



2009 International Cooperation Survey

**Survey Report on the Protection of
Cultural Heritage in the Kingdom of Bhutan**

March 2011
Japan Consortium for International Cooperation in Cultural Heritage

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Introduction

Forward

The present report is the result of a survey conducted in Bhutan by the Japan Consortium for International Cooperation in Cultural Heritage (hereinafter referred to as “the JCIC”) as part of its research on partner countries for international cooperation.

The surveys, which are among the primary activities of the JCIC, are for the purpose of collecting basic data in order to determine potential fields of cooperation, and their feasibility, in partner countries, thus contributing to the promotion of international cooperation. From its establishment in June 2006, until the year 2011, the JCIC has conducted such cooperation surveys in Laos, Mongolia, Yemen (survey of damage from flooding in the Hadramawt area), Armenia, and the Nan Madol Ruins of the Federated States of Micronesia. Some of the international cooperation projects implemented by Japan have been based on information obtained through these surveys.

The Bhutan survey was conducted through the Ministry of Home and Cultural Affairs of Bhutan, various institutions such as museums and libraries, as well as international organizations involved in cooperation with Bhutan. The interviews focused on measures and policies related to the preservation of cultural heritage. In addition, a field survey was carried out regarding the current state of preservation of the tangible and intangible cultural heritage of dzongs (fortress-like buildings that serve as centers of government) and temples. This report summarizes the results obtained from these surveys.

In Bhutan, cultural traditions continue to thrive even today. Turning away from unregulated modernization, the country bases its policies on sustainable living culture rather than economic indicators as a measure of the wealth of its citizens. Therefore, the concepts and methods of modern cultural property preservation, born in a context of rapid change and loss of heritage, cannot be directly applied to Bhutan. Rethinking the questions of what is culture, and what is cultural heritage, we need to carefully consider what kind of cooperation would be appropriate for this country. The process of understanding and learning from Bhutan may allow us to reflect anew on the contemporary society in which we live.

Shinichi Shimizu

Director, Japan Centre for International Cooperation in Conservation
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Preface

This is a report on a field survey of the state of cultural heritage conservation in the Kingdom of Bhutan, carried out within the framework of research by the Consortium for International Cooperation in Cultural Heritage.

The survey consisted mainly of field trips and interviews, and this report is based on the findings. The authors of this report are Yoshiro IMAEDA, who wrote the sections "Uniqueness of Bhutan from the Viewpoint of Cultural Heritage", and "Festivals of Bhutan (Intangible Cultural Heritage)"; Masahiko TOMODA, author of the sections: "Overview of Cultural Heritage Sites Visited", and "Discussion"; the remaining sections were written by Tomomi HARAMOTO, of the Consortium for International Cooperation in Cultural Heritage. Ms. Haramoto also edited the manuscript.

1. Overview of the Survey

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(1) Purpose of the Survey; List of Members

The Japan Consortium for International Cooperation in Cultural heritage (JCIC) is conducting surveys of partner countries for the purpose of promoting international cooperation on cultural heritage with Japan. Surveys include emergency surveys for cooperation on cultural heritage affected by disaster, and general surveys of the current state of protection of cultural heritage. This report is a general survey conducted in 2009, in order to understand cultural heritage protection in the Kingdom of Bhutan (hereinafter Bhutan), the current state of international cooperation, and what the country requires.

<Survey Members>

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<Map-1> Location of Bhutan.



<Map-2> Places visited in this survey.



(2) Reasons for survey in Bhutan

Bhutan is a devoutly Buddhist country, in which even today, Buddhist teachings continue to exert a strong influence on every aspect of the daily lives of its people. Modernization is not confused with westernization in this country: Bhutan is known for modernizing in its own way, while protecting traditional culture. For example, education in etiquette is considered mandatory, as is the wearing of traditional clothes in formal settings. Furthermore, the law requires compliance with traditional building styles not only for public facilities but also for private dwellings. In this way, traditional culture continues to be protected even today.

① Cultural heritage protection since 2002

In Bhutan, the protection of traditional culture is largely attributable to the national isolationist policy that endured for many years. Immediately after revision of the policy in 1992, Japan began cooperation on restoration work for Bhutan's historical buildings through the Agency for Cultural Affairs' Asia and Pacific region cooperative project for the preservation of cultural buildings. The project continued for 10 years, until 2002. At the end of the project, legal measures were beginning to be put in place, and it was reported that the government of Bhutan was showing a positive attitude towards the protection of cultural heritage.⁽¹⁾ After the completion of this project, however, there was little information available about the progress of cultural heritage protection in Bhutan in the context of increasing globalization and pressure to modernize.

② Potential for cooperation to repair damages caused by the 2009 earthquake

An earthquake struck Bhutan in 2009, damaging many of the buildings that had been constructed by traditional methods. In response, the UNESCO New Delhi office began to investigate how to support the restoration of cultural heritage, and set up a preliminary survey.

(1) Report of the Cooperation Project on the Conservation of Historic Buildings in Bhutan within the frame work of the ACA Cooperation Project for the Conservation of Historic Buildings in the Asia Pacific Region 1992-2002, Architecture and Other Structures Division, Cultural Properties Department, Agency for Cultural Affairs (ACA), Government of Japan.

The JCIC was asked to look into the possibility of cooperation from Japan. In order to conduct the study, the JCIC needed to collect data, and to understand the current state of cultural heritage protection in Bhutan.

③ Needs related to movable assets and intangible cultural heritage, and potential for cooperation

Previously, Japan was mainly involved in cooperation and research on immovable heritage, so there was a need for a comprehensive collection of information regarding movable heritage and intangible cultural heritage protection.

For the above three reasons, Bhutan was chosen for the partner country survey in 2009.

(3) Cultural Heritage in Bhutan

① Uniqueness of Bhutan from the Viewpoint of Cultural Heritage

First of all, there is a need to acknowledge that the concept of cultural heritage common to the rest of the world may not exist or be applicable in Bhutan.

Cultural heritage is that which was produced in the past and still exists in the present. In that sense, there is a great deal of cultural heritage in Bhutan. The people of Bhutan are proud of their cultural heritage and feel happy to live in this country. However, for the Bhutanese, cultural heritage means the spiritual heritage of Buddhism that has been passed down by monks, in their teachings and blessings. Tangible heritage, such as *dzongs*, temples, stupas, statues and paintings of Buddha, and intangible heritage, such as the *cham* (masked dance) and *tsechu* (annual religious festivals) are all merely symbolic representations of the teaching of Buddha. As such, they have only secondary meaning. Furthermore, Buddhism is fundamentally based on the concept of impermanence. As Buddhists, the Bhutanese do not see their world as constant and motionless, but as something constantly changing and ephemeral. From this point of view, placing value on physical symbols is seen as an illusory attachment. The Bhutanese therefore place little value on the tangible and visible, and see no intrinsic value in or pressing reason for preserving an object simply because of its age. Little importance is placed on preservation of old things, and even when a damaged object is repaired, restoration to the original condition is not a priority.

One can notice a similar attitude among Tibetan refugees who practice Mahayana Buddhism. Although they lost not only their tangible heritage, but also their country itself, and had to start over again from nothing, in a foreign country, they were not overcome by this tragic setback; rather, they thrived spiritually and have maintained their Buddhist tradition for over half a century already. What these people value is not the physical symbols of their heritage, but the existence of the lamas, the embodiment of their spiritual tradition. As long as lamas continue existing, the tradition of Buddhism will not perish.

This is the fundamental thinking of the Bhutanese as believers in the Buddhist faith.

Secondly, let us look at the current situation in Bhutan.

Normally, when speaking of cultural heritage, it is recognized that the traditional techniques employed in the creation of cultural heritage have already deteriorated or vanished, and can no longer be produced or recreated. There is an implicit recognition that the heritage is valuable, and should be restored, preserved, and maintained, because it cannot be reproduced.

The situation in Bhutan, however, is radically different. Bhutan embarked on the path of modernization much later than other Asian countries; its traditional practices therefore remain strong, and traditional techniques are alive and well. As a result, the Bhutanese do not feel a pressing need to restore and preserve artifacts from the past. This is illustrated by two construction projects carried out under Jigme Singye Wangchuck, the fourth Dragon King of Bhutan, who reigned from 1972 to 2006. During his reign, two of the most sacred and important structures in Bhutan were severely damaged by fire: the Taktsang Monastery, closely associated with the founder of Buddhism in Bhutan, Guru Rimpoche (8th century), who is revered as the second Buddha; and the Punakha *Dzong* established by Zhabdrung Ngwang Namgyal (1594-1651), the founder of Bhutan. By that time, Bhutan had already experienced several decades of modernization, and modern construction methods from other countries had been introduced and adopted. However, the fourth King of Bhutan summoned traditional stonecutters, carpenters, painters, and Buddhist statue sculptors, and urged them to build even more fabulous buildings and *dzongs*. The king himself supervised the progress of the construction and the remodeling of buildings, which were more like newly built structures than restorations. The results, it was clear to everyone, were outstanding. The new Taktsang Monastery and Punakha Dzong are even more beautiful than the originals, and are a source of pride to the Bhutanese.

It has been a few years since Bhutan introduced a new political framework following the coronation of the fifth King, but the attitude and situation with regard to tradition have not changed. Tradition for the Bhutanese is identity itself, and the source of their spiritual power. Any modernization that would damage this identity and spiritual power would be pointless; but modernization that will protect and promote it is essential. Rather than looking to the past, the Bhutanese are striving to build an even firmer tradition for their future.

That is the current situation in Bhutan and the Bhutanese view of their own tradition.

The Bhutanese are unlikely to change their Buddhist identity in the future.

However, tradition is a different matter. Modernization has been underway for more than several decades. The country is facing an unprecedented wave of globalization, and it is undeniable that such rapid change will bring with it the risk of transforming or destroying tradition. Because the population is so small (700,000), the situation is all the more severe. Under such circumstances, the Bhutanese attitude toward tradition and their future may appear to observers as overconfident, and lacking in caution.

External involvement, in the form of international cooperation, in the preservation of Bhutanese cultural heritage, presupposes a clear understanding of how the Bhutanese view their own cultural heritage in the context of Buddhist tradition. Only then can one begin to explain and

promote the concept of “cultural heritage” as the international heritage of humanity. Ultimately, the Bhutanese themselves must decide what action to take as members of international society. Then, if they request financial, technical, or human resources assistance or partnership, we should be prepared to respond. That is the best, and the only effective, sustainable policy.

② Types of Cultural Heritage in Bhutan

As noted above, the generally accepted concept of cultural heritage is difficult to apply to Bhutan. However, for the sake of clarity, we will use the usual categories of cultural heritage in this survey.

The tangible cultural heritage of Bhutan includes structures such as the fortress-like buildings, or *dzongs* (which serve as administrative centers and monasteries); the religious buildings, or *lhakhang* (temples); *gompa* (monasteries); *chortem* (pagodas); and old houses. In Bhutan, the law requires that new construction also follow traditional architectural form and design. Furthermore, these buildings, old and new, are still being used for their original functions.

Movable heritage includes Buddhist objects such as statues and pictures, scriptures and prayer wheels, and masks and costumes used in religious ceremonies, as well as folk cultural properties such as traditional artwork and tools used in daily life. Whether new or old, Buddhist statues, artwork and scriptures are objects of religious faith, and therefore many of them are not stored in museums but kept at temples. Many traditional tools are in common use even today.

Well-known examples of intangible cultural heritage include the Tibetan Buddhist *tshechu* festival and religious ceremonies such as the masked dance known as *cham* that is performed during this festival. In addition, traditional techniques for textiles, bamboo craft, wood turning, gold and silver metalwork, carving, casting, paper making and woodcraft are carried on and protected as part of the intangible heritage. Other examples are the national sports of *datse* (bow) and *khul* (Bhutanese darts), folk music and instruments, *kira* and *gho* folk costumes etc.. Although there are many oral fables, the majority of these have yet to be recorded, and are in danger of disappearing due to modernization.

(4) Survey Method

To carry out a comprehensive study the current condition of protection of cultural heritage in Bhutan, interviews were undertaken with the individuals and organizations involved in the protection and conservation of the aforementioned cultural heritage centering on the Bhutan Internal Ministry of Home and Cultural Affairs, Department of Culture. The museums and libraries that house the cultural heritage to be protected and their storage rooms and temples were visited. In addition, interviews were carried out with representatives from international organizations and United Nations agencies engaged in international efforts in Bhutan. (A list of interviewees and records of the interviews are noted in the 4 survey records)

2. Overview of the Cultural Heritage Sites Visited

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(1) Temples

Gelug, the most powerful sect of Tibetan Buddhism, is known for constructing everywhere great monasteries that sometimes house thousands of monks. In Bhutan, however, except for *dzongs*, there are almost no such large-scale monasteries. Taktsang Monastery, which is consecrated to Padmasambhava, the guru who introduced Buddhism to Bhutan, is strikingly positioned on the side of a cliff. Still, even at this most widely venerated site, the respective buildings therein are not very large. Most of the temples are not monasteries meant to house monks (*gompas*), but rather temples meant as worship sites (*lhakhangs*) and made up of comparatively fewer buildings around a main hall where a statue of Buddha is enshrined.

■Kichu Lhakhang

This small temple, modestly located in the rustic Paro Valley, is said to be one of the 108 temples that the 7th-century unifier of Tibet, King Songtsen Gampo, built in order to subdue a giant demoness. As the oldest temple in Bhutan, it is considered sacred ground. The single-story main hall with its three tiers of hipped roofs enshrines a statue of Sakyamuni, as well as a statue of the thousand-armed Avalokitesvara. A gallery surrounds the central sanctuary with a space for worship at the front; however, the building in its current form is not the same as the original structure, with at least the gallery and worship space considered to be later additions. The topmost roof, with its gold finishing, is thought to represent a “heavenly canopy” over the deity within, while the two lower hipped roofs with corrugated iron tiles are estimated to date back not so far. The slightly larger building at the front side of the main hall was built in the same style by the Queen Mother of Bhutan in 1968; a giant statue of Padmasambhava is enshrined within. A slate-tiled lean-to structure runs along the periphery of these main buildings, with prayer wheels placed in a series of niches. Devotees worship by walking in a prescribed manner from niche to niche, chanting mantras as they turn the prayer wheels.

■Changangkha Lhakhang

Perched on the ridge of a western hill overlooking the city of Thimphu and its environs, Changangkha Lhakhang is Thimphu’s guardian temple, and is said to have been constructed in the 15th century. The path leading to the temple slopes upward, then circles the main hall with its three tiers of hipped roofs, as though taking a roundabout route from behind, before heading for the front of the building and arriving at the hall entrance on the left. There is a large prayer wheel in front of the entrance; from here one enters the worship space, a lean-to structure with a slanting roof built in front of the main hall. People enter from the side because the front of the temple’s nave has only a window; this is the same composition as that of Kyichu Lhakhang’s main hall. A statue of the eleven-faced Avalokitesvara is enshrined within. Another gable-roofed



Photo 1-1-1
A distant view of the Taktshang monastery.



Photo 1-2-1
Kyichu Lhakhang gate and main hall.



Photo 1-2-2
Main Hall (left) and Padmasambhava hall.



Photo 1-2-3
Buddhist monks walking clockwise around temple periphery.



Photo 1-3-1
View of Changankha Lhakhang (from the west).



Photo 1-3-2
East face exterior.

hall stands opposite the main hall, with a central courtyard between the two.

■Jangtsa Dumtseg Lhakhang

Although Bhutan has both the typical Tibetan style stupas (*chorten*) and Nepalese style stupas with eyes on all four sides, square stupas with roofs are more often seen. While similar stupas are found in other places such as Qinghai, those built in this style have come to be known as Bhutanese stupas. Stupas can be found on temple grounds as well as along roadsides, either singly or several in a row.

Built on the left bank of the Paro River in the north of Paro town, Jangtsa Dumtseg Lhakhang is a gigantic stupa with a chapel inside. It is constructed in such a way that devotees may worship by walking in a prescribed manner along the nave at its periphery. It is said to have been erected in the first half of the 15th century by a Tibetan monk famous for building iron suspension bridges throughout Bhutan. Although we were only able to see the first-floor nave this time, the interior is divided into three stories with the Buddhist statuary and murals growing more esoteric as one ascends. It can be likened to a smaller version of the chorten found not far away at Pelkor Chöde in Gyangzê, Tibet. The interior walls are covered with Buddhist murals said to date back to the 18th century.



Photo 1-3-3
Prayer wheel on main hall outside wall.



Photo 1-3-4
Main hall east face.



Photo 1-3-5
Front facade of main hall.



Photo 1-3-6
Shrine facing main hall.



Photo 1-4
Chorten at Chuzomu.



Photo 1-5
Duntze Lhakhang.

(2) Dzongs

■Druk Gyal Dzong

Located on the northern edge of the Paro Valley, along a former major trade route to Tibet, Druk Gyal Dzong is generally believed to have been constructed by Shabdrung Ngawang Namgyal, founder of Bhutan, both to commemorate a victory against the Tibetan forces and to prepare for another invasion. In 1951, it was destroyed by fire. Built on a rocky hill overlooking the Paro River, the temple is approached by a narrow path surrounded by stone-piled walls, twisting and turning on its way to the gate at the southern end. The path passes by three cylindrical towers as it continues to the riverbank, and is said to have been used as a route to transport water and supplies in times of war. The main portion of this *dzong* consists of three sections built on an area where the mountain peaks had been worn down. The buildings run from north to south, with the northernmost and highest section holding a four-story utse, the equivalent of a donjon. We know from the ruins that all three sections were once surrounded by multistory buildings with high stone exterior walls and a corresponding wooden gallery on the side facing the central courtyard, but today only the lower part of the stone structures remains, and the entire site has significantly deteriorated.

Beginning in 2000, the Paro District government initiated minimal measures to preserve the second gate and the utse. They are restoring some of the fixtures and the surrounding masonry, and adding a temporary corrugated metal roof, but the current conservation policy seems to be strongly geared toward measures that minimize intervention while preventing further deterioration, such as supporting what remains of the floor with temporary pillars. Some call for the complete restoration of this historic monument, but funding restraints mean that maintaining the current level of restoration measures is also considered as an option.

It is a scenic spot with the snowy Himalayas to the north, and families often picnic on the grounds.

■Simtokha Dzong

Construction on Simtokha Dzong, the first *dzong* built by Shabdrung, began in 1629 and ended in 1631. It was built as a strategic Drukpa outpost in western Bhutan, where the critical east-west route across Bhutan meets the Thimphu Valley. Though the Shabdrung moved in for a short period soon after its completion before taking up residence in the newly constructed Punaka Dzong, it saw much longer use as a fortress and as a storehouse for grain collected as taxes. The *dzong* was deserted once the government stopped dispatching prefects (*dzongpön*) in 1953.

There are records of additional construction work being conducted in the second half of the 17th century, as can be seen in some of the obviously remodeled sections, including where the central courtyard connects to the surrounding buildings.

A classical studies school established in 1961 was moved to Simtokha Dzong that same year, by order of the third King of Bhutan; the *dzong* continued to house the school until 1997. At



Photo 2-1-1
Overall view of Drukgyal Dzong.



Photo 2-1-2
Steps in front of the citadel gate.



Photo 2-1-3
Outermost gate.



Photo 2-1-4
Interior of the gate.



Photo 2-1-5
View of Utse from within the second courtyard.



Photo 2-1-6
People picnicking in the ruins.

present, it serves as a primary education center for monks. The slate tile roof was replaced with a corrugated metal one in 1966, and during this period the interiors of the surrounding buildings were remodeled to create many living areas.

In 1970, the north end of the outer bailey was washed away in a torrential downpour and was rebuilt. In 2003, Thimphu District began restoration work focused on updating the roof trusses. While the exact time period is unclear, the *dzong*'s main entrance was moved to the shorter south end sometime after 1910, and the former entrance was sealed shut for many years. From 2005 to 2008, aid from the Indian government funded restoration work to reopen the original entrance directly below the Shabdrung's room on the east side. Furthermore, the roofs whose shape had been altered in the 2003 repairs were restored to their original shape, using old photographs as reference. At the same time, a number of smaller chapels were remodeled, along with the monks' living quarters, including those of the Je Khenpo.

Even after having gone through so many transformations, Simtokha Dzong is known for having more ancient, original elements than any other *dzong* in Bhutan. The central utse, in particular, has undergone little remodeling over the years, and it is said that the murals and Buddhist statues, including the main statue of a seated Sakyamuni, have by and large retained their original condition. However, some argue that the conservation work carried out to preserve the murals during the most recent restoration efforts may not have been appropriate.

■ Paro Dzong

Paro Dzong is situated on a ridge in the east of Paro town, looking down on the far bank of the Paro River. It is said that a 15th-century monastery once stood here, which the Shabdrung remodeled, expanded, and called Rinpung Dzong. The Shabdrung arrived in Paro in 1646, and soon began constructing a *dzong*. He established the Drukpa ruling system that integrated government and religion; Paro Dzong is an especially large example of the kinds of strongholds built under that system. Rinpung Dzong was destroyed by fire in 1907 and was rebuilt in its current form, and still functions as both the district government office and as a monastic center. While there are many *dzongs* with irregular layouts due to the uneven terrain, Paro Dzong has a distinctive oblong shape. With the high-rising utse at its center, the *dzong*'s exterior gives an impression of centripetal stability.

The route leading to the *dzong* begins as a bridge across the Paro River. There are gabled stone foundations on both banks from which thick, squared timbers protrude, acting as brackets to support the wooden bridge itself. Another distinguishing characteristic is the roof over its central walkway. After crossing the bridge, you ascend a stone walkway with the *dzong* above and to the left. You then arrive at the square in front of the entrance at the *dzong*'s eastern end, facing the mountain. This square with its tall banner pillars is separated from the *dzong* itself; the only way across is via a wooden bridge. Following the sharply angled path inside the gate, you emerge into the stone-paved central courtyard. The entryway walls, with murals of the Four Heavenly Kings and depictions of the circle of transmigration, clearly show the facility's essential character as a Buddhist monastery. The central courtyard is enclosed by a two- to three-story wooden



Photo 2-2-1
Simtokha Dzong, view from south.



Photo 2-2-2
Restored east gate.



Photo 2-2-3
An original member on top of pillar.



Photo 2-2-4
A passage in the courtyard.



Photo 2-2-5
Sculptured stone slab at the base of Utse.



Photo 2-2-6
Reconstructed roof structure on top of Utse.

gallery, with the rooms beyond serving as district government offices. The wooden gallery and overhanging windows feature decorative carved and painted borders, providing a contrast to the exterior made predominantly of solid stone walls.

The five-tiered utse stands alone, roughly in the middle of the central courtyard, with the main entrance on the southern wall. From this point, the courtyard level drops significantly on the west side; this section has stronger religious overtones, and includes the monks' living space. The large lecture hall (*kunre*), located on its south side, is the only section open to the public.

Meanwhile, Ta Dzong stands on the ridgeline approximately another 500 meters beyond Rinpung Dzong. It is said to have been constructed in 1649 by Tenzin Drugda, the first to hold the post (appointed by the Shabdrung) of penlop (governor) of Paro. This regional fortress served as a watchtower, and was built out of a need to reinforce the *dzong's* defenses against invasions from Tibet. A similar tower was built in Trongsa, after which the towers began appearing at *dzongs* throughout the country. As military necessity for such structures diminished, however, most deteriorated or were demolished, and today only the two in Paro and Trongsa are still in good condition; both are currently in use as national museums. In 1966, Jigme Dorji Wangchuck, the third King of Bhutan, ordered the renovation of the dilapidated Ta Dzong in Paro. Two years later, it opened as a national museum that houses and displays collections of historical artifacts. It is a rather large structure, even for a watchtower, at some 40 meters from base to apex, and its cylindrical interior, consisting of two semicircular sections, is seven stories high. The main entrance is on the fourth story along the side facing the mountain, and connects to the outside via a wooden bridge. Tradition holds that there was once a drawbridge here.

■ Wangdue Phodrang Dzong

Wangdue Phodrang Dzong is strategically located where the east-west route from Thimphu to Trongsa meets the route connecting Punakha to the south. The *dzong* and the old town stand at the summit of a long, narrow ridge emerging at the river junction. It is said to have been constructed in 1638, one year after Punakha Dzong. The entrance is on the north side, followed by the first section, where administrative offices surround a central courtyard. This part of the building ends in front of the entrance to the second section, with an area running east-west beneath the courtyard level. This feature is said to have allowed the building to serve as a checkpoint, forcing all those coming from both Thimphu and Trongsa to pass through. The second section houses the monks' living quarters; the structure feels more oppressive than the more open first section due to its narrowness and the third-story corridor protruding ahead as you climb up. This impression is even stronger at the most inward point, where there is a one-story difference in level to accommodate a towering four-story utse. The third courtyard, which has a lecture hall at its southern end, is located on the south side of the utse.

The highly varied structure of Wangdue Phodrang Dzong makes the most of the terrain, and the architectural spaces there, while not magnificent, are certainly attractive. Also, while many *dzong* roofs have already been retiled with metal, here the original shingles with stones on the top remain, allowing visitors to appreciate the structure's historical aspects. On the other hand, both



Photo 2-3-1
Covered bridge at the entrance to Paro Dzong.

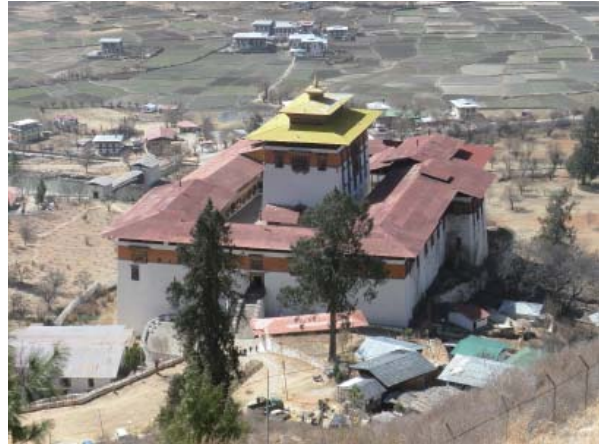


Photo 2-3-2
Overall view of Dzong from the east.



Photo 2-3-3
Main entrance of the east face of Dzong.



Photo 2-3-4
Courtyard and Utse.



Photo 2-3-5
Looking up at Ta Dzong from Paro Dzong.



Photo 2-4-1
Overall view of Wangdi Phodrang Dzong
(from northwest).

the stone structure and wooden sections show deterioration due to age and are now undergoing repairs. It remains to be seen how Wangdue Phodrang Dzong can retain value as a historical building while fulfilling the functions of an active *dzong*.

■ Punakha Dzong

Punakha was Bhutan's winter capital until the mid-20th century, and even today it is customary for the Je Khenpo and his council of monks to leave Thimphu and spend their winters here. It is thus appropriate that Punakha Dzong is such a giant structure. The *dzong* is located on level terrain where the two rivers Phochhu and Mochhu meet, and it retains its fortress-like character. The Shabdrung began construction in 1637, but the floods and fires that followed resulted in repeated cycles of destruction and rebuilding.

In 1986, a fire believed to have been caused by a short circuit destroyed the southwest portion of the dzong, including the Je Khenpo's chamber. This led to plans for large-scale renovations, and the Bhutanese government launched a restoration project that included rehabilitating the large lecture hall (*kunre*) and the Machen Lhakhang, the inner chamber where the Shabdrung's body is preserved. Further flooding in 1994 washed away the ancient chapel on the *dzong*'s north side, causing extensive damage. The bridge (*bazam*) that connected the state road to the right bank of the Mochhu was washed away and replaced with a suspension bridge; with German aid, the temporary bridge was replaced with the same type of traditional roofed wooden bridge that had been there before. It was completed only recently, in 2008.

Crossing this bridge, you arrive at the north side of the *dzong*; a steep wooden staircase slightly to the east of center leads to the upper entrance. At about three stories up as seen from outside, the entrance opens onto courtyard level with a white stupa and a bodhi tree, while on the south side there is a wide stone-paved courtyard (*dochey*). This first courtyard is surrounded on three sides by a two-story wooden gallery; the remaining side, to the south, features a huge five-story utse. The utse's entrance is on the south, facing a second, narrower courtyard that holds a hall dedicated to the dharmapala; walk beyond this and you will emerge in the third courtyard.

Of the three halls that surround this courtyard, the two-story north-facing hall to the south is a large lecture hall (*kunre*), while the three-story east-facing building to the west is the Marchen Lhakhang. Both buildings were recently reconstructed, and when compared with "before" photographs, they now have larger façades and more decorative exteriors. In other words, it is clear that the intention was not to adhere to the old design, nor to return the buildings to their original form, but rather to use the renovation as an opportunity to make them both more splendid. For example, the three-tiered hipped roof was previously seen in Punakha Dzong only on its utse, but during the remodeling process, the same roof style was applied to both halls mentioned above. This has made the exterior of Punakha Dzong more majestic, but one cannot deny that the utse on the opposite side has lost some of its presence in the process.

The two sides behind the *kunre* in the southeast corner of the *dzong* form an outward-facing gallery; walking along this corridor toward the hall's west side takes you to staircase leading down to a narrow garden two stories below. This garden and the buildings on its west side serve



Photo 2-4-2
First courtyard.



Photo 2-4-3
Second courtyard and Utse.



Photo 2-4-4
Third courtyard.



Photo 2-4-5
Single roof with stones on top.



Photo 2-4-6
Carpentry workshop for restoration of the Dzong.



Photo 2-5-1-1
Confluence of two rivers and Punakha Dzong.

chiefly as the monks' living quarters, and they are built on an especially large scale at Punakha Dzong, where upward of 1,500 monks are said to live. It features a double row of buildings around a central courtyard, and there is another entrance at the north end.

We visited during the Dromche religious festival, while a masked performance called cham was taking place in the first courtyard.

■Trashichho Dzong

Some distance north of Thimphu stands Trashichho Dzong, the seat of government, along with the central government offices. The origins of Trashichho Dzong can be traced to before the Shabdrung, but it is said that construction at its current site began at the end of the 18th century. It is unusual for a Bhutanese *dzong* in that it was built on level terrain, perhaps reflecting its function as more of an administrative facility than a fortress.

Occupying a rectangular space measuring 200 meters north-south by 100 meters east-west, the majority of the outer buildings were renovated in the 1960s. The building in the southeast corner houses the offices of the king, while the building along the northeast side is the Je Khenpo's throne room. The *dzong* is entered from the east via one of two entrances: one for dignitaries and one for general use.

The structures found at Trashichho Dzong include an utse, a dukhang, and Lhakhang Sarpa to the northeast of the utse. This chapel alone dates back to before the 1960s; though it is the oldest portion of the *dzong*, it was still built at the end of the 19th century.



Photo 2-5-1-2
Recently reconstructed covered bridge.



Photo 2-5-1-3
Interior of the bridge.



Photo 2-5-2
Looking up at Dzong entrance on the north side.



Photo 2-5-3
South facade of protective divinity's shrine.



Photo 2-5-4
Reconstructed Machen Lhakhang.



Photo 2-5-5
Monk's living quarters in the west side.



Photo 2-5-6
Mask dance (Cham) performed in the Punakha
Dzong courtyard.



Photo 2-5-7
Cham in the courtyard to the south of Utse.



Photo 2-5-8
Same as Photo 2-5-6.



Photo 2-6-1
East face of Trashichho Dzong.



Photo 2-6-2
The entrance.

(3) Other structures

(detailed on the summary page)

■The capital city of Thimphu

Although there are no skyscrapers, urbanization is continuing steadily in Thimphu. The scenery is unique thanks to the traditional design codes regulating new construction. A two-story house has long stood on the corner of the central intersection; we hear there are plans to preserve this structure. The southern suburbs are developing as well, bringing with them many city planning challenges.

■The National Library & Archives

Though this building is primarily a library, it can also be considered a type of religious institution. The majority of the books in its collection are sutras, including many valuable works such as the Old Narthang Kangyur. In 2008, the archives were added with aid from the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA).

■The Textile Museum

This facility, which opened in 2001, both preserves old traditions and encourages new industry. They also repair ancient objects from the temples.

■The Folk Heritage Museum

This museum, which opened in 2001, is an old farmhouse that has been turned into a showcase for visitors from abroad.

■The National Museum

The National Museum, which opened in 1968, is located in the 18th-century Ta Dzong, originally built as a defense tower for Paro Dzong. A new building is currently under construction next to it.

The following is a description of a festival representative of intangible cultural heritage in Bhutan.

(4) A Bhutanese festival (Intangible Cultural Heritage)

There are many examples of intangible cultural heritage in Bhutan if we include festivals in this category.

The largest festival in Bhutan is Tsechu (literally “Tenth Day”), which is held on or around the 10th day of a month in the Bhutanese calendar in each of the 20 prefectures of the country and at various temples. It runs for one to five days. Tsechu celebrates Padmasambhava (meaning “Lotus Born” in Sanskrit, commonly referred to as Guru Rinpoche (“Precious Teacher”), the great Indian



Photo 3-1-1
A street in Thimphu.



Photo 3-1-2
Intersection at center of Thimphu city.



Photo 3-1-3
An old townhouse at the corner.



Photo 3-1-4
A building under construction.



Photo 3-1-5
South suburb of the city under development.



Photo 3-2-1
National library and Archives office.

monk who introduced Tantric Buddhism to Bhutan and the Himalayan area in the 8th century.

What festival-goers enjoy most are the *cham*, or masked dances. The highlight of the festival is the early-morning unfurling of the *thongdrol*, a huge scroll with appliqué and embroidery depicting Buddhas, bodhisattvas and saints. It is believed that the mere sight of the unfurled *thongdrol* liberates the viewer from the world of suffering. Both of these events are visual expressions of the teachings of Buddha; but people also enjoy them as entertainment. Further, Tsechu is the biggest event of the year, providing an opportunity for interaction among people, and playing a significant social role in strengthening ties and cooperation in local communities.

Although this is how the Tsechu is commonly understood, we should not forget that it is essentially a Buddhist ritual. The object of Buddhist faith is the Buddha, or bodhisattva, which does not have visible form. However, in order to allow the believers to pray and receive blessings, the bodhisattvas must be visualized. Thus, it is necessary to summon them and make them visible in sacred objects through set rituals. In Bhutanese Buddhism, this process is extremely long, sometimes lasting up to one month. Before the festival can begin, monks must devote themselves to these rituals. As a result of the ritual, the spirits of the bodhisattvas come to reside in sacred objects such as masks and *thongdrol*; the period during which the bodhisattvas are present is the Tsechu festival, when the people can view the gods while they make offerings and receive blessings. Once the festival is over, the bodhisattvas are requested to return to their original state, without visible form, in a departure ritual. These rituals have equivalents in the Japanese Shinto ceremonies “*kôshin-no-gi* (descent of the god)”, in which the god is summoned, and “*shôshin-no-gi* (ascension of the god)”, which corresponds to the departure ritual.

However, Bhutanese Buddhists simply say prayers of gratitude and worship to the bodhisattvas without knowing the meaning behind the rituals. Similarly, few Japanese who participate in Shinto rituals know that there is a similar mechanism of inviting and sending off the gods. Like the Bhutanese Buddhists, they clap their hands in respect at the shrine, without thinking much about the meaning behind the act. Both Bhutanese Buddhists and the Japanese Shinto believers have maintained their religious rituals as intangible cultural properties.



Photo 3-2-2
Alter in the main library.



Photo 3-2-3
Example of stored Buddhist scriptures.



Photo 3-2-4
Buddhist scriptures block engraving work.



Photo 3-2-5
Conservation work to the scriptures.



Photo 3-3-1
Textile museum exterior (left building).



Photo 3-3-2
The entrance.



Photo 3-3-3
Conservation studio.



Photo 3-3-4
Storage.

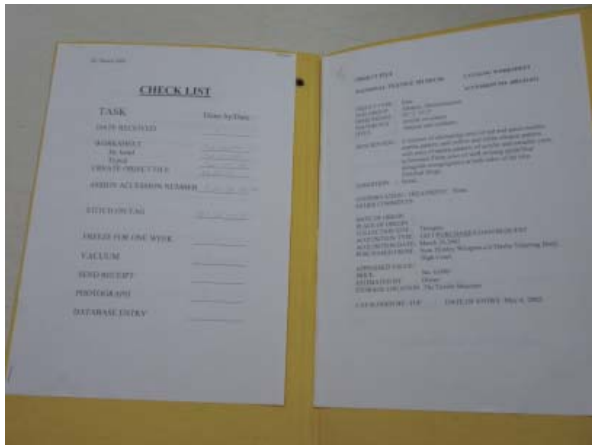


Photo 3-3-5
Inventory of object in collection.



Photo 3-3-6
A weaver using triangular loom.



Photo 3-4-1
Sign above gate to folk heritage museum.



Photo 3-4-2
Looking up at the main building.



Photo 3-4-3
Frontyard.



Photo 3-4-4
Office building.



Photo 3-5-1
Main gate of the national museum.



Photo 3-5-2
Main building exterior (from the northeast).



Photo 3-5-3
Ditte (south side).



Photo 3-5-4
new building exterior.



Photo 3-5-5
Old office building.



Photo 3-5-6
Interior of the conservation laboratory.

3. Discussion

3. Considerations from the Survey

(1) Field Survey Summary

Administration for the Protection of Cultural Heritage

Cultural heritage protection in Bhutan is administered by the Department of Culture (DoC) in the Ministry of Home and Cultural Affairs (MOHCA). The Department of Culture is responsible for the planning and execution of cultural policies in Bhutan, through its nine organizations⁽¹⁾, which include the following: three divisions (the Division of Conservation of Heritage Sites, the Division for Cultural Properties, and the Driglam Sections); four museums (the National Museums of Paro and Trongsa, the Textile Museum, and the Folk Heritage Museum); and two other institutions (the National Library and Archives, and the Royal Academy of Performing Arts (PARA)). In addition, the Royal University of Bhutan, the National Handicrafts Emporium, and the Center for Bhutan Studies are certified by the government as cultural activity centers. A distinctive point of cultural policy is that Buddhist temples, both central and regional, are also considered as official cultural centers. Bhutan is still governed by a system combining secular authority, under the royal family, and religious authority, led by the Je Khenpo. Because wide-ranging aspects of Bhutanese culture are deeply rooted in Buddhism, protection and transmission of traditional culture would be impossible without the involvement of religious organizations. In this field survey, we first attempted to clarify the concept of cultural heritage in Bhutan, the characteristics of heritage administration, and the nation's awareness of cultural heritage.

Gross National Happiness (GNH) is a term coined by Bhutan's fourth King, Jigme Singye Wangchuck, and well known throughout the world as the basis of Bhutan's unique development policy. The DoC was established to promote this policy, with an emphasis on the protection, conservation and transmission of the country's unique traditional culture. According to the provisions for culture stipulated in Article 4 of the 2008 Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan, the state shall endeavor to preserve, protect and promote both tangible and intangible cultural heritage, strengthen and facilitate the ongoing progress of traditional values and institutions, conserve and encourage research on local arts, customs, knowledge and culture. In addition, Parliament may enact such legislation as may be necessary to advance the cultural enrichment of Bhutanese society.

However, a basic law for the protection of cultural heritage in Bhutan is not as yet fully developed. According to the DoC, the existing regulations and laws concerning cultural heritage are as follows:

- The Movable Cultural Properties Act of Bhutan, 2005

This act requires registration of valuable cultural heritage possessed by Buddhist organizations, the national government, local governments, or individuals, that is 100 years old and over,

(1) The National Museum and the Trongsa Museum are combined in one agency.

associated with famous religious persons, or created by famous craftsmen. The law regulates management, transfer, and sale of such property.

- The Religious Organizations Act of Bhutan, 2007

This act stipulates the registration, obligations and rights of religious organizations in Bhutan.

- The 1999 Legal Deposit Act, 2007

This act requires that a copy of all new works published in Bhutan, in any language or media, shall be sent to the National Library and Archives.

It may be thought unusual to consider laws concerning religious organizations as laws related to cultural heritage. However, there is a shared awareness among the Bhutanese that religion (here Buddhism) and culture are inseparable.

The Bhutanese are preparing for the establishment of a new law, already drafted, regarding registered cultural heritage. The Movable Cultural Properties Act was established first for several reasons, most importantly the need to rectify poor management that had resulted in the loss as well as the illegal buying and selling of cultural property. It also reflects the practical reality that arriving at a consensus of opinion on the definition of and effective conservation methods for movable cultural property is relatively easy. The law prohibits the restoration or alteration of registered cultural heritage without approval, and stipulates that restoration shall be carried out by certified specialists under the supervision of the DoC. Because Buddhist statues and paintings are rarely altered after their completion, it is thought that the conservation of such cultural heritage in its original form should not, in principle, be problematic. Buildings such as *dzongs* and *lhakhangs*, on the other hand, are often remodeled in response to changing needs or for religious reasons. It is clear from such examples that discussion is required during the process of legislating the protection of immovable cultural heritage, as such legislation may even affect religious activities.

The Bhutanese consider the value of temples not in terms of their physical age or form, but in terms of their spiritual value. For this reason it is difficult for them to completely accept the modern concepts of cultural heritage protection as developed in Europe. Bhutan ratified the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage in 2001; however, they have not, to date, registered any heritage, nor have they created any temporary lists. *Dzongs* in each area are the most likely candidates for listing. However, these buildings are not only important religious properties, but also serve as administrative facilities, which complicates the making of a list. Take, for example, the situation with Punakha *Dzong* and Taktshang Monastery, which were restored with modifications to their original structures to accommodate current needs after being damaged as a result of natural disaster. While many feel the restoration produced a more beautiful structure than the original, the modifications could affect its listing as cultural heritage. Preventing modifications, however, would interfere with the needs of the religious community, which the Bhutanese perceive as undermining the benefits of listing.

Taking this into consideration, we must understand that while we can provide advice to the

Bhutanese about laws, regulations, and provisions, the Bhutanese themselves have the right to make decisions regarding the content of such provisions for their national policy. Bhutan's unique attitude toward cultural heritage protection means that, in some essential matters, legal systems from other countries cannot serve as a useful reference in Bhutan. Thus, assistance with developing laws for cultural heritage protection will be different from assistance in other fields. With this in mind, the DoC identified the following three challenges for the administration of cultural property protection: the illegal export of cultural properties; cultural property protection and religious activities; and the lack of a complete inventory of intangible heritage. The first two, while not entirely unique to Bhutan, require extremely careful consideration in a country where religious activity forms the core of the culture.

DoC cultural officers assigned to each of Bhutan's 20 prefectures play an important role in the administration of cultural property protection. Officers dispatched from the national government must supervise actual conservation, but currently there are not nearly enough people to handle the amount of work to be done. Furthermore, the qualified personnel that do exist do not have the time or opportunity to work on long-term issues, including the development of legal systems.

Conservation of Immovable Cultural Heritage

The Division for Conservation of Heritage Sites (DCHS) handles the conservation of immovable cultural heritage. The former name was the Division for the Conservation of Architectural Heritage Sites; however, as they also handle sacred sites at which no buildings exist, the name was changed to the Division for the Conservation of Heritage Sites. The target of conservation is unchanged, focusing mainly buildings, including the construction of new *dzong* with traditional techniques, and the conservation of old buildings. The old buildings here are mainly religious structures, such as *dzongs* and *lhakhangs*. Old houses and townscapes are not included as targets of cultural heritage administration.

The primary concern for the DCHS in this survey is the earthquake resistance of traditional buildings, after seeing the damage incurred in the earthquake that hit eastern Bhutan in September 2009. In response to the significant damage to private residences, the Standards and Quality Control Authority (SQCA) considered expanded application of the structural standards currently limited to two major cities. However, there was deep concern at the SQCA that extensive application may interfere with the preservation of the traditional landscape of the village and the transmission of traditional techniques. In addition, due to the lack of infrastructure in many villages, some of which still do not have developed roads, the use of modern materials and techniques is not feasible, even if they are made obligatory, which may result in the failure of this measure for safety improvement. In order to both preserve the value of cultural heritage and improve its safety, the DCHS is planning to 1) evaluate the earthquake resistance of each traditional building, 2) reinforce existing buildings with available techniques and materials, and 3) incorporate these measures into building standards for new construction. In order to do so, there is a need for more basic research on traditional construction, and a need to establish evaluation methods for the earthquake resistance of masonry walls. At the same time, because the

earthquake resistance of traditional construction methods largely depends on the quality of initial construction, there is an emphasis on learning from the best examples of construction, and the importance of improved skills for engineers and construction professionals.

According to hearings during the survey, after discussions among the relevant departments and divisions, it is very likely that the flexible and nonbinding aspect of the SQCA building standards guidelines will be maintained. The DCHS has only a few specialists involved in structural technology throughout Bhutan, making it impossible for the Bhutanese to evaluate earthquake resistance or the reinforcement measures needed for traditional buildings. Nonetheless, the Bhutanese have a strong desire to deal with the challenges of cultural heritage protection themselves. Although the DCHS realizes that its specialists lack sufficient training, it is reluctant to rely on teams led by international specialists. Thus, the Bhutanese hope for support in the form of research and structural analyses by overseas specialists, and support for skills-development, in a process that respects the wishes of Bhutan.

Education on the history of architecture, or conservation and restoration of old buildings is not available in Bhutan, and research on such matters has only been conducted by the DoC. We also understand that there is a problem with the dispatch of personnel for overseas study or long-term training due to limited human resources.

Japan has dispatched several Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers for the restoration of *dzongs*, and other work, and former volunteer Junko Mukai is working at the DCHS under direct contract with the government. Ms. Mukai and another individual participated in training for the conservation and restoration of buildings held at ACCU Nara. In addition, two former students who took classes as a part of a cooperative project hosted by the Agency for Cultural Affairs are working at the DCHS.

The DCHS is scheduled to have a new Division of Archaeology from this year. Initially, they will begin operating with one individual who has just earned a doctorate in Britain. It may take a number of years to establish a complete system; however, there is great need for technical support in a wide range of areas.

An architectural design code that mandates the adoption of traditional design applies to general buildings under the administration of the Department of Urban Development and Engineering Services (DUDES) in the Ministry of Works and Human Settlement, and the design of public buildings is overseen by the design division within each ministry. Urbanization is advancing in Thimphu, the capital city of Bhutan, and many mid-size buildings are being constructed. There are significant issues for building and city planning, including the development of infrastructure, structural safety and the preservation of townscapes. New development and the shifting of urban districts can be seen regionally in areas such as Paro and Wangdi Phodrang. However, we must consider whether maintaining the appearance of traditional design can effectively contribute to the development and transmission of culture.

Movable cultural heritage

The Division for Cultural Properties (DCP) handles the management, supervision, and

conservation and restoration of movable cultural heritage registered in accordance with the Movable Cultural Properties Act. While we did not have contact with DCP personnel during this survey, we understand that there are several conservation specialists who have received training in Lucknow, India, at ICOM, and the Honolulu Academy of Arts. The major target of conservation work is tangkas (silk paintings with Buddhist embroidery); however, there are also some individuals who received training in the conservation of copper products. The state of conservation facilities has not been surveyed.

Temples carry out tangka conservation and providing training for monks. It is believed that these projects are conducted in cooperation with the National Textile Museum and other institutions, but we don't have detailed information. The conservation of mural paintings in temples is also handled by the DCP, which has a laboratory for this work. The Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) has been providing onsite training during actual operations, including cleaning and repair, for several years; however, there is some dissatisfaction with the skill level and quality of results.

Facilities (Museums, etc.)

<National Textile Museum>

This museum was established for the development and transmission of traditional techniques as well as for their conservation. One of its major activities is organizing textile festivals and contests for the promotion of traditional industry. The museum exhibits ritual and ethnic costumes, provides demonstrations, and offers textiles for sale.

Training in repair, cleaning, and storage was provided with support from the Getty Conservation Institute (GCI) in the U.S. beginning in 2003; however, that project finished in 2007, and Bhutan is currently looking into other training programs. Research and documentation of production methods are recognized as essential. However, a system for this has not yet been developed, so it remains an important challenge for the future.

Among the museums we visited during this survey, the National Textile Museum was the most carefully designed for conservation and transmission of skills, in spite of its limited size and the small number of employees. Facilities have been under construction in preparation for the opening of the Royal Textile Academy scheduled in four years. With the establishment of this new academy, the National Textile Museum will close. With sufficient financial aid from private corporations in northern Europe, the Royal Textile Academy can develop into an extremely large organization. While there may be a number of medium- and long-term issues to be addressed, such as how and to what extent they should play their role in conservation, and how they should improve their technical skills, support is considered to be less urgent than for other cultural property-related institutions, as long as the project is completed as planned.

<Folk Heritage Museum>

An existing farmhouse is used to house the museum, which is a relatively small facility with only one curator and one researcher. Although traditional farm buildings have been rapidly

disappearing in Thimphu, you can see similar buildings in the suburbs, and the tools on display are not significantly different from those in common use today. Therefore, it is difficult to imagine any reason for the Bhutanese themselves to visit. The museum was built for the purpose of showing the Bhutanese lifestyle to visitors from abroad, and it continues to fill this function. They are currently remodeling an annex to use as a restaurant serving regional dishes as an extension of this facility.

The exhibited objects placed casually in and around the buildings are not specifically protected for conservation; and because their value as historical or rare objects is limited, they are replaced with other objects as they deteriorate. Perhaps because most of the objects exhibited are wooden or earthenware, no conservation specialists have been assigned to the museum; however, the director is planning to establish a conservation laboratory in the future.

The researcher assigned to the museum was in India when we visited, which prevented us from obtaining detailed information on their research activities. The museum has had some interaction with Japanese museums and specialists regarding various exhibitions; however, these connections are not formally organized.

According to information we received after our visit, the land adjoining the administration building has been donated by the royal family, and there are plans to build a new administrative building. Construction of the traditional restaurant has been completed and they are now seeking private sector management. However, a suitable candidate has not yet been found, and they do not know when the restaurant will open.

The real value of a museum such as this will be put to the test when Bhutanese society faces rapid change in the future. To that end, it is necessary to begin now to improve the museum system incrementally. Most importantly, such facilities must function fully as centers for cultural activities and social education, not merely as tourist attractions. This museum is very similar to regional history and folk museums located throughout Japan. Currently, however, the museum system is not well developed and, as a result, is not ready to accept support. Therefore, it is still difficult for us to provide effective support for the museum.

< National Library & Archives of Bhutan >

This library is extremely different from those we are accustomed to. The main library houses Buddhist scriptures and transmission of their content is the main priority. The Division of Cultural Research located next to the National Library is also concerned mainly with Buddhist philosophy. Thus, the library is also a religious facility, which is evident from the presence of a Buddhist statue within the facility.

In 2008, the Division of Archives was newly established with support from Denmark's DANIDA. Publications deposited in accordance with the Legal Deposit Act are currently stored at the National Library and Archives. However, the number of books is surprisingly small, which raises the question of whether this act is being enforced. There is also a need to collect more overseas publications related to Bhutan.

There are plans to add a new wing to the library and to build three regional libraries. The

government is currently discussing financial assistance from India.

Problems are being faced with conservation of written documents, such as the Buddhist scriptures stored at the main building of the library. For example, the staff working on scriptures damaged by insects and age lack the equipment and ability to conduct the material analyses necessary to determine the most appropriate methods for restoration. In addition, the toxicity of the agent used with fumigation equipment that has been operating since the opening of the library has become a concern, and upgrading should be considered. This equipment is used not only at the National Library, but is also lent out for conservation work at the National Textile Museum.

Because the documents housed at temples cannot normally be removed from the premises, they are usually stored on microfilm. The microfilm equipment is, unfortunately, of a relatively old type and support has been requested for newer and more portable equipment. Because deterioration is an issue with microfilm, however, it seems that digital archiving should be discussed as a potentially more appropriate method of recording documents. The library has already asked for cooperation, including grants in aid for cultural property from Japan, and they are awaiting a reply.

In regard to restoration techniques, we explained the ICCROM training for the storing of paper-based documents provided by the National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Tokyo. The individual responsible for conservation showed deep interest in participation; however, the library does not have sufficient funds to dispatch the individual. Only one person from Bhutan has participated in the training, an artist who participated privately; there are no publicly employed restoration specialists that have participated in the seminars.

<National Museum>

The National Museum is housed in a building called Ta dzong, which served as a defensive structure for Paro Dzong. It was remodeled and is now used as the main building of the museum. The building is interesting, but there are quite a few problems with its use as an exhibition facility, and it is not well suited for conservation activities or as a viewing environment. A new building is almost complete, however, and the Division of Management and Exhibitions will be transferred there.

Many of the objects exhibited at the museum are thangkas; however, the environment cannot be controlled, so conservation conditions are far from ideal. We were unable to tour the storage facilities where half of the museum's collection is held, but there are concerns about the storage environment. The management of stored objects is based on hand-written lists, and there has been no movement toward the creation of a database. A division for conservation exists; however, it does not have sufficient equipment or materials, and is understaffed, which hampers conservation efforts. One of the individuals responsible for conservation has participated in museology training provided by the National Museum of Ethnology under contract with JICA, but this individual has not participated in seminars on conservation science.

Meanwhile, a colloquium that has been held by the National Museum since 1996 has received aid for publications from the Japan Foundation. With this aid, a survey on the history of dzongs

was carried out in each region, and the director of the museum has asked that continued research be conducted on temples and Buddhist stupas. It is certainly true that research is one of the important functions of museums; however, we had the impression that the National Museum lacked balance in their management of stored objects. We reported our concern about the current status of exhibitions and conservation directly to the Director, but he did not show much interest. The potential for cooperation in technical transfer and human resource cultivation is relatively high; however, this potential may be difficult to realize if the museum does not request aid.

Unfortunately, we could not visit the Trongsa Ta Dzong Museum; however, it was also opened in 2008 after remodeling made possible with support from Australia.

(2) Potential for cooperation in the field of cultural heritage protection

① Concept of cultural heritage and awareness among government and people

What is the cultural heritage that Bhutan is trying to protect? Do we mean the same thing by cultural heritage? It is not easy to answer these questions; however, it is true that there are many elements that cannot be understood in terms of the conventional notion of authenticity. The Bhutanese attempt to protect and pass down spiritual and intangible values, without which, they believe, there is no point in preserving tangible things. Therefore, they place priority on the intangible even when dealing with tangible heritage. Of course, the spiritual values we refer to here are deeply connected to Buddhism.

The emphasis on the Buddhist aspect of cultural heritage, however, means a lower awareness of the potential value of and need to protect aspects of culture not directly associated with it. The Movable Cultural Properties Act clearly includes tools used for daily life, items that are not for religious use, as cultural properties; however, actual conservation is limited to only a few articles housed in museums. Similarly, private housing, townscapes, and cultural landscapes are currently not included under cultural property administration. Unlike public properties such as *dzongs* and *lhakhangs*, a basic law stipulating the conservation of these things has not been established. In response to the damage caused by the earthquake in 2009, the DCHS has started working on earthquake resistance measures for private houses that are considered cultural heritage; however, it is also important to have a legal basis for the expression of opinions and direction to other divisions and departments.

We should leave the Bhutanese to determine the relation of sacred and secular, to what degree the cultural property administration should control the management of temples, and how they should balance the need for conservation of historical structures with the need to respect the freedom of religious activity. We should cooperate with the Bhutanese by providing information relevant to their decision-making, and provide advice and effective procedures to promote consensus of opinion.

② Current status of the protection of cultural heritage

The DoC exerts almost exclusive control over research and protection of cultural heritage. Local governments do handle arrangements for specialists and funding for actual restoration; however, the national government has technical control. Therefore, the DoC is the window for cooperation from overseas. There are some private organizations involved in cultural activities, but their capacity is limited. Routine management and conservation of cultural properties, including movable properties, is left largely to monks. Therefore, the government carries out training for monks to improve the level of management. For disaster prevention, firefighting equipment has been mandated due to the frequency of fires; however, the level is still far from satisfactory. They have just begun working on earthquake resistance measures.

We did not have a chance to see the actual conservation and restoration of buildings; therefore, we are unable to provide a description. However, according to a survey conducted by the Agency for Cultural Affairs of Japan, conservation and transmission of traditional techniques, including woodwork and coloration, is an issue that requires attention. There is a proposal to add building woodwork to the “13 Bhutanese Traditional Arts,” representative traditional techniques covered by conservation promotion measures. However, this has not yet been adopted. India has carried out several investigations of archaeological sites, and there is currently only one investigation by HELVETAS, a private support organization from Switzerland. The DoC is planning to establish an archaeological division this year.

The head of the DoC pointed out that the establishment of measures to combat the illegal export of cultural properties is an urgent issue. The Movable Cultural Property Act prohibits the transfer of articles designated as cultural property to non-nationals; however, it seems difficult to completely stop the flow of stolen articles to outside the country, especially via overland routes. It is necessary to identify such articles through the improvement of inventories, and to take measures to prevent the loss of such properties.

UNESCO sponsored a project to create a List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Bhutan through the Japanese Funds-in-Trust for the Preservation and the Promotion of Intangible Cultural Heritage. As a result, the Mask Dance of the Drums from Drametse was finally listed in 2008 in accordance with the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage. Currently, intangible heritage is managed by several organizations, depending on content, such as the Royal Academy of Performing Arts, Driglam Namzhag, and Department of Cultural Property, meaning that there is no unified system for its protection. Although we did not include it in this survey, the Head of the DoC pointed out that the creation of the inventory of intangible heritage is a priority for Bhutan.

This survey showed that Bhutan has a strong desire to maintain control over policy-making and decisions regarding the procedures for protection of cultural heritage, even while recognizing the necessity for outside support. Although Bhutan’s system has weaknesses, it appears that they are basically not willing to accept a large-scale restoration project with overseas funding and human resources.

③Current status of international cooperation in the relevant fields

Bhutan is an extremely small country located between two large neighbors, China and India, which places it in an extremely sensitive position diplomatically. This is why Bhutan has long restricted the entry of people from abroad. Bhutan still has not established diplomatic relations, such as with the permanent members of the United Nations, and India and Bangladesh are the only countries with embassies in Bhutan. The country providing the greatest support to Bhutan is India; however, feelings toward Japan are positive, and it is considered as the next most important friendly nation.

Bhutan has accepted extremely small amounts of international support in cultural areas. There is no active cultural support from either the UN or support institutions in individual countries.

They have not established diplomatic relations with major countries in Europe or the U.S.; however, there are many small countries such as Denmark and Austria that are providing support along with Japan. Most activities are limited to projects that require relatively small budgets, such as funding assistance and the dispatch of specialists for restoration and human resource training. Since Bhutan does not have a specific economic growth model for the development of tourism using cultural heritage, as seen in many developing countries, international support for cultural heritage in Bhutan does not take the form of a “masterplan for support of tourism measures”. However, there is an experimental plan to develop tourism in one prefecture in the east, which is worth noting as signs of a movement to develop this industry, although its capacity and the impact on traditional culture must be carefully watched.

Meanwhile, since the conservation and restoration cooperation project by the Agency for Cultural Affairs of Japan, which ended in 2002, Japan has not provided any large-scale support for cultural heritage in Bhutan beyond the above-mentioned List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Bhutan project by the Japanese Funds-in-Trust for the Preservation and the Promotion of Intangible Cultural Heritage. Smaller-scale support from Japan includes support for publication projects through the Fund for International Exchange, a human resource development program carried out by the ACCU, and the dispatch of construction specialists by the Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (JOCV). Beyond these cooperative dispatches, there is no ODA funding assistance or technical cooperation whatsoever. There are several reasons for this. First, it is difficult to evaluate the need for culture-related cooperation because JICA is the only institution accepting requests in Japan, and the dispatch of personnel for extended periods of time for technical training in Japan is difficult for Bhutan due to a lack of human resources at Bhutanese institutions. However, Japan is also not eager to provide cultural support whose effect is hard to measure in concrete terms, such as economic growth or the standard of living of the nation, and Bhutan is also careful about accepting overseas cultural support.

④Need and potential for international cooperation on cultural heritage protection in Bhutan

Based on the results of our survey, we consider the following areas to have potential for cooperation from Japan.

- (i) Development of a cultural heritage protection system
- (ii) Making an inventory of cultural heritage and its location
- (iii) Education on cultural heritage
- (iv) Human resource development related to cultural heritage
- (v) Conservation techniques regarding movable cultural properties other than structures
- (vi) Techniques regarding the conservation of traditional buildings
- (vii) Restoration of damaged cultural heritage

In regard to (i), while the system is not yet sufficiently established, the government of Bhutan acknowledges the need for legislation to form such a system. At the same time, it is understood that the process of establishing a legal system for cultural heritage protection suitable

to this nation with its unique concept of cultural heritage is not easy. In particular, the problem of the value of tangible heritage based on consideration of its intangible aspect has been the focus of international discussion, as something that has been missing from cultural property conservation to date. This should be taken as an opportunity not just to support Bhutan, but to make an international contribution in a broader sense, by holding seminars and other activities where specialists can deepen their dialogue, taking this as a case study.

Items (ii) and (iii) will lead to an increase in the effectiveness of cultural heritage conservation through the identification of targets and the promotion of understanding throughout the nation. In regard to (ii) tangible heritage has already become an object of protection in Bhutan and methodologies seem to be established. However, digital archiving, which requires equipment and the development of human resources, is an issue to be addressed. The identification of archaeological ruins also needs to be considered. Creation of a list of intangible heritage, and its documentation, has been delayed due to the lack of human resources. Meanwhile, awareness of the importance of (iii) seemed to be high in Bhutan, which places a priority on the transmission of traditional culture. However, as the Bhutanese Prime Minister pointed out, a growing number of people within the population do not understand clearly what their traditional culture is, and it is increasingly important to promote the participation of citizens, especially the younger generation, in cultural activities. In such grass-roots activities, however, international cooperation can provide little assistance within the country.

Items (iv) to (vi) are related to technical transfer and the development of human resources, which entail a wide range of difficulties. Considering the lack of specialists and the need for efficiency in technical transfer, it is desirable that cooperative technical transfer take place through the long-term dispatch of specialists. However, it is also necessary to combine a wide range of transfer methods, such as on-site workshops and the inviting of specialists to attend training programs in specific fields and themes. As we have repeatedly pointed out, Bhutan has a firm conservation and restoration policy; however, it is believed that Japanese survey methods, scientific analysis, as well as restoration and recording techniques can be widely adopted. There are issues with the level of Bhutanese conservation science for movable cultural properties in terms of both equipment and human resources, and assistance in these areas seems urgent. There are several divisions and departments, including museums and libraries, handling common material such as documents and textiles. They are all under the DoC; therefore, they should consider more efficient technical transfer, including the sharing of equipment and human resources. Apart from modern technologies, it is important for the sustainability of cultural heritage protection to understand the degree to which traditional techniques have been transmitted. However, we were unable to investigate this issue. In order to apply Japanese knowledge and experience to methods of transmitting traditional techniques, it is necessary to carry out basic surveys to identify the current status and best method of transmitting techniques in Bhutan.

Unlike the other items, item (vii) is an urgent issue requiring an immediate response even in short term projects. It is important to note that traditional architectural techniques for private

houses and landscape conservation, which are not covered by cultural heritage protection, came up in relation to earthquake resistance measures. Japan has already provided assistance in earthquake disaster prevention planning in South Asia, including Bhutan. If, in the future, we cooperate to increase safety measures, its relation to the above-mentioned cultural heritage protection must also be considered. Cultural property administration aims to increase earthquake resistance through the extension of traditional techniques and, according to this survey, the dispatch of structural technique specialists to evaluate the earthquake resistance of stone buildings is the only item that Bhutan specifically requires support for. Although stone buildings may not be the field in which Japan has the most expertise, we should consider assistance utilizing the most advanced Japanese techniques for comprehensive measures to protect cultural property from earthquakes, including computer-generated structural analysis techniques and preventive measures.

(3) Conclusion

To identify potential areas of cooperation for the protection of cultural heritage in Bhutan, we conducted interviews at relevant institutions in the capital Thimphu and other cities, collected information, and visited cultural heritage sites. We identified the current state of cultural heritage protection and related challenges in Bhutan, and considered how and where Japan could provide assistance.

We found that Bhutan has a current national policy for the conservation and transmission of cultural heritage, and gained an understanding of the uniqueness of their concept of heritage as well as the limitations of their system. Of course we must have a deep understanding of a country and its culture before we consider cooperation in this field. We are greatly indebted to Yoshiro Imaeda, a world-famous researcher on Bhutan and Buddhism, who has built a long-standing relationship of trust with the Bhutanese people, for accompanying us and providing guidance for this survey. We were also deeply impressed with the importance of carefully considering the uniqueness of this country, and identifying its needs correctly when looking at cooperation in the future.

Due to time constraints, our stay in Bhutan for this survey was limited to seven days, and we visited only part of the western region. Although Bhutanese identity as a whole is deeply rooted in Buddhism, each region is said to have a distinct character based on its geography and climate. The shortness of our stay prevented us from observing such differences during this survey; however, the authorities concerned pointed out the need to consider regional differences in construction and design when planning earthquake resistance measures for buildings. We were unable to obtain much information on cultural heritage protection in each region. Along with the creation of a systematic framework for cultural heritage protection, it is essential to understand the actual situation surrounding each local government system, and to consider how to cooperate with local residents and individuals in the religious community, in order to secure effective results.

It has been acknowledged for some time that the more the concept of cultural property conservation as developed by Western countries is extended internationally, the more its limits are recognized. In addition to working to increase international understanding of our own unique concept of cultural property conservation, including the methods of repairing of wooden architecture, Japan needs to continue its efforts to develop a broadly applicable concept of conservation based on cultural diversity. The small country of Bhutan firmly believes that the maintenance of its cultural identity is an essential element in its continuing existence; encounters with this country give those of us from the outside a chance to objectively reconsider the commonsense notions we unconsciously depend on.

4. Survey Records

4. Survey Records

(1) List of Interviewers (All titles are those at the time of visit)

Interview Date	Name	In Japanese	Affiliation	Job Title
19 Feb.	Jigme Thinley		Bhutanese Government	Prime Minister
16 Feb.	Dorje Chering		Ministry of Home and Cultural Affairs	Home Minister
16, 19 Feb.	Nagtsho Dorji		Ministry of Home and Cultural Affairs	Director Division for the Conservation of Heritage Sites
16, 19, 21 Feb.	Junko Mukai	向井純子	Ministry of Home and Cultural Affairs	Consultant Division for the Conservation of Heritage Sites
17 Feb.	Gyonpo Tshering		National Library and Archives	Director
17 Feb.	Kungsan Delek		National Library and Archives	Senior Archivist
17 Feb.	Tshering Choki		National Library and Archives	Staff
16 Feb.	Mynak Y. Tulka		National Library and Archives	Emeritus Professor (Former Curator at the National National Library and Archives, Grand Lama)
17 Feb.	Dorji Wangchuk		Folk Heritage Museum	Director
17 Feb.	Singye Dorji		Textile Museum	Director
18 Feb.	Khenpo Phuntsok Tashi		National Museum	Director
18 Feb.	Deldi Yangzom		National Museum	Senior Museum Assistant
16 Feb.	Rinzin Penjore		Royal Academy of Performing Arts	Director
16 Feb.	Herbert S.B. Tennakoon		Bhutanese Office of WHO (Director of UN Regional Coordination)	Representative

16 Feb.	Moe Chiba	千葉茂恵	UNESCO New Delhi Office	Program Specialist
16, 19, 21 Feb.	Kanefusa Masuda	益田兼房	Ritsumeikan University	Professor
19 Feb.	Prem Neth Masky		Tribhuvan University	Professor
17 Feb.	Tomoki Nitta	仁田知樹	JICA	Resident Representative
17 Feb.	Kunihiro Shiraishi	白石邦弘	JICA	Project Formulation Advisor
17 Feb.	Emi Doyle		JICA	Project Formulation Advisor
17 Feb.	Naoto Masakane	政金直人	JICA	Volunteer Coordinator

(2) Record of Interviews

Date	Time	Activity	Location	Attendees
14 Feb.	10:45 15:50	TG641 (Tomoda, Haramoto) TG645 11:00 (Imaeda) Suvarnabhumi International Airport, Bangkok 15:45 (Imaeda) Meeting together at the airport		
15 Feb.	7:30 10:55 13:30 15:00 17:00	KB123 Via Gaya Landing in Paro Visit Drukgyal Dzong Visit Kichu Lhakhang Departure for Thimphu	Drukgyal Dzong Kichu Lhakhang	
16 Feb.	9:00 11:15 14:10	Various business inside the city Visit Changangkha Lhakhang National Library and Archives, Ministry of Home and Cultural Affairs, Ritsumeikan UNESCO Mission, Division of Intangible Cultural Heritages(NRICPT), Consortium Joint Session(Until 17:00)	Changangkha Lhakhang National Library and Archives	Ministry of Home and Cultural Affairs, Ritsumeikan UNESCO Mission, Division of Intangible Cultural Heritages(NRICPT)

	17:20	Visit with the Director of UN Regional Coordination	Ministry of Public Health	Herbert S.B. Tennakoon (Director of UN Regional Coordination, Representative of the Bhutanese Office of WHO)
	19:40	Evening Meeting with Mr. Mynak Y. Tulka	Home of Rinpoche	Mynak R. Tulka (Emeritus Professor National Library and Archives, Grand Lama)
17 Feb.	9:10	Meeting with the Director of the Textile Museum (Held in conjunction with the Department of Intangible Cultural Heritage (NRICPT))	Textile Museumn	Singye Dorji (Director of Textile Museum), Division of Intangible Cultural Heritages NRICPT
	11:15	Meeting with the Director of the National Library and Archives, Director of the Folk Heritage Museum	National Library and Archives	Gyonpo Tshering (Director of the National Library and Archives), Dorji Wangchuk (Director of the Folk Heritage Museum), Kungsan Delek (Senior Assinstant at the National Library and Archives), Tshering Choki (Staff, National Library and Srchives)
		Visit City Temphu		
	16:15	Visit to the JICA Bhutan Office	JICA Bhutan Office	Tomoki Nitta (Director), Emi Doyle (Project Formulation Advisor), Shiraishi Kunihiko (Project Formulation Advisor), Masakane Naoto (Volunteer Coorinator)
	18:40	Dinner Meeting	Local Restaurant	JICA Members, UNESCO Mission.

18 Feb.	10:00	Meeting with the Director of the National Museum, Paro	National Museum(Paro)	Kenpo Phuntsok Tashi (Director,National Museum), Deldi Yangzom (Senior Assistant)
	13:00	Visit Dumtseg Lhakhang	Dumtseg Lhakhang	
	14:30	Visit Paro Dzong	Paro Dzong	
	15:50	Depart from paro(Arriving at the Hotel at 17:15)		
	17:15	Arrive at Thimpu		
	18:30	Evening Meeting with the Hosting Misnistry of Home and Cultural Affairs		Those associated with the Ministry of Home and Cultural Affairs, and Department of Intangible Cultural Heritage(NRICPT)
19 Feb.	9:10	Arrive at the Parliament House in Bhutan	House of Parliament	
	9:30	Courtesy Visit with the Prime Minister		Jigme Yoser Thinley (Prime Minister)
	10:20	Meeting with the Second Ritsumeikan- UNESCO Post-Earthquake Mission Team 19 Feb. 2010	National Library and Archives	Dorje Chering (Home Minister), Division for the Conservation of Heritage Sites, Disaster Planning Agency, Building Regulations Agency, Masuda Kanefusa (Profssor, Ritsumeikan University) , Dr.Prem Nath Maske (Professor, Tribhuvan University).
	12:20	Departure from Meeting Lunch		

	14:40	Visit the Folk Heritage Museum	Folk Heritage Museum	
	15:10	Visit the Museum of Textiles	Museum of Textiles	
	16:00	Hearing at Ministry of Home Cultural Affairs	Ministry of Home and Cultural Affairs	Nagtsho Dorji (Director, Division for the Conservation of Heritage Sites), Junko Mukai (Consultant)
	17:00	Visit Trashiccho Dzong	Trashichho Dzong	
20 Feb.	8:30	Thimpu Departure		
	9:20	Visit Simtokha Dzong	Simtokha Dzong	
	10:50	Visit of the Lhakang in Dochula Lunch	Dochula	
	14:00	Visit Wangdue Phodrang Dzong	Wangdue Phdrang Dzong	
	15:15	Arrive at Hotel		
21 Feb.	9:00	Punakha Dzong Arrival		
		Meeting with Ms. Mukai and Professor Murata	Punakha Dzong	Junko Mukai (Consultant), Masuda Kanefusa (Professor, Ritsumeikan University)
	10:00	Visit of Punakha Damchoe		
	12:00	Punakha Dzong Arrival		
	15:50	Passing through Dochula		
	17:40	Paro Arrival		
22 Feb.	11:10	KB126 Via Dhaka		
	15:50	Arriving at Suvarnabhumi International		
	23:50	Airport, Bangkok		
		TG642 (Tomoda, Haramoto), TG644		
		11:00 (Imaeda)		
23 Feb.	7:10	landing in Narita (Tomoda, Haramonoto)		

(3) Notes

① Joint Meeting of the Ministry of Home and Cultural Affairs, Ritsumeikan-UNESCO Post-Earthquake Mission, Mission for the Department of Intangible Cultural Heritage National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Tokyo (hereinafter NRICPT), Japan Consortium for International Cooperation in Cultural Heritage Mission(hereinafter JCIC)

Date and Time: February 16, 2010 14:00

Location: National Library and Archives

Attendees:

- Ministry of Home and Cultural Affairs - Dorje Chering (Home Minister, Ministry of Home and Cultural Affairs), Nagtsho Dorji (Director, Division for the Conservation of Heritage Sites), Junko Mukai (Consultant, Division for the Conservation of Heritage Sites), Dorji Wangchuk (Curator, Folk Heritage Museum), Gyonpo Tshering (Curator, National Library and Archives), Rinzin Penjore (Director, Royal Academy of Performing Arts), and others.
- Ritsumeikan-UNESCO Mission - Kanefusa Masuda (Professor, Ritsumeikan University), Moe Chiba (UNESCO New Delhi office, Program Specialist)
- Mission for the Department of Intangible Cultural Heritage, NRICPT - Satoru Hyoki, (Senior Researcher, Department of Intangible Cultural Heritage, NRICPT), Naoko Matsuyama (Research fellow, Department of Intangible Cultural Heritage, NRICPT)
- JCIC

Content:

<Goals of the Various Missions>

Ritsumeikan-UNESCO : Explore possible ways to assist with post-earthquake reconstruction.
Department of Intangible Cultural Heritage, NRICPT: Gather information for establishing Category 2 Center.

<Overview of the Home Ministry's Explanation> (For details regarding the Home Ministry, please refer to the organization chart:)

- There are eight sections in the three departments.
- Detailed information on the Cultural Heritage Section could not be collected because its director was absent on this day.

<Division for the Conservation of Heritage Sites>

- This division handles emergency planning for disasters, and the overall operating plan.
- Current projects include restoration work on four dzongs and construction of two new dzongs.

- Lack of fundamental research on traditional architecture is a challenge.
- Balancing the value of the heritage with safety concerns is problematic.
- Support is needed regarding assessment of earthquake resistance.

<Regarding the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties>

- Currently there are three laws related to cultural properties: the Movable Cultural Property Act, The Religious Organizations Act, and the Legal Deposit Act.
- There are a number of problems, including those related to the illicit export of cultural properties, the relation between religious activities and preservation of cultural properties, and the inadequate inventory of intangible heritage.

<Related Issues>

- Documentation is necessary in order to preserve folk performing arts.
- There is the danger that the folk performing arts could be completely transformed if they are connected with tourism or revenue.
- Following a decision by the King, no entry fees are charged for the temples or *dzongs*.
- Plans are under consideration to completely open one district in eastern Bhutan to tourism.
- The intangible aspect is extremely important in Bhutan, even for tangible heritage.
- Some argue for registering tangible cultural heritage in Bhutan as UNESCO World Heritage Sites. However there is concern that registration would have a negative impact, for example, restricting religious activities.



Fig. Organization Chart for the Bhutanese Royal Ministry of Home and Cultural Affairs, Department of Culture.

② Meeting with the Representative of the Director of UN Regional Coordination

Date and Time: February 16, 17:20

Location: Ministry of Public Health

Attendees:

- Herbert S.B. Tennakoon (Representative, Bhutanese Office of WHO, Director of UN Regional Coordination)
- Moe Chiba (UNESCO New Delhi Office, Program Specialist)
- JCIC

Content of the Meeting:

- Aid agencies from various countries such as JICA:Japan, SNV:Netherlands, HELVETAS:Switzerland, CIDA:Canada, DANIDA:Denmark, and international NGOs such as Save the Children have projects in Bhutan. Austria has pulled out recently.
- Neither UN agencies nor international aid agencies have been much engaged in projects related to cultural heritage.
- UNDP has been involved in projects related to cultural heritages in some countries, but not in Bhutan yet.
- With regards to the relationship between Bhutan's national government and local governments, decentralization is well advanced. However, while local governments can propose technicians and funding, the national government has technical control.

③ Meeting with Mr. Mynak Y. Tulka

Date and Time: February 16, 19:20

Location: Home of Mynak Y. Tulka

Attendees:

- Mynak Y. Tulka (Emeritus Professor, National Library and Archives; Former Curator at the National Museum, Grand Lama)
- JCIC

Content of the Meeting:

- There are 7 or 8 conservators in the Ministry of Cultural Affairs and, up to now, they have participated in training courses at the National Museum of Ethnology in Japan, Lucknow in India, ICOM, and the Honolulu Academy of Art.
- The majority of the objects for preservation are thanγκas, and some staff are receiving

training in the preservation of this kind of object.

- Bhutan has its own view on the preservation of cultural properties, which is distinct from that of other countries.
-

④ Meeting with the Director of the Textile Museum (held in conjunction with the mission from the Department of Intangible Cultural Heritage, NRICPT)

Date and Time: February 17, 9:10

Location: The Textile Museum

Attendees:

- Singye Dorji (Director, The Textile Museum)
- Satoru Hyoki, (Senior Researcher, Department of Intangible Cultural Heritage, NRICPT),
Naoko Matsuyama (Research fellow, Department of Intangible Cultural Heritage, NRICPT)
- JCIC

Content of the Meeting:

<Overview of the Museum>

- Established in 2001. Current president of the museum is the fourth queen of the fourth Dragon King.
- The missions of the museum are 1) to preserve ancient works of art, and 2) to transmit and develop technical skills.
- It was established due to the current situation in which traditional techniques are in danger of disappearing because the number of successors is decreasing. The introduction of low-cost textiles from India and the spread of education contribute to this danger.
- There are 13 staff members, including one curator, and five weavers, but no staff doing research. Furthermore, the Director is not a specialist in textiles.
- Documentation is time-consuming, and for now has been left as an issue to be dealt with in the future.
- In addition to objects stored in the museum, preservation work is also done on objects owned by temples and other bodies.
- The museum has organized a training course for 20 monks on the preservation of thangkas and other items owned by temples.

<State of Cooperation with Various Foreign Countries>

- Cooperation on conservation with the J. Paul Getty Trust in America from 2003 to 2007.
2003 - 2006

Independent consultants were dispatched from Washington, and for 3 months of each year, training was conducted related to preservation (maintenance and repair, cleaning, and storage).

2005 and 2007

Specialists were dispatched, workshops were held.

- Currently the museum is looking at possibilities for another workshop.
- The Getty trust also provides other financial support to the museum.

<Activities for Developing and Transmitting Technical Skills>

- In order to develop and transmit technical skills, 1) a festival is held every October in which two weavers are selected from the twenty prefectures to conduct a demonstration and sale; and 2) a weaving competition is held with *kira*, *gho*, and innovative or modern categories, and prize money is offered to the winners.

<The Royal Textile Academy>

- The building is currently under construction and it is scheduled to be completed within five years.
- Established through a donation from the owner of a Swedish pharmaceutical company, the Academy will operate as an NGO.

–Facility Tour–

- The first floor has space for special exhibits. During our visit, ceremonial costumes had been borrowed from the various regions as part of celebrations for the 100th Anniversary of the Monarchy. The second floor holds the regular exhibit of regional and tribal costumes.
- The museum offers textiles for sale and live demonstrations.
- On the first floor, an introductory DVD on Bhutanese traditional textiles was playing.

<Conservation Room>

- In addition to the objects entrusted for use at special exhibitions, repair and maintenance work is conducted upon request.
- During the tour, restoration work was being done on a ceiling cloth from a temple in the central region.
- Though the storage room does not have special air conditioning, no major problems have occurred under the natural air conditions.
- Gas-filled vinyl packs are used to store objects.

⑤ Meeting with the Director of the National Library and Archives and Director of the Folk Heritage Museum

Date and Time: February 17, 11:15

Location: National Library and Archives

Attendees:

- Dorji Wangchuk (Director, Folk Heritage Museum), Gyonpo Tshering (Director, the National Library and Archives), Kungsan Delek (Senior Archivist, National Library and Archives), Tshering Choki (Staff, National Library and Archives),
- JCIC

Content of the meeting:

[National Folk Heritage Museum]

<Overview of the Museum>

- The museum was opened in July 2001, one month after the Textile Museum. A farmhouse was purchased by the government for use as a museum.
- It was established to serve as a showcase introducing traditional Bhutanese life to foreign tourists. Currently over 1,100 items are stored.
- The items in the collection were gathered from various regions in Bhutan.
- There are 11 staff members, including the director, an exhibition curator, three assistants in charge of guiding tours, and the remainder of the people are drivers, security staff, landscape gardeners, etc.
- There is one research officer but he is absent because he is currently studying in India.
- Education in museology is not available in Bhutan, so there is no choice but to study abroad.

<Issues>

- The booklet of the museum collection was created by a French person.
- The collection is comprised primarily of wooden objects and earthenware objects, but there are few metal objects. There is no particular damage by insects, etc., but objects made from yak hair deteriorate in approximately two years.
- In the future, they hope to create a preservation room larger than the present one.

<Other Issues>

- Since two years ago, cultural officers assigned to each of Bhutan's 20 prefectures have played an important role in the administration of cultural property protection. Before that, all direction came from the national government to the regional level, which took time.
- Exchange has taken place with the Fukuoka Asian Art Museum (FAAM).

- Currently a restaurant that will serve traditional foods is in the preparation stage and is scheduled to open in October of 2010⁽¹⁾

Tour of Facilities (Taken on February 19)

- The museum is comprised of three buildings: the main building (a traditional, three-story structure that used to be a farm house was moved and is utilized as the main building), an administrative building, a former exhibition building (currently being renovated as a restaurant offering traditional cuisine.)
- The main building consists of three floors; a first floor with a stable, a second floor with storage areas, and a third floor with a kitchen, living area, and a space for a Buddhist altar. In the upper section, there is an attic and a workspace for drying crops.
- Tools used in daily life and other objects that are basically related to the function of these spaces are exhibited.
- There are no written explanations in the exhibition because most of the visitors are accompanied by a guide. The guides are on staff and are always at the museum.
- The storage room referred to in the director's explanation was not confirmed.
- Overall, this museum is similar to folklore museums in Japan using old Japanese houses, and no major issues were seen in terms of preservation.

[National Library and Archives]

<Overview of the National Library and Archives>

- Previously, there was only a library. Archives were added in 2008.
- Currently there are three departments: the library, the archives and cultural research.
- In the cultural research department, there are three researchers, who specialize in fields related to Buddhist philosophy.
- There is a plan to create a new building and three local branches (eastern region, central region, southern region); negotiations with the Indian government are ongoing.
- Financial support for the construction of an on-line system is being discussed with the Indian government.
- The archive facility was built with the support of DANIDA.
- According to the deposit act, all materials published in English and Dzongkha in the country must be donated.

<Issues>

- Digitalization: It is hoped that, in the future, the book collection will be digitalized.
- Conservation of paper: Items that have been written in gold or silver are especially difficult, including the analysis of the composition. In this field, requests for cooperation have been

(1) As confirmed in January of 2011 by Director Dorji Wangchuk, the building has been completed, but the restaurant has not opened yet.

put forth, including an application for Cultural Grant Assistance from Japan; however, at this point, there has been no response.

- Fumigation facility: A fumigator donated by Japan is still in use; however, there are problems with the toxic potential of the chemicals.
- Putting the materials that are not part of the collection on microfilm: the materials that are stored at temples and other locations cannot be taken out and therefore it is hoped to record all of those materials on microfilm. The microfilm equipment cannot be moved from the library so a portable machine is needed.
- Storage at the temples: the storage environment for the materials at the temples is not good.
- Boxes for storing materials: In the past, the boxes for storing materials devised by Professor Imaeda have been deeply appreciated. Staff would like to be able to put materials from the temples and *dzongs* in these storage boxes when they are returned after conservation treatment, but supplies are limited.

Tour of the Facilities

- In the conservation room, conservation work on the lining of Buddhist texts that had been damaged by pests was in progress.
 - Though the person in charge of storage and preservation very much hopes to receive training on paper restoration from ICCROM, participation in such training abroad is difficult without financial support.
-

⑥ Visit to the JICA Bhutan Office

Date and Time: February 17, 11:15

Location: Bhutan Branch of JICA

Attendees:

- JICA Bhutan Office- Tomoki Nitta(Resident Representative), Emi Doyle (Project Formulation Advisor), Kunihiro Shiraishi (Project Formulation Advisor), Naoto Masakane (Volunteer Coordinator),
- JCIC

Content of the visit:

<JICA's Activities related to Cultural Heritages in Bhutan>

- There is no project for cultural properties yet, but there are some Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers engaged in cultural activities related to buildings, such as restoration of *dzongs*.
- Over 50 people are dispatched to Bhutan by JICA.
- Paro prefecture was affected by the cyclone disaster in May, and research is underway on cooperative efforts for reconstruction.
- There is potential for support of tourism in the future.

<Cooperation with Japanese organizations other than JICA>

- Beside JICA, there is a wide range of organizations cooperating, including the Japan Science and Technology Agency (JST), Asian Disaster Reduction Center, and the Japan Silver Volunteers.
- NGOs have trouble entering Bhutan, so there is no significant activity by NGOs.

<Cooperation with other countries and international agencies>

- UN agencies WHO and UNDP have offices and they conduct some activities.
- The main source of support comes from the smaller European countries.
- NGOs from Austria are working on cooperative projects to make the bridge between Taro and Punakha and the Ta Dzong into a museum.
- Thailand is cooperating primarily with IT-related activities.
- EU is cooperating in the field of agriculture with such projects as the RNR (Renewable Natural Resources).

<Characteristics of Bhutan>

- The Bhutanese have a warm and open personality and so they are fundamentally easy to work with.
 - They have a tendency to refrain from stating their opinion in a straightforward manner, so it is sometimes hard to grasp what they need.
 - There is a strong tendency to manage things from the top down.
 - Even when their own homes have been damaged by disasters, people want to repair *lhakhangs*.
 - In Bhutan, cultural heritage does not seem to be recognized yet as “cultural heritage”. However, values differ with each new generation, and if cultural heritage is not protected, it will inevitably disappear.
 - Although no specialists in urban planning are currently working in the JICA office, we recognize that Thimphu is expanding at a rapid rate without a master plan and the maintenance of the sewage and waste disposal treatment facilities has not been able to keep up.
-

⑦ Meeting with the Director of the National Museum, Paro

Date and Time: February 18, 10:00

Location: National Museum, Paro

Attendees:

- Kenpo Phuntsok Tashi (Director), Deldi Yangzom (Senior Museum Assistant),

- JCIC

Content of the meeting:

<Overview of the Museum>

- Trongsa Dzong (the facility used for the defense of the *dzongs*) was built 260 years ago, and has been used as a museum since 1968.
- Since last year, a new building has been under construction and the interior is currently being decorated. The first floor is to be an exhibition space and the second floor an office. A museum shop is to be added to the first floor.
- The central building (old building) is being remodeled. An evaluation by DCHS concluded that there were no problems with the safety of the main body of the building, and thus directions were given not touch it at all. Therefore the work is simply on the interior decor.

<Cooperation by the Japan Foundation>

- Colloquia were held 6 times between 1996 and 2009, with support from the Japan Foundation.
- Tangible cultural heritage was the topic for the first five colloquia, and reports were published in English and Dzongkha. Research about all dzongs was completed by the fifth colloquium.
- The sixth colloquium studied intangible cultural heritage and its report will be published in May of 2010.

<Needs for the future>

- Throughout the country, there are 2,006 monasteries and 10,011 stupas, and the hope is to create a record of all of them. Foreign support for this project is desired, and DANIDA is showing interest.

Tour of the Facilities

<Exhibitions at the Museum>

- The objects on display are mainly thangkas and folk tools, ranging from prehistoric objects to the folk tools of the modern period. There are approximately 2,000 exhibition items and this comprises 50-60 percent of the museum's collection.
- Archeological artifacts were excavated mainly by the Indian team.
- Natural science exhibits such as stuffed animals and mounted insects are also on display.
- There are also clay products, wooden products, bamboo products, and metal products (brass and copper).
- The museum is not air-conditioned. As a result, there is concern that the environment is not good, particularly for thangkas.
- There is almost no interpretative commentary for the exhibitions, probably because the majority of visitors are accompanied by a guide.
- The collection list is written by hand, and they are currently compiling a database of the collection. However, there is no specialist for building databases in this museum, so

technical advice is needed.

<Conservation Department>

- It was established in 1989. One room in a building attached to the main building is being used for the storage department, and there is no plan to move this even after the completion of the new building.
 - It is not a satisfactory environment for storage, as it contains only a scale and some chemicals apparently used as an adhesive.
 - There are two conservators. One of them received training in Japan on two occasions. The second training was on all aspects of museum work for six months at the National Museum of Ethnology. However, she has not received any technical training on conservation science.
-

⑧ Courtesy Visit with the Prime Minister

Date and Time: February 19, 9:10

Location: Parliament House of Bhutan

Attendees:

Jigme Yoser Thinley (Prime Minister)

JCIC Content of the meeting:

- In terms of bilateral relations, Japan is one of the most important countries along with India.
 - By the next election, Prime Minister is hoping to set a direction for the protection and transmission of cultural heritage.
 - Transmission of intangible cultural heritage is difficult. With the spread of globalization, many things, such as music, come into the country from abroad, and the next generation doesn't understand the value of traditional music.
-

⑨ Meeting with the Second Ritsumeikan-UNESCO Post Earthquake Team

Date and Time: February 19, 9:10

Location: House of Parliament

Attendees:

- Dorje Chering (Home Minister), Division for the Conservation of Heritage Sites, Disaster Planning Agency, Building Regulations Agency
- Kanefusa Masuda (Professor, Ritsumeikan University), Dr. Prem Nath Maskey (Professor, Tribhuvan University)

- Masahiko Tomoda (JCIC)

Content of the meeting:

<Report from the Disaster Planning Agency> Plan for Post-Earthquake Reconstruction>

- On September 21, 2009, a magnitude 6 earthquake struck Bhutan. A comprehensive national plan for reconstruction is now being crafted to include both emergency measures and plans for reconstruction. This will comprise both department-specific reconstruction plans and a reconstruction plan for private-sector housing.
- It is estimated that a total of 20 billion Ngultrum in funds will be necessary; however to date, the amount of assistance offered from abroad is at 2.5 billion Ngultrum.
- A technical working group was established to develop a three-pronged strategy: the formulation of guidelines and standards for reconstruction, training for technicians, and technical support.

<The Building Standards Agency> – Plans and Priorities for the Promotion of Reconstruction in Private Sector Housing

- An analysis of the damage was conducted. Traditional houses feature a first-story made of stone and a second-story section made of stone and wood. In general, lack of earthquake resistance in the first-story is a problem. Consequently, it is essential to strengthen quake-resistance standards, through the use of concrete, and land use plans prohibiting residential construction in regions where the land is less stable and the risk greater. Currently, these guidelines are in the process of being formulated.
- Regarding the construction of stone buildings, research is being conducted on the following five points: 1) making buildings lighter, 2) objectification, 3) structural continuity, 4) reinforcing strength, and 5) ductility. To address these problems, practical measures are being considered, such as the establishment of standards including restrictions on the number of doors and windows, and the introduction of wooden or bamboo reinforcement in sections of the stone construction.

< Division for the Conservation of Heritage Sites (DCHS)>Report 1

- 485 *chortens* (about 4.85% of the total number) and 281 *lhakhangs* (14%) were damaged to some extent by this earthquake. The emergency investigation conducted directly after the earthquake clarified the need for improvements in the earthquake resistance of existing structures and increased earthquake resistance for newly constructed buildings.
- The UNESCO Mission visited the affected areas from November 23 to 29, and made the following recommendations:
 - 1) There is a need to create guidelines for the reinforcement of existing buildings
 - 2) There is a need to establish earthquake-resistant designs for newly constructed buildings
 - 3) There is a need for technical training

- 4) There is a need for research on quake-resistance standards
- 5) There is a need for educational activities regarding disaster preparation for earthquakes.

< Ritsumeikan-UNESCO Mission>

- Ritsumeikan-UNESCO Mission was dispatched with the goal of evaluating existing safety standards with reference to the above recommendations.
- The DCHS will focus on the following four goals. Respecting the special characteristics of the traditional methods of construction is a precondition of improvements in safety, and the work undertaken should take into account the limitations of the actual site.
 - 1) Structural analysis of traditional buildings (evaluation of earthquake resistance)
 - 2) The establishment of construction codes for newly constructed buildings
 - 3) The establishment of measures for the reinforcement of existing buildings based on the materials and techniques applicable locally
 - 4) The establishment of a disaster mitigation plan

<DCHS>Report 2– The Restoration and Reconstruction of Architectural Heritage

- Results from the survey of damage were analyzed to determine the causes of the damage. It was concluded that while the traditional building methods in themselves were not deficient in terms of earthquake resistance, the resistance capacity depended on the quality of construction. For this reason, research on past technology is required. At the same time, training for architects, structural engineers, builders, and construction technicians will also be important.

<DCHS>Report 3 –Stone Masonry Building Techniques Seen in Classical Architecture

- Examination of the masonry in buildings damaged in the eastern region revealed many problems related to the size and arrangement of the stone material used. However, among examples of classical architecture, there are many cases of buildings that exhibit a high degree of structural strength and, in fact, there were also numerous examples of buildings that have experienced many earthquakes and withstood them without damage. Consequently, it is possible to learn from these past examples of walls with a high degree of earthquake resistance. Therefore, structural reinforcement in such examples is being studied through actual arrangement of stones.
 - Construction experiments are being conducted both on cases in which reinforcement was performed following the guidelines of the Standards Quality and Control Division, and cases in which improvements were added.
-

⑩ Hearing at the Ministry of Home and Cultural Affairs

Date and Time: February 19, 16:00

Location: Ministry of Home and Cultural Affairs

Attendees:

- Nagtsho Dorji (Director, DCHS), Junko Mukai (Consultant, DCHS)
- JCIC

Content of the meeting:

<Personnel Organization for DCHS>

- There are 16 individuals on staff (Ms. Mukai is a consultant and so not included)
- In the main section, there are currently only 5 individuals; the remaining members of the staff are away for training or at sites where repairs are being conducted.

Director: While the director specializes in architecture (she studied architecture in India and preservation in England), she holds an administrative position, and her skills are not put to use with on-the-ground problems.

- Chief Architect: currently he is studying in Australia.
- There are 2 younger architects, 2 civil engineers, and the consultant, Ms. Mukai.
- There are no educational institutions related to historical buildings in the country; and investigative research is not conducted except by the Ministry of Home and Cultural Affairs.
- Of the students from the school of traditional craft techniques who received technical training in mapping or surveying through the cooperation of the Agency of Cultural Affairs, two are working as draftsman at DCHS. However, at present, construction drawings are all done by CAD, and there are no plans to train new draftsmen.

<Operations of the DCHS>

- Basically, the role of DCHS is to grant permission and authorization, and actual work takes place at the regional level. In reality, however, there is a lot of work that regional technicians cannot handle, so staff members are dispatched directly to large sites.
- In Bhutan, the law requires that buildings be based on traditional designs. The technicians at central government agencies such as DCHS are in charge of these designs.
- The DCHS is currently repairing four sites (Wangdue Phodrang Dzong, Paro Dzong, Dagana Dzong and Lhuentse Dzong) and new construction at two sites (Pemagatshel Dzong and Thimphu Culture Center).
- In the outlying regions, there are various technicians within the administrative units referred to as *gewog* (villages), which are under the prefectural districts (*dzongkhag*). There are approximately 20 of these technicians on average in each *dzongkhag*, and approximately 400 throughout Bhutan. However, the technicians are involved not only with cultural properties, but with architecture in general.
- While the administration was very busy with the projects under the five-year plan, recovery

efforts were suddenly required due to the earthquake, leaving the staff overwhelmed with work. As a result, project planning had to be put on hold.

- The main focus of activity for the DCHS is religious buildings such as the *dzongs* and the *lhakhangs*. In the process of earthquake reconstruction, however, concerns were raised about the possibility that obstacles to the preservation and passing on of traditional techniques and village landscapes could develop if private housing was not included. For this reason, the DCHS has raised objections to the structural standards plan based on the SQCA, and is seeking a strategy that will serve both the improvement of safety and the capacity to pass on traditional culture.

<Response to the Earthquake>

- Various proposals were submitted by the Ritsumeikan-UNESCO Mission. While the majority of problems pointed out were ones that the Bhutan side was also fully aware of, limitations of the system and other circumstances make it difficult to deal with these issues.
- In Bhutan, there are no structural specialists. For this reason, they are hoping for support for both reinforcement measures and for the evaluation of earthquake resistance in traditional structures. Because the Bhutanese lack sufficient training to deal with these areas, support in the form of research by specialists is recommended.
- While discussions with the SQCA and others are ongoing, there is a tendency for misunderstanding from the perspective of cultural heritage. For this reason, it is hoped that a visit by a mission from other countries will provide an opportunity to hear opinions from a third-party perspective, and produce some positive effects.
- Cultural heritage is one of the four main pillars of GNH, so DCHS wants to avoid projects in which all the work is carried out by large teams from foreign countries. On a working level, the DCHS prefers to get things done using their own resources as much as possible. However, they also welcome the possibility of working together, and since structural analysis is only done by the DCHS, this is where a counterpart relationship could develop.

<World Heritage Nomination>

- While some upper level members of the government would like to have a World Heritage Site as part of the country's identity, there is some concern that registration as a World Heritage site would lead to restrictions on religious activities.
- There is also a concern that consultants from abroad will create formal documents without fully understanding the unique culture of Bhutan.

<Training>

- Ms. Nagtsho has participated in ACCU group training and is of the opinion that it was an extremely good training program. While she was unaware that individual training is being offered, she was very interested in the programs. The problem is that they are short on staff and the current situation makes it difficult to dispatch staff to the training.

<Other Issues>

- They would like to avoid a situation in which an independently created team from Japan monopolizes information or cooperation with Bhutan.

(4) Photos of the interviews



International Ministry of Home and Cultural Affairs Office, Ritsumeikan-UNESCO Mission, intangible heritage assets department, state of the joint meeting of the consortium.



Same as above.



Interview with the UN Regional Coordinator.



Facility introduction by the director of the textile museum.



Interview with the director of the national library and public records building and the curator of the folk heritage museum.



Facility introduction by the curator of the national library and public records building.



Visit to the JICA Bhutan office.



In front of the new museum building after the interview with the director of the national museum.



Department of Culture building exterior.



Sign of the Dpartment of Culture.



Visit at the Simtokha Dzong.



Courtesy visit with the Prime Minister.

Acknowledgments

We would like to extend our sincerest appreciation to the many people who have offered their generous cooperation for the implementation of our survey.

Special thanks to Ms. Moe Chiba at the UNESCO New Delhi Office, who played an indispensable role in liaising and coordinating meetings with local parties. We could not have prepared our survey so thoroughly without her support. Our deepest gratitude to H.E. Mr. Jigmi Thinley, the thirteenth Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Bhutan, and everyone in the Bhutanese Ministry of Home and Cultural Affairs, for sparing their precious time to receive us and offer their cooperation during a busy and difficult period in the aftermath of the earthquake.

With great respect, we also thank Dr. Yoshiro Imaeda of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique and Mr. Masahiko Tomoda of the National Research Center for Cultural Properties, Tokyo, for their consistent efforts, from the execution of the local survey to the preparation of this report, as members of the Bhutan Survey Mission under the Japan Consortium for International Cooperation in Cultural Heritage.

We would be most happy if our survey results benefit the future conservation of cultural heritage in Bhutan in any way.

Japan Consortium for International Cooperation in Cultural Heritage

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