

THE DIFFUSION OF THE IDEAS OF THE EUROPEAN ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE YEAR IN CHINA

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ABSTRACT This research examines how the ideas of the *European Architectural Heritage Year* (EAHY 1975) were transmitted into the People's Republic of China. Due to political instability in the 1960s and 1970s and the territorial grandness, the discourse about EAHY 1975 in China appeared to be stopping and starting at intervals and regionally conditioned. To attain a structural understanding of the Chinese adoption of the EAHY 1975 in time and space, this research adopts an approach of diffusion. Firstly, to remove the linguistic difficulty that hinders the investigation of this transcultural topic, this essay begins with a detailed listing of the translation variants about the EAHY 1975 in Chinese and their areas of usage. Then, it continues to examine three types of diffusion channels – collection exchange, written media, and personal interaction – in order to depict the processes, by which the EAHY 1975 was made known and then spread out after the Cultural Revolution. By tracing the affiliations of the Chinese authors who have written about the → *Declaration of Amsterdam* (DA, see appendix), it is revealed that scholars from seven of the “Old Eight” architectural schools have played a crucial role in propagating the ideas of the EAHY 1975 in China.

1. METHODOLOGY

This research borrows the methodology of diffusion research, which seeks to explain how and why new ideas and innovations spread through cultures. It regards the concept of the EAHY 1975 as a new idea, its spreading process in China as a kind of diffusion. Because the key element of diffusion research, the communication channels, stresses the importance of connections among adopters, it can exchange theoretical and methodological ideas with social network analysis (SNA), which views social connections in terms of network theory thereby explaining social phenomena, including innovation diffusion.

The integration of the two methodologies provides a structural, overall perspective to study the acceptance of a new idea, especially in situations in which few written records are available to conduct a direct inquiry to the scientific, discursive discussion about the new ideas, as in the case of the EAHY 1975 in China. This perspective, meanwhile, provides a framework for the more intensive studies in the future, when relevant documents will have been declassified and witnesses interviewed.

2. THE TRANSLATION

When an idea enters a foreign culture, the first hindrance to its migration is usually not the barrier of geographic borders, but the barrier of language. This especially applies to the ideas traversing between the West and the East, whose disparity in languages manifests not only the difference of expressions, but also the difference of thinking. As will be seen in the following discussion, during the migration of ideas from Europe to China, the terms of the EAHY 1975 have gone through several linguistic transformations. Without clarifying the semantic change of the key terms of EAHY 1975, it is easy to underestimate its

influence by overlooking its usage in other forms of translation, or overestimate its popularity by including irrelevant contents that use the same Chinese terms, but actually were translated from terms that have nothing to do with the EAHY 1975. As the heritage year was first introduced to China, at least five variants of translation have emerged. The most commonly used are (1) 欧洲建筑遗产年, (2) 欧洲遗产年, (3) 欧洲建筑艺术遗址保护年, (4) 欧洲古迹保护年, (5) 欧洲遗迹保护年. Translating them back to English literally, the Chinese terms listed above are (1) European Architectural Heritage Year, (2) European Heritage Year, (3) European Architectural Art Ruins Protection Year, (4) European Historic Sites Protection Year, (5) European Vestige Protection Year. Here, we can see while it is acknowledged that this year is a memorial year in Europe, it does not seem to be exactly understood to 'what' it is dedicated. Tracing the origins of these translations discloses the sources of their difference: the choice of translation is significantly associated with the areas of usage. Only the translation of (1) 欧洲建筑遗产年, which is the appropriate one, appears in academic texts and official documents. Other translations are arbitrarily used in stamp and coin collections. In a handful of academic texts, however, the translation of (2) 欧洲遗产年 is also used, seemingly as the shortened form of (1) 欧洲建筑遗产年. Although it seems impossible to trace the first oral usage of these translation, the records in written media show the earliest translation of (1) 欧洲建筑遗产年 may have originated from the earliest scholars, such as Fudong Dai and Qinzhe Zhang (Dai and Zhang 1984), who have made efforts to bring the knowledge back to China, after surveying the international development of heritage conservation. The origin of other translations is harder to investigate, since the Chinese collection market does not have a register system to record sales and purchases. It is impossible to know when the first stamp or coin about EAHY 1975 was imported and sold in China. It seems reasonable to assume that these translations emerged with the first attempt to sell memorial collections about the EAHY 1975 in China, as the sellers had to at least make the name of the stamps and coins known to the potential Chinese buyers.

The ideas of the EAHY 1975 are also affected by the difficulties associated with the term of the → *Declaration of Amsterdam* (DA),¹ which is translated exclusively as 阿姆斯特丹宣言. This Chinese term can also refer to some other international documents that were created in Amsterdam. They are, *Amsterdam Declaration to Stop TB*,² the *Amsterdam Declaration* adopted by International Forum on Population in the Twenty-First Century,³ and the *Amsterdam Declaration on Earth System Science*.⁴ To eliminate any confusion arising from these documents, texts referring to them will be excluded in this discussion.

3. THE CHANNELS OF DIFFUSION

In this part, three types of transmission channels, which are increasingly less visible to the public, are investigated in order to reveal the reception process of the EAHY 1975 in China. This research does not rule out the existence of other channels, such as the learning of others' practice. However, this kind of diffusion is difficult to identify decisively, therefore, it is not included in this short paper.

In Stamp and Coin Collections

The translations of (2) 欧洲建筑艺术遗址保护, (3) 欧洲古迹保护年 and (4) 欧洲遗迹保护年 are seldom found in an academic context but are common in the language of collectors, mainly depending on the choice of sellers. (1) 欧洲建筑遗产年, (2) 欧洲建筑艺术遗址保护年 and (3) 欧洲古迹保护年 are the translations mostly used by stamp collectors. Stamps issued by many countries, e.g., Vatican, Germany, Sweden, and Denmark have come into the Chinese market. For the Vatican stamps, the translation of (2) 欧洲建筑艺术遗址保护年 is widely used, while for the German stamps the term of (3) 欧洲古迹保护年 is common. (3) 欧洲古迹保护年 and (4) 欧洲遗迹保护年 are frequently heard in the sales of coins. Especially, it appears that the German commemorative coin of five marks of 1975 is currently the only commemorative coin of the EAHY 1975 available on the Chinese market.

The effect of these memorial collections in spreading the EAHY 1975 ideas relies on the motivation of the buyers. For common Chinese collectors, the reason to buy foreign memorial collections is the possibility of their rise in value. The topic of EAHY 1975 is not as popular as other collections, however, such as the military history of Germany or the animal diversity of Australia. The price remains moderate. For instance, a souvenir sheet of four to six 50 cent stamps sells at about 18 to 60 RMB. Only some rare stamps such as those from Romania can be sold at 500 RMB. At the moment, the price for the five mark German coin is between 60 and 200 RMB. The feedback of online buyers indicate the motivation for buying the EAHY 1975 topic is either a personal interest in architecture or pure admiration of the beauty of the collections. Although in both cases we cannot expect a deep understanding of the spirit of EAHY 1975 among the sellers and buyers, it can be supposed that the name of the EAHY 1975 has reached a wider audience beyond academia. In some sale descriptions, sellers have detailed the origin of the name, which adds to the understanding of the ideas of the EAHY 1975. The situation of sale by the dealers and on the internet, however, indicates the circulation of these stamps and coins is limited.

In the Written Media. Publications about the EAHY 1975 in the China National Knowledge Infrastructure⁵

The Term of 'European Architectural Heritage Year 1975'

In the academic and professional world, the term 'European Architectural Heritage Year' is translated as 欧洲建筑遗产年. Using it for a full-text search, one can get 111 results in the China National Knowledge Infrastructure (CNKI), which boasts of being the largest knowledge base for at least Chinese resources,⁶ including Chinese academic journals and non-academic publications such as newspapers. In the CNKI, the earliest article with 'EAHY 1975' appeared in 1984, written by Fudong Dai and Qinzhe Zhang (Dai and Zhang 1984) introducing an academic organization of Harvard University and MIT called the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture. Over the next eighteen years (1984–2002), only six more articles were published mentioning the 'EAHY 1975'. A sudden boom of using 'EAHY 1975' arose in 2003. The most cited articles were published between 2005 and 2006, written by Haihong Shen (Shen 2006, 42 times), Haiyan Li (Li 2005, 41 times), Song Zhang (Zhang 2006, 41 times), and Guangqin Xiang (Xiang 2005, 38 times). Two of the four authors, i. e., Haihong Shen and Song Zhang, are well-known preservation activists in China. The other two authors – Xiang, an associate research fellow in Jiangsu Institute of Sociology, and Li, a master student in Northwest University – indicate the purpose of mentioning the EAHY 1975 is to draw on the experiences of foreign countries in order to solve Chinese problems.

The Term of 'Declaration of Amsterdam'

The → *Declaration of Amsterdam* (DA) is a core document conveying the ideas of the European conservation movement. A full-text search on CNKI returns 143 articles that contain the 'DA'. The earliest mention of this term appeared in 1986 – two years later than the article that mentioned 'EAHY 1975', in the same journal, *World Architecture*. This article is authored by the ICOMOS President of the United Kingdom, Sir Bernard Melchior Feilden, translated and revised by Zhihua Chen (Feilden and Chen 1986). In the next fifteen years, no article surfaced until a student Ying Dong (Dong 2002) related to 'DA' in her master thesis in 2002. Thereafter, the statistics show a steady increase of usage.

Not surprisingly, the most cited article is the one written by Feilden (Feilden and Chen 1986, 55 times). The next most frequently cited articles are written by Yuan Lin (Lin 2007, 44 times), Haihong Shen (Shen 2006, 42 times), who wrote the most well-cited article with 'EAHY 1975', and Song Zhang (Zhang 2006, 41 times) – the second well-cited article with 'EAHY 1975'.

It is also important to mention, besides the DA, the → *European Charter of the Architectural Heritage* (ECAH) was signed in 1975 by seventeen state members. It is an official document bonding together the

European conservation communities. Yet, compared to the DA, it is succinct due to its legal language and less transmissible in countries outside of Europe. For the purpose of studying the diffusion of the EAHY 1975 ideas in China, which is a non-EU country, it appears to be more sensible to focus on the dissemination of the DA than the ECAH.

The Influence of the Cultural Revolution

A noticeable common ground about these two key terms is the latency of their entry into the Chinese written media, about ten years after 1975 (Fig. 1). This delay does not surprise us if we take into account the influence of the Cultural Revolution

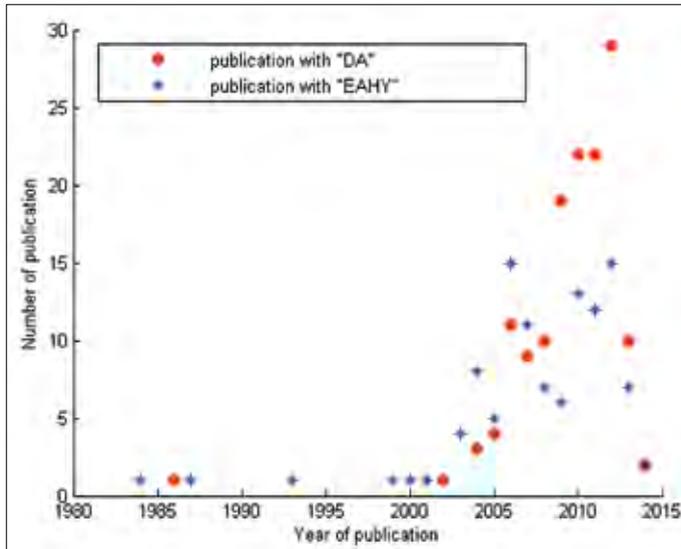


Fig. 1: Numbers of publications about the *Declaration of Amsterdam* and the *European Architectural Heritage Year* of 1975 (Chart: Sun 2015)

(1967–1977), in which libraries full of historical and foreign texts were destroyed (Zhu 2013).

In spite of the book famine, there was still some contemporary Western literature available, mostly translated. They were normally marked as “internal translation (内部翻译),” “for internal circulation (内部发行),” or “for internal reading (内部阅读).” It was not illegal for normal people to read these books, but it was difficult to get access to them. During the Cultural Revolution, very few libraries subscribed to periodical literature from the West. The exception was the Shanghai Library (Zhu 2013). However, volumes purchased before the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution were still

accessible in the libraries of highly-ranked universities and research institutes. For instance, oral accounts show at least the Institute of Economics of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (Yao 2014), Peking University (Yao 2014), and Shanghai Information Center for Life Sciences (SICLS) were in possession of some international journals. Although these periodicals were available to some researchers, the spread of the contents was limited. Some researchers were sentenced to death due to their politically ‘improper’ dissemination of the enemies’ information from the West (Public Security and Military Control Commission 2011).

Diffusion after the Cultural Revolution

The DA in articles

Between the 111 articles with the EAHY 1975 and the 143 articles with the DA, there are only 36 articles in common. Why did some authors relate only one side of the story? For instance, Guangqin Xiang’s article mentioned “the European Committee decided to designate 1975 as the European Architectural Heritage Year”⁸ (Xiang 2005, 193), but did not go further to mention the → *Declaration of Amsterdam*. The same is true regarding the articles that only contain the contents of the DA. For example, Yuxue Li

enlists the DA as one international declaration⁹ (Li 2009, 112), but does not recount its background. One plausible explanation is that the terms of ‘EAHY 1975’ and ‘DA’ reached the Chinese media independently. This becomes even more convincing if we compare the earliest article with ‘EAHY 1975’ and ‘DA’. The earliest article with ‘EAHY 1975’ relates the heritage year as an event that the organization, the Aga Khan Program, has taken part in, while the first article with ‘DA’ attempts to introduce the importance of preserving historical districts in urban planning, which was the principal point of the EAHY 1975.

The understanding about the ideas of EAHY 1975 in a Chinese text should be considered more meaningful, because it indicates the authors and the readers could be interested in the activities of the EAHY 1975 instead of knowing it only as an occurrence. In this regard, we specially focus on 143 articles with ‘DA’. Particularly, the 143 articles and their one-step citations¹⁰ are constructed into a network (Fig. 2). This shows twelve separate clusters. One cluster is especially large and contains most of the articles; the other clusters are very small and contain only sparsely connected or isolated articles. This suggests, while the texts in the smaller clusters have exerted some influence on other scholars, a widespread diffusion has occurred in the big cluster.

The out-degrees of nodes (i. e., the node size in fig. 2 or the Y axis in fig. 3) (Fig. 3) indicate the most influential article is the one written by Feilden (Feilden and Chen 1986), which is also the earliest article that introduces the contents of the DA in Chinese. After this, the publications of Yuan Lin (Lin 2007), Haihong Shen (Shen 2006), and Song Zhang (Zhang 2006) belong to the most cited publications. The “loneliness” of Feilden’s article before the turn of the century seems to correspond to the lasting effect of media control during the Cultural Revolution. As explained in the footnote, after an invited presentation in Tsinghua University, Feilden wrote this article for the journal, *World Architecture*. Before publication, it was abridged and revised by its second author and translator Zhihua Chen. Its great influence on the later publications may be due to the fact that it was one of the few Western papers sanctioned at the time, which was a sign of the

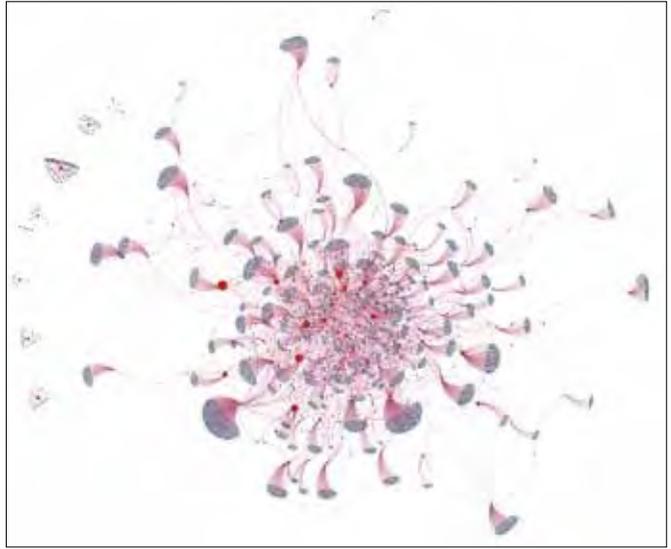


Fig. 2: The one-step citation relationship around the 143 articles quoting the *Declaration of Amsterdam* of 1975 (Chart: Sun 2015)

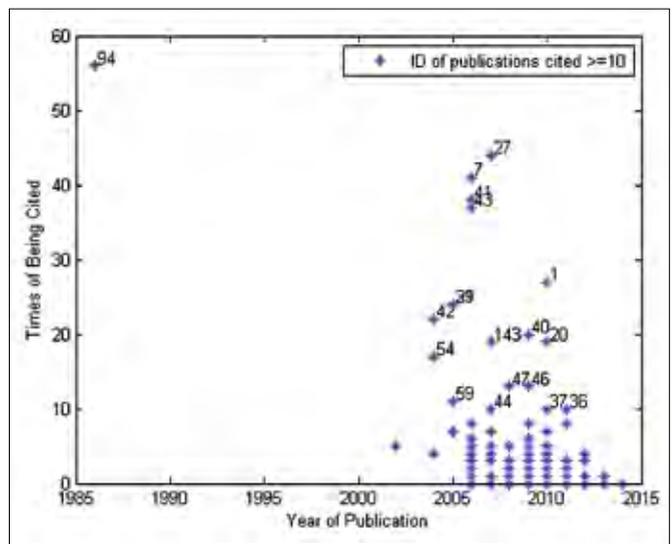


Fig. 3: Citation popularity of the 143 texts quoting the *Declaration of Amsterdam* of 1975 (Chart: Sun 2015)

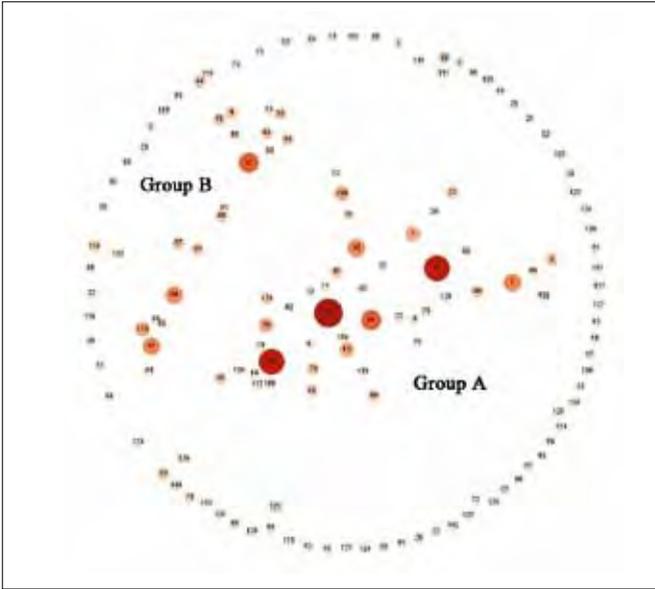


Fig. 4: Citation relationship of the 143 articles quoting the *Declaration of Amsterdam 1975* (Chart: Sun 2015)

academic engagement, one can assume that authors in Group A have played an important role in diffusing the ideas of the DA, for the rate of being cited in this group is higher and it contains more journal articles, which normally have more readers than master's essays and dissertations. In the second group, the most influential articles were three master's essays written respectively by Chunyan Zhang (Zhang 2004), Jian Kang (Kang 2008), and Guo Yang (Yang 2004).

Looking at the institutional background of these authors, an interesting topology of academic zoning appears: in Group A, most authors, whose number and influence is greater, are affiliated to seven of the "Old Eight"¹¹ universities with renowned architectural and planning departments, while in Group B authors mostly come from other schools. The importance of the seven schools of "the Old Eight" can also be recognized by their dominance in the frequency of using the term. More than half of the authors of the 143 DA citations are affiliated with six of "the Old Eight." "If the intellectual or scientific space still remains important in meaning, it should be evident in the structure of quotation" (Giddens 1984). This can be applied to our case here, in which we can observe the cities in which the seven schools are located have more citations of the *Declaration of Amsterdam*. Since in these cities there are other academic and research institutes that have also produced texts referring the DA, it might be reasonable to assume that the seven schools have generated a kind of syntonic effect to improve the radiating power of their geographic locations.

The *Amsterdam Declaration* of 1975 in books

If the 143 articles are aligned chronologically (Fig. 5), it can be found the article by Feilden would not be the only information source for China, because many nodes stand disconnected with the ego-network of this article. There must be other sources available. Since CNKI does not provide full text search in books, a hypothesis may be that some books have provided the sources. A brief investigation of the books cited by the 143 articles confirms this hypothesis. For instance, a very popular book among planning students, *An Introduction to Integrated Conservation* (Zhang 2001), provides a list of international movements and their documents, including the EAHY 1975 and the DA. It is one of the most-cited books by the 143 cita-

ex-pansion of media outlets and the change to a much more liberal media after the Cultural Revolution. At the same time, Feilden's article is also written evidence of the post-Cultural-Revolution period, in which Chinese scholars were allowed to accept Western ideas and communicate with foreign scholars, while the system of academic publication had not yet fully recovered from the destruction of the Cultural Revolution.

Moreover, the relationship with in the 143 citations suggests two groups of authors were closely related to each other (Fig. 4). In the first group, the most influential were the dissertation by Yuan Lin (Lin 2007), the journal article by Song Zhang (Zhang 2006), and the master's essay by Xuefeng Zhen (Zhen 2007). Considering the chronological order, the nature of publication, and

tions. However, not all the books referred by the 143 articles provide the information about the DA.

In addition to academic books, it is also necessary to look into a special group of books – readers for leading cadre. They are usually used as textbooks in the training courses for government officials, therefore are normally very compact and contain only the most essential knowledge selected by experts in the field. The topic of historic preservation is compiled in *Urban and Rural Planning and Construction Knowledge Reader for the Leading Cadre* (Wang 2003). In the chapter of “Preservation of Cultural Heritage, Natural Heritage, and Urban Landscape,” a short history of world heritage conservation is briefed, but it has no mention of the EAHY 1975.

This selection coincides with many other Chinese conservation books, which lay more importance on the UNESCO and ICOMOS international documents, especially, *Charter of Venice* (1964), *Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas* (called *Nairobi Recommendation* in Chinese, 1976), and *Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas (Washington Chapter, 1987)* over regional movements such as the EAHY 1975.

Interaction between Chinese and Foreign Scholars

In addition to publications, there is abundant evidence indicating the transmission of the EAHY 1975 ideas through personal contacts. Before the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution, some Chinese architects, especially those who had studied abroad, were able to keep abreast with the outside world. One example is the correspondence between Sicheng Liang (梁思成) and Clarence Stein. During the Cultural Revolution, despite the censorship of written media, the central government did not stop updating its own knowledge of the outside world. For instance, Tomlan’s¹² oral history with the architect and planner Charles Chen – a former colleague of Colin Rowe at the Architectural Association in London – shows that Chen was required to provide the Party in Beijing with summaries of both English and French language periodicals during the period so that the appropriate propaganda could be developed to warn the Chinese people about foreign influences. Some Chinese may have even managed to participate in the 6-month training course held by ICCROM in Rome in 1965 (Dai and Zhang 1984), right before the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution. However, this account is not corroborated by the records in ICCROM archive in Rome. The participant list of this course, which was planned in 1965 and carried out in 1966, does not contain any names of Chinese participants. Nevertheless, the same archive shows the first Chinese participant of an ICCROM course was Kwai-Lun Chan (spelled in Cantonese pronunciation system) from the Central Institute of Fine Arts¹³ (中央美术学院, Beijing). She attended ICCROM’s *Scientific Principles of Conservation Course* in 1979, two years after the end of the Culture Revolution. This record corresponds to the biography of a sculpture professor with the same name (陈桂

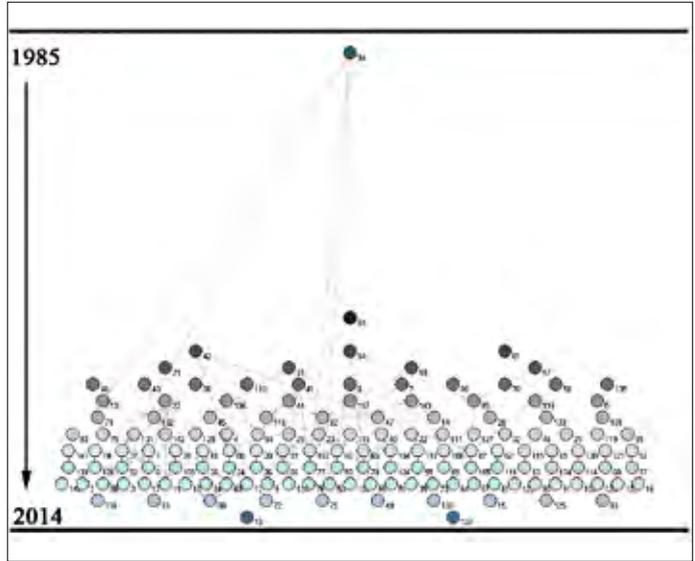


Fig. 5: The 143 citations with the *Declaration of Amsterdam* of 1975 in chronological order (Chart: Sun 2015)

轮, spelled as Guilun Chen in Mandarin pronunciation system) in the same institute. In 1979 she received a UNESCO fellowship for a study tour in Italy and France. In 1982 she published an article, *Historical Responsibility – Conservation of Historical and Cultural Heritage* (Kwai-Lun Chan 1982), in which she introduced the significance of heritage conservation to China.

From 1980 to 1998, the *Architectural Conservation Course* in ICCROM was attended by six participants from the People's Republic of China. Five of them returned to China, of these, four are working in academic institutions in Peking, while one of them is working in governmental branch in Yunnan Province.¹⁴ As ICOMOS is not as educational as ICCROM, it is difficult to investigate who from China enjoyed the ability to implement the ideas of ICOMOS. However, because many preservation experts were engaged in both organizations, the contact with ICCROM also increases the chance to learn about ICOMOS, including the concepts of the EAHY 1975. Unfortunately the writing of the early participants does not show an intention in promoting the concept of the EAHY 1975. This might be due to the fact that ICCROM has a different focus and, more importantly, that at the time that the Chinese scholars went abroad, the EAHY 1975 had passed its peak of attention.

Besides sending scholars abroad, China also invited Western experts to introduce the Western concepts of conservation at home. For instance, as mentioned above, Feilden was invited to give a presentation in Tsinghua University in 1982 (Feilden and Chen 1986). Later, apart from inviting individuals, China was able to organize large-scale conferences to broaden its window of receiving international knowledge and keep abreast with the newest tendency of the world heritage business. Today, thanks to its strong economic development, China is no longer only a passive receiver of information, but also an active contributor to the discussion about world heritage conservation.

Besides intensive communication with the international conservation community at the organizational level, there are also interactions at the very personal level. For instance, the Vice President of ICOMOS, Prof. Yukio Nishimura (西村幸夫) was the advisor of the author Song Zhang during his doctoral study in Japan (1993–1996). After returning to China, Zhang has been continually introducing Nishimura's work in his publications and teaching. Scholars like Zhang, by working and teaching in the educational institutes, further fostered the next generation of Chinese preservationists, who are more international and competent in receiving the outside information in terms of open-mindedness and language ability. One of his doctoral students, Xuefeng Zhen (镇雪峰), is also recognized as influential in diffusing the ideas of EAHY 1975 in this research.

CONCLUSIONS

Based on the evidence above, the Chinese reception of the EAHY 1975 ideas can be summarized as follows:

- (1) Due to the intervention of the Cultural Revolution, the ideas of the EAHY 1975 entered China relatively late, almost ten years away from the peak year of activity, 1975.
- (2) After the EAHY 1975 was introduced to the Chinese preservation community, it was still regarded as less important than other international documents promoted by UNESCO and ICOMOS international congresses, such as the *Venice Charter*, the *Nairobi Recommendations*, and the *Washington Chapter*.
- (3) There are multiple channels through which the concepts of the EAHY 1975 were made known and disseminated to a wider Chinese audience. After the Cultural Revolution, as the Chinese scholars were able to interact with foreign scholars freely and frequently, the ideas of the EAHY 1975 went into China along with massive waves of knowledge exchange at various inter-personal levels. This is reflected in written media, in which the usage of the terms of 'EAHY 1975' and 'DA' shows a steep increase around the turn of the century. The written media, in turn, expedites the process of diffusion, as it provides the information channels among scholars who do not have direct personal interaction.

Furthermore, the circulation of commemorative collections about the EAHY 1975, such as coins and stamps, make at least the name of the European movement known to a wider Chinese audience beyond academia.

- (4) The publication records indicate seven of the “Old Eight” architectural schools have played an important role in receiving and spreading the ideas of the EAHY 1975. Scholars from these seven schools such as Song Zhang and Zhihua Chen, who have substantial contact with the international conservation community, played a crucial role in introducing the contents of the EAHY 1975 to China through their publications and teaching.

In summary, the diffusion of the *European Architectural Heritage Year* in China can be regarded as a transcultural process, which was greatly influenced by the political atmosphere and the academic topology in China.

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¹ For convenience, the abbreviation of DA will be used as a short form of the *Declaration of Amsterdam*.

² Amsterdam, the Netherlands, 24th March, 2000.

³ Amsterdam, the Netherlands, 6–9th November, 1989.

⁴ Amsterdam, the Netherlands, closed by *Earth System Science Partnership* (ESSP) in 2001 in a major international Earth System conference.

⁵ The raw data in this research can be obtained by contacting the author.

⁶ More about CNKI at <http://baike.baidu.com/view/15874.htm>, accessed January 18, 2015.

⁷ Many books were translated in Peking University and Fudan University.

⁸ Original in Chinese: “欧洲各国外长会议决定把 1975 年作为欧洲建筑遗产年。”

⁹ Original in Chinese: “区域性的宣言有关于欧洲的建筑遗产保护的“阿姆斯特丹宣言”，关于美洲文化遗产保护的“圣安东尼宣言”以及关于意大利文化遗产维护的“罗马宣言”等。”

¹⁰ This refers to the articles which do not contain the term of 'DA', but they are directly cited by or have directly cited from any of the 143 articles.

¹¹ Tsinghua University 清华大学, Southeast University 东南大学, Tongji University 同济大学, Tianjin University 天津大学, South China University of Technology 华南理工大学, Chongqing University of Architecture 重庆建筑大学 (merged into Chongqing University), Harbin University of Architecture 哈尔滨建筑大学 (merged into Harbin University of Technology), and Xian University of Architecture and Technology 西安建筑科技大学 (previously the Department of Architecture in Northeast University).

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¹³ It is now *The Central Academy of Fine Arts* (CAFA).

¹⁴ In acknowledgement of the kind help of María Mata Caravaca, the Archivist in ICCROM.