

Fig. 1. Nyamata Genocide Memorial, Rwanda, west-facing facade and south elevation, 2016. All photographs by author unless otherwise noted.



Rwandan genocide memorials are both archives of a traumatic past and agents for contemporary social change. Their urgent conservation and management issues present novel challenges.

This essay explores conservation issues of Rwandan genocide memorials stemming from several years of work on a training and practical partnership with Rwandan colleagues, focused on the memorial at Nyamata (Fig. 1).¹ Memorials to the 1994 genocide are complex sites of extraordinary significance, comprised of buildings, landscapes, and collections of artifacts and human remains. They are valued greatly by Rwandans, are contentious, and face difficult deterioration and management challenges. This article briefly reviews the cultural significance of Rwandan genocide memorials and describes the ongoing work of a PennDesign team to plan, manage, conserve, interpret, and build capacity to ensure the survival of these sites as heritage for present and future generations of Rwandans.²

The study and conservation of these memorials have ramifications for both theory and practice. Complex decisions (about the meaning of artifacts and events, appropriate conservation treatments, accommodating Rwandans and visitors, and trading off current demands and future needs) shape the balance of remembering and forgetting that is central to processes of constructing heritage and

the politics of commemoration. As traumatic heritage places become more prominent, socially relevant, and politically contested globally, they raise issues about how conservation professionals balance heritage values and societal values and about the dual roles of these heritage places as archives for protecting the historical values of difficult and violent pasts and as agents of contemporary social change that advance larger societal projects.

The Rwandan Genocide and Its Memorialization

The Rwandan genocide of 1994 was a barely imaginable cultural trauma. In 100 days, about 800,000 Rwandans were killed, mainly those of the minority Tutsi population.³ The killing was flagrant and intimate, often by hand, sometimes with neighbors and family turning on one another. Twenty-five years later, commemoration of the genocide remains central to Rwanda, socially and politically. Yet, memory of the genocide outside of Rwanda remains woefully vague.

The story of the Rwandan genocide is much longer and more complicated than can be conveyed here. These complexities are told in a growing scholarly literature. For purposes of this essay, two points are essential: the genocide was far more complex than what is suggested by the common narrative (ethnic conflict and spontaneous slaughter); and genocide memorials—their form, functions, meaning, design, and interpretation—have played an important role in recovery and remain an under-researched subject.⁴

In 2007 the Rwandan government created the National Commission for the Fight against Genocide (CNLG), the agency currently charged with managing and interpreting the sites. The government's eight national-level memorial sites convey the official narrative of "the genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda."⁵

Most of the national memorials are at the locations where *genocidaires* committed acts of mass murder:

churches, schools, and hillsides where Tutsi had gathered for safety.⁶ Rwandans have transformed some of these into *lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory), each a gated complex of buildings, landscapes, and collections of textiles, other artifacts, and human remains.⁷

The genocide memorials manage to be, at once, "un-curated" (meaning that sites and artifacts are presented simply, informally, slightly disordered, and deteriorating) and carefully scripted (the historical narratives are narrowly crafted and aligned with political messaging). Site design and presentation of collections are graphic and direct—confronting and challenging the visitor. Human remains (principally bones) and collections of artifacts provoke sympathy, pathos, shock, and awe at the violence and scale of the genocidal killings. Interpretation consists only of tours guided by CNLG staff.

These sites are asked to do a lot: bear the national iconography of victimhood and recovery, support survivors (especially during the annual Kwibuka commemoration), and serve as platforms for genocide-prevention educational programs. They face an uncertain future in the face of decay, risk of future political instability, national development successes, and, of course, generational change.

Nyamata Genocide Memorial

Nyamata is a market town and administrative center of about 35,000 people located in the Bugesera region, about 30 kilometers south of Kigali. The Nyamata Genocide Memorial is located on the southern margins of the town, 100 meters west of the main road, facing an open campus of school and church buildings and unpaved laterite roads. The one-hectare site centers on what was originally a Roman Catholic church (Fig. 2). A few other brick buildings with metal roofs surround the church within an iron-fenced, park-like garden consisting of lawns, hedged paths, and specimen trees. Today, the town itself is vibrant

and growing, in anticipation of the new international airport being constructed nearby.

Before construction of the church in 1981 and 1982, the site was bush. The church was part of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Kigali and funded by a Swiss Catholic charity. Father Bernard Jobin, a Swiss priest-architect of the Pères Blancs society, designed the church between 1975 and 1981 (Fig. 3).⁸ The sophisticated design draws on Christian tradition, Corbusian modernism, and simple, locally sourced building materials and construction technology. Walls of load-bearing brick masonry are reinforced with concrete bands and interior arches. The building is passively ventilated and naturally lighted (Fig. 4). Originally, the church was the only building on the site, apart from a small latrine. In plan, the sanctuary is a simple large volume, slightly raked from the entry down to the altar, with a shed-like metal roof. The facade has many claustra (open concrete-block) screens that fill vertical slots set in each of the other three walls, creating a pinwheel pattern of slots for ventilation and light. The interior architecture is spare: low pews (about 20 cm high) arranged in a rough semicircle, concrete altar table, tabernacle, and baptismal font (Fig. 5). Just one room (a sacristy) is enclosed; a secondary chapel is distinguished from the sanctuary by a series of brick arches.

The story of Nyamata as a genocide memorial began with the internal resettlement of Tutsi from other Rwandan provinces to the Bugesera region in the 1950s. Occasional attacks on the Tutsi in the 1960s were precursors to the 1994 genocide, including killings of several hundred Tutsi in Nyamata in 1992. When the genocide began on April 7, 1994, Bugeseran Tutsi gathered at churches, schools, and government buildings, coming from surrounding hillsides. Thinking they would find refuge in Nyamata and elsewhere, the Tutsi were effectively concentrated for slaughter by Hutu militias and government agents "like dry banana leaves gathered for a fire."⁹

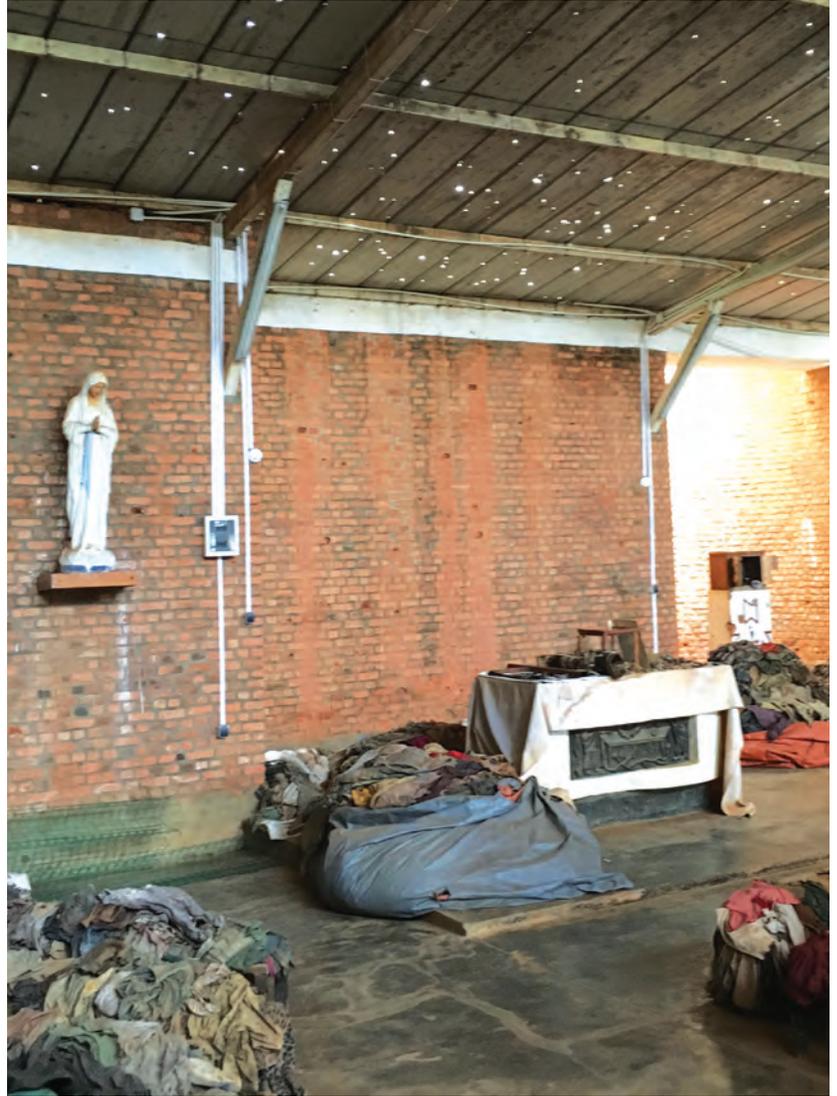
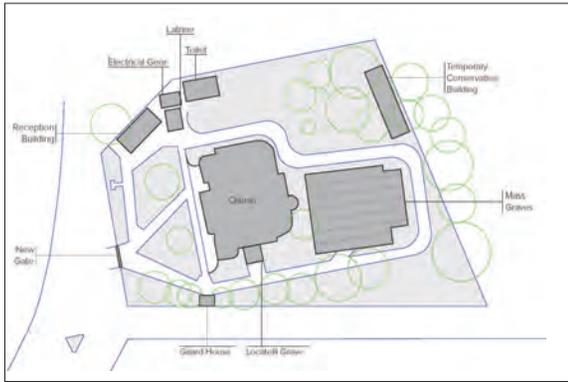


Fig. 2. Nyamata Church, site plan, 2018. Image courtesy of PennPraxis.

Fig. 3. Nyamata Church, west-facing facade and forecourt, ca. 1980s. Photograph by Bernard Jobin.

Fig. 4. Nyamata Genocide Memorial, southwest corner of the sanctuary, 2018, showing piles of textiles atop pews, claustra screen to the right, metal roof, and concrete reinforcing band.

Fig. 5. Nyamata Genocide Memorial, sanctuary interior, 2019. The altar is at right; piles of textiles lie on pews in the left and right foreground; a tabernacle and baptismal font are visible at the back right. The ceiling retains bullet and shrapnel holes, now covered with clear fiberglass. Recently installed electrical conduits are visible next to the statue of the Virgin Mary at center.

On April 11, 1994, genocidaires broke into the Nyamata church with grenades, slaughtering Tutsi men, women, and children with machetes, clubs, and guns. The sanctuary was left a tangle of bodies, belongings, and pews. Shrapnel and bullet damage to the concrete floor, brick walls, iron gates, and the metal roofs over the sanctuary and entrance have been retained and conserved.¹⁰ The genocide continued into May, leaving between 3,000 to 10,000 victims in and around the church itself and 45,000 to 50,000 people in the surrounding area.¹¹

The liberating Rwandan Patriotic Force reached Nyamata on May 14. Tutsi survivors immediately began

looking for loved ones amid the chaos, destruction, and trauma. The impulse to preserve remains and mourn—to construct heritage places—drove survivors to impose some order and preserve sites of remembrance. The challenges of burying the dead, reconstructing viable communities, and simply reclaiming everyday life were immense. Surviving Tutsi identified victims and buried them in hasty mass graves and, at mass-killing sites like Nyamata, separated bodies from artifacts.

At the insistence of the survivor community, the Nyamata church was deconsecrated in 1997, enabling the formal creation of a memorial.¹² Soon



Fig. 6. Nyamata Genocide Memorial, CNLG team members sorting and cleaning the textile collection being removed from the day chapel floor, 2017. Photograph by Megan Jeffs-Rossouw.

Fig. 7. Nyamata Church, sanctuary interior, 2019. Pews covered in textile piles heavily soiled with laterite dust.

afterwards, a crypt and display cases were constructed within the sanctuary; formal gardens, lawns, and an enclosing fence were added (previously the land surrounding the church was open ground). A modern, concrete mass-grave structure, built in 1996 and 1997, has been upgraded and expanded multiple times.

Nyamata Training and Practice Project

The PennDesign team has worked with CNLG since 2016 directly to advance two conservation goals: first, to train and build capacity among the CNLG staff to manage, conserve, design, and maintain the eight national memorials and second, to direct the prototyping and implementation of broad-spectrum conservation at one site, Nyamata. The PennDesign team works on many aspects of the conservation process (planning, site management, materials analysis, and conservation treatment) and the full range of scales and materials at hand (buildings, landscape, and collections, in particular, textiles).

When the team first visited Nyamata, the building and site were in good condition. However, the collections presented urgent problems: the enormous textile collection was in poor condition and deteriorating quickly (Fig. 6). Beginning in the 1990s, the Nyamata sanctuary had displayed numerous piles of ordinary clothing—the possessions of the victims—piled atop the pews in the open sanctuary (Fig. 7). This mode of display lends an immediate and vivid sense of the intimacy and scale of the killing and the absence of those killed. The team later described this quality as “experiential authenticity”—the capacity of a place to convey meaning through design, setting, and experience, not just through exclusive contact with artifacts and spaces bearing direct witness to the historic events. The collection and display of textiles in the church sanctuary is Nyamata’s most significant, character-defining element, bearing profound witness to missing bodies and lives.

Over the decades of gradual formalization, government memorials in Rwanda (including Nyamata) had informally begun to be managed and conserved, including:

- separating human remains and interring most of them in mass graves
- maintaining open displays of artifacts and some human remains (making evidence of violence as visible as possible)¹³
- retaining (and not repairing) surface damage to architectural fabric created by genocidaires’ attacks (bullet holes, shrapnel marks)
- implementing limited measures of conservation (mass-grave structures; occasional shaking, airing, and vacuuming of textile piles; and cleaning of bones before storage)
- bringing order to the sites by enclosing them with fences; providing security; sorting and arranging artifacts; creating and maintaining garden-like landscaping; adding paved paths, curbs, and offices
- retaining some representation of the chaos and violence, principally through display of collections and damaged building elements
- employing on-site managers to direct maintenance and interpret the site to visitors with personal tours.

Conservation Issues and Responses

In 2016 and 2017 the PennDesign team began documenting the existing conditions, building its understanding of site evolution and site management, diagnosing conservation issues, and addressing deterioration with some initial triage. In keeping with values-based conservation, the team discerned and recorded a clear sense of what values were ascribed to the place and how different stakeholders expressed their interests in the site. In a typical project, the team would have devoted considerable effort in early stages of the work to community consultations and engagement; however, CNLG reserved all public engagement for itself, so the conversations the team members were able to conduct came

through official channels, through secondary research, and through informal conversations in Rwanda.¹⁴ In light of this condition, the team has been transparent in stating that the project's principal contributions are physical conservation; sustainability of the site, building, and collections; and long-term strategy and management guidance to conserve the whole range of the site's values and resources (so that future generations have the opportunity to interpret them anew).

The government's political, legal, and societal interests in controlling the site, represented by CNLG's stewardship, were not challenged—though they create policy constraints inhibiting conservation. No collection materials may be moved off-site; the collections must remain on display and open to the public daily; and government-funded “improvement” projects, once under contract, cannot be significantly altered.

The church building and the site at Nyamata currently stand in fairly good and sustainable condition. A few conservation issues relating to the building and the site have been identified. A number of minor repairs, small improvements, and improved maintenance and cleaning are needed.

However, the textile collection was found to be in a perilous state with few safeguards or conservation measures in place for protection or even for slowing decay. The priority for conservation training and implementation has therefore been addressing the deterioration of this textile collection. As the belongings of the victims, the textiles were recognized by survivors as having great value. As of 2016, approximately 40 cubic meters of textiles had been gathered and kept in the Nyamata church, openly displayed in unorganized piles on pews and benches and on the floor, without protection, and with only irregular cleaning and disinfecting.¹⁵ The textiles were undocumented, unsorted, and not registered (in the museum sense). It was an undifferentiated mass of ordinary clothes and household textiles bearing the dirt, other marks, and deterioration

of rural poverty, the trauma of 1994, and more than 20 years of display.

Overarching the concern about the building and textile collection was the team's focus on the most urgent drivers of deterioration, namely dust infiltration, freely blowing into the building from the surrounding roads through the claustras and gates; humidity control, a fact of life given the equatorial climate and a passively conditioned building; and the presence of many pests (birds, insects, lizards, and more) actively contributing to the deterioration of textiles and architectural surfaces. In addition to these factors, the team put a priority on marshaling resources to begin textile conservation on-site as quickly as possible, requiring personnel from CNLG, materials and equipment, and space, for which the team designed and commissioned a temporary building on-site.

In consultation with CNLG, which had been increasing its stewardship efforts, the PennDesign team's preservation philosophy centered immediately on stabilization and preventive conservation. While selective and subtle measures of rehabilitation, such as repurposing small spaces, were contemplated, restoration of the site was never seriously considered.

Training and Conservation Work

Due to space limitations, only a thumbnail review of the PennDesign team's work can be given here. To begin, the team's training and practical interventions stress principles that conservation work should be:

- holistic (encompassing simultaneous work on buildings, the sites, and artifacts, as well as focusing on the intangible aspects of the site, such as experiences, traditions, uses, and policies)
- integrated (modeled on the internationally accepted, community-based conservation-planning framework based on the Burra Charter)
- appropriate (to the cultural, technological, and financial contexts of Rwanda)

- sustainable (in physical, ecological, and financial/resourcing senses)
- preventive (though including some reparative measures)
- ethical (remaining critical and self-reflective about the roles of expertise, “best practice,” cultural competence, and other ethical considerations).

In basic outline, the team's work has progressed through the following, overlapping stages:

Documentation and understanding.

The team established baseline conditions via reconnaissance, historical research, field recording, and documentation of conditions at Nyamata, including the buildings, site, and collections. The following types of data were analyzed and captured digitally:

- information on the history and evolution of the site
- dimensioned drawings of the church building and site
- the extent and character of textile collections
- recording of architectural-conservation conditions for the church building
- characterization of mortar and dust samples
- environmental monitoring at different locations on-site and interpretation of the data
- the governance environment of CNLG policies, national laws, and cultural contexts (through consultation with CNLG staff, other Rwandans, and anthropologists).

Training. The team has conducted a series of formal and informal activities with 12 CNLG colleagues, integrating classroom work and on-site conservation analysis and implementation, including:

- lectures and slide presentations on basic conservation concepts and case studies, supplemented by assigned readings
- site-based workshops and hands-on exercises related to specific conservation issues and preventive maintenance tools

- assignments for CNLG personnel to complete between the team's campaigns; applying training concepts to the sites CNLG personnel are assigned to manage
- joint PennDesign/CNLG prototyping and implementation of textile conservation
- intra-team briefings on cultural contexts of genocide memorialization and reflections on the team's work.

Analysis. The PennDesign team's elaboration of values followed a Burra Charter-inspired framework, characterizing values according to distinct categories and stakeholders, then expressing their interactivity in an overall statement of cultural significance synthesizing the site's several values.¹⁶ As team members came to understand the values and valorization processes at work, the vulnerabilities of the physical resources, along with the material and contextual constraints shaping what outcomes would be possible, the team identified which character-defining elements of the site are most important to preserve.

The spatial experience of the church, sanctuary, and the display of clothes together take precedence; the team also sustained CNLG's focus on damage to historic buildings; the church's original architectural materials, features, and interior architecture; and the human remains present on the site (though mostly hidden from general view in mass graves).

The PennDesign team and CNLG's team debated priorities and designed plans of action for conservation measures. Broadly, the goal was to minimize the ongoing loss of the highest-value and most-damaged textile collection, while also respecting lower-priority values and their representation in material.

Without major conservation intervention, the textile collection would largely disappear in another generation. Because of the particular significance of the textiles and CNLG's policies governing them, they could not be cleaned in any complete or

conventional manner. Nor could the collection leave the site (though one of the management recommendations is to reconsider this policy and to allow some portions of the collection to be stored in an off-site climate-controlled facility or to develop such a facility on-site). The textile-collection treatment strategy, led by Julia Brennan of Caring for Textiles, was designed and prototyped exhaustively and integrated carefully with the architectural-conservation and site-management recommendations. The secondary emphasis of conservation, including piloting the systemic work of documentation, monitoring, and building maintenance, was part of an overall commitment to preventive conservation.

Conservation measures. The conservation work for Nyamata is proceeding stepwise through iterative phases of research, analysis, and diagnosis. The team's focus has been consumed by the following specific issues to which it continues to diagnose, prototype, and monitor. With every step ahead, however, the intense interdependence of the building, site, and collections is reinforced.

- Assessing the condition of the sanctuary continues (especially the brick masonry, reinforced concrete, claustras, and roof assemblies), including diagnosis of deterioration mechanisms, identification of a few priority repairs (for example, a missing wall cap on the north wall), and ongoing environmental monitoring and data analysis. This also includes several interior architectural elements (altar table, tabernacle, baptismal font, day chapel altarpiece—all original to the sanctuary, character-defining, and bearing damage from April 1994).
- Reducing the flow of laterite road dust into the building is an abiding issue; it cannot be excluded without significantly altering the architectural fabric and passive ventilation of the sanctuary. Textile protection can be achieved partially by the cycling of textiles on display, periodic

vacuuming, or temporarily covering them with shrouds. Attempts to reduce dust load by screening the claustras or redesigning the surrounding landscape (paving or planting roads) have been considered.

- The CNLG engineers' decision (against the PennDesign team's advice) to cover some of the claustras with plexiglass to solve the dust problem has resulted in significant, measured worsening of environmental conditions (higher temperature and humidity); this intervention should be reversed.
- Integrated pest management (including birds, rodents, and insects) is being implemented to monitor pests. Their habitat has been reduced by moving textile piles off floors. Bird-protection devices are being prototyped for several openings at wall tops and claustras (parts of the sanctuary's original design).
- Mitigating the impact of new site-development measures emerged as an acute issue. CNLG initiatives (from another department) to create new toilets, parking, and other amenities and operational structures around the sanctuary brought some needed and welcome improvements but created new conservation issues. The team's conservation-planning and site-management advice strongly advises keeping any new uses, technologies, structures, etc., out of the sanctuary (the most significant space). Most new functions and fabric have been located in marginal, less visible locations. Minor changes were made to the sanctuary, including the introduction of gutters and drains (the effect is probably positive but is being monitored) and new lighting and utility conduits in the sanctuary space (the removal of which is being suggested).
- The textile collection has been the most demanding aspect of the work. Immediate measures were proposed to reduce the humidity, pests, and dust load affecting the textile collections. Meanwhile, existing piles were excavated and documented to assess conditions. The collection had to be triaged by separating it

into types based on condition: those degraded beyond recognition versus those still recognizable as clothes no matter how soiled. The outcome of the textile conservation aimed at redisplaying them in more or less identical fashion (adding platforms and repairing pews). The strategy consists of sorting and partial cleaning (mechanically, without water or solvents), reducing humidity and pest vectors, cycling the collections on display, and designing new passive storage on-site (Fig. 9).¹⁷

As work resumed in 2019, the situation continues to present a mixed picture of progress and setbacks. Textile conservation had been fully implemented on about one-third of the collection (the piles on the day chapel floor) (Figs. 8 and 9). CNLG continues to monitor, sort, and process textiles elsewhere in the sanctuary and temporary building. In summer 2019, the two teams began the lengthy process of treating the textiles piled on pews. Codifying site management and preventive-conservation strategies will be a major outcome of the 2019 work—producing guidance documents, ongoing training, and practical guides for implementing preventive-conservation measures. The PennDesign team also collaborated on an outdoor exhibit (created by the Aegis Trust and in cooperation with CNLG) that conveys the basic story of Nyamata and its context to visitors, in both English and Kinyarwanda.

Conclusions

*We erect monuments so that we shall always remember, and build memorials so that we shall never forget. . . . Monuments commemorate the memorable and embody the myths of beginnings. Memorials ritualize remembrance and mark the reality of ends.*¹⁸

—Arthur Danto

The work at Nyamata has succeeded in conserving the site in numerous senses while raising CNLG's capacity to sustain these efforts. This work is more significant given the 25th anniversary of the genocide marked this past April.



Fig. 8. Nyamata Church, day chapel at the beginning of textile sorting, cleaning, conservation, and redisplay, 2017. Photograph by Megan Jeffs-Rossouw.



Fig. 9. Nyamata Church, day chapel at the conclusion of textile sorting, cleaning, conservation, and redisplay, 2017. Photograph by Megan Jeffs-Rossouw.

The memorials are proud achievements and important instruments of the government. The focus remains maintaining the function of the site as a memorial now and in the future (no matter what the politics of the next generation may bring), not on fetishizing one or another aspect of the site's material fabric. Memorial functions rely on material remains and spatial integrity, of course, but cannot be conflated with them.

The success of the training program has been reflected in the sophisticated work of the participants and in several aspects of the site's management. The seriousness of the conservation challenges and the deliberate conservation strategies needed to address them in the long term are now widely understood.

Ever-conscious of limits to the roles of outsiders, the PennDesign team has built long-term relationships straddling the lines between consultant/expert, advisor/friend, and co-laborer. The team has built a strong sense of common purpose, while also managing to have difficult

conversations and frank exchanges on points of disagreement. Collectively, the team members continue to learn about their power as designers to use artifacts, buildings, environments, and narratives to create meaningful experiences, as well as the limits of this power. Traumatic heritage places like Nyamata challenge the conservation field to address urgent societal values even when they take precedence over traditional heritage values (as with many sites of conscience) and to accept conservation professionals' central responsibility to manage the conflicts inherent in heritage places' role as both archives of the past and agents for societal change.¹⁹

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Notes

1. "Nyamata Genocide Memorial Conservation Project Final Report," PennPraxis, accessed June 30, 2019, <https://www.design.upenn.edu/pennpraxis/work/rwanda-genocide-memorial-conservation-training>.
2. The project is convened by PennPraxis, an NGO related to the University of Pennsylvania School of Design. The author leads the project team, which includes conservation engineer-architect Michael Henry, textile conservator Julia Brennan, and architectural conservator Laura Lacombe. Other team members include Julia Griffith, Charlette Caldwell, Kaitlyn Levesque, Kaitlyn Munro, and Marius Rossouw. We work closely with colleagues at CNLG, especially Dr. Jean-Damascène Gasanabo, director of research and documentation; Martin Muhoza, lead conservation specialist; Regis Rurenzi, conservation specialist; Rachel Murekatete, manager of Nyamata; and Dr. Jean-Damascène Bizimana, executive secretary.
3. Figures differ substantially and will never be conclusively known. The Government of Rwanda typically states that one million people were killed. Tutsi were overwhelmingly the victims, and Hutu were the perpetrators. Documentation reveals substantial "moderate Hutu" victims as well and debates rage about post-genocide Tutsi revenge killings.
4. Overarching works in English include Alison Des Forges, *Leave None to Tell the Story*:

Genocide in Rwanda (New York: Human Rights Watch, 1999); Philip Gourevitch, *We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed with Our Families: Stories from Rwanda* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1998); Jean Hatzfeld, *Life Laid Bare: The Survivors in Rwanda Speak*, trans. Linda Coverdale (New York: Other Press, 2007); Timothy Longman, *Memory and Justice in Post-Genocide Rwanda* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2017); and Susan Thomson, *Rwanda: From Genocide to Precarious Peace* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2018). Important works on memorials include Rémi Korman, "Mobilising the Dead? The Place of Bones and Corpses in the Commemoration of the Tutsi Genocide in Rwanda," *Human Remains and Violence* 1, no. 2 (2015): 56–70; Jens Meierhenrich, "Topographies of Remembering and Forgetting: The Transformation of Lieux de Memoire in Rwanda," in *Remaking Rwanda: State Building and Human Rights after Mass Violence*, ed. Scott Straus and Lars Waldorf (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 2011); and Delia Wendel, *Rwanda's Genocide Heritage* (forthcoming, 2020).

5. The process of creating a hierarchical system of memorials is an important context but beyond the scope of this essay. Documentation of a range of memorials, including the national-level sites, can be viewed at Genocide Archive of Rwanda, www.genocidearchiverwanda.org.rw, and Through a Glass Darkly: Genocide Memorials in Rwanda, www.genocidememorials.org.
6. There are many such places all over Rwanda; only a few have been converted into memorials.
7. Our work does not address conservation or storage of human remains; we touch only upon these issues as they affect other factors of the site. Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," special issue, *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989), first made the distinction between *lieux* and *milieus de mémoire*.
8. "Eglise Paroissiale, Nyamata, Rwanda," *AS Architecture Suisse* 54 (Nov. 1982): 1–4. Bernard Jobin, *Parcours Africain* (Sierre, Switzerland: Editions a la Carte, 2012), 133, 204–205. Bernard Jobin, personal communication, 2017. The timeline has also been built or corroborated by information from the online Genocide Archive of Rwanda; the Diocesan archives in Kigali; and Rachel Murekatete, personal communication, 2017.
9. Jean Hatzfeld, *Blood Papa: Rwanda's New Generation*, trans. Joshua David Jordan (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2018), 56.
10. Vivid, heartbreaking, first-person accounts of this can be found at Hatzfeld and the online Genocide Archive of Rwanda.
11. Counts are uncertain, and sources vary on the details. These figures are based on Des Forges, 15–16, Rwanda's National Commission for the Fight Against Genocide, <https://CNLG.rw.gov>, and the online Genocide Archive of Rwanda.

12. Genocide Archive of Rwanda. A new Catholic church was constructed nearby. The role of the Catholic Church in the genocide remains a controversial topic.

13. The tension between burial and display of human remains is a matter of open debate and disagreement over its propriety; see Korman and Meierhenrich.

14. We are fully aware that there is a broad range of attitudes to the memorials among Rwandans. This is evident from conversations with many Rwandans and non-Rwandans who have researched or contributed to work there. It is also well demonstrated in the literature cited elsewhere in this paper. We nonetheless agreed to bracket this aspect of the conservation work in keeping with the CNLG partnership.

15. The collection increases in small increments with each new exhumation of victims, whose remains continue to be discovered and disclosed even 25 years after the genocide.

16. "Nyamata Genocide Memorial Conservation Project Final Report (2017)," PennPraxis, accessed June 30, 2019, <https://www.design.upenn.edu/pennpraxis/work/rwanda-genocide-memorial-conservation-training>.

17. Due to space restrictions, details of this process will be published subsequently.

18. Arthur Danto, *Wake of Art: Criticism, Philosophy, and the Ends of Taste Essays* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 153.

19. This argument is developed further in Randall Mason, "Valuing Traumatic Heritage Places as Archives and Agents," in *Values in Heritage Management: Emerging Approaches and Research Directions*, ed. Erica Avrami, Susan Macdonald, Randall Mason, and David Myers (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2019), 160–173.



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