (ii) (iii) (iv) (vi)
517	1989	Archaeological Site of Olympia	Greece	C (i) (ii) (iii) (iv) (vi)
530	1990	Delos	Greece	C (ii) (iii) (iv) (vi)
941	1999	Archaeological Sites of Mycenae and Tiryns	Greece	C (i) (ii) (iii) (iv) (vi)
942	1999	Historic Centre (Chorá) with the Monastery of Saint John "the Theologian" and the Cave of the Apocalypse on the Island of Pátmos	Greece	C (iii) (iv) (vi)
180	1982	National History Park – Citadel, Sans Souci, Ramiers	Haiti	C (iv) (vi)
286	1984	Vatican City	Holy See	C (i) (ii) (iv) (vi)
91bis	1980	Historic Centre of Rome, the Properties of the Holy See in that City Enjoying Extraterritorial Rights and San Paolo Fuori le Mura	Holy See/Italy	C (i) (ii) (iii) (vi)
129	1980	Maya Site of Copan	Honduras	C (iv) (vi)
758	1996	Millenary Benedictine Monastery of Pannonhalma and its Natural Environment	Hungary	C (iv) (vi)

234	1986	Churches and Convents of Goa	India	C (ii) (iv) (vi)
242	1983	Ajanta Caves	India	C (i) (ii) (iii) (vi)
243	1983	Ellora Caves	India	C (i) (iii) (vi)
246	1984	Sun Temple, Konarak	India	C (i) (iii) (vi)
249	1984	Group of Monuments at Mahabalipuram	India	C (i) (ii) (iii) (vi)
524	1989	Buddhist Monuments at Sanchi	India	C (i) (ii) (iii) (iv) (vi)
592	1991	Borobudur Temple Compounds	Indonesia	C (i) (ii) (vi)
593	1996	Sangiran Early Man Site	Indonesia	C (iii) (vi)
114	1979	Persepolis	Iran	C (i) (iii) (vi)
115	1979	Meidan Emam, Esfahan	Iran	C (i) (v) (vi)
277rev	1985	Hatra	Iraq	C (ii) (iii) (iv) (vi)
94	1979	Rock Drawings in Valcamonica	Italy	C (iii) (vi)
174	1982	Historic Centre of Florence	Italy	C (i) (ii) (iii) (iv) (vi)
394	1987	Venice and its Lagoon	Italy	C (i) (ii) (iii) (iv) (v)
				(vi)
395	1987	Piazza del Duomo, Pisa	Italy	C (i) (ii) (iv) (vi)
733bis	1995	Ferrara, City of the Renaissance and its	Italy	C (ii) (iii) (iv) (v) (vi)
		Po Delta	1	(, (, (, (.,
825	1998	Archaeological Area and the Patriarchal	Italy	C (iii) (iv) (vi)
		Basilica of Aquileia		
990	2000	Assisi, the Basilica of San Francesco and	Italy	C (i) (ii) (iii) (iv) (vi)
		Other Franciscan Sites		
660	1993	Buddhist Monuments in the Horyu-ji Area	Japan	C (i) (ii) (iv) (vi)
775	1996	Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku	Japan	C (vi)
		Dome)		
776	1996	Itsukushima Shinto Shrine	Japan	C (i) (ii) (iv) (vi)
870	1998	Historic Monuments of Ancient Nara	Japan	C (ii) (iii (iv) (vi)
913	1999	Shrines and Temples of Nikko	Japan	C (i) (iv) (vi)
972	2000	Gusuku Sites and Related Properties of	Japan	C (ii) (iii) (vi)
		the Kingdom of Ryukyu		- (, (, ()
148	1981	Old City of Jerusalem and its Walls	Jerusalem	C (ii) (iii) (vi)
295	1984	Byblos	Lebanon	C (iii) (iv) (vi)
299	1984	Tyre	Lebanon	C (iii) (vi)
190	1982	Archaeological Site of Cyrene	Libyan Arab	C (ii) (iii) (vi)
			Jamahiriya	- () () ()
131	1980	City of Valletta	Malta	C (i) (vi)
414	1987	Pre-Hispanic City of Teotihuacan	Mexico	C (i) (ii) (iii) (iv) (vi)
482	1988	Historic Town of Guanajuato and	Mexico	C (i) (ii) (iv) (vi)
102	.000	Adjacent Mines	Wiekies	
585	1991	Historic Centre of Morelia	Mexico	C (ii) (iv) (vi)
836	1997	Archaeological Site of Volubilis	Morocco	C (ii) (iv) (vi)
599	1997	Island of Mozambique	Mozambique	
121	1979	Kathmandu Valley	Nepal	C (iii) (iv) (vi)
666rev	1997	Lumbini, the Birthplace of the Lord	Nepal	C (iii) (vi)
000164	1001	Buddha	, topai	(m) (vi)
421rev	1990 &	Tongariro National Park*	New	N (ii) (iii) C (vi)
	1993	3	Zealand	(, ()
938	1999	Sukur Cultural Landscape*	Nigeria	C (iii) (v) (vi)
139	1980	Taxila	Pakistan	C (iii) (vi)
790	1997	Historic District of Panamá, with the	Panama	C (ii) (iv) (vi)
		Salón Bolivar		
30	1980	Historic Centre of Warsaw	Poland	C (ii) (vi)
31	1979	Auschwitz Concentration Camp	Poland	C (vi)
		in the state of th	1. 0.0	· · · · · · ·

206	1983	Central Zone of the Town of Angra do Heroismo in the Azores	Portugal	C (iv) (vi)
263	1983	Monastery of the Hieronymites and Tower of Belem in Lisbon	Portugal	C (iii) (vi)
265	1983	Convent of Christ in Tomar	Portugal	C (i) (vi)
737	1995	Haeinsa Temple Changgyong P'ango, the Depositories for the Tripitaka Koreana Woodblocks	Republic of Korea	C (iv) (vi)
540	1990	Historic Centre of Saint Petersburg and Related Groups of Monuments	Russian Federation	C (I) (ii) (iv) (vi)
545	1990	Kremlin and Red Square, Moscow	Russian Federation	C (i) (ii) (iv) (vi)
604	1992	Historic Monuments of Novgorod and Surroundings	Russian Federation	C (ii) (iv) (vi)
26	1978	Island of Gorée	Senegal	C (vi)
915	1999	Fossil Hominid Sites of Sterkfontein, Swartkrans, Kromdraai, and Environs	South Africa	C (iii) (vi)
916	1999	Robben Island	South Africa	C (iii) (vi)
316	1984	Burgos Cathedral	Spain	C (ii) (iv) (vi)
318	1984	Monastery and Site of the Escurial, Madrid	Spain	C (i) (ii) (vi)
347	1985	Santiago de Compostela (Old town)	Spain	C (i) (ii) (vi)
383rev	1987	Cathedral, Alcazar and Archivo de Indias in Seville	Spain	C (i) (ii) (iii) (vi)
665	1993	Royal Monastery of Santa Maria de Guadalupe	Spain	C (iv) (vi)
669	1993	Route of Santiago de Compostela	Spain	C (ii) (iv) (vi)
805	1997	San Millán Yuso and Suso Monasteries	Spain	C (ii) (iv) (vi)
876	1998	University and Historic Precinct of Alcalá de Henares	Spain	C (ii) (iv) (vi)
200	1982	Sacred City of Anuradhapura	Sri Lanka	C (ii) (iii) (vi)
201	1982	Ancient City of Polonnaruva	Sri Lanka	C (i) (iii) (vi)
450	1988	Sacred City of Kandy	Sri Lanka	C (iv) (vi)
561	1991	Golden Temple of Dambulla	Sri Lanka	C (i) (vi)
20	1979	Ancient City of Damascus	Syrian Arab Republic	C (i) (ii) (iii) (iv) (vi)
22	1980	Ancient City of Bosra	Syrian Arab Republic	C (i) (iii) (vi)
37	1979	Site of Carthage	Tunisia	C (ii) (iii) (vi)
38	1979	Amphitheatre of El Jem	Tunisia	C (iv) (vi)
499	1988	Kairouan	Tunisia	C (i) (ii) (iii) (v) (vi)
849	1998	Archaeological Site of Troy	Turkey	C (ii) (iii) (vi)
370	1986	Durham Castle and Cathedral	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	C (ii) (iv) (vi)
371	1986	Ironbridge Gorge	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	C (i) (ii) (iv) (vi)

496	1988	Canterbury Cathedral, St Augustine's Abbey, and St Martin's Church	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	C (i) (ii) (vi)
795	1997	Maritime Greenwich	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	C (i) (ii) (iv) (vi)
173rev	2000	The Stone Town of Zanzibar	United Republic of Tanzania	C (ii) (iii) (vi)
78	1979	Independence Hall	United States of America	C (vi)
266	1983	La Fortaleza and San Juan Historic Site in Puerto Rico	United States of America	C (vi)
307	1984	Statute of Liberty	United States of America	C (i) (vi)
442	1987	Monticello and University of Virginia in Charlottesville	United States of America	C (i) (iv) (vi)
602rev	1993	Historic Centre of Bukhara	Uzbekistan	C (ii) (iv) (vi)
385	1986	Old City of Sana'a	Yemen	C (iv) (v) (vi)
611	1993	Historic Town of Zabid	Yemen	C (ii) (iv) (vi)
389	1986	Studenica Monastery	Yugoslavia	C (i) (ii) (iv) (vi)
364	1986	Great Zimbabwe National Monument	Zimbabwe	C (i) (iii) (vi)

^{*} Properties inscribed as cultural landscapes on the World Heritage List. World Heritage cultural landscapes are justified for inclusion in the World Heritage List when interactions between people and the natural environment are evaluated as being of "outstanding universal value". (UNESCO, 2000(c) p.119-120)

List of 13 properties inscribed on the World Heritage List on the basis of cultural criteria (iii) and (vi) and any natural criteria of the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*

Unique	Date	Property	State Party	Criteria
no.	Inscribed			
449	1987	Peking Man Site at Zhoukoudian	China	C (iii) (vi)
911	1999	Mount Wuyi	China	N (iii) (iv) C (iii) (vi)
79	1980	Paphos	Cyprus	C (iii) (vi)
163	1981	Roman Theatre and its Surroundings and the "Triumphal Arch" of Orange	France	C (iii) (vi)
846	1998	Classical Weimar	Germany	C (iii) (vi)
897	1999	Wartburg Castle	Germany	C (iii) (vi)
593	1996	Sangiran Early Man Site	Indonesia	C (iii) (vi)
94	1979	Rock Drawings in Valcamonica	Italy	C (iii) (vi)
666rev	1997	Lumbini, the Birthplace of the Lord Buddha	Nepal	C (iii) (vi)
139	1980	Taxila	Pakistan	C (iii) (vi)
263	1983	Monastery of the Hieronymites and Tower of Belem in Lisbon	Portugal	C (iii) (vi)
915	1999	Fossil Hominid Sites of Sterkfontein, Swartkrans, Kromdraai, and Environs	South Africa	C (iii) (vi)
916	1999	Robben Island	South Africa	C (iii) (vi)

Annual number of properties inscribed on the World Heritage List partly or only on the basis of cultural criterion (vi) between 1978 and 2000

Year	No. of properties inscribed <i>partly</i> on the basis of cultural criterion (vi)	No. of properties inscribed <i>only</i> on the basis of cultural criterion (vi)
1978	3	2
1979	17	3
1980	7	
1981	5	1
1982	6	
1983	7	2
1984	9	
1985	4	
1986	7	
1987	14	
1988	6	
1989	2	
1990	5	
1991	5	
1992	2	
1993	5	
1994	3	
1995	3	
1996	10	1
1997	5	
1998	6	
1999	8	
2000	7	
Total	146	9

List of 9 properties inscribed on the World Heritage List *only* on the basis of cultural criterion (vi)

Property Name and Number	State Party	Year of Inscription
Island of Gorée (26)	Senegal	1978
L'Anse aux Meadows National Historic Site (4)	Canada	1978
Forts and Castles, Volta, Greater Accra, Central and Western Regions (34)	Ghana	1979
Auschwitz Concentration Camp (31)	Poland	1979
Independence Hall (78)	United States of America	1979
Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump (158)	Canada	1981
Rila Monastery (216)	Bulgaria	1983
La Fortaleza and San Juan Historic Site in Puerto Rico (266)	United States of America	1983
Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome) (775)	Japan	1996

Property inscribed on the World Heritage List on the basis of cultural criterion (vi) and natural criteria

Property Name and Number	State Party	Years of Inscription	Criteria
Tongariro National Park	New Zealand	1990	N (ii) (iii)
(421Rev)		1993	C (vi)

Recommendations from ICOMOS to the twenty-fifth session of the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee in June 2001 to inscribe properties on the World Heritage List on the basis of cultural criterion (vi)

Property	Recommended criteria (cultural or natural) by ICOMOS	ICOMOS comments relating to relevance of criterion (vi)
The Historic Centre of Vienna (Austria) No. 1033	C (ii), (iv) and (vi)	Vienna has an essential role as the European capital for music being associated with all major personalities, from Viennese Classicism to modern music. Vienna is rich in architectural ensembles, including particularly baroque castles, gardens, as well as the late 19th century Ringstrasse ensemble.
Lamu Old Town (Kenya) No. 1055	C (ii), (iv) and (vi)	Lamu Old Town is the oldest and best preserved example of Swahili settlement in East Africa, retaining its traditional functions. Built in coral stone and mangrove timber, the town is characterised by simplicity of structural forms enriched by features. Owning to the conservative character of its Muslim community, Lamu has continued important religious celebrations from the 19th century, and has become significant for the study of Islamic and Swahili cultures.
Norbulingka (China) No. 707ter	C (v), (iv) and (vi)	ICOMOS recommended that the nominated Norbulingka area be inscribed as an extension to the existing World Heritage Site of the Potala Palace, Lhasa, maintaining the existing criteria (v), (iv) and (vi). The palace and gardens of Norbulingka are intimately linked with the Potala Palace. It became the summer residence of the Dalai Lamas. The site is closely linked with religious and political issues, having been a place for contemplation and for signing political agreements
Troodos (Cyprus) No. 351bis	C (i), (ii), (iii), (vi) and (vi) (States Party recommendation only)	ICOMOS recommend that an extension of this property be approved. The remarkable post-Byzantine wall paintings of the Church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour (Ayia-Sotira) at Palaichori form a complete cycle of paintings from the second decade of the 16th century. Through its architecture and its decoration this church forms a whole and completes the set of nine painted churches in the Troodos region already included in the World Heritage List on the basis of criteria (ii), (iii) and (iv).
Churches of Peace in Jawor and Swidnica (Poland) No. 1054	C (iii), (iv) and (vi)	The Churches of Peace bear exceptional witness to a particular political and spiritual development in Europe. They represent architectural and artistic evidence of the faith of a religious community and its will to survive. The Churches of

		Peace are masterpieces of skilled handicraft, demonstrating what men are capable of when the utmost is demanded from them.
New Lanark, United Kingdom) No. 429rev	C (ii), (iv) and (vi)	The creation of the model industrial settlement at New Lanark, in which good quality planning and architecture were integrated with a humane concern on the part of the employers for the wellbeing and lifestyle of the workers, is a milestone in social and industrial history. The moral and social beliefs that underlay Robert Owen's work there provided the basis for seminal material and intangible developments that have had lasting influences on human society over the past two hundred years.
Tsodilo(Botswana) No. 1021	C (i), (iii), and (vi)	The significance of the place lies in its visual prominence, its geological and archaeological character as scientific resources, its use over tens of thousands of years as an area of settlement and nourishment, its outstanding rock art, and its long-term sanctity. All of those elements individually bear witness to different universal significances; collectively they combine to create a veritable "node of universal significance" on the surface of the earth. Furthermore, the symbiotic relationship between nature and culture, the very essence of Tsodilo, is, in itself, universally significant.
Vat Phou and Associated Ancient Settlements within the Champasak Cultural Landscape (Laos) No. 481rev	C (iii), (iv) and (vi)	The outstanding significance of the Champasak cultural landscape lies in the broad scientific perspective of the powerful Khmer culture of the 10th -14th centuries AD as a whole. The resulting perspective of these ideas, not only on the ground but also in architecture and art was a unique fusion of indigenous nature symbols, religious inspiration, and technical prowess.
The Royal Hill of Ambohimanga (Madagascar) No. 950	C (iii), (iv) and (vi)	The Royal Hill of Ambohimanga is of great significance to the people of Madagascar as a place vital in their political development yet at the same time of great religious meaning. As such, the Royal Hill of Ambohimanga is also of global significance as an excellent example of a place where, over centuries, so much of the common human experience comes to be focussed in memory and aspiration, in ritual and prayer.

Tombs of the Bugunda Kings at Kasubi (Uganda) No. 1022	C (i), (iii), (iv) and (vi)	The most important value associated with the Kasubi Tombs site are the strong elements of intangible heritage. The built and natural elements of the site, which is an outstanding example of traditional <i>Ganda</i> architecture and palace design, are charged with historical, traditional, and spiritual values. The site is regarded as the major spiritual centre for the Baganda. It also serves as an important historical and cultural symbol for Uganda and East Africa as a whole.
Masada National Park (Israel) No. 1040	C (iii), (iv) and (vi) This site has been nominated as a mixed site. Its evaluation under mixed criteria will be carried out by IUCN.	Masada is a poignant symbol of the continuing human struggle between oppression and liberty.