

Doctoral Dissertation
ANNEX

Assessing Authenticity in Heritage Conservation
—
Case Study: Architectural Conservation in Bahrain

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ANNEX 3.1 A – OVERVIEW TABLE OF ALL INTERVIEWS

* In-depth interviews of type 1 or 2 are marked in **bold**. Interviews which focus on or refer to one or both of the main reference sites are underlined. The name of the interviewee is only indicated in the case of expert interviews and if explicitly permitted.

^{x2} Number of people involved, if more than one, indicated in superscript.

** Legend of the color-coding and acronyms of categories of interviewees:

Eastern non-architect (NA)	East-Western non-architect (EWNA)	Western non-architect (WNA)
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Eastern architect (EA)	East-Western architect (EWA)	Western architect (WA)
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Nr*	Type of interview	Category**	Profession/affiliation	Nationality	Age	Gender	Date	Documentation	Recording		Location(s) of interview	Main topics/ sites discussed
									min	sec		
1	3: spontaneous, on-site interview with local community member	ENA	resident of the area attending opening event	Bahraini from Muharraq	20s	male	Thursday 03.04.2014 evening	transcribed audio recordings	7	08	Al-Ghus House in Muharraq (opening event)	Al-Ghus House (UNESCO World Heritage), architectural revivalism
2 ^{x2}	3: spontaneous, on-site interview with local community members	ENA	residents of the area attending opening event	Bahraini from Muharraq and her sister	30s	female	evening		13	11	Al-Ghus House in Muharraq (opening event)	Al-Ghus House, childhood memories of pearling
3 a-c	1: in-depth, on-site interview with tours at both reference sites	WNA	archaeologist employed in Bahrain	German	30	female	Wednesday 02.04.2014 15:00	transcribed audio recordings	19	29	office in Muharraq	Muharraq, Siyadi Shops, Bab al-Bahrain area, Bahrain Fort, Riffa Fort, Sh Ebrahim Center
							17:00		9	47	office in Muharraq; after visit to Bab al-Bahrain of ~ 45 min	Bab al-Bahrain area
							Tuesday 08.04.2014 17:00	transcribed audio recording	24	34	Suq al-Qaisariya	Siyadi Shops, Bab al-Bahrain area

Nr*	Type of interview	Category**	Profession/affiliation	Nationality	Age	Gender	Date	Documentation	Recording		Location(s) of interview	Main topics/ sites discussed
									min	sec		
4 a-c	1: in-depth, on-site interview with tours at both reference sites	ENA	secretary, BA in business information systems	Bahraini, Shia from rural area	26	female	Sunday 13.04.2014 afternoon	transcribed audio recording	51	13	office rooms in Muharraq; Suq al-Qaisariya	Siyadi Shops, Bahrain Fort
							Wednesday 23.04.2014 afternoon	transcribed audio recordings	34	50	Bab al-Bahrain	Bab al-Bahrain area, Siyadi Shops
									3	51	Bab al-Bahrain	Customs House
5 a-f	2: in-depth, on-site expert interview at several sites with Shaikh Ebrahim (client of a traditional construction project)	EWNA	anthropologist human geologist, former employee Ministry of Culture of Bahrain (MoC)	Bahraini member of the royal family, studied in New Zealand	30	male	Sunday 27.04.2014 afternoon	transcribed audio recordings	33	38	Sh Ebrahim House in Riffa	Sh Ebrahim House, Sh Ahmed bin Ali House
									3	33	driving in car near Riffa	national identity Bahrain
									7	11		vernacular architecture
									12	53		Bahraini culture
									20	37	Sh Ahmed Bin Ali House in Riffa	Sh Ahmed bin Ali House, Riffa Fort and Military Museum
									10	59	Sh Ahmed Bin Ali House in Riffa	Sh Ahmed bin Ali House
6	2: in-depth, off-site expert interview with Davide Chiaverini (lead design architect of the latest refurbishment of Bab al-Bahrain building)	WA	architect	Italian, living in Bahrain since 2000	40s	male	28.04.2014	transcribed audio recording	98	32	PAD offices in Janussan	Bab al-Bahrain area
7 a-d	2: in-depth expert, on- and off-site interview with Dr. Alaa el-Habashi (lead conservation architect of the rehabilitation of the reference site)	EWA	conservation architect and heritage conservation consultant to the MoC	Egyptian, studied in the USA	40s	male	Thursday 03.04.2014 evening	transcribed audio recording	30	35	Al-Ghus House in Muharraq	Al-Ghus House, Amarat Fakhro, Pearling Testimony, conservation ethics
							Saturday 05.04.2014 10:00	transcribed audio recording	91	00	Safron Café at Suq al Qaisariya	Siyadi Shops, Al-Alawi House, Amarat Fakhro, Muharraq

Nr*	Type of interview	Category**	Profession/affiliation	Nationality	Age	Gender	Date	Documentation	Recording		Location(s) of interview	Main topics/ sites discussed
									min	sec		
	in Suq al-Qaisariya and consultant to the latest refurbishment of Bab al-Bahrain building)											conservation, authenticity
							24.7.2014	notes	-	-	online interview (Skype)	Siyadi Shops, Bab al-Bahrain area, Customs House
							05.02.2021	notes	-	-	email correspondence	Customs House
8 a-c	1: in-depth on-site interview with tours at both reference sites	EWNA	civil engineer	Bahrain based Egyptian, grew up in Bahrain up to the age of 17, studied and lived in different Arab countries, Europe and USA	30s	male	Wednesday 09.04.2014 afternoon and evening	transcribed audio recordings	45	19	Suq al Qaisariya	Siyadi Shops, Khan al-Khalili in Cairo, Bergen in Norway
									66	11	Bab al-Bahrain area	Bab al-Bahrain area, Siyadi Shops, Suq Waqif
								16.02.2015	notes	-	-	Online chat (Facebook)
9 a-c	1: in-depth on-site interview with tours at both reference sites	EWNA	fashion and textile designer	Kazakh, studied in Italy and USA, temporary resident of Bahrain	25	female	Thursday 03.04.2014 noon	transcribed audio recording	23	35	Suq al-Qaisariya	Siyadi Shops
									19	33	Safron Café at Suq al Qaisariya	Siyadi Shops, Rome, Astana new urban district, heritage branding
								afternoon	transcribed audio recording	26	11	Bab al-Bahrain
10 a-d	1: in-depth on-site interview with tours at both reference sites and Riffa	EWNA	IT engineer and educational specialist	Bahraini, Shia, studied in the UK and USA	29	male	Friday 11.04.2014 afternoon	transcribed audio recording	41	50	Manama Suq, Bab al-Bahrain	Bab al-Bahrain area
									evening (poor lighting)	transcribed audio recording	49	56
								transcribed audio recording			8	17
								Sunday 01.05.2014	transcribed audio recording	5	44	Riffa

Nr*	Type of interview	Category**	Profession/affiliation	Nationality	Age	Gender	Date	Documentation	Recording		Location(s) of interview	Main topics/ sites discussed
									min	sec		
							morning					
11 a-e	1: in-depth on-site interview with tours at both reference sites and Riffa	ENA	hair dresser and cosmetician, BA in agricultural and computer sciences	Filipino, lived 8 months in Brunei/Burma resident of Bahrain for 6 years	31	female	Sunday 27.04.2014 morning	transcribed audio recording	43	38	Bab al-Bahrain	Bab al-Bahrain area
									5	17	Customs House	Customs House
									41	34	Suq al-Qaisariya	Siyadi Shops, Bab al-Bahrain area, Riffa Fort
									6	46	Safroon Café at Suq al Qaisariya	Pearling history and UNESCO World Heritage
									15	44	driving and at Riffa Fort	Riffa Fort and Military Museum
12 a-d	1: in-depth on-site interview with tours at both reference sites and at Bayt Shaikh Salman	EWNA	civil engineer, photographer and artist	Lebanese, lived in Canada, resident of Bahrain since 1991	50s	male	Friday 18.04.2014 afternoon	transcribed audio recordings	38	04	at private house in al-Guza	Muharraq old town, Sh Ebrahim Center, Maison Jamsheer, Siyadi House
									35	03	Bab al-Bahrain	Bab al-Bahrain area
									48	34	Suq al-Qaisariya	Bin Faris House and extension, Siyadi Shops, Bab al-Bahrain area
									26	09	Bayt Sh Salman	Bayt Sh Salman
13 a-b	1: in-depth on-site interview with tours at both reference sites	WNA	heritage consultant with a BA in Cultural Management and MA in World Heritage Studies	Serbian, British mother, temporary resident of Bahrain	20s	female	Sunday 13.04.2014 afternoon	transcribed audio recordings	51	18	Suq al-Qaisariya	Bahrain Fort, Bu Maher, Sh Ebrahim Center, Siyadi Shops
									31	58	Bab al-Bahrain	Bab al-Bahrain area, Siyadi Shops
14 a-c	1: in-depth on-site interview with tours at both reference sites	WNA	archaeologist	US American from Hawaii, resident of Bahrain for 10 months	29	female	Tuesday 29.04.2014 afternoon	transcribed audio recordings	40	22	Bab al-Bahrain	Bab al-Bahrain area, Customs House
									52	22	Suq al-Qaisariya	Siyadi Shops, Bab al-Bahrain area, Bahrain Fort, Burial Mounds, Barbar Temple, Riffa Fort

Nr*	Type of interview	Category**	Profession/affiliation	Nationality	Age	Gender	Date	Documentation	Recording		Location(s) of interview	Main topics/ sites discussed
									min	sec		
									2	48	Suq al-Qaisariya	Pearling Testimony, Bu Maher, Bin Matar House, oyster beds
15 a-d	1: in-depth on-site interview with tours at both reference sites	ENA	air craft pilot	Bahraini, Sunni, studied in Saudi Arabia and Qatar	30	male	Monday 21.04.2014 noon and afternoon	transcribed audio recordings	52	23	Bab al-Bahrain	Bab al-Bahrain area, Yateem Gas Station, Siyadi Shops, Suq Waqif
									9	29	coffee shop in Manama	
									43	25	Suq al Qaisariya	
									23	52	Suq al Qaisariya	
16 a-b	1: in-depth on-site interview with tours at both reference sites	EA	architect, employee of the MoC	Egyptian, Bahrain resident since 4 months, and previously from 2005 to 2010	40s	female	Saturday 19.04.2014 morning	transcribed audio recordings	58	08	Bab al-Bahrain	Bab al-Bahrain area, Khan al-Khalili, Bahrain theatre, Ghus House, Nukhada House
									49	29	Suq al Qaisariya	
17	1: in-depth on-site interview with tours at both reference sites	EA	architect, previously employee of Gulf House Engineering (GHE)	Bahraini	26	male	Monday 14.04.2014 afternoon	transcribed audio recordings	57	54	Bab al-Bahrain	Suqs in Qatar, architectural revivalism and vernacular architecture in Bahrain, Sh Ebrahim Center, Sh Issa bin Ali House, Bahrain Fort
									46	30	Suq al Qaisariya	
18 a-c	1: in-depth on-site interview with tours at both reference sites (significant language barriers)	ENA	housemaid with basic school education	Ethiopian, resident of Bahrain for 15 years	33	female	Monday 28.04.2014 morning	transcribed audio recordings	24	45	Bab al-Bahrain	Bab al-Bahrain area Siyadi Shops
									23	35	Suq al-Qaisariya	
									00	26		
19 a-b	1: in-depth on-site interview with tour at Bab al-Bahrain	WNA	English language teacher (studied Arabic and Persian)	English, resident of Bahrain since 1975	60s	male	Friday 03.04.2015 afternoon	transcribed audio recording	80	40	Bab al-Bahrain	Bab al-Bahrain area, Siyadi Shops, Arad Fort, Bahrain Fort, Riffa Fort,
							04.04.2015					

Nr*	Type of interview	Category**	Profession/affiliation	Nationality	Age	Gender	Date	Documentation	Recording		Location(s) of interview	Main topics/ sites discussed
									min	sec		
<u>20</u>	1: in-depth off-site interview following tours at both reference sites and several additional sites	WA	conservation architect	Germany (tourist in Bahrain)	43	male	30.03.2014	transcribed audio recording	65	05	at Qal'at al Bahrain site museum	Bab al-Bahrain area, Siyadi Shops, Pearling Pathway, Bayt Jamsheer, Bin Matar House, Al-Ghus House, Nukhada House, Sh Ebrahim Center, Riffa Fort, Bayt Sh Salman
<u>21</u>	1+2: in-depth on-site interview with tour at Suq al-Qaisariya	EA	architect (involved in the survey and refurbishment of Bab al-Bahrain in the 1980s)	Indian, resident of Bahrain since 1983	50s	male	Friday 02.05.2014 morning	transcribed audio recordings	84	28	Suq al-Qaisariya	Bab al-Bahrain area, Siyadi Shops, Riffa Fort, Bahrain Fort, Arad Fort, Muharraq
<u>22</u>	2: in-depth, off-site expert interview with Dr. Souhail Al-Masri (involved in the refurbishments at Bab al-Bahrain in the 2000s as director of Architectural Design at GHE)	EWA	architect	Lebanese, long-term resident of Bahrain, PhD from UK	40s	male	17.04.2014	transcribed audio recording	56	36	GHE office, Manama	conservation in Bahrain, various GHE projects, Suq al-Qaisariya, Bab al Bahrain area, Sh Ebrahim Center projects, Sh Isa House, Bahrain Fort, Riffa Fort, Arad Fort
<u>23</u>	2: in-depth, off-site expert interview with Ghassan Chemali (involved in supervision of the rehabilitation of the reference site in Suq al- Qaisariya on behalf of the MoC)	EWA	architect and urban conservation expert	Lebanese, resident of Bahrain since 2008, studied in France	37	male	20.04.2014	transcribed audio recording	55	20	MoC Manama	conservation in Bahrain, Siyadi Shops, Bab al-Bahrain area, Nukhada House, Sh Ebrahim Center projects, Dar Janaa, Muharraq
<u>24</u>	2: in-depth expert interview with Jamal	EWA	conservation architect	Syrian, studied restoration in Germany,	50s	male	21.04.2014	transcribed audio recording	69	28	MoC Manama	conservation in Bahrain, Sh Ebrahim Center projects,

Nr*	Type of interview	Category**	Profession/affiliation	Nationality	Age	Gender	Date	Documentation	Recording		Location(s) of interview	Main topics/ sites discussed
									min	sec		
	Jaber (conservation consultant to MoC)			Bahrain based for 1,5 years								Pearling Testimony, Siyadi Shops, Bab al Bahrain area, Sh Isa House, Manama
25	2: in-depth, off-site expert interview with Jenan Habib (interior designer for the rehabilitation of the reference site in Suq al- Qaisariya and of various other sites)	EA	architect and interior designer	Lebanese, resident of Bahrain for 21 years, studied at American University of Beirut	50s	female	03.04.2014	transcribed audio recording	69	25	coffee shop in Juffair, Manama	conservation in Bahrain, Sh Ebrahim Center projects, Siyadi Shops, Fakhro Amarat, House of Sh Hassa, Bayt Sh Salman, Bin Matar House
26 ^{x2} a-g	2: in-depth, on-site and off-site expert interview at various sites with Khaled Abdulla Al Shoaibi (director of construction company EWAN Al-Bahrain; the interview was temporarily attended by Jassim Ahmed Jassim Ashor, partner at EWAN)	ENA	business director, trained as accountant	Bahraini	40s	male	Sunday 20.04.2014 morning	transcribed audio recordings	14	05	Muharraq, Laqmatina project	conservation in Bahrain, Bahraini traditional architecture, various Sh Ebrahim Center and MoC projects, Siyadi House, Fakhro Amarat, Al Alawi House, House 364 in lane 920, Sakhir Palace, Bayt Asma, Bayt Jamsheer conservation centre, Suq Waqif, Al-Ghus House, Sh Khaled House, Kurar House, Abdil Abdulmalik House, EWAN offices
									8	49	Muharraq, House No 364, 920	
									29	54	Muharraq, Memory of the House	
									1	27	Muharraq, Memory of the house	
									11	34	Muharraq, Memory of the house/ conservation centre Bayt Jamsheer	
									6	21	Muharraq, conservation centre Bayt Jamsheer	

Nr*	Type of interview	Category**	Profession/affiliation	Nationality	Age	Gender	Date	Documentation	Recording		Location(s) of interview	Main topics/ sites discussed
									min	sec		
									82	20	Manama, EWAN offices	
27 a-c	3: short, on-site interview with a migrant construction labourer employed in conservation projects of the MoC	ENA	construction worker, originally trained in IT	Indian, resident of Bahrain for 5 years	25	male	03.05.2014	transcribed audio recordings	5 0 2	13 33 46	Muharraq, Bayt al-Nahr	conservation in Bahrain
28	3: short spontaneous, on-site interview with migrant labourer (security guard) at the reference site in Muharraq	ENA	security guard for MoC site, originally trained in IT	Bangladeshi, resident of Bahrain for 13 months	30s	male	Tuesday 29.04.2014 afternoon	transcribed audio recording	17	06	Suq al-Qaisariya	Siyadi Shops, work conditions in Bahrain, heritage conservation
29	3: short spontaneous, on-site interview with migrant labourer (waiter) at the reference site in Muharraq	ENA	waiter in Safron café for 5 months	Bangladeshi, resident of for 1,5 years	30s	male	Sunday 27.04.2014 morning	transcribed audio recording	2	55	Safron Café at Suq al Qaisariya	Siyadi Shops
30 a-b	1+2: in-depth on-site interview including a tour at the reference site in Muharraq with Ronan Dayot (construction supervisor for the MoC)	EA	Architect, working for the MoC for two years	Filipino, resident of Bahrain for 4 years	20s	male	Saturday 03.05.2014 noon	transcribed audio recordings	13 66	54 45	Suq al-Qaisariya	conservation in Bahrain, Bayt Sh Salman, emergency conservation projects of the MoC, Siyadi Shops, Bab al-Bahrain area, Bahrain Fort, Riffa Fort
31	2: in-depth, off-site expert interview with Dr. Nadine Boksmati-Fattouh (consultant to the MoC)	EWNA	archaeologist, museum curator	Lebanese, former long-term resident of Bahrain, studied at American University of	30s	female	04.04.2014	transcribed audio recording	62	58	MoC Manama	conservation in Bahrain, Bahrain Fort with site Museum, National Museum Bahrain, Sh Isa bin Ali House, Sh Ebrahim center projects,

Nr*	Type of interview	Category**	Profession/affiliation	Nationality	Age	Gender	Date	Documentation	Recording		Location(s) of interview	Main topics/ sites discussed
									min	sec		
				Beirut, PhD from UK								Memory of the House, Bayt Khalaf, Pearling Testimony, Al-Ghus House, Luqmatina, Bu Kahlaf coffee shop
<u>32</u> a-b	2: in-depth, off-site expert interview with employee of the MoC and involved in the latest refurbishment of Bab al-Bahrain Avenue	EWA	architect with some conservation training	Bahraini, training in Italy	20s	female	28.04.2014	notes transcribed audio recording	~ 15 15	- 24	MoC Manama	Customs House, Bab al-Bahrain area, Post Office and Police Station, Siyadi Shops, Memory of the House
<u>33</u> a-b	1+2: in-depth, on- and off-site expert interview with an employee of the MoC including a tour at Bab al-Bahrain	EWA	architect with some conservation training	Bahraini, studied and worked in the UK	20s	male	Thursday 10.04.2014 afternoon and evening	transcribed audio recordings	57 45	09 20	MoC Manama Bab al Bahrain	conservation in Bahrain, various MoC projects, Siyadi Shops, Suq Waqif, Sh Ebrahim Center projects, Bab al-Bahrain area
<u>34</u>	3: short spontaneous, on-site interview with local community member in the vicinity of the reference site in Suq al-Qaisariya (language barriers)	ENA	<i>unknown</i>	Bahraini from Muharraq	60s	male	Thursday 03.04.2015 afternoon	transcribed audio recording	7	10	at a coffee shop close to the reference site in Muharraq Suq	Siyadi Shops
<u>35</u> ^{x2}	3: short spontaneous, on-site interview with local community member in the vicinity of the reference site in Suq al-Qaisariya	ENA	<i>unknown</i>	Bahraini	70s/ 30s	male	Thursday 03.04.2015 afternoon	transcribed audio notes recorded after the conversation	00	46	in street close to the reference site in Muharraq Suq	Siyadi Shops
<u>36</u>	3: short spontaneous, on-site interview with	ENA	<i>unknown</i>	Bahraini from Muharraq	40s	female	Saturday 05.04.2015	transcribed audio recording	1	28	Safron Café at Suq al Qaisariya	Siyadi Shops

Nr*	Type of interview	Category**	Profession/affiliation	Nationality	Age	Gender	Date	Documentation	Recording		Location(s) of interview	Main topics/ sites discussed
									min	sec		
	a customer of Safron Café at the reference site in Muharraq 2 (language barriers, female family members and a baby were present during the interview)						noon					
<u>37</u>	3: short spontaneous, on-site interview with a customer of Safron Café at the reference site in Muharraq (female family members were present during the interview)	ENA	<i>unknown</i>	Bahraini from Zallaq in Southern Governorate	30s	female	Saturday 05.04.2015 noon	transcribed audio recording	4	25	Safron Café at Suq al Qaisariya	Siyadi Shops
<u>38</u> _{x4}	3: short spontaneous, on-site interview with business owner (three other senior Bahrainis participated in the interview)	ENA	pharmacist and business owner at the site since the 1940s	Bahraini	60s-80s	male	Thursday 03.04.2015 afternoon	transcribed audio recording	13	54	office room of a pharmacy in the vicinity of Bab al-Bahrain	development of Bab al-Bahrain area since the 1940s
<u>39</u>	3: short spontaneous interview with a migrant labourer at the reference site in Manama	ENA	salesman in a shop on Bab al-Bahrain Avenue	Pakistani	30s	male	Thursday 03.04.2015 afternoon	transcribed audio recording	2	24	shop in Bab al-Bahrain Avenue	Bab al-Bahrain area
<u>40</u> _{x2}	3: short spontaneous interview with taxi drivers at reference site 1	ENA	Taxi drivers	Bahraini	60s	male	Thursday 03.04.2015 afternoon	transcribed audio recording	1	18	taxi stand north of Bab-Bahrain	Bab al-Bahrain area
<u>41</u>	3: short spontaneous interview with taxi	ENA	Taxi driver	Bahraini	74	male	Thursday 03.04.2015 afternoon	transcribed audio recording	4	15	taxi stand north of Bab-Bahrain	architecture and conservation in Bahrain

Nr*	Type of interview	Category**	Profession/affiliation	Nationality	Age	Gender	Date	Documentation	Recording		Location(s) of interview	Main topics/ sites discussed
									min	sec		
	driver at reference site 1											
42	2: expert, off-site interview with Ahmed Bucheery, principal architect and managing director of GHE (interview carried out during the author's employment at GHE)	EA	architect	Bahraini	40s	male	24.02.2011	notes	~ 30		GHE office	architecture and conservation in Bahrain
43	2: expert, off-site interview with the director of technical and business development at GHE (interview carried out during the author's employment at GHE)	WNA	director of technical and business development	British, long-term resident of Bahrain	40s	male	05.04.2011	notes	~ 30		GHE office	architecture and conservation in Bahrain
44	2: expert, off-site interview with Dr. Britta Rudolff, counsellor to the MoC (interview carried out in the context of the author's master thesis)	WNA	heritage consultant	Germany	35	female	08.04.2010	transcribed audio recording	29	41	Airport Bahrain	World heritage nomination of the Pearling Testimony
45	3: short spontaneous interview with a local community member at the reference in Muharraq	ENA	<i>unknown</i>	Bahraini	60s	male	25.03.2012	notes	~ 2		Suq al-Qaisariya	Siyadi Shops
46	3: short video-recorded interview with site user at the	EWNA	artist	Bahraini, studied in Australia and Scotland	20s	female	Wednesday 27.06 2012 morning	transcribed audio recording	0	46	Bab al-Bahrain	Siyadi Shops, Bab al-Bahrain area, conservation in Bahrain

Nr*	Type of interview	Category**	Profession/affiliation	Nationality	Age	Gender	Date	Documentation	Recording		Location(s) of interview	Main topics/ sites discussed
									min	sec		
	reference site in Manama and off-site conversation						24.7.2012	notes	-	-	Manama	
47	3: spontaneous statement from a visitor of the Siyadi Shops	ENA	unknown	Bahraini	20s	female	05.07.2011	subtitled video recording	1	04	Suq al-Qaisariya	Siyadi Shops
48 x15	3: spontaneous conversations with overall 15 people during opening ceremony at Memory of the House	various					31.03.2014	notes	-	-	"Memory of the House" in Muharraq	Memory of the House
49	2: in-depth expert interview with Ahmed Al Jowder (architect and urban planner in Bahrain)	EA	Architect and urban planner	Bahraini	60s	male	13.05.2015	notes	-	-	email correspondence	Bab al-Bahrain area
50	3: spontaneous, off-site conversation with a member of the local community in Muharraq	ENA	unknown	Bahraini	40s	female	30.3.2014	notes	-	-	Muharraq Suq	Siyadi Shops, Safron Café

ANNEX 3.1 B – LEAD QUESTIONS FOR TYPE 1 INTERVIEWS

Background knowledge and relation to the site:

Have you been here before?

How often do you come here and why?

Do you know where we are?

What do you know about this place/ these buildings?

Do you know how this place/ these buildings looked like in the past?

Do you know how old these buildings are?

at Bab al-Bahrain: Do you know who designed this building?

Assessment of historicity:

How old do you think these buildings are?

Can you point to what you think is historic, so not recently built, in this place?

Can you tell which building parts are old, which are not?

What does historic/traditional mean to you?

Authenticity and integrity definitions:

You used the words 'authenticity'/ 'integrity'? What do they mean to you?

Evaluation of the rehabilitated sites and their value?

How do you like the place/buildings/interventions?

What do you like about the site, what do you dislike?

How do you feel here?

What does this place/building mean to you personally?

What do you think were these buildings originally used for?

Does it matter to you if the buildings' original fabric is kept or not?

Does it matter to you if you can tell historic elements and additions apart?

Do you mind if some of the buildings look different now than originally?

with reference to individual features at the sites: Do you know what this is?

at the Siyadi Shops only: Do you know this site is part of a UNESCO World Heritage Site? Do you know why? Do you know what the site has to do with pearling?

Additional question for contextualization:

What is your favourite heritage site in Bahrain and why?

Personal information:

gender; nationality; approximate age; profession and educational background; places of education and residence; length of stay in Bahrain or abroad.

ANNEX 3.2 A – REFERENCE SITES COMMENTED ON IN THE INTERVIEWS

Name of the site	Type of site	Conservation/ rehabilitation measures
Main reference sites		
Colonial town centre at Bab al Bahrain	urban ensemble from the mid-20 th century with British colonial-style governmental buildings including the iconic city gate Bab al-Bahrain	several refurbishments of Bab al Bahrain building; restoration of the Old Post Office and Police Station; demolition and partial reconstruction of the Government Shops and Offices, pedestrianization and historicizing urban ‘face-lift’ along Bab al Bahrain Avenue (facadism); restoration and extension of the Customs House after 2014
Siyadi Shops at Suq al-Qaisariya	vernacular ensemble of late 19 th early and 20 th century market buildings in the historic (part of the UNESCO World Heritage Site “Pearling, Testimony of an Island Economy”)	conservation, restoration and adaptation including modern additions of the remains of vernacular shop structures for public and commercial uses
Additional reference sites in Bahrain		
Old town of Muharraq	historic town centre	various private and governmental architectural and urban rehabilitation works
Pearling, Testimony of an Island Economy (Pearling Testimony) individual houses discussed: Bayt al-Ghus, Nukhada House, Amarat Fakhro, Al-Alawi House	UNESCO World Heritage Site including clusters of vernacular buildings of the pearling era and a seashore property in Muharraq all linked by a visitor pathway (Pearling Pathway) as well as marine oyster beds	Nomination initiative started 2006; World Heritage inscription in 2012; architectural and urban conservation works as well as provision of interpretation facilities partly completed and partly ongoing in 2022
Bayt Shaikh Isa bin Ali al Khalifa in Muharraq	19 th century vernacular ruler’s palace	several restorations since the 1970s
Bayt Shaikh Salman Bin Hamad al Khalifa in Muharraq	Late 18 th and 19 th century vernacular ruler’s palace	restorations in the 1970s/80s and in 2010/2011
Siyadi Majlis in Muharraq	19 th and early 20 th century vernacular reception building within the ensemble of a pearl merchant family in Muharraq (part of the UNESCO World Heritage Site “Pearling, Testimony of an Island Economy”)	several restorations since the 1970s
Bayt Jamsheer/ Maison Jamsheer	19 th century vernacular residence in Muharraq	customary care and reuse as French-Bahraini cultural centre in the 1980s
Bayt Asma	19 th century vernacular residence in Muharraq	restorations in the 1990s and in 2004/05
houses of the Shaikh Ebrahim Center in Muharraq	Various cultural, gastronomic and recreational facilities (including the Shaikh Ebrahim Center and auditorium, Abdullah Al Zayed House, Kurar House, Memory of the House, Bin Matar House, Mohammed Bin Faris Music Hall, Nukhida House)	architectural and urban interventions including restorations and new constructions as well as open space interventions since the early 2000s, ongoing
transitional semi-vernacular buildings in Muharraq	residential courtyard buildings in Muharraq with semi-vernacular fabric of the 1960s/70s	governmental conservation efforts in the second decade of the 21 st century

Qal'at al Bahrain, the ancient capital and harbour of Dilmun (Bahrain Fort)	Pre-Islamic and Islamic archaeological site and 15 th century fort with adjacent historic harbour and palm groves (UNESCO World Heritage)	Archaeological excavations since the 1950s; reconstruction of the medieval fort in the 1980s; World Heritage inscription in 2005; site museum adjacent to the site since 2008
Qal'at Arad (Arad Fort)	15 th and early 16 th centuries Omani fort in Muharraq (Arad)	first extensive restoration in the 1980s
Qal'at Shaikh Salman bin Ahmed Al-Fateh (Riffa Fort) in Riffa	19 th century vernacular ruler's palace	first extensive restoration in the 1980s; construction of a replica to host a military museum in its vicinity in 2013/2014
A'ali Burial Mounds	Dilmunite burial mounds in A'ali village (part of a serial UNESCO World Heritage Site)	archaeological investigations since the 1950s; World Heritage inscription in 2019
Barbar Temple	Dilmunite temple site near Barbar village (on Bahrain's tentative list for World Heritage)	archaeological investigations since the 1950s
offices of EWAN al-Bahrain in Manama	facsimile vernacular residential buildings used as offices	(built in the 21 st century)
private residence of a royal family member in Central Bahrain (Shaikh Ebrahim House)	facsimile vernacular residential building	(built in the 21 st century)
Additional reference sites in the Gulf region		
Suq Waqif in Doha, Qatar	historic urban area	rehabilitated historic urban areas involving extensive reconstructions of the 21 st century
Al Wakrah heritage village in Qatar	facsimile vernacular village	(built in the 21 st century)
Khor Dubai with Suq and the residential areas Al-Bastakiyya and Shindagha in Dubai	historic urban area	rehabilitated historic urban areas involving extensive reconstructions of the 21 st century; failed World Heritage nomination

ANNEX 3.2 B – STATEMENTS ON FAVOURITE BAHRAINI HERITAGE SITES

		Favourite Bahraini heritage site(s)	Reason for appreciation	
Architects	Eastern	17 Bayt Shaikh Isa bin Ali in Muharraq	for authenticity and offering “the total experience of a traditional house ”, takes the irregularities of the fabric, the traditional room program, the materials and colour as evidence of the building’s authenticity	
		21 Qal’at al-Bahrain/ Bahrain Fort (prior to its reconstruction)	considers the site lost its sense of place with the reconstruction; preferred the site in its ruined state , finds heavily reconstructed and formalized	
		30 Qal’at al-Bahrain/ Bahrain Fort	<i>no explanation (has only heard about the site)</i>	
	Western		Riffa Fort/ Qal’at Sheikh Salman bin Ahmed Al-Fateh	interest in architectural history
		24 historic urban areas in Manama		no explanation but criticizes their neglect
		33 Siyadi Majlis in Muharraq		for its outstanding architectural features and ensemble character with the mosque and residence
Non-architects	Eastern	20 historic houses in Muharraq including Bayt Jamsheer and houses of the Shaikh Ebrahim Center like Bin Mattar House.	takes interest in and appreciates the diversity of conservation approaches they display.	
		4 Qal’at al-Bahrain/ Bahrain Fort (originally considered a Portuguese fort)	biggest of the forts, symbol of power, personal connection (work) and background knowledge	
		Burial Mounds	connection to the past, grandeur: “Because if you see the cemetery of previous people you feel that they are great. Because still they have something existing from four thousand years.”	
		11 Riffa Fort/ Qal’at Sheikh Salman bin Ahmed Al-Fateh	scenery (view to the valley) 11c: “It’s very nice! You can see the valley from the high location. It’s a very nice place.” (criticizes residential development in the previously pristine valley)	
		15 likes all heritage sites in Bahrain and visits them regularly (archaeological sites, forts and historic urban areas)	pleasant experience: “I really enjoy all of these sites , when I go to them. The only site have not been to is Barbar temple. I looked for it one day. But everything else I go from time to time, I enjoy.”	
		historic vernacular buildings throughout Bahrain	testimony of a past way of life and to local culture; emotional appeal; cultural identity; nostalgia: “I particular enjoy the old buildings . Starting from Rome to Istanbul to Bahrain. I go to details in these buildings. I do like what we have in Bahrain, but they do not represent any human step forward. They are not that great . If I compare them to the Colosseum or old Rome. I was amazed by the engineering of the Romans. I look forward to go to Athens also. And if you go to Turkey their engineering there is still beautiful. But if you go to Bahrain there is nothing that says: amazing! Not a single building we have is so amazing. But it’s my history and I really like it. The old houses they represent a cozy feeling. It shows how simple life used to be in Bahrain. And that they did not have what we today think is basic essentials.	

Favourite Bahraini heritage site(s)		Reason for appreciation	
East-western		Like air-conditioning. Or even showers. They had toilets but not shower. You just went to the sea or the fresh water springs. Whenever I see an old house, I feel how life used to be, how simple and happy they were. I only hear stories of how life used to be and I never heard anybody that says we are living a better life now."	
	9	Qal'at al-Bahrain/ Bahrain Fort (considered a 17 th Portuguese fort, did not notice any archaeology; did not visit the museum)	first heritage site visited in Bahrain, source of artistic inspiration: scenery (sea, sand and greenery) and colours
	10	Qal'at Arad/ Arad Fort	personal history with the site; scenery (sea location); appreciates the restoration approach (differentiability of reconstructed parts) Author: "And the fort – is it authentic?" 10b: "I guess so. I think I remember seeing pictures of it before the main renovation. It was in a terrible situation but it was very much identifiable. Actually, if you are a good observer, you can tell the parts that are conserved, renovated and the parts that are really ancient. [...] So, sometimes we can just go for walks around and you can see the parts that were fit together, that look earlier. " Author: "Is that a good thing?" 10b: "Mhm, I think it is a good thing. Ok, it can be bad if you are an architect and you want to make things look perfect but in a fort that is that old.... How old is it? Like 400 years?" Author: "It's medieval, ya." 10b: "I wouldn't expect it to be standing and specially not in a weather like in Bahrain. Maybe they did it on purpose as well. It is good to know what made it over time and the parts that were added to make it more complete. So it's not really fake, you have an original Rolex but it has a leather strip that is not a Rolex, but that does not make it not a Rolex."
	12	Old Muharraq	for its spirit of place but laments the loss of it due to urban transformation 12a: "Muharraq as a whole used to be my heritage site. It's not a house, but as a location. We used to roam the alley ways and the light is so beautiful. It can hit this wall and then reflect on the opposite wall. And then there is a corner which is mysteriously lit by something mysteriously, even science cannot explain. What I mean is, the site had a spirit. It lost it for sure." Author: "Entirely?" 12a: "The places that I used to visit, there was a certain level of intimacy that is lost for sure. And now I have visitors, many visitors that come and want to see Bahrain and old Bahrain. And I take them there hoping to re-live the experience that I used to experience, that I used to feel at the time. They do seem to enjoy it. But it is not the same. Many buildings have been levelled. " Author: "But it is still your favourite heritage place?" 12a: "It is my favourite place to visit, to take people, to take photo-shootings, for sure."
	Suq al-Qaisariya	for having least changed (urban area)	
	Bayt Jamsheer	for beauty, authenticity (restoration approach), embeddedness in the urban surroundings and for spirit of place 12a: "When it was restored earlier – I don't remember who did	

Favourite Bahraini heritage site(s)		Reason for appreciation
Western		it – they did not add anything alien to it. They kept it exactly the same. And wherever they renovated, they used the same material as before. Author: “And you also said it had to do about its life, the sounds, the interconnection...” 12a: “Absolutely. It’s location . It is surrounded by different mosques. [...] The place is so beautiful.”
	3	Old Muharraq Author: “What do you like about it?” 3a: “ It is just very cozy and you have the feeling that you are in a different time. ” Author: “How much time back would you think, that would be?” 3a: “Eh... a hundred years, maybe. It feels like a hundred years, let’s say it like this.” Author: “And do you have an idea what gives you that impression?” 3a: “The narrow streets , I guess.” Author: “So, the space mainly. Is it do with the buildings as well?” 3a: “I guess, because if it was concrete, you would not have the same feeling. Because the fabric is old. ”
	13	Qal’at al-Bahrain/ Bahrain Fort personal connection (work); appreciates the interpretation facilities despite shortcomings in conveying the entire OUV; criticizes the dominance of the fort and shortcomings in interpretation for the archaeological remains: „I think visitors who go to the site really enjoy it, but not for the reasons one would think they should enjoy it. [...] I asked a few of my friends who are Spanish. Their impression is: “Oh, it’s a beautiful fort” and that the fort is protected under UNESCO and that it is an amazing fort. Nobody even notices the excavations.”
	14	Royal burial mounds in A’ali personal and professional interest in testimony of burials
	19	Barbar Temple for age and scientific value (testimony to ancient belief system) but criticizes the lack of interpretation
	Qal’at al-Bahrain/ Bahrain Fort appreciates the museum ; partly critical of the reconstruction of the fort as he suspects it is based on conjecture	

ANNEX 3.3.1 – PHOTOS, PLANS AND MAPS OF THE COLONIAL TOWN CENTRE AT BAB AL-BAHRAIN
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Bab al-Bahrain (formerly Barrett) Avenue and Government Shops and Offices 66

Bab al-Bahrain Avenue refurbishment with new mall building 2006 - 2010 69

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SITE MAP

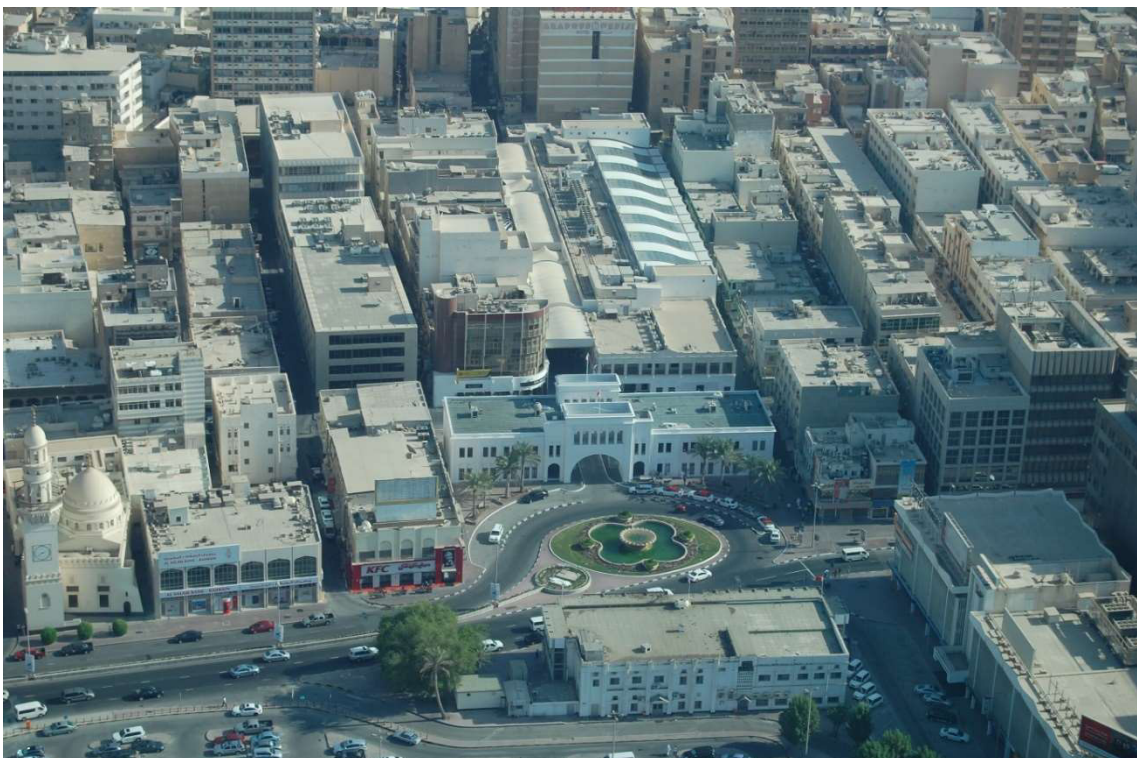


3.3.1 – 1: Site map (after completion of all described rehabilitation works).
Drawing: Eva Battis

AERIAL VIEWS OF THE SITE IN 2012



3.3.1 – 2: View southwards of Manama and Bab al-Bahrain area from Financial Harbor with King Faisal Highway in the forefront, October 2012.

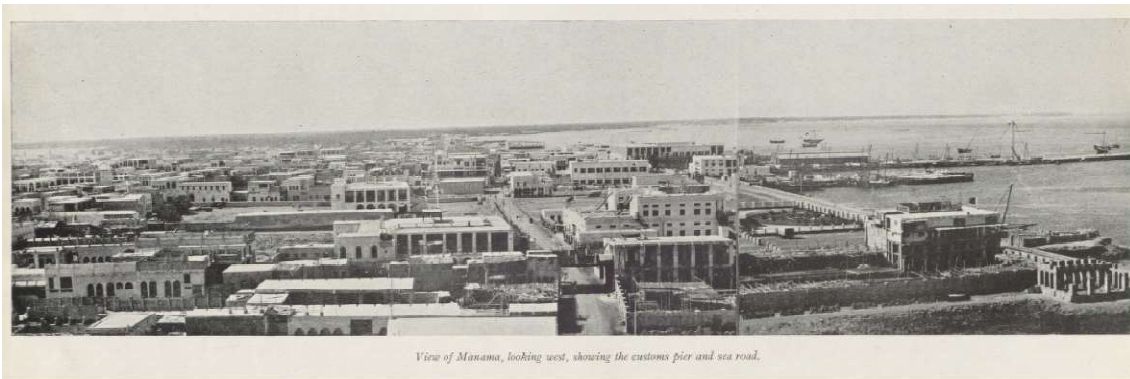


3.3.1 – 3: View southwards of Bab al-Bahrain area from Financial Harbor, October 2012.
Photos: Eva Battis

HISTORIC MAPS, PLANS AND PHOTOS OF THE SITE



3.3.1 – 4: Plan of Manama in 1933. Source: British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/L/PS/12/2160B, f 58, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100043097172.0x000079> (accessed January 27, 2021)



View of Manama, looking west, showing the customs pier and sea road.

3.3.1 – 5: View of Manama from the east in the 1940s before the construction of Bab al-Bahrain, showing the coastal road and Custom House at the end of the customs pier. Source: 'Government of Bahrain Annual Report for Year 1365 (December 1945 - November 1946)' [37r] (21/150), https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100089576648.0x00004c (accessed January 21, 2021)



3.3.1 – 6: View of Customs Square from the west in the 1940s with the extended Customs House on the left and the predecessor buildings of Bab al-Bahrain to the right. Source: Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities

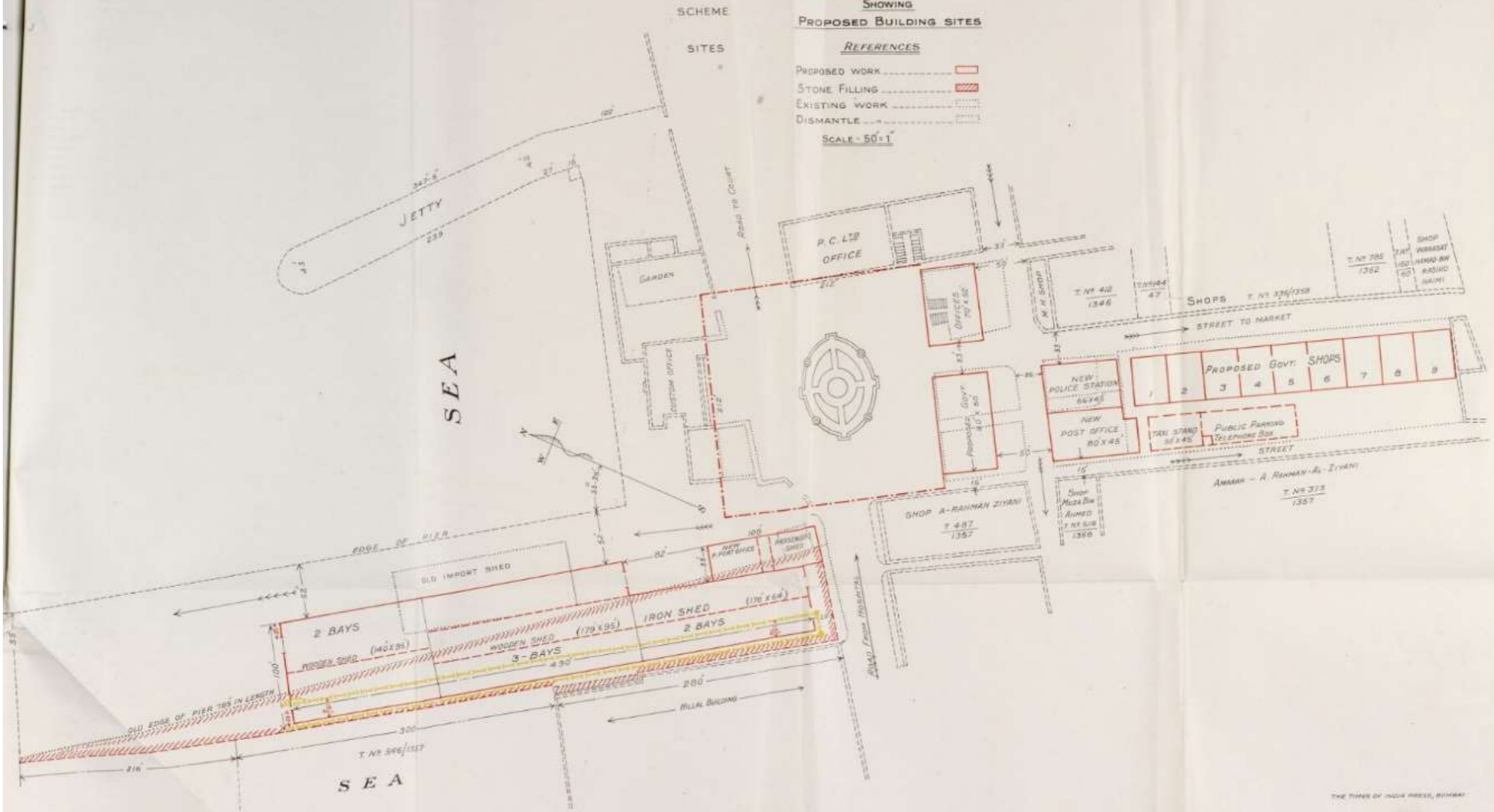
CUSTOM-SQUARE SCHEME

SHOWING
PROPOSED BUILDING SITES

REFERENCES

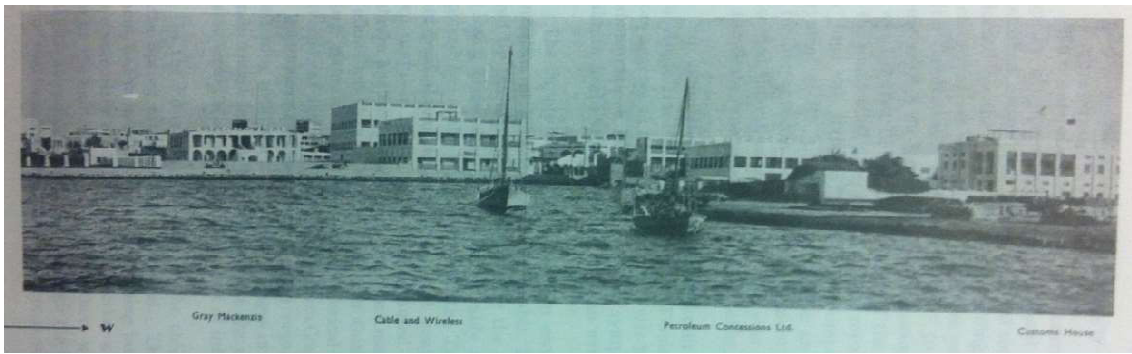
- PROPOSED WORK
- STONE FILLING
- EXISTING WORK
- DISMANTLE

SCALE - 50 = 1'



3.3.1 - 7: Town Improvement Plan from 1946.

Source: 'Government of Bahrain Annual Report for Year 1365 (December 1945 - November 1946)' [81r] (109/150), https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100089576648.0x0000a4 (accessed January 21, 2021)

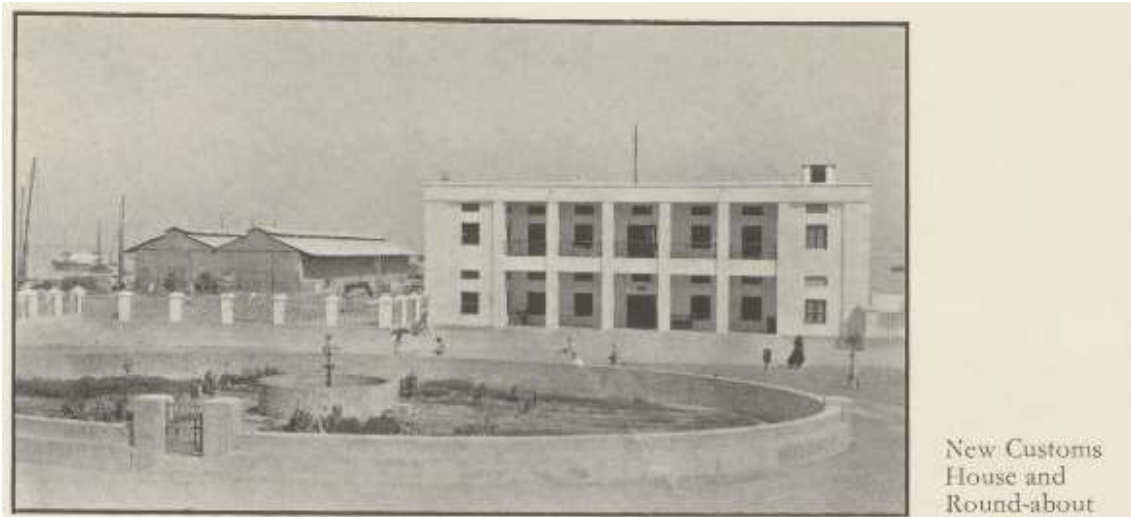


3.3.1 – 8: View of Manama port from the sea with the Customs House to the right in 1950.
Source: Bahrain Government Annual Report for the year 1370, October 1950-October 1951



3.3.1 – 9: Aerial view southwards of Manama harbor, the Barret Avenue (now Bab al-Bahrain Avenue) and central Manama with the roofed market section in the early 1950s after the implementation of the town improvement plan.
Source: Belgrave 1975 [1953], 109

CUSTOMS HOUSE 1937



3.3.1 – 10: The Customs House after its construction viewed from Customs Square in the late 1930s.

Source: 'Government of Bahrain Administrative Report for the Years 1926-1937' [479r] (37/85), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/L/PS/12/3890, ff 461-503, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100089576652.0x0000a0> (accessed January 21, 2021)

CUSTOMS HOUSE 1940S REFURBISHMENT



3.3.1 – 11: Southern elevation of the extended and modified Customs House in the late 1940s (Historic postcard). Source: Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities

CUSTOMS HOUSE 1970S REFURBISHMENT AND EXTENSION



3.3.1 – 12: Southern elevation with added façade element and Bab al-Bahrain roundabout in 2014.



3.3.1 – 13: Eastern and northern elevations in 2014.
Photos: Eva Battis



3.3.1 – 14: Detail view of the southern elevation with addition in 2014.
Photo: Eva Battis

CUSTOMS HOUSE 2015-19 RESTORATION AND EXTENSION



3.3.1 – 15: Western and southern elevations during restoration in 2015.



3.3.1 – 16: Views of the first-floor verandah during restoration in 2015.
Photos: Dr. Alaa el-Habashi



3.3.1 – 17: View of the first-floor interior during restoration in 2015.



3.3.1 – 18: Restoration works of the inscription on the southern elevation in 2015.
Photos: Dr. Alaa el-Habashi



3.3.1 – 19: View of the eastern elevation during restoration in 2018.
Photo: Melanie Münzner



3.3.1 – 20: Southern elevation following the building's restoration and extension, 2023.
Photo: Eva Battis

BAB AL-BAHRAIN BUILDING 1949



BAB - EL - BAHRAIN

3.3.1 – 21: View of the northern elevation of Bab al-Bahrain and Customs Square in the 1950s. Source: Historic Postcard. Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities



3.3.1 – 22: Detail view of the northern elevation of Bab al-Bahrain and Customs Square's Garden probably in the 1950s. Source: Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities



3.3.1 – 23: Southern elevation of Bab al-Bahrain viewed from the south-east in the 1950s.
Source: Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities



3.3.1 – 24: Southern elevation of Bab al-Bahrain viewed from the south-west in the 1950s.
Source: Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities



3.3.1 – 25: View of Bab al-Bahrain with façade details of the Police Station and Post Office probably in the 1950s.
Source: Historic postcard, Battis personal archive



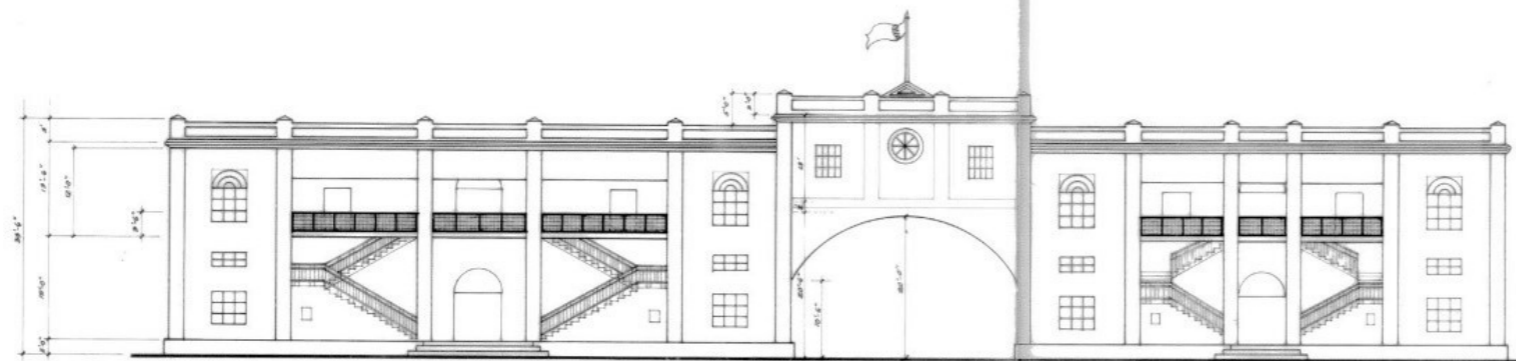
3.3.1 – 26: Southern elevation of Bab al-Bahrain in the 1970s.
Source: Historic postcard, Battis personal archive



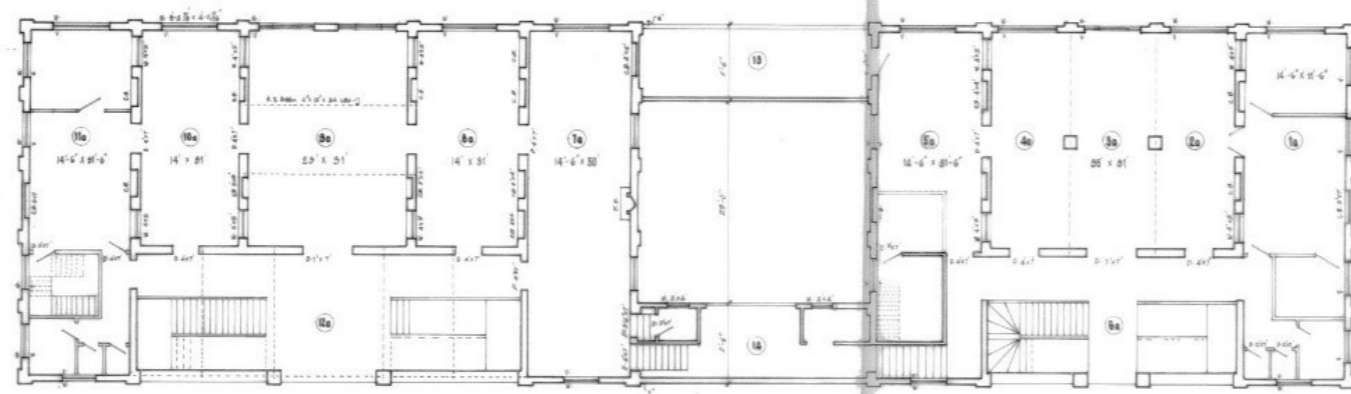
3.3.1 – 27: View of Bab al-Bahrain Avenue through the arches of Bab al-Bahrain in the 1970s.
Source: Historic postcard, Battis personal archive



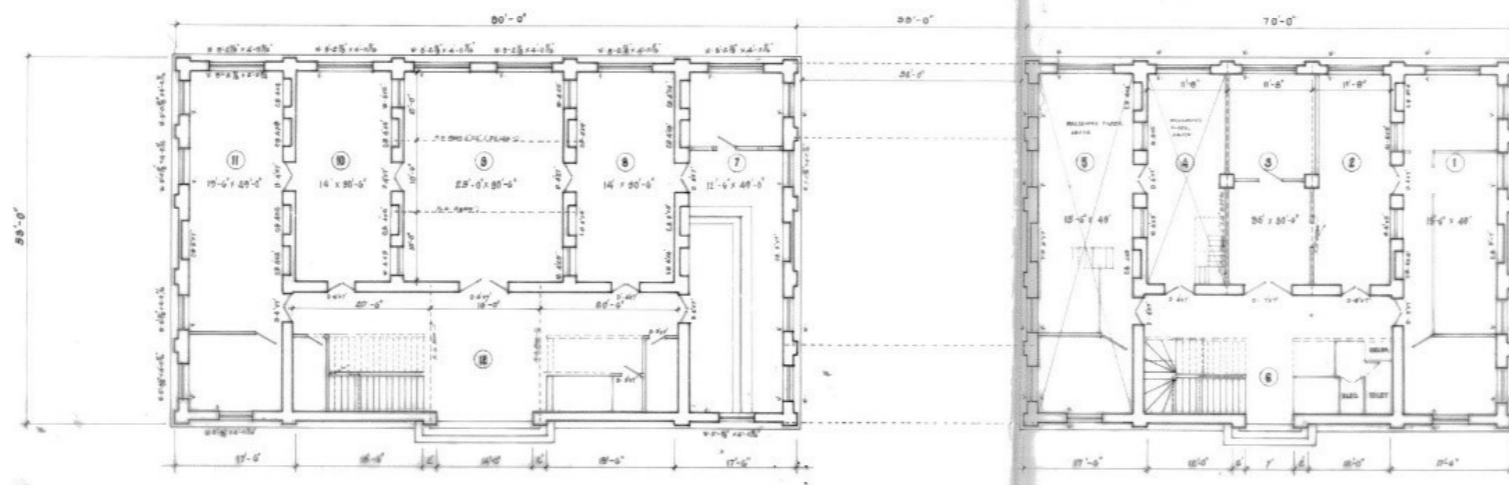
3.3.1 – 28: View along Bab al-Bahrain Avenue with Custom House with screen before 1981.
Source: ArabCommunicators. 1981/82, 5



SOUTH ELEVATION
SCALE: 1/8" = 1'-0"



FIRST FLOOR PLAN
SCALE: 1/8" = 1'-0"



GROUND FLOOR PLAN
SCALE: 1/8" = 1'-0"

IMPORTANT:
THIS DRAWING IS A REPRODUCTION OF OLD RECORD DRAWING DATED 1940S AND AS SUCH, MAY NOT CORRECTLY REPRESENT ALL ELEMENTS AS EXISTING TODAY. IT SHOULD BE USED FOR GUIDANCE AND REFERENCE ONLY.

GENERAL NOTES:

1. ALL OLD ELECTRICAL WIRING, FITTINGS AND FIXTURES TO BE REMOVED TO BE REPLACED BY NEW AS PER DETAILED DRAWING NO. AND SPECIFICATIONS.
2. REMOVAL OF EXIST. FLOOR LIGHTS AND REPOSITIONING THE SAME AS DIRECTED.
3. PHOTOGRAPHIC RECORDS OF ALL EXIST. ELEVATIONAL FEATURES TO BE MADE AS DIRECTED, AND SUBMITTED TO P.W.A. IN DUPLICATE FOR REF.
4. ALL EXIST. INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL PLASTER TO BE REMOVED JOINTS TO BE RACKED OUT AND NEW PLASTER TO BE PROVIDED TO SPECIFICATIONS.
5. ALL CRACKS IN THE MASONRY TO BE TREATED AND REPAIRED AS DIRECTED.
6. ALL PARAPET WALLS, CORNICES AND COFFERS TO BE REMOVED AND RECONSTRUCTED AS PER OLD DETAILS.
7. PROVIDE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL PAINTING AS PER SPECIFICATIONS.
8. EXIST. PLINTH TO BE REPAIRED, RE-PLASTERED AND PAINTED WITH EXTERIOR PAINT AS DIRECTED.
9. ALL FRONT ENTRANCE STOPS TO BE REPAIRED AND TO HAVE TERRAZZO TILES FOR THRESHOLD AND SIDING.
10. ALL INTERNAL PARTITIONS TO BE REMOVED.
11. FLOOR FINISH OF ALL ROOMS TO BE REMOVED AND T.C.C. TILES TO BE PROVIDED WITH SPECIFIED COLOUR AND PATTERN OVER LEVEL SUBGRADE.
12. ALL EXTERNAL VERANDAHS AND BALCONIES TO HAVE THEIR OLD FLOOR FINISH REMOVED AND REPLACED BY TERRAZZO TILES TO SPECIFICATION.
13. PROVIDE NEW PERMANENT ARRANGEMENT FOR SWARMONIAL LIGHTING ON ALL FOUR SIDES, TO DETAIL.
14. EXIST. ELEC. SWITCH ROOM TO HAVE ALL WIRING AND FITTINGS, FIXTURES REPLACED BY NEW.
15. PROVIDE 100W. FLUO. TUBES TO SPECIFICATION TO BE POSITIONED AS DIRECTED AND ARRANGEMENT TO PLACE SMALL REMOVABLE PLANTS, AS HOW AS DIRECTED.
16. ALL EXTERNAL WOODWORK LIKE HAND RAILS, BALUSTRADES TO REMOVE SAND PAPER TO REMOVE OLD FINISH AND POLISHING TO SPECIFICATION.
17. ALL FRONT STAIRCASES TO HAVE THEIR OLD FINISH REMOVED AND REPLACED WITH MARBLE MOSAIC IN SITU, WITH COLOUR AND POLISH TO SPECIFICATION.
18. ALL BROKEN GLAZING OF WINDOWS TO BE REMOVED, OLD PAINT TO BE SCRAPE OFF TO RECEIVE NEW PAINT TO SPECIFICATIONS & ALL NEW GLASS IN PLACE OF BROKEN, TO BE FILLED.
19. ALL DOORS, EXCEPT CARVED & POLISHED DOORS, TO BE REPAINTED AFTER REMOVING OLD PAINT, AS DIRECTED.
20. ALL DOOR FITTINGS TO BE REPLACED BY NEW AS DIRECTED.
21. CARVED & POLISHED DOORS TO BE CLEANED OF PAINT & REFINISHED AS DIRECTED.
22. ALL FITTINGS & FIXTURES IN EXISTING TOILETS, TO BE REMOVED AND REPLACED BY NEW APPROPRIATE TOILETS TO SUIT WHITE GLAZED TILE DASH PAN, FULL HEIGHT & QUARRY TILE FLOOR TO SPECIFICATIONS. ALL OLD PLUMBING AND FIXTURES TO BE REPLACED BY NEW EXISTING DRAINAGE FACILITIES TO BE CHECKED, REPAIRED AND/OR ENLARGED TO BE USABLE AS PERMITTED.
23. PROVIDE APPROPRIATE DRAINAGE AS SPECIFIED.
24. PROVIDE SUFFICIENT PAINTWORK AROUND THE BUILDING TO DETAIL.
25. REPLACE OLD WIRE ROULERS & PROVIDE ALUMINUM DEGRATIVE GRILLS TO DETAIL FOR ALL WINDOWS.
26. REMOVE ALL LOOSE AND STRAYING MATTER AND FINISH SURFACE OF ROOF TO REBUILT STANDARD WORKING CONDITION AS PER SPECIFICATIONS, INCL. PROVIDING R.P. JOINTS AND GUTTERED, GULLETS AND DIRECTED.
27. STAIRS GOING TO ROOF TO BE REPAIRED & TILED.
28. LADDER GOING TO ROOF NOT TO BE REPLACED BY NEW ALUMINUM LADDER, TO DETAIL.
29. COVENANTS OF ROOFS TO BE REPAIRED TO SPECIFICATIONS.
30. EXIST. CLOCK & BELL MECHANISM TO BE REPAIRED & REINSTALLED TO WORK ON A REGULAR BASIS.
31. STRUCTURAL WORK TO BE DONE AS PER DETAILED DRAWING NO. 1.
32. GENERAL CLEANING OF BUILDING AND SURROUNDING AREA TO THE SATISFACTION OF ARCHITECT.
33. ANY OTHER SITE INSTRUCTION TO BE HEEDED, FURTHER WORK, SEE TO PROTECT AND ANTICIPATED, REFERENTIALLY.



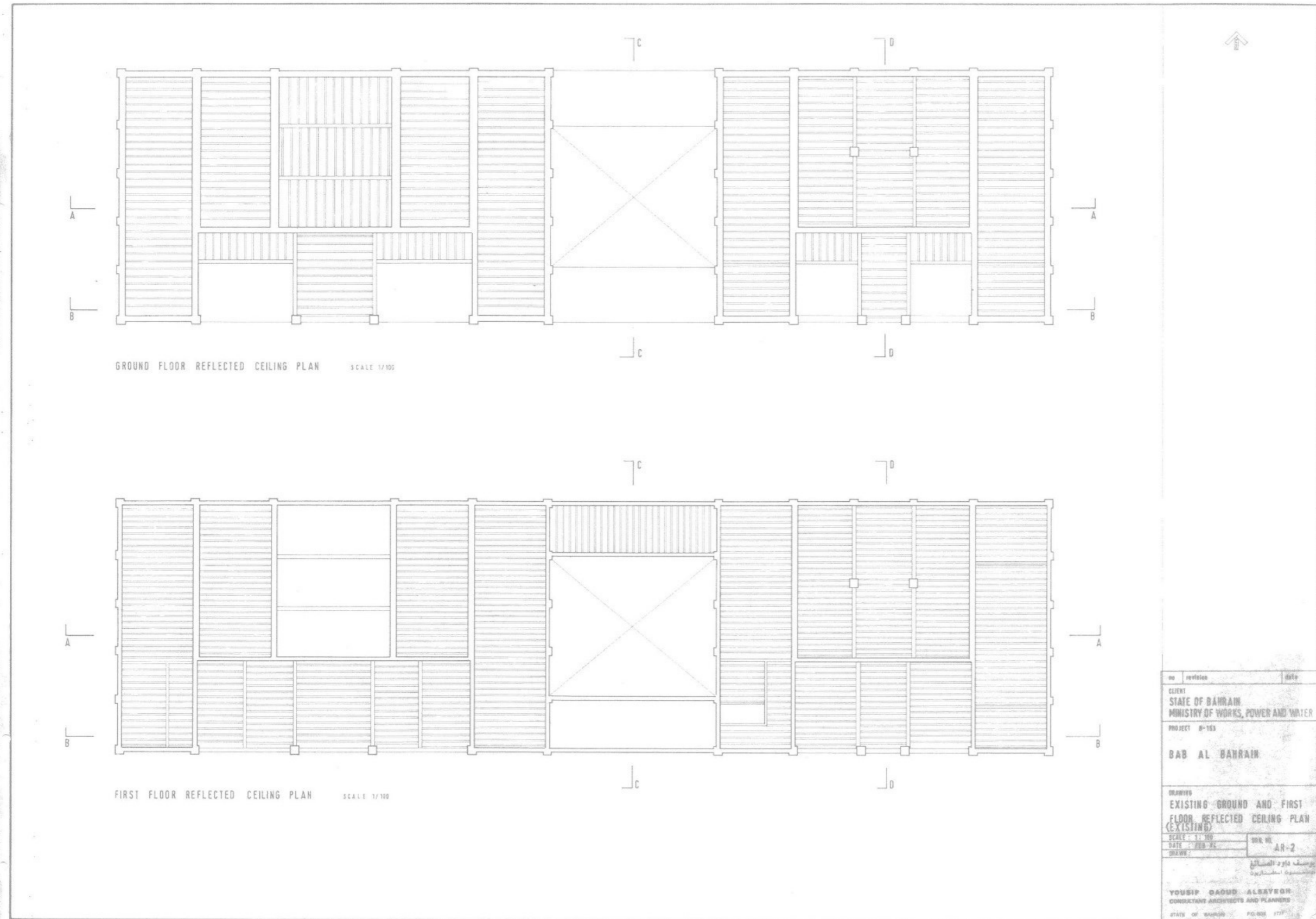
SITE PLAN
SCALE: 1/8" = 1'-0"



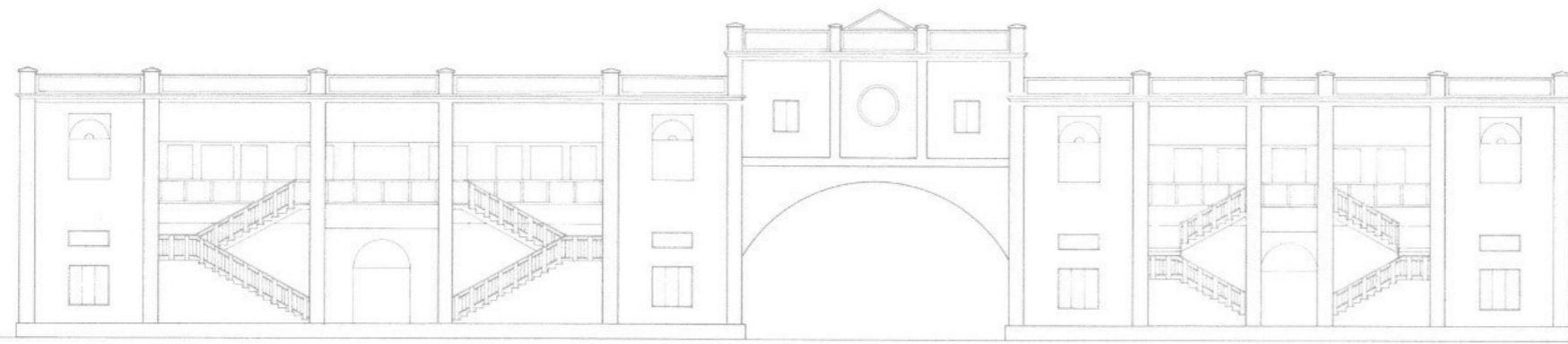
PROPOSED REDEVELOPMENT PLAN (PART)
SCALE: 1/8" = 1'-0"

STATE OF BAHRAIN	
MINISTRY OF WORKS, POWER AND WATER	
WORKS DIRECTORATE	
BUILDING	1586
BAB AL BAHRAIN PROJECT	
RESTORATION OF BAB AL BAHRAIN BUILDING	
PL / DRAWN	DATE
E. MUSA	DEC. 81
AR - 1	

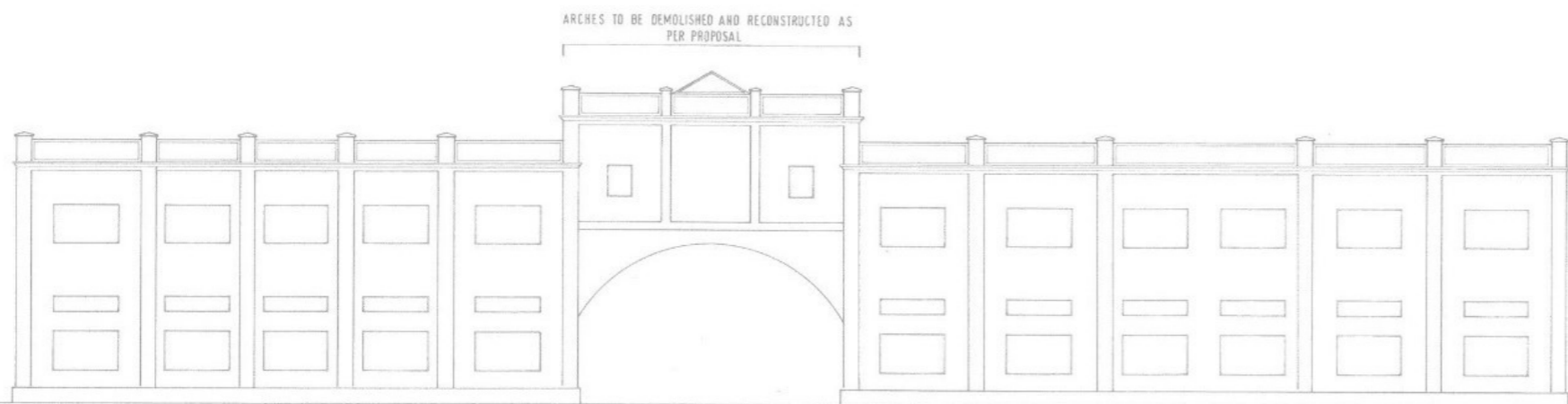
3.3.1 – 29: Reproduction of the plans of southern elevation, first floor and ground floor from the 1940s with specifications for a restoration of the building dated 1981.
Source: Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities



3.3.1 – 30: Reflected ceiling plans of ground floor and first floor (survey of status quo in 1984 before intervention). Source: Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities



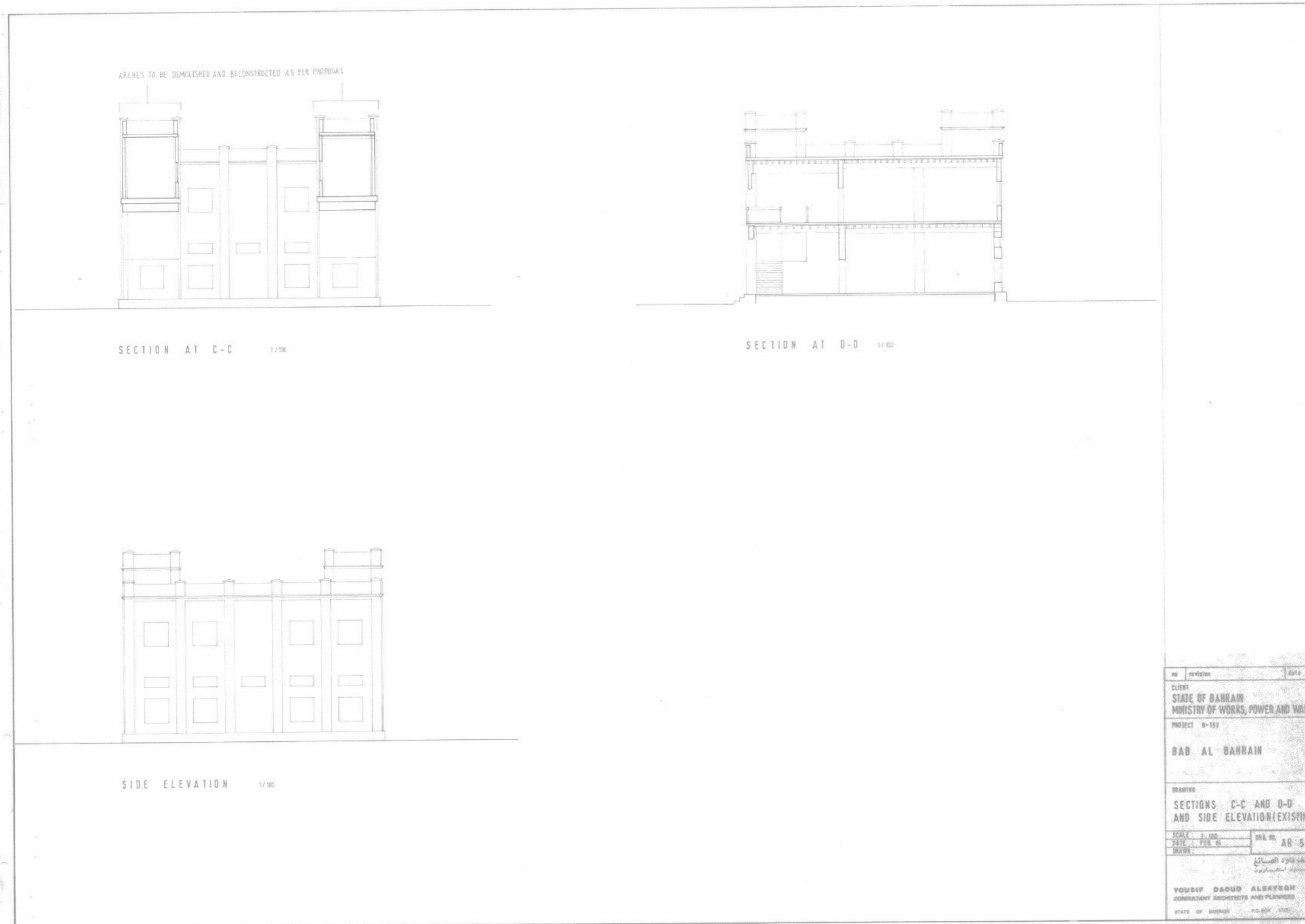
EXISTING
SOUTH ELEVATION SCALE 1:100



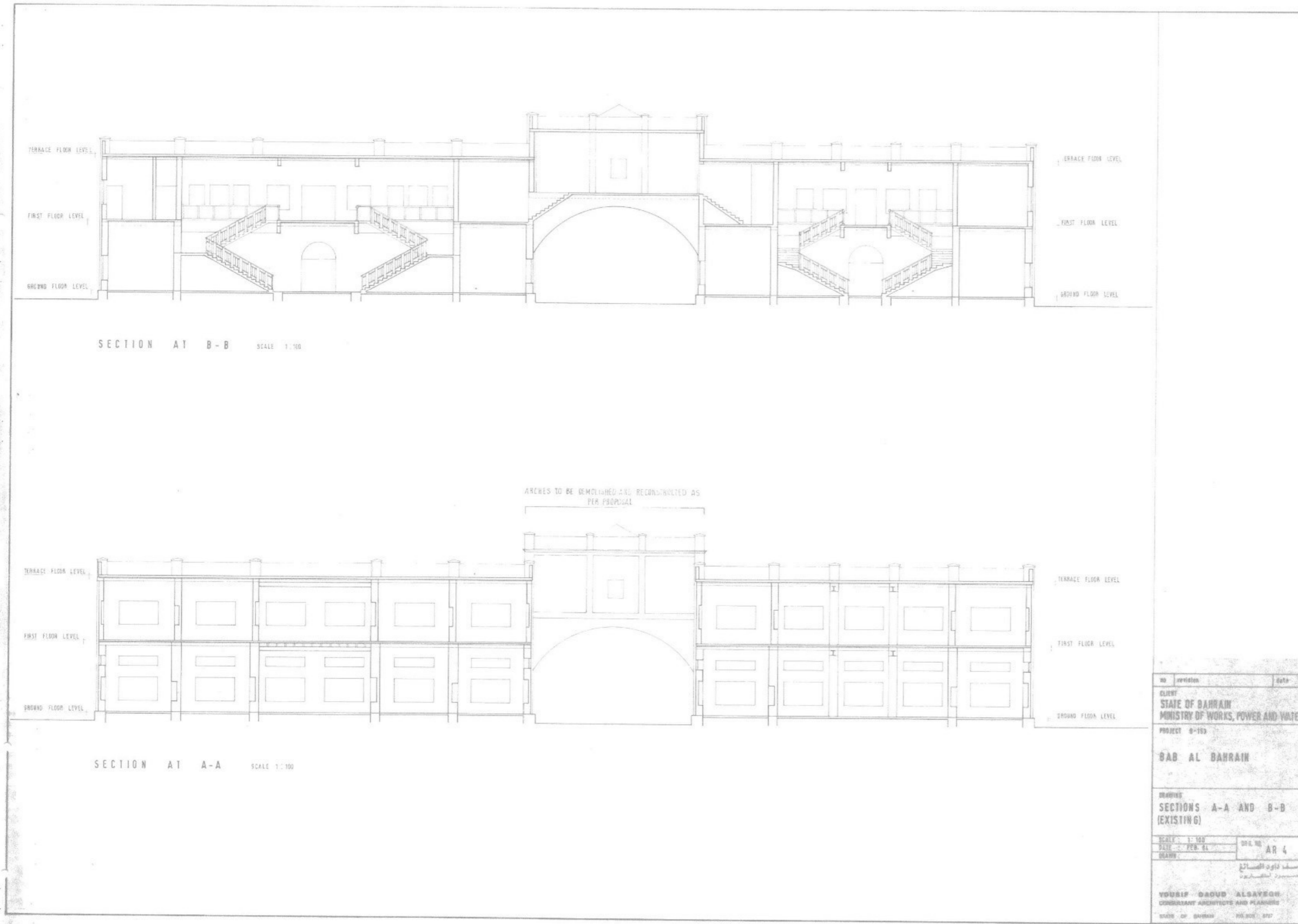
EXISTING
NORTH ELEVATION SCALE 1:100

no	revision	date
CLIENT STATE OF BAHRAIN MINISTRY OF WORKS, POWER AND WATER		
PROJECT 0-153		
BAB AL BAHRAIN		
DRAWING EXISTING NORTH AND SOUTH ELEVATION (EXISTING)		
SCALE 1:100	DATE FEB 84	DWG. NO. AR.3
DRAWN يوسف داود العيسى مهندس معماري		
YOUSIF DAUD ALSAYEON CONSULTANT ARCHITECTS AND PLANNERS STATE OF BAHRAIN #D.B.A. 077		

3.3.1 – 31: Southern and northern elevations (survey of status quo in 1984 before intervention). Source: Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities



3.3.1 – 32: Transversal sections and side elevation (survey of status quo in 1984 before intervention). Source: Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities



3.3.1 – 33: Longitudinal sections (survey of status quo in 1984 before intervention). Source: Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities

BAB AL-BAHRAIN BUILDING 1980S REFURBISHMENT



3.3.1 – 34: Northern elevation of Bab al-Bahrain after refurbishment of the 1980ies photographed in 2011. Source: Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities

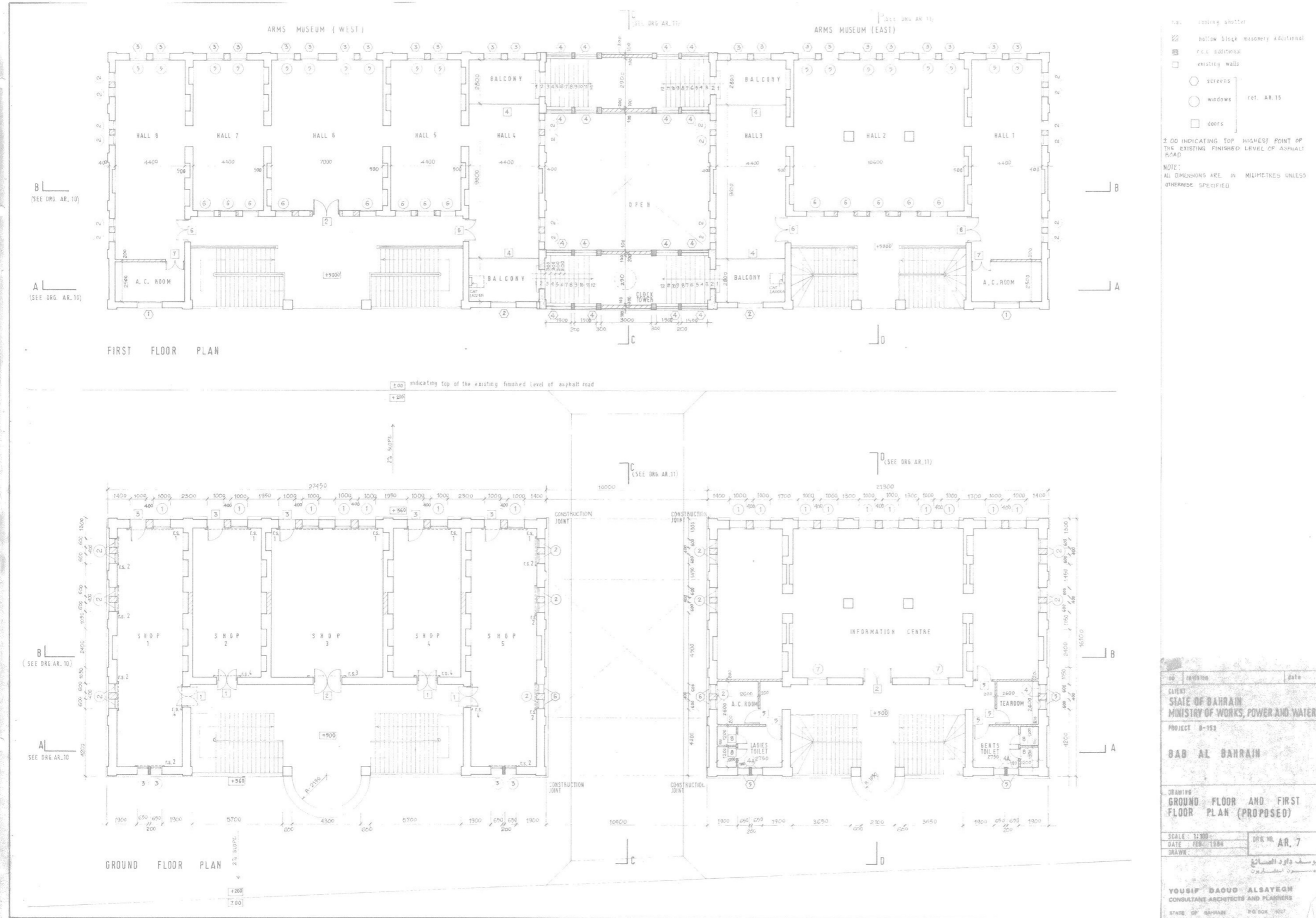


3.3.1 – 35: Southern elevation of Bab al-Bahrain after refurbishment of the 1980ies photographed in 2011. Source: Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities



3.3.1 – 36: View from Bab al-Bahrain to the south during construction works at Bab al-Bahrain Avenue in 2009.

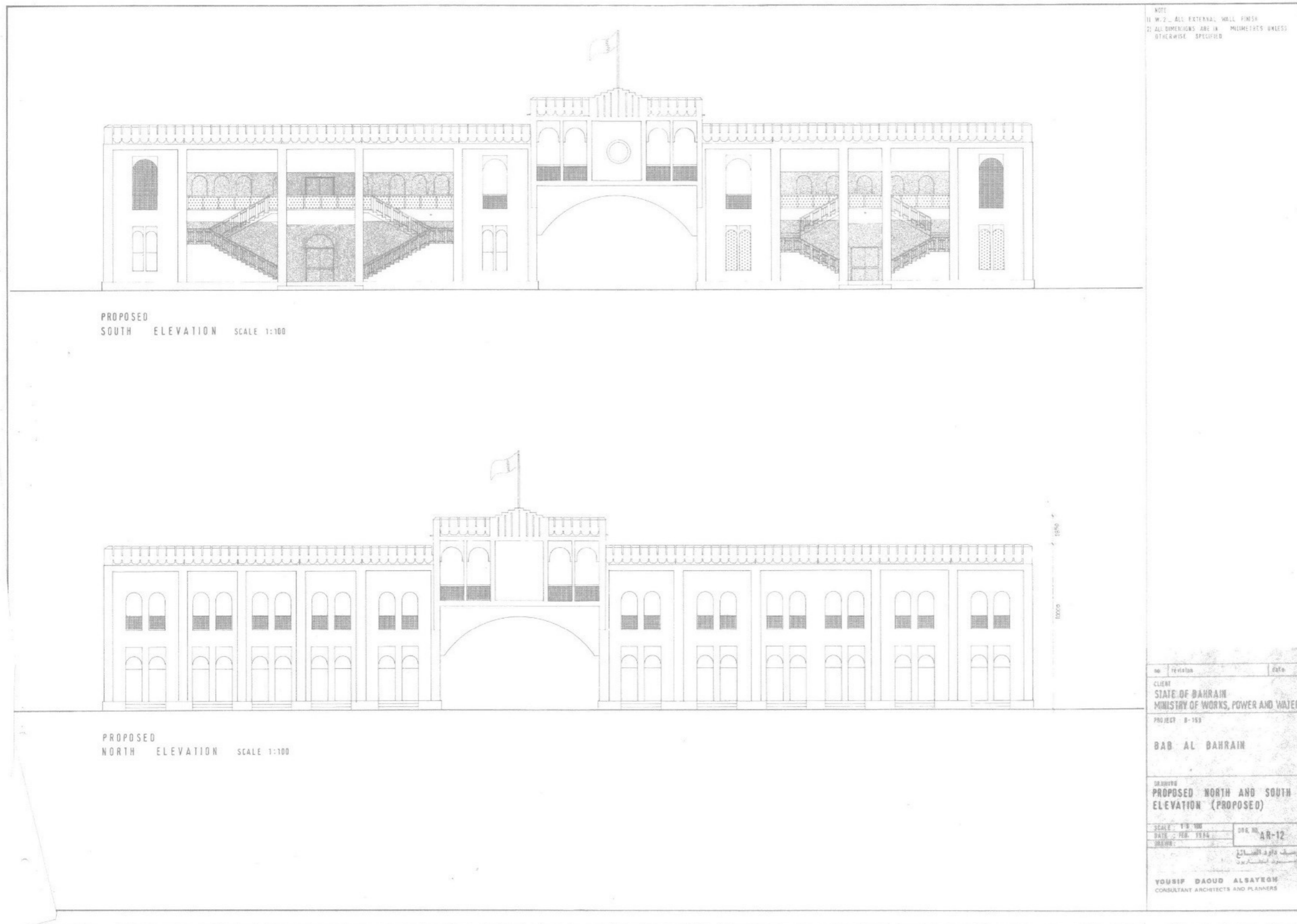
Source: Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities



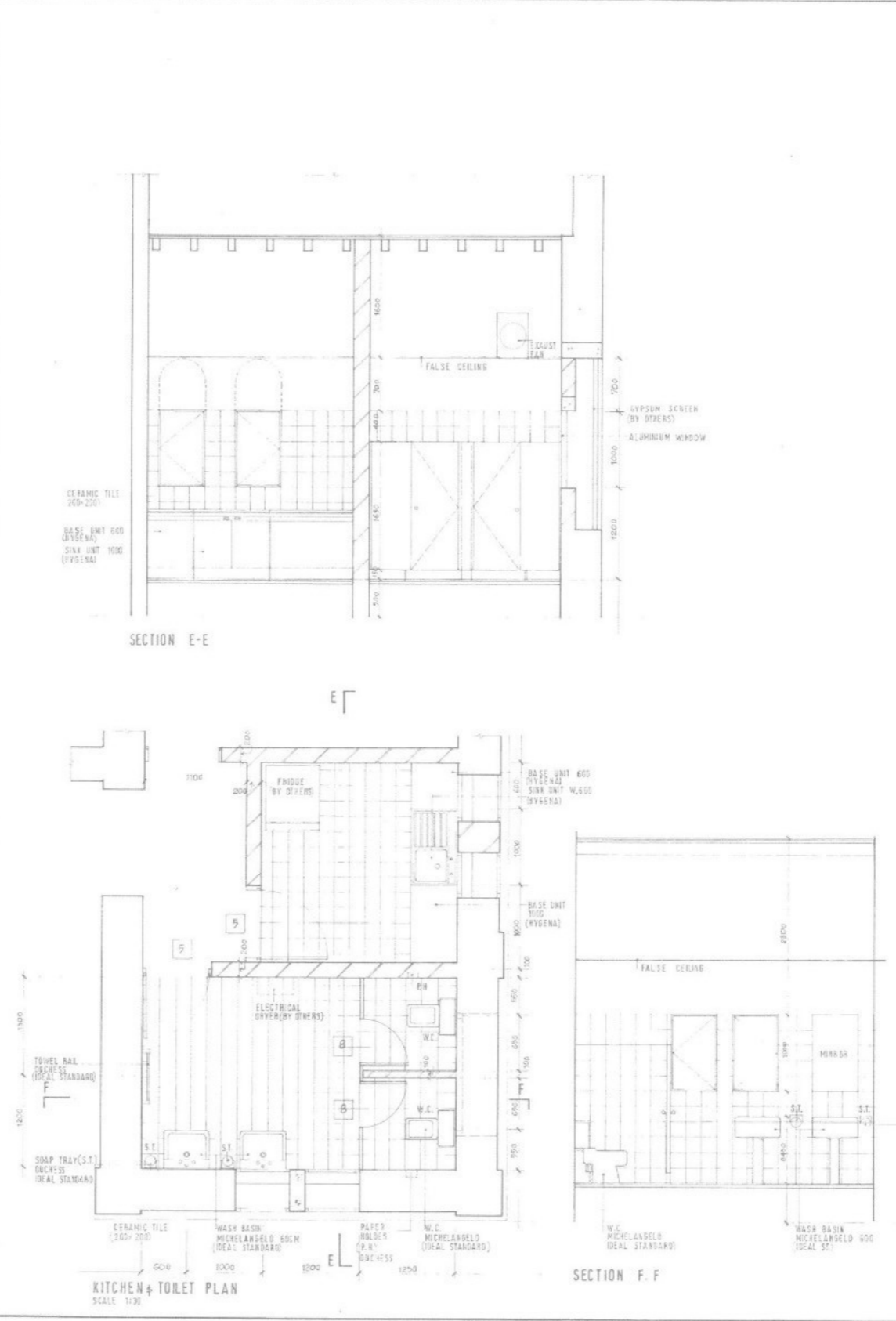
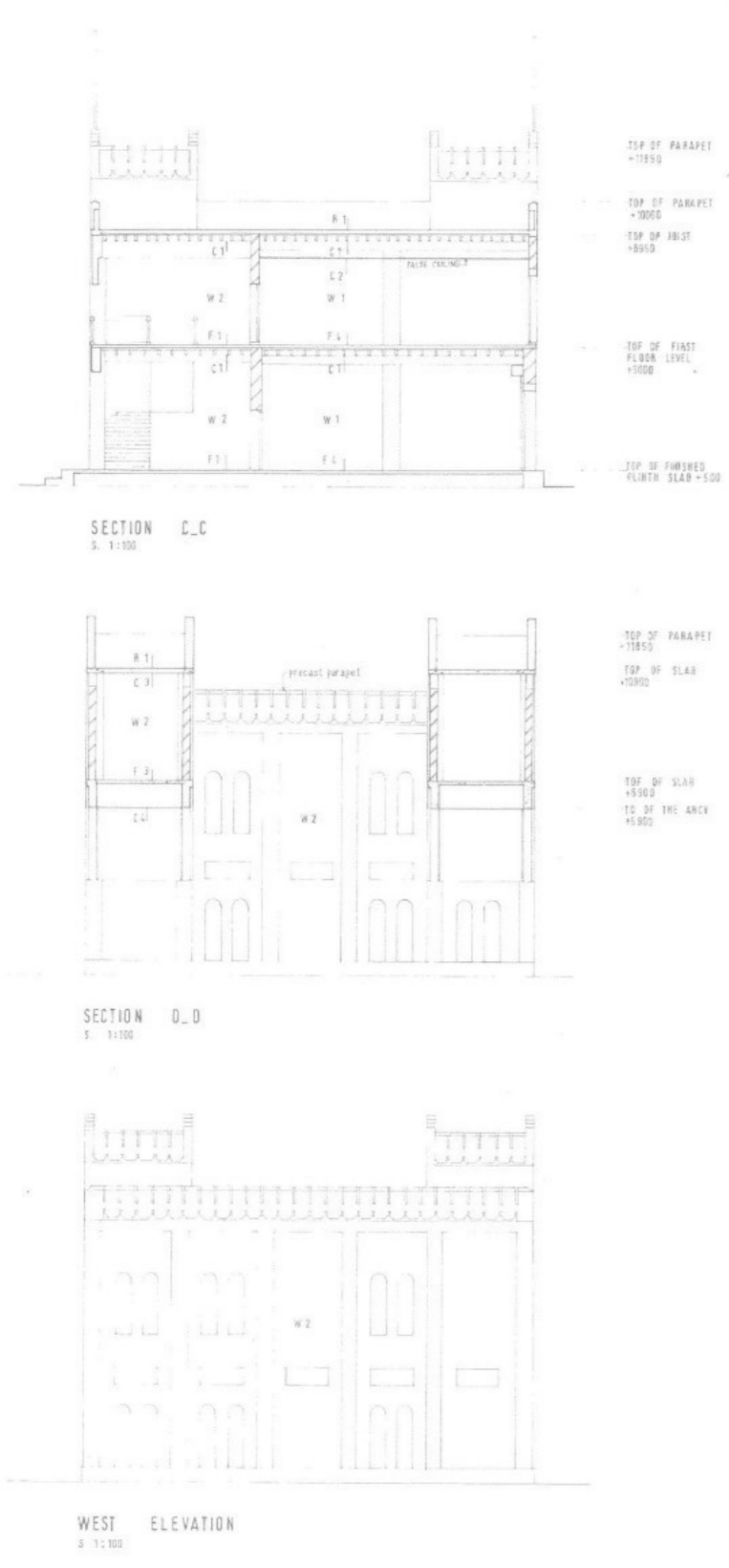
3.3.1 – 37: First floor and ground floor plans of 1986. Source: Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities



3.3.1 – 38: Proposed reflected ceiling plans of first floor and ground floor of 1984. Source: Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities



3.3.1 – 39: Proposed southern and northern elevations of 1984. Source: Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities



FLOOR FINISHES:

- F-1. 20mm thick Perlato marble
- F-2. 40mm thick Perlato marble
- F-3. 200X200 mm Ceramic floor tiles
- F-4. Vinyl Asbestos Tiles (Arstrom)
- F-5. 150mm thick concrete slab laid in bays
- F-6. 40mm thick int-a-locking paving blocks

WALL FINISHES:

- W-1. 12 mm thick (1:3) cement and sand plaster to internal walls painted emulsion
- W-2. 12 mm thick (1:3) cement and sand plaster to external walls painted with cement paint
- W-3. 200X200 mm ceramic wall tiles

CEILING FINISHES:

- C-1. Existing wooden ceiling and painted dark brown
- C-2. Pogolex 62.5 Ceiling
- C-3. 12mm thick (1:3) cement and sand plaster to slabs painted with cement paint
- C-4. 12mm thick (1:3) cement and sand plaster to metal lath painted cement paint

ROOFING:

- R-1. Composed of the following on top of marine plywood or concrete slab: Vapour barrier, light weight screed, protective mastic layer, water proofing membrane and reflective paint finish.
- R-2. Ditto but with ceramic finish instead of reflective paint.

NOTE:
ALL DIMENSIONS ARE IN MILLIMETRES UNLESS OTHERWISE SPECIFIED.

no	revision	date

CLIENT
STATE OF BAHRAIN
MINISTRY OF WORKS, POWER AND WATER
PROJECT D-153

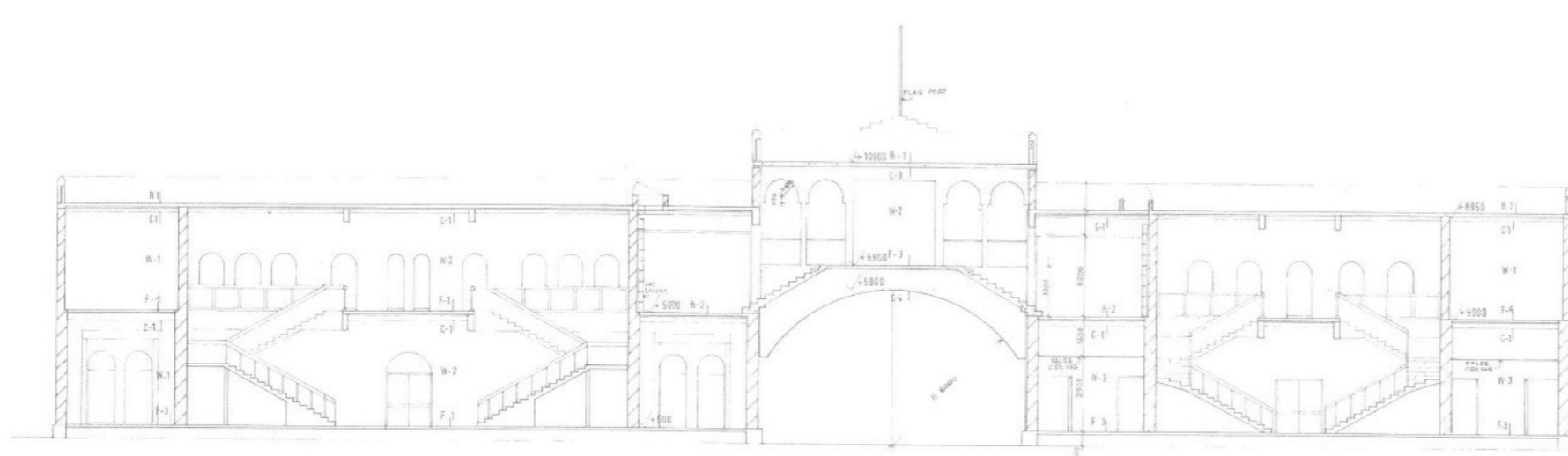
BAB AL SAHRAIN

DRAWING
SECTIONS C-C, D-D
WEST ELEVATION

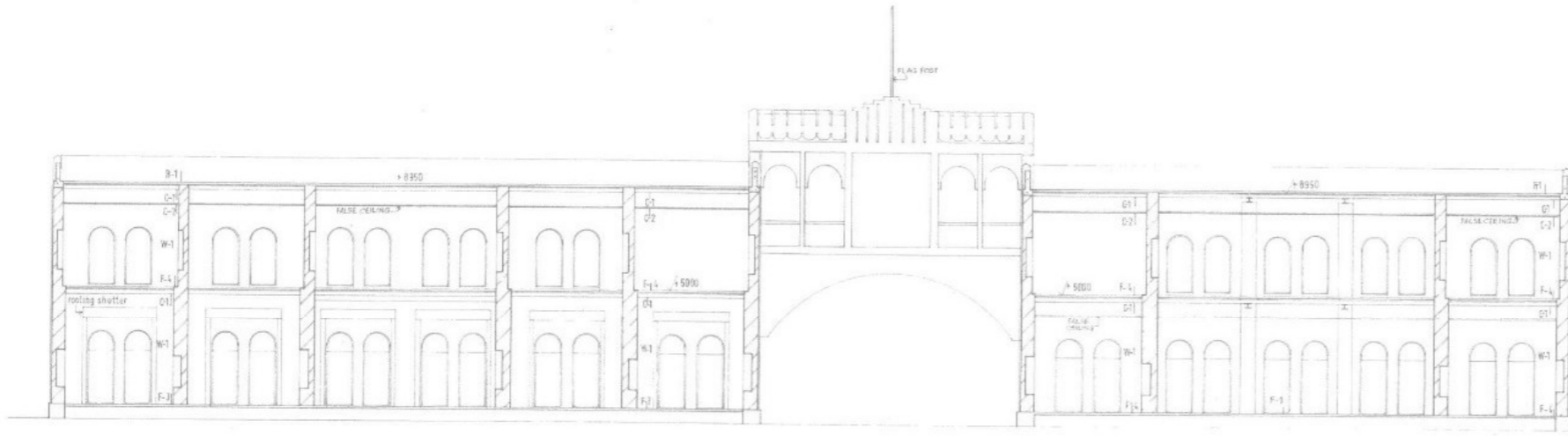
SCALE 1/200
DATE FEB 1984
DRAWN: AR 11

YOUSIF DAQUD ALBAYEH
CONSULTANT ARCHITECTS AND PLANNERS
STATE OF BAHRAIN P.O. BOX 557

3.3.1 – 40: Transversal sections and western elevation (left, kitchen and toilet layout to the right) of 1984. Source: Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities



SECTION A.A
S. 1:100



SECTION B.B
S. 1:100

- TOP OF PARAPET +11850
- TOP OF SLAB +10900
- TOP OF PARAPET +10000
- TOP OF FIRST FLOOR LEVEL +8950
- TOP OF FINISHED PLINTH SLAB +500

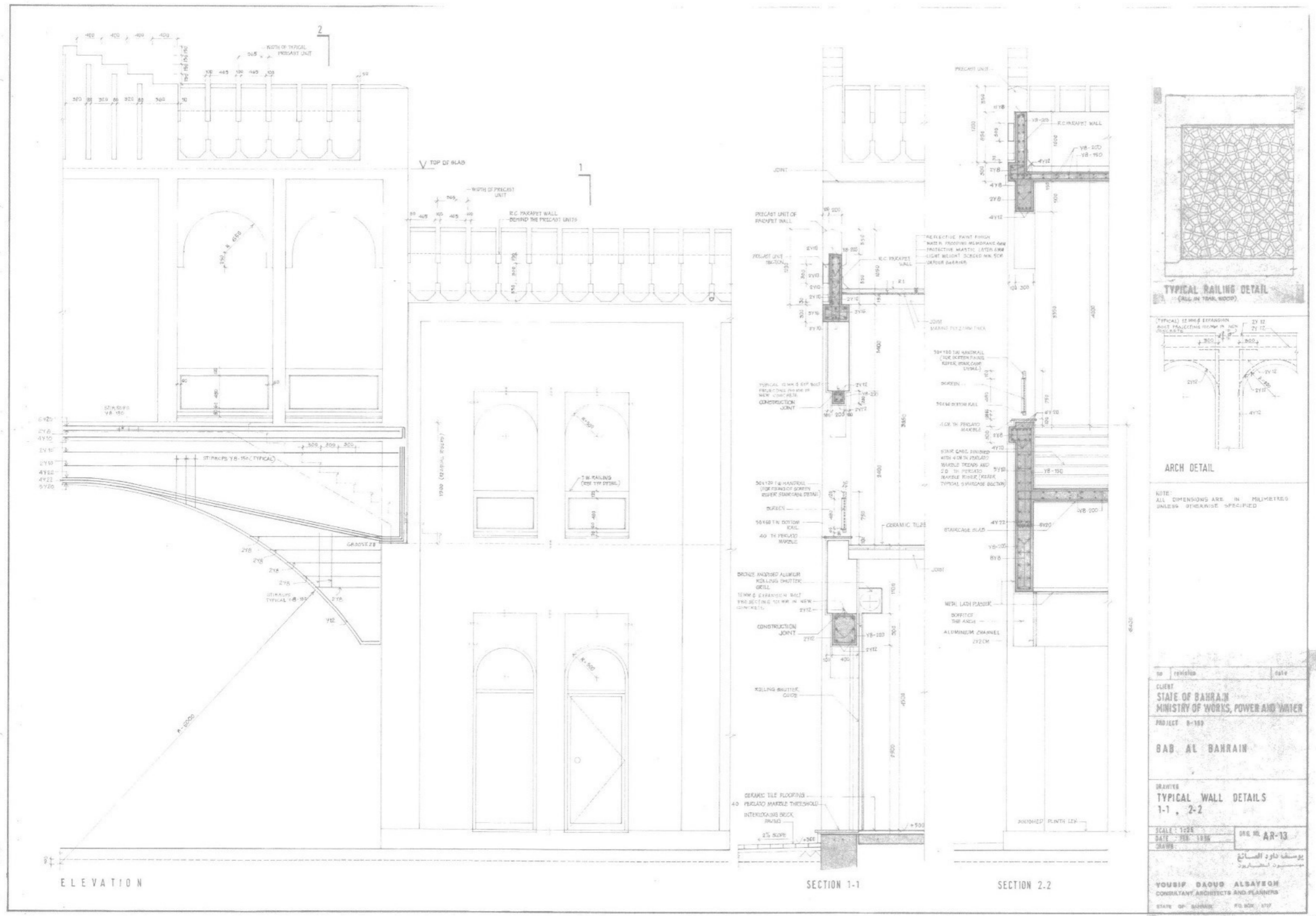
- FLOOR FINISHES:**
- F-1. 20mm thick Perilato marble
 - F-2. 40mm thick Perilato marble
 - F-3. 200X200 mm Ceramic floor tiles
 - F-4. Vinyl Asbestos tiles (Armstrong)
 - F-5. 150mm thick concrete slab laid in bays
 - F-6. 60mm thick int-a-locking paving blocks
- WALL FINISHES:**
- W-1. 12 mm thick (1:3) cement and sand plaster to internal walls painted emulsion
 - W-2. 12 mm thick (1:3) cement and sand plaster to external walls painted with cement wash
 - W-3. 200X200 mm ceramic wall tiles
- CEILING FINISHES:**
- C-1. Existing wooden ceiling and painted dark brown
 - C-2. Popolox 62,5 Ceiling
 - C-3. 12mm thick (1:3) cement and sand plaster to slabs painted with cement wash
 - C-4. 12mm thick (1:3) cement and sand plaster to metal lath painted cement wash
- ROOFING:**
- R-1. Composed of the following on top of marine plywood or concrete slab: Vapour barrier, light weight scored protective plastic layer, water proofing membrane and reflective paint finish.
 - R-2. Ditto but with ceramic finish instead of reflective paint.

NOTE:
ALL DIMENSIONS ARE IN METRES UNLESS OTHERWISE SPECIFIED.

- TOP OF PARAPET +11850
- TOP OF SLAB +10900
- TOP OF PARAPET +10000
- TOP OF WOODEN JOIST +890
- TOP OF FIRST FLOOR LEVEL
- TOP OF FINISHED PLINTH SLAB +500

NO.	REVISION	DATE
STATE OF BAHRAIN MINISTRY OF WORKS, POWER AND WATER PROJECT: 8-153 BAB AL BAHRAIN		
DRAWING SECTIONS A.A, B.B (PROPOSED)		
SCALE: 1:100	DATE: FEB 1984	AREA: AR-10
DRAWN: YOUSEF DAGHD ALSAYEON CONSULTANT ARCHITECTS AND PLANNERS STATE OF BAHRAIN P.O. BOX 527		

3.3.1 – 41: Proposed longitudinal sections of 1984. Source: Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities



3.3.1 – 42: Typical wall details of proposal of 1984. Source: Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities

BAB AL-BAHRAIN BUILDING 2012/13 REFURBISHMENT



3.3.1 – 43: Northern elevation of Bab al-Bahrain in 2014



3.3.1 – 44: Northern elevation of Bab al-Bahrain in 2014



3.3.1 – 45: Southern elevation of Bab al-Bahrain in 2014. Photos: Eva Battis



3.3.1 – 46: View through the arches of Bab al-Bahrain towards Bab al-Bahrain Avenue in 2014



3.3.1 – 47: Archaeological window and historic photographs in the western pedestrian passage of Bab al-Bahrain in 2014. Photos: Eva Battis



3.3.1 – 48: Detail view of the western staircase in the southern elevation of Bab al-Bahrain in 2015.



3.3.1 – 49: View of the Customs House through the arches of Bab al-Bahrain in 2014.
Photos: Eva Battis



3.3.1 – 50: Uncovering the columns in the walls flanking the central gateway in 2011.



3.3.1 – 51 and 52: Details on exterior wall and window lintels after invasive investigations (heightened and arched in the 1980s) during works in 2011 (straightening and lowering the lintels)



3.3.1 – 53 and 54: Details of wall structure and of ceiling joists from invasive investigations in 2011. Source photos: Plan Architecture & Design – PAD



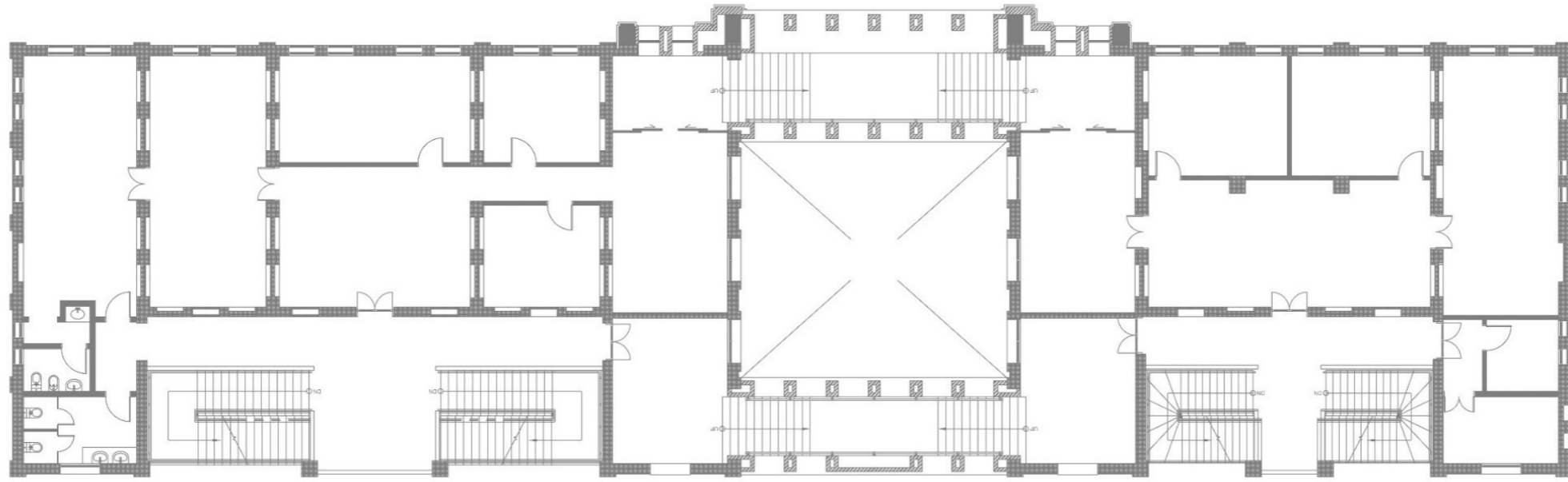
3.3.1 – 55: First floor hall during works and after removal of the suspended ceiling in 2012.



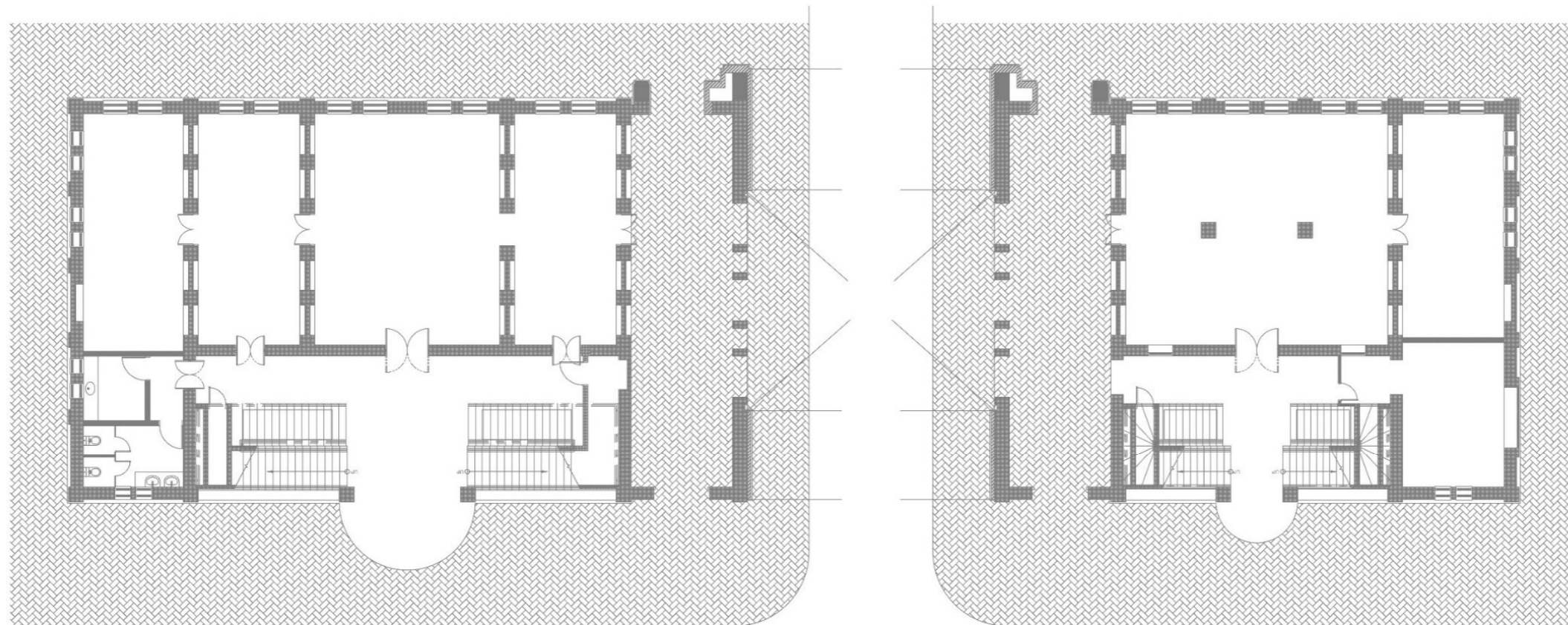
3.3.1 – 56: Construction of the protruding risalite in 2012. Source photos: Plan Architecture & Design



3.3.1 – 57: View of the restored Customs House through the arches of Bab al-Bahrain in 2021.
Photo: Melanie Münzner

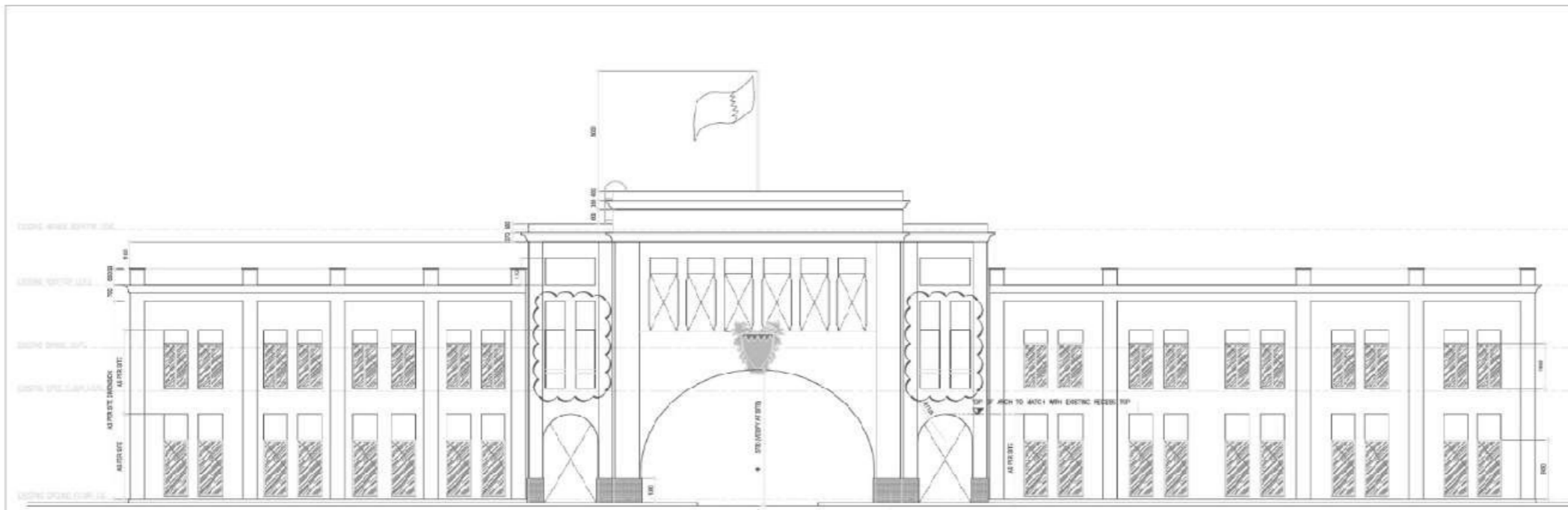


○ FIRST FLOOR PLAN

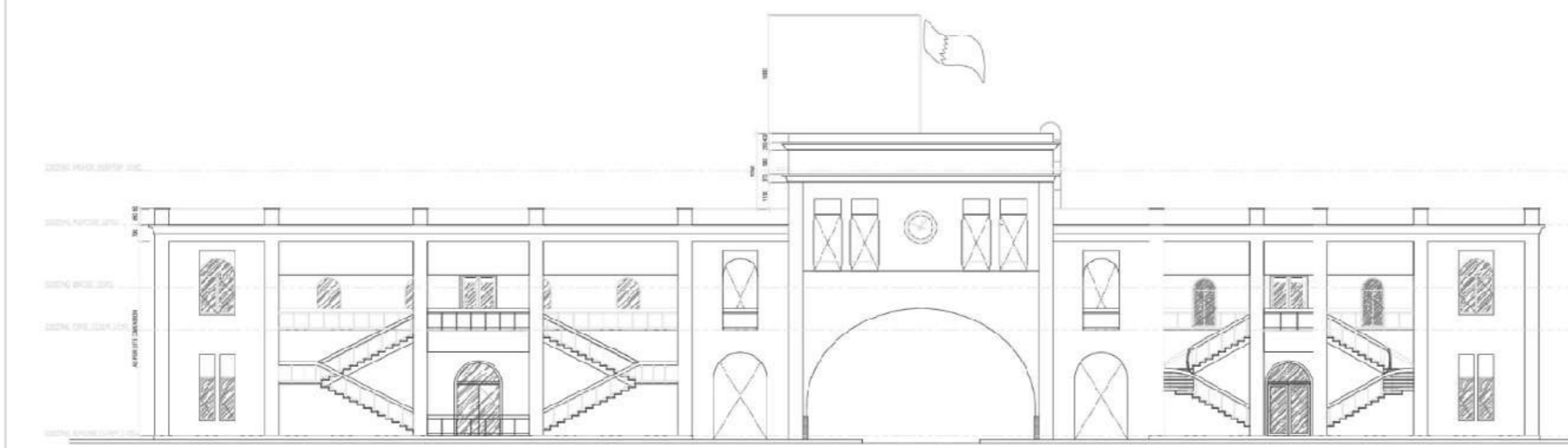


○ GROUND FLOOR PLAN

3.3.1 – 58: Ground and first floor plans, June 2012 (arranged by the author). Source: Plan Architecture & Design - PAD



1 PROPOSED FRONT ELEVATION
SCALE 1:100



2 PROPOSED REAR ELEVATION
SCALE 1:100

- GENERAL NOTES:
- ALL DIMENSIONS ARE IN MILLIMETERS UNLESS OTHERWISE STATED.
 - THIS DRAWING IS TO BE READ IN CONJUNCTION WITH SPECIFICATIONS AND TECHNICAL DRAWINGS.
 - ALL LEVELS AND DIMENSIONS SHALL BE CHECKED AT THE SITE PRIOR TO CONSTRUCTION AND DISCREPANCIES IF ANY SHALL BE NOTIFIED TO THE ARCHITECT.
 - DIMENSIONS ARE TO BE READ AND NOT TO BE MEASURED FROM THE DRAWING.

NOTE:
CONCRETE PIPES FOR
DRAINAGE PROTECTIVE SKIN CUT

B	ELEVATION MODIFIED	27-06-12	SUU
A	CORNICE MODIFIED	27-05-12	SUU
REV. NO.	REVISIONS	ISSUE DATE	BY

CLIENT
MINISTRY OF CULTURE
KINGDOM OF BAHRAIN

PROJECT TITLE
EXTERIOR REFURBISHMENT OF
BAB AL BAHRAIN AT MANAMA



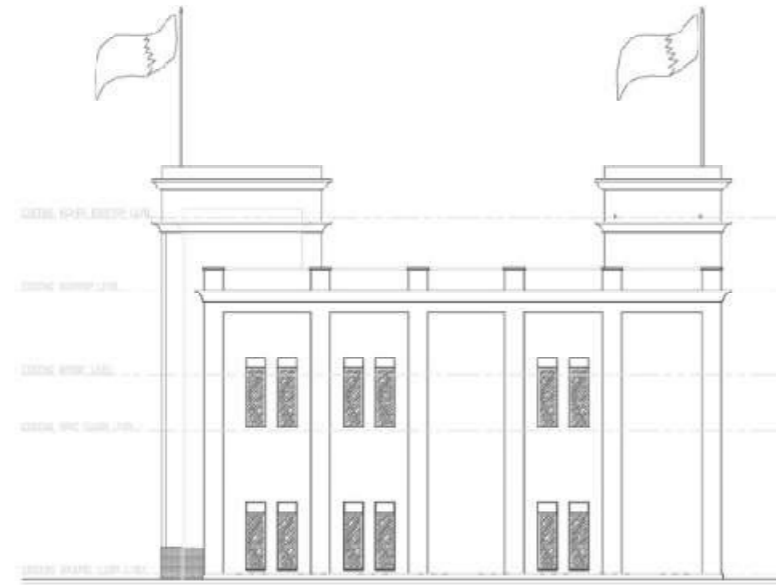
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PROPOSED
FRONT & REAR ELEVATION

DESIGN	DC	DATE	1808-11
DRAWN	SIG	SCALE	1:100
CHECKED			

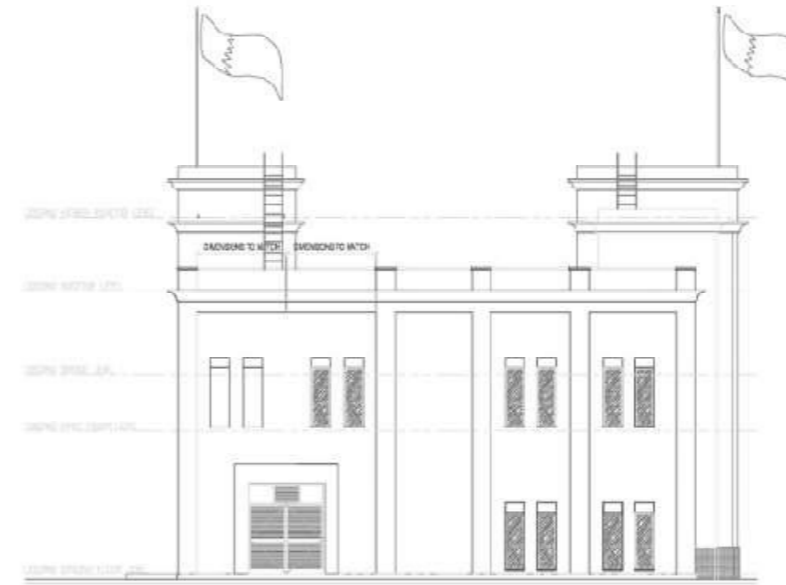
FILENAME:	191810101111 PROPOSED ELEVATIONS & SECTIONS	REV:
DWG NO:	A-0211	B

A1

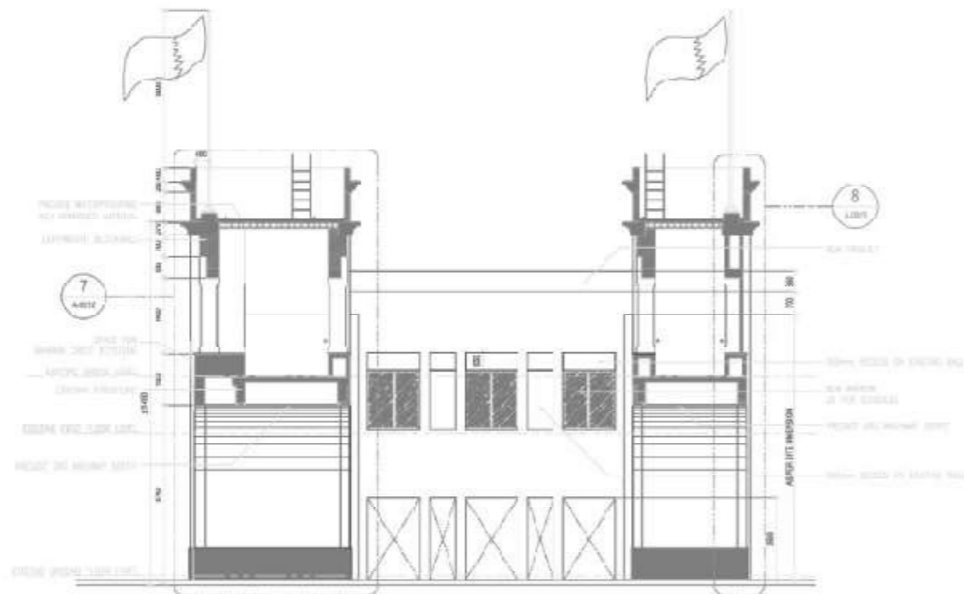
3.3.1 – 59: Northern and southern elevations, June 2012. Source: Plan Architecture & Design - PAD



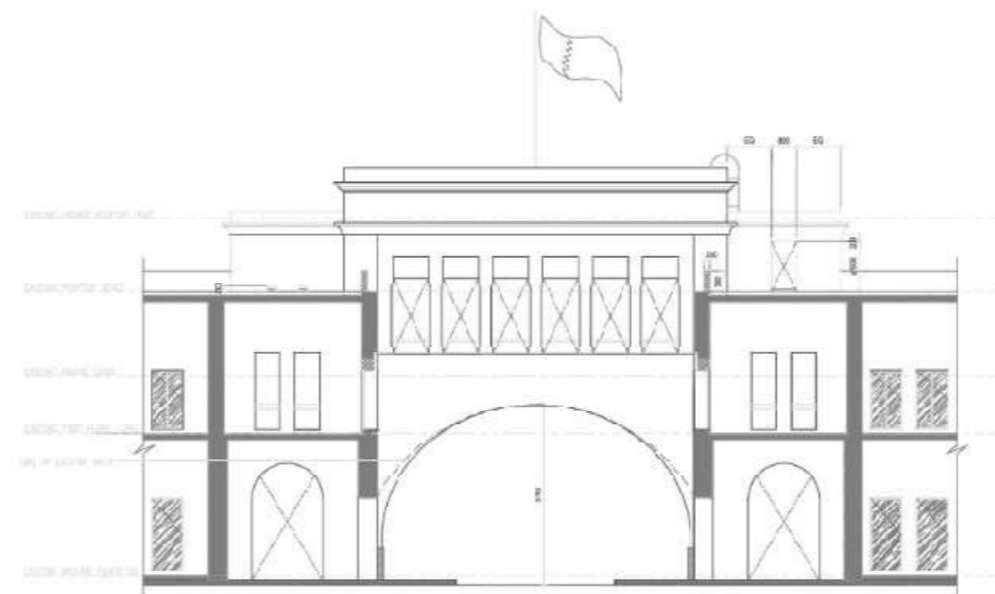
3 PROPOSED RIGHT SIDE ELEVATION
SCALE 1:100



4 PROPOSED LEFT SIDE ELEVATION
SCALE 1:100



5 PROPOSED SECTION
SCALE 1:100



6 PROPOSED SECTION
SCALE 1:100

- GENERAL NOTES:**
1. ALL DIMENSIONS ARE IN MILLIMETERS UNLESS OTHERWISE STATED.
 2. THIS DRAWING IS TO BE READ IN CONJUNCTION WITH SPECIFICATIONS AND TECHNICAL DRAWINGS.
 3. ALL LEVELS AND DIMENSIONS SHALL BE CHECKED AT THE SITE PRIOR TO CONSTRUCTION AND DISCREPANCIES IF ANY SHALL BE NOTIFIED TO THE ARCH.
 4. DIMENSIONS ARE TO BE READ AND NOT TO BE MEASURED FROM THE DRAWING.

A	CORNICE MODIFIED	27-05-12	SLU
REV. NO.	REASON	ISSUE DATE	BY

CLIENT

MINISTRY OF CULTURE
KINGDOM OF BAHRAIN

PROJECT TITLE

EXTERIOR REFURBISHMENT OF
BAB AL BAHRAIN AT MANAMA



SHEET CONTENT:
**PROPOSED
SIDE ELEVATIONS & SECTIONS**

DESIGN	EC	DATE	18-08-11
DRAWN	SIS	SCALE	1:100
CHECKED			

FIG. # NAME	04_BAB_AL_BAHRAIN_PROPOSED ELEVATIONS & SECTIONS	REV.	A
FIG. # NO.	A-0212		

A1

3.3.1 – 60: Western and eastern elevations and transversal sections, May 2012. Source: Plan Architecture & Design - PAD



3.3.1 – 61: Historized office at Bab al-Bahrain building in 2015.



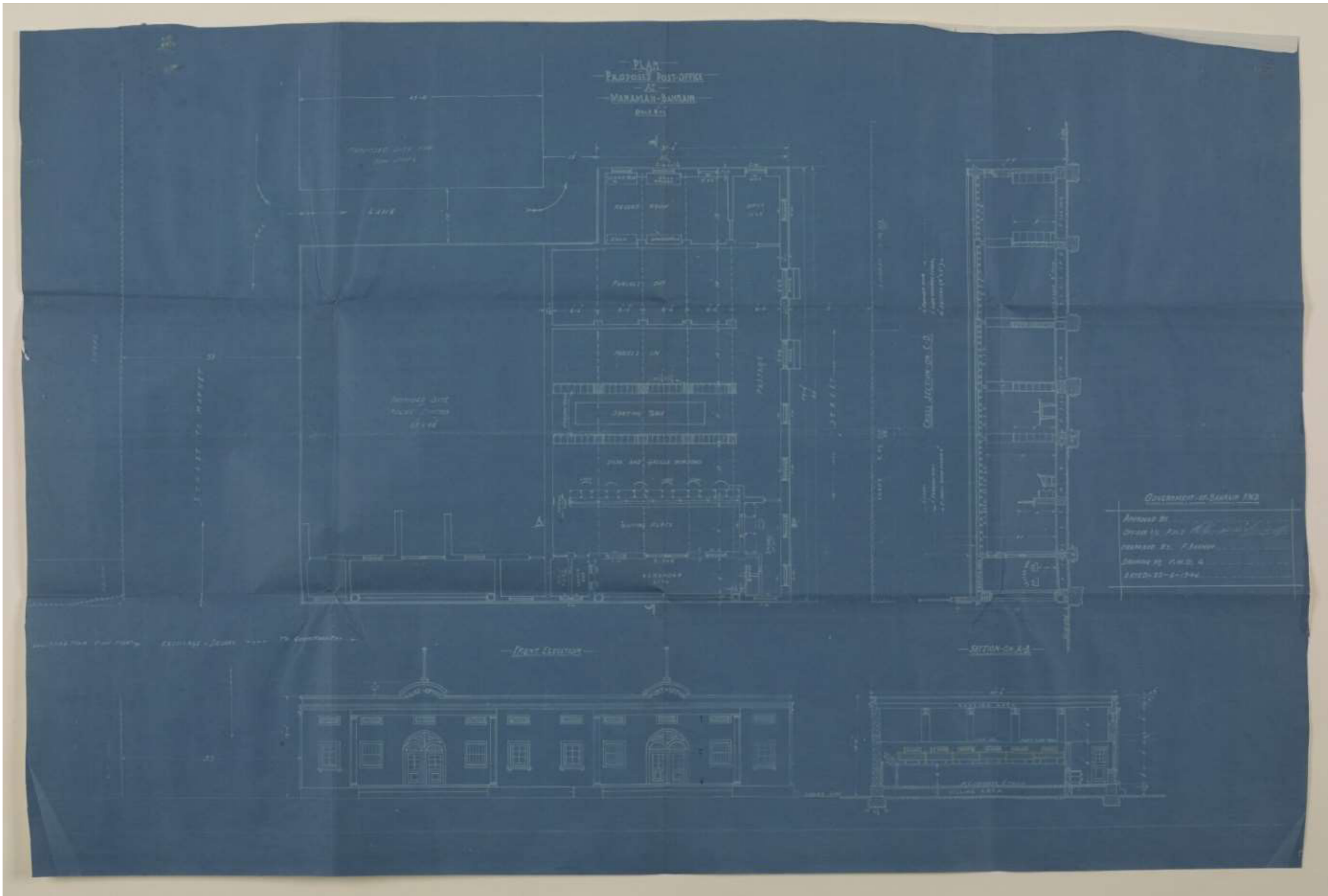
3.3.1 – 62: Historized office at Bab al-Bahrain building in 2015. Photos: Eva Battis

POST OFFICE AND POLICE STATION 1940S



3.3.1 – 63: The Post Office and Police Station viewed from the site of Bab al-Bahrain prior to its construction in the late 1940s.

Source: Bahrain Directorate of Heritage and Museums. 1986. Old days, 36, أيام زمان.



3.3.1 – 64: Preliminary plans for the proposed Post Office and Police Station in Manama, 1946.

Source: 'File 14/10 Bahrain: Post Office building' [83r] (164/332), British Library: India Office Records and Private Papers, IOR/R/15/2/1425, in Qatar Digital Library <https://www.qdl.qa/archive/81055/vdc_100026470015.0x0000a5> (accessed January 26, 2021)

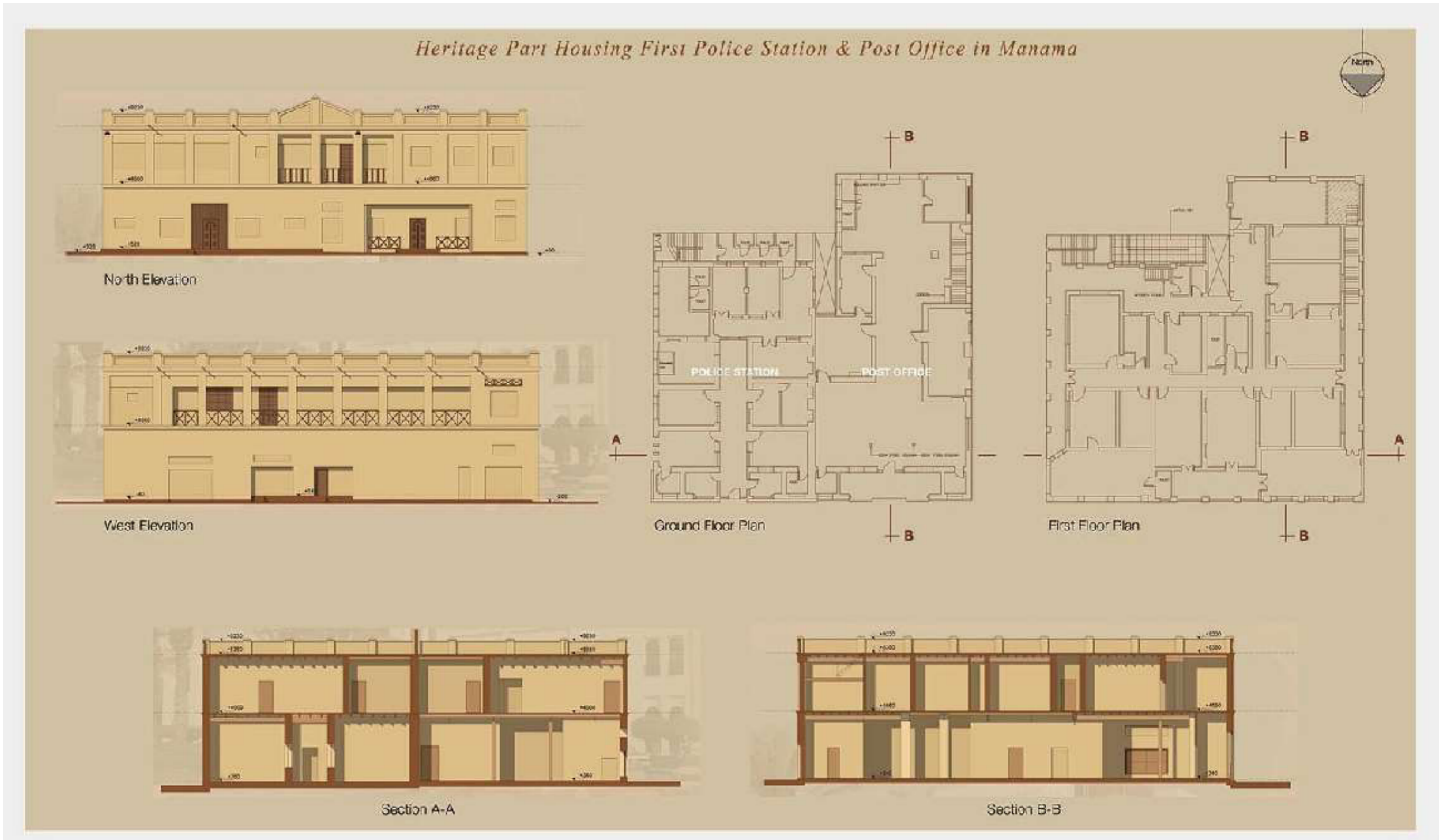
POST OFFICE AND POLICE STATION 2000S RESTORATION



3.3.1 – 65: Northern elevation of the Post Office and Police Station viewed from the North-West after restoration in 2011.



3.3.1 – 66: View northwards along Al-Mutanabi Avenue with western elevation of Post Office and Police Station in 2011. Photos: Eva Battis



3.3.1 – 67: Survey drawings of status quo in 2006. Source: Gulf House Engineering. Courtesy Dr. Souhail Al-Masri.



3.3.1 – 68: Ground floor and first floor plans before and after the proposed intervention of 2008. Source: Gulf House Engineering. Courtesy Dr. Souhail Al-Masri.

POST OFFICE AND POLICE STATION INTERIOR WORKS IN 2014



3.3.1 – 69: Northern and eastern elevations of the Post Office and Police Station with the second loggia temporarily closed due to interior works in 2014.



3.3.1 – 70, 71 and 72: View of the former post office premises and of the temporarily closed entrance loggia (right) during adaptation works in 2014.

Photos: Eva Battis



3.3.1 – 73: Historic inscription on the façade of the Post Office and Police Station building in 2014. Photo: Eva Battis

BAB AL-BAHRAIN (FORMERLY BARRETT) AVENUE AND GOVERNMENT SHOPS AND OFFICES



3.3.1 – 74: View along Barrett Avenue from Bab al-Bahrain in the 1950s.
Source: Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities



3.3.1 – 75: View along Barrett Avenue towards Bab al-Bahrain with Government Shops and Offices before the addition of the upper floor. Source: Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities



3.3.1 – 76: Viewed from the covered market section in the south probably in the 1950s with the Government Shops and Offices to the left. Source: Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities



3.3.1 – 77: View along Bab al-Bahrain Avenue with Government Shops and Offices to the right in 2004. Source: <https://pbase.com/bmcmorrow/image/31212682>. Photo: Brian J. McMorrow



3.3.1 – 78: Government Shops and Offices viewed from the south in 2004.
Source: https://www.archnet.org/sites/15785?media_content_id=114199 (accessed June 29, 2022)

BAB AL-BAHRAIN AVENUE REFURBISHMENT WITH NEW MALL BUILDING 2006 - 2010



3.3.1 – 79: Aerial view of the mall building during construction in 2009.

Source: https://www.archnet.org/sites/15785?media_content_id=114202, (accessed June 29, 2022)



3.3.1 – 80: View to the north along Bab al Bahrain Avenue in 2011 with the screen façade element on the right and the mall building on the left.



3.3.1 – 81 and 82: Detail views of the screen façade along the eastern side of Bab al-Bahrain Avenue in 2011. Photos: Eva Battis



3.3.1 – 83 and 84: Views to the north and south along Bab al-Bahrain Avenue in 2011.



3.3.1 – 85 and 86: Vernacular building in Al Tijjar Avenue viewed from the site in 2011.
Photos: Eva Battis



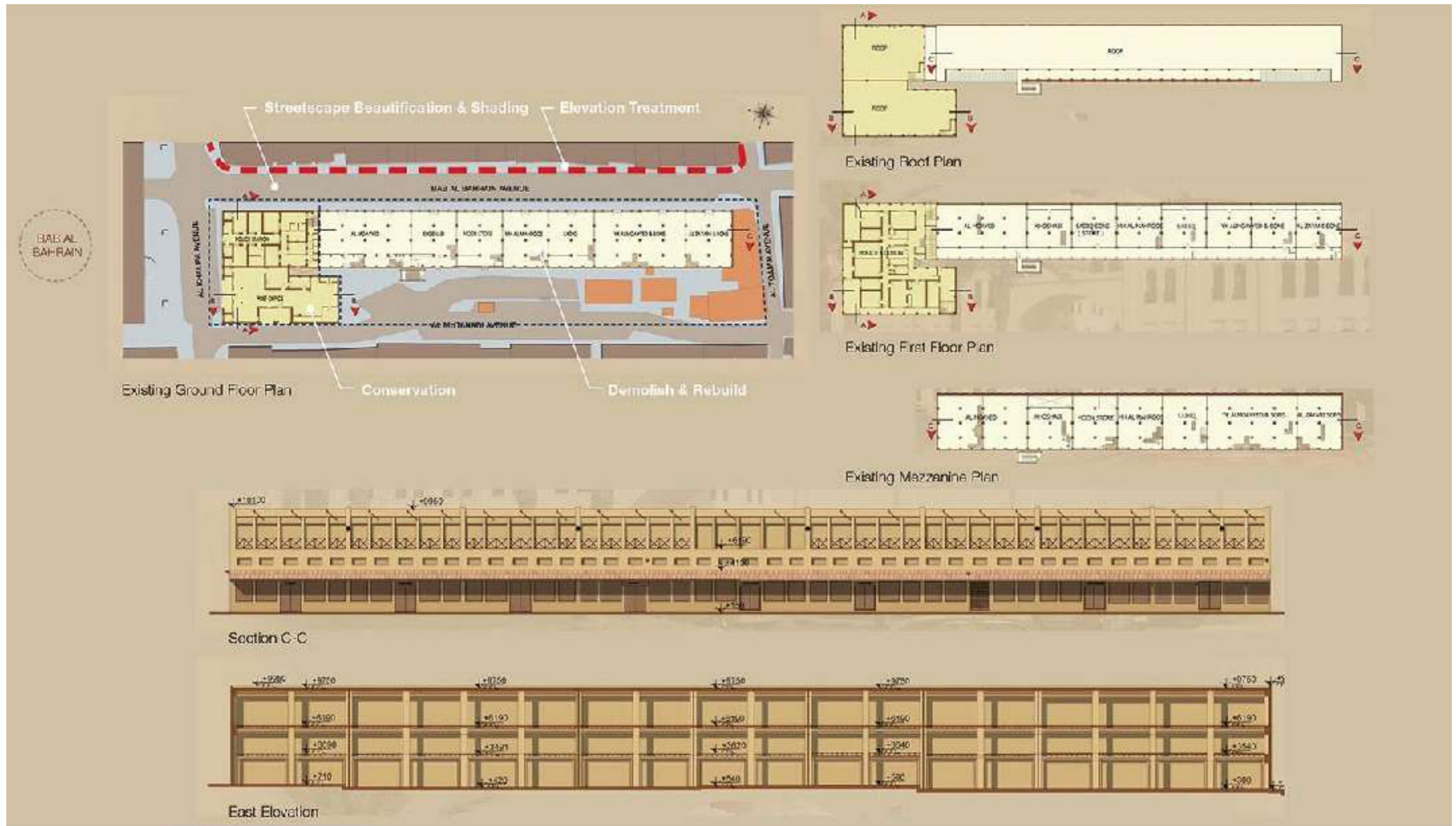
3.3.1 – 87: Southern elevation of the mall building in 2011.



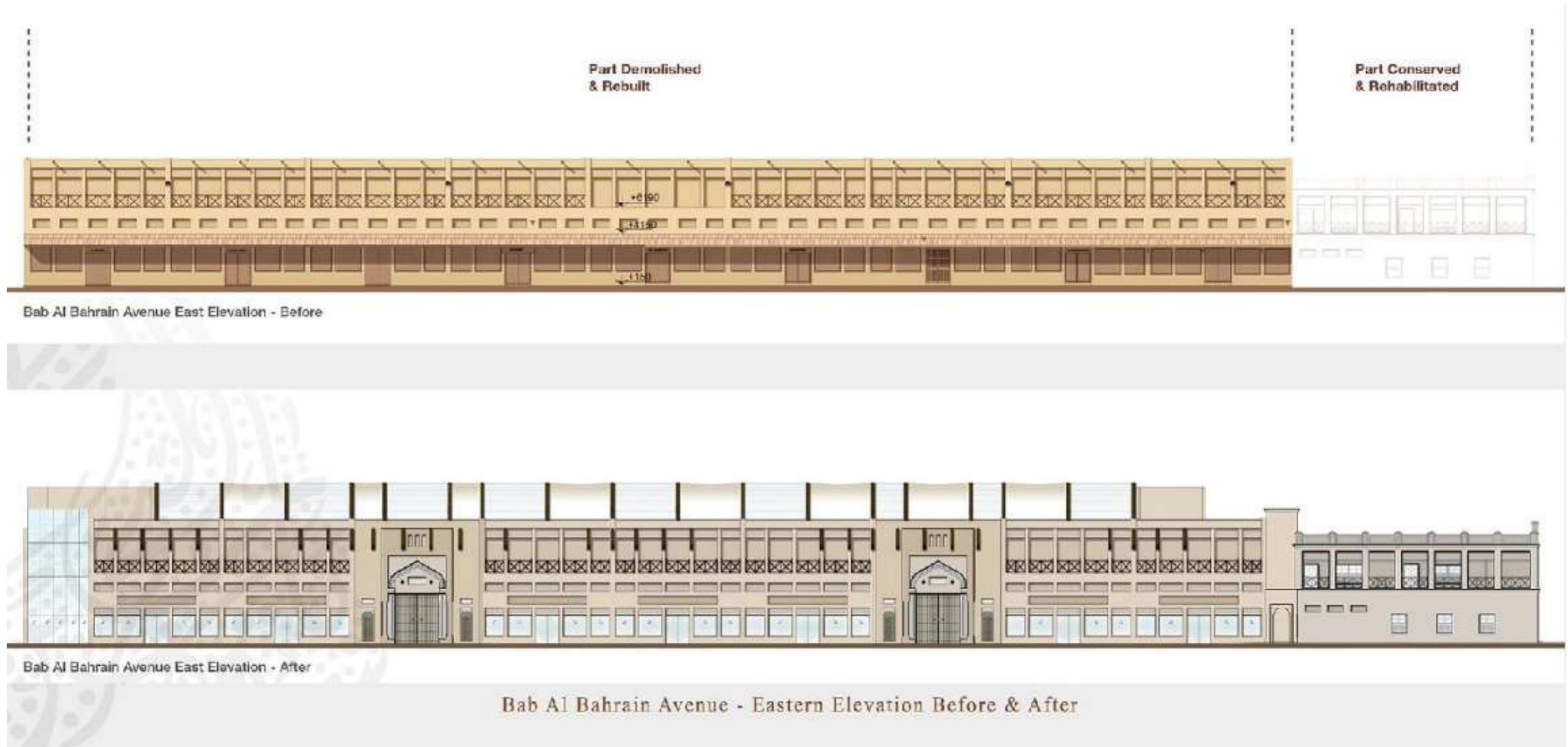
3.3.1 – 88 and 89: Eastern façade of the mall building along Al Mutanabi Avenue in 2011.
Photos: Eva Battis



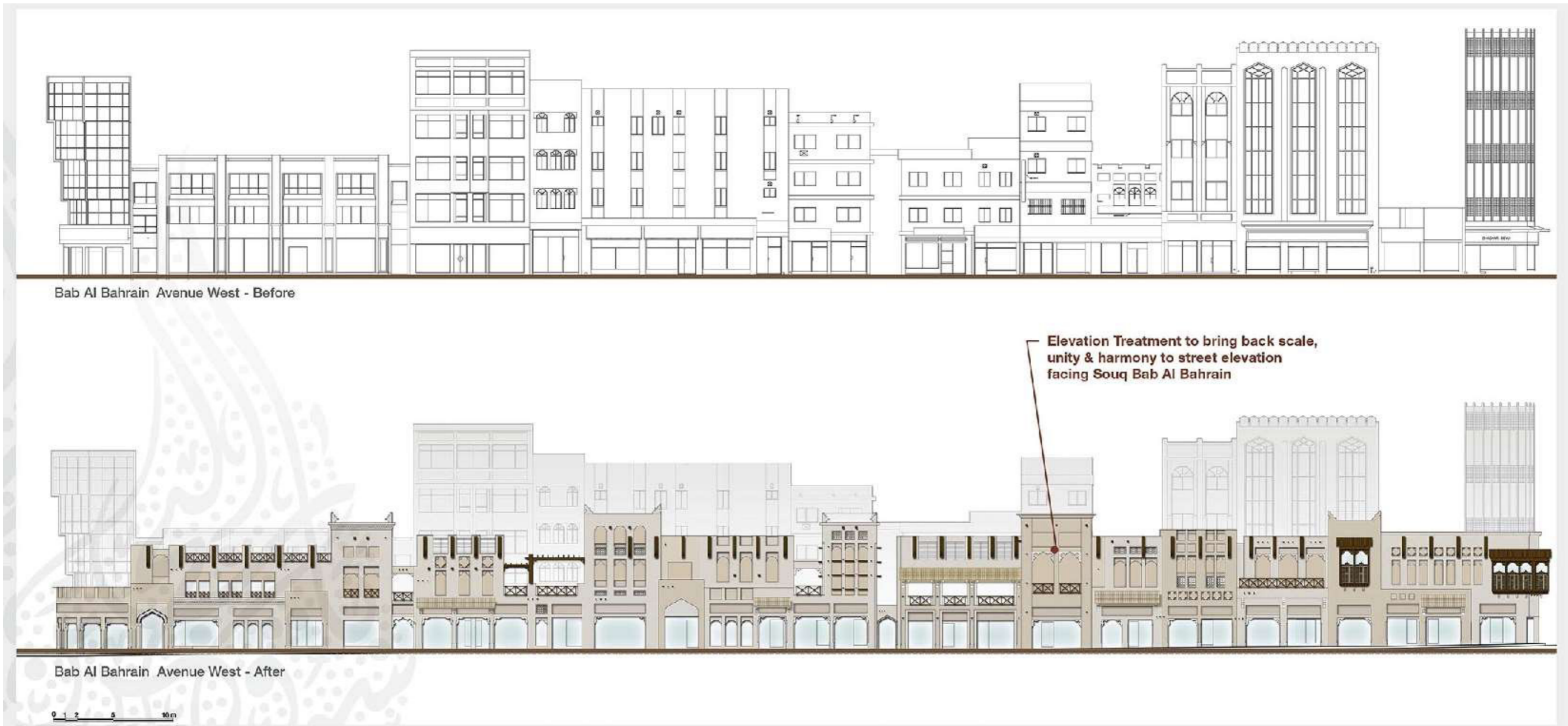
3.3.1 – 90: Interior view of the mall building in 2011. Photo: Eva Battis



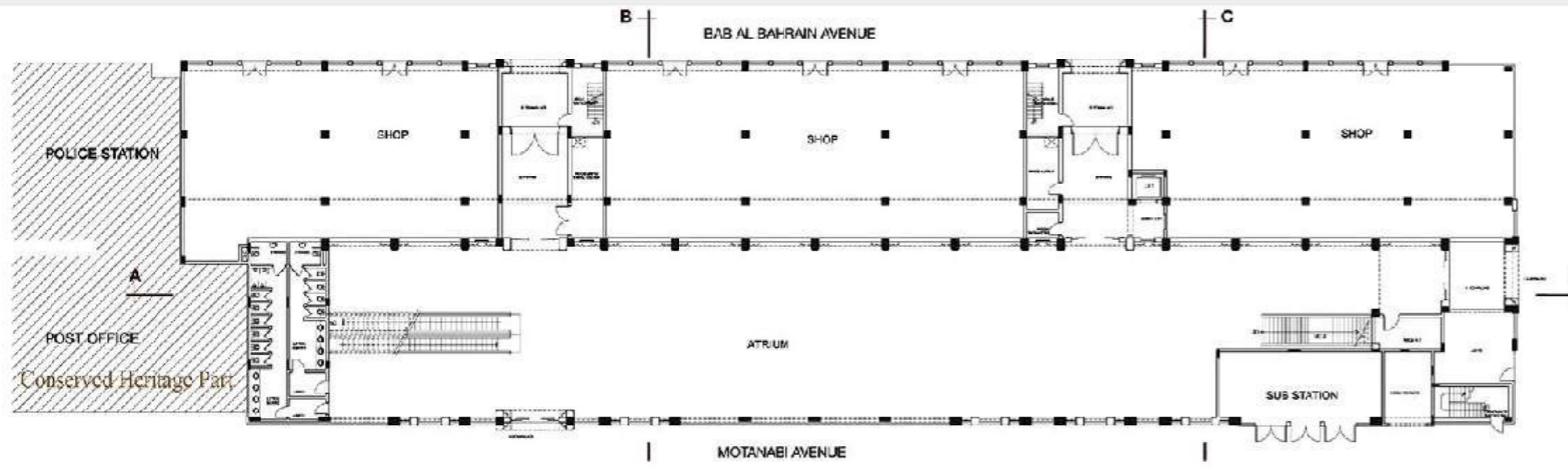
3.3.1 – 91: Survey drawings of status quo of the Government Shops and Offices in 2006. Source: Gulf House Engineering. Courtesy Dr. Souhail Al-Masri.



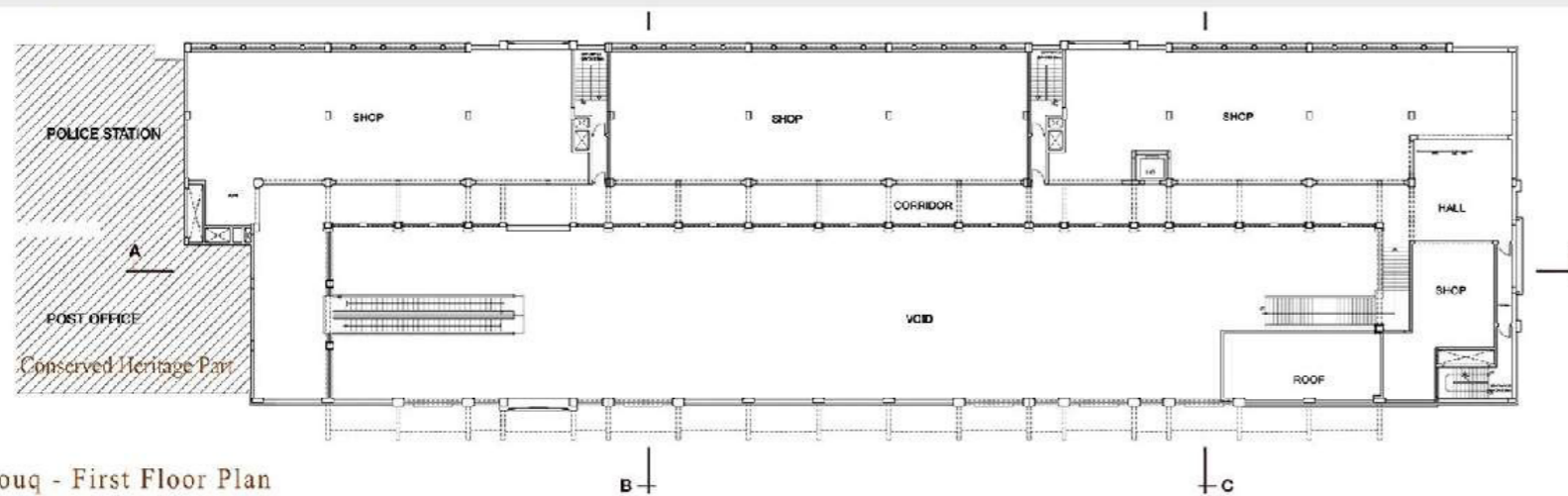
3.3.1 – 92: Western elevation of Bab al-Bahrain Avenue between Al Khalifa Avenue and Al Tijjar Avenue before and after the proposed mall construction.
 Source: Gulf House Engineering. Courtesy Dr. Souhail Al-Masri.



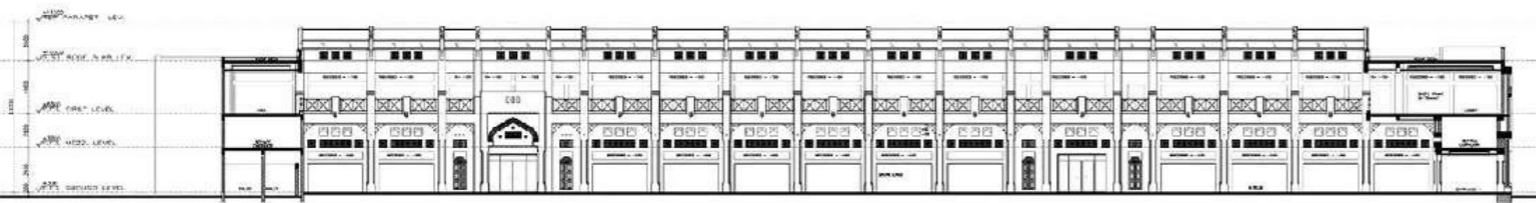
3.3.1 – 93: Eastern elevation of Bab al-Bahrain Avenue between Al Khalifa Avenue and Al Tijjar Avenue before and after the proposed construction of the façade wall.
Source: Gulf House Engineering. Courtesy Dr. Souhail Al-Masri.



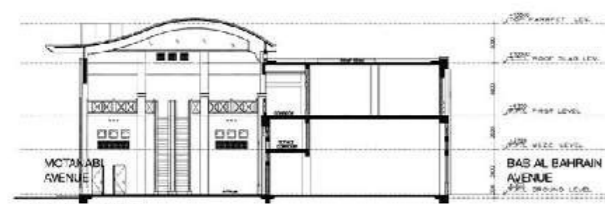
Souq - Ground Floor Plan



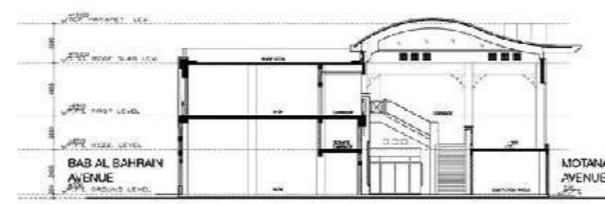
Souq - First Floor Plan



Section A-A: Longitudinal



Section B-B: Cross



Section C-C: Cross

Souq - Sections

3.3.1 – 94: Plans and sections of the mall building.
Source: Gulf House Engineering. Courtesy Dr. Souhail Al-Masri.

BAB AL-BAHRAIN AVENUE INTERVENTIONS 2011/2012



3.3.1 – 95: View to the south along Bab al Bahrain Avenue in 2013 with the screen façade element on the left and the mall building on the right. Photo: Smriti Pant



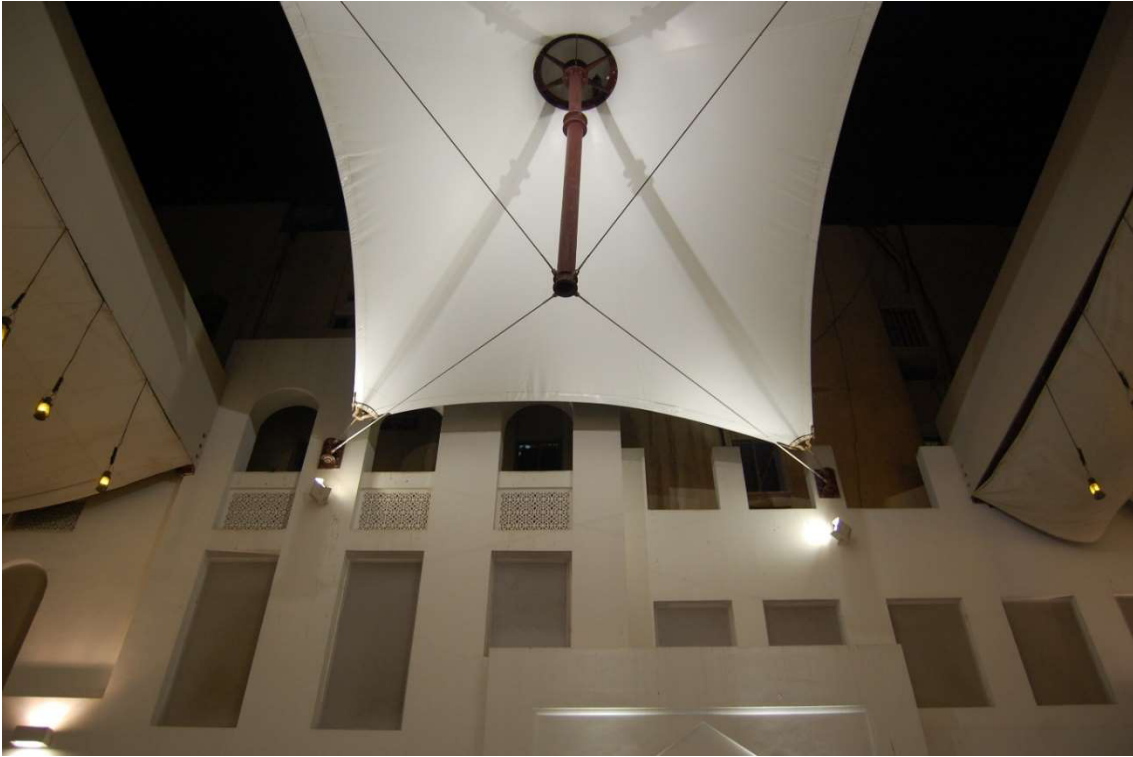
3.3.1 – 96: View to the south along Bab al Bahrain Avenue in 2014 with the screen façade element on the left and the mall building on the right. Photo: Eva Battis



3.3.1 – 97: Bab al-Bahrain viewed from Bab al-Bahrain Avenue during a celebratory event for the site’s refurbishment in September 2012



3.3.1 – 98: Detail view of the screen façade along Bab al-Bahrain Avenue at the junction with Al Khalifa Avenue in 2014, Photos: Eva Battis



3.3.1 – 99: Detail view of the screen façade along Bab al-Bahrain Avenue in 2014



3.3.1 – 100, 101 and 102: Details of the screen façade along Bab al-Bahrain Avenue in 2014 and of an entrance portal to the mall building in 2012 (right)
Photos: Eva Battis



3.3.1 – 103: Cultural event in the new mall at Bab al-Bahrain Avenue on 27 September 2012.

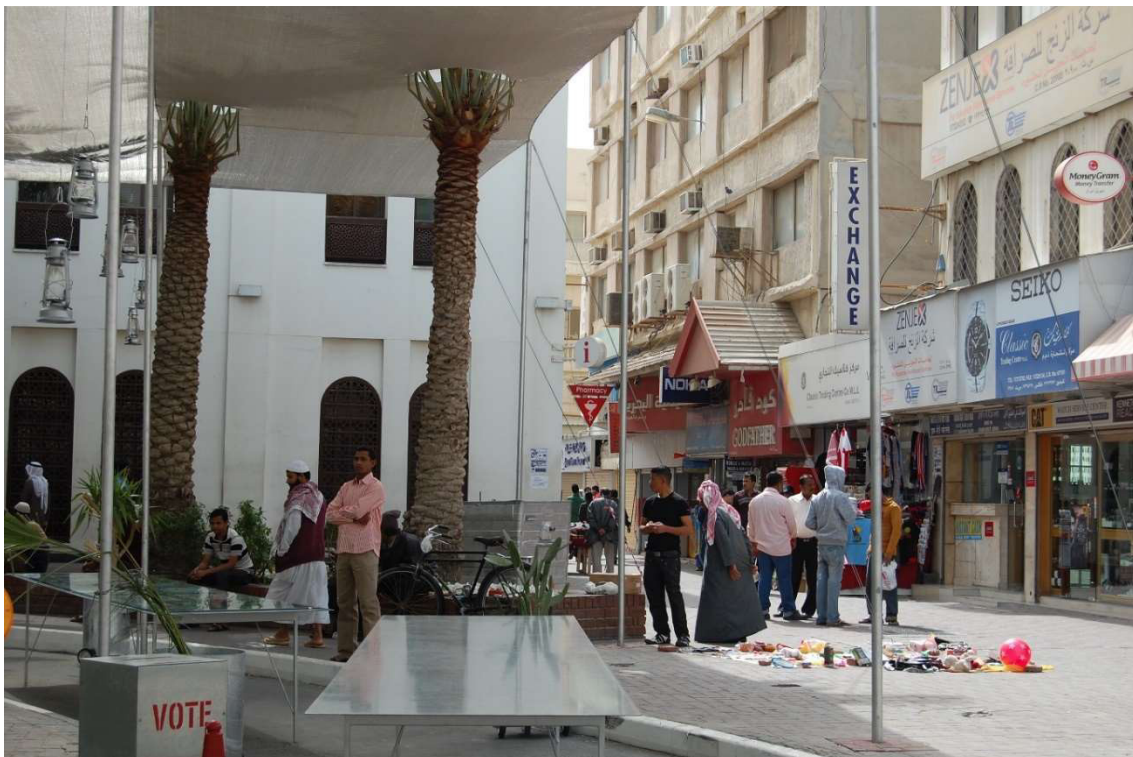


3.3.1 – 104: Model of Bab al-Bahrain for sale in a souvenir shops at the reference site in 2014.
Photos: Eva Battis

IMPRESSIONS OF THE PUBLIC EVENT “BAB PAVILION” IN FEBRUARY 2012
(before the latest refurbishment of Bab al-Bahrain Avenue and gateway)



3.3.1 – 105: Public discussion during the public event “Bab Pavilion” in 2012.



3.3.1 – 106: Presentation of public space designs for the site and voting boxes for the audience’s award during the public event “Bab Pavilion” in 2012.

Photos: Eva Battis



3.3.1 – 107: Bab al-Bahrain Square closed for traffic and shaded during the public event “Bab Pavillion” in 2012.



3.3.1 – 108: Street chalk-graffiti at Bab al-Bahrain Square during the public event “Bab Pavillion” in 2012.

Photos: Eva Battis

ANNEX 3.3.3 – ANALYSIS OF CONSTRUCTION PHASES OF BAB AL-BAHRAIN BUILDING

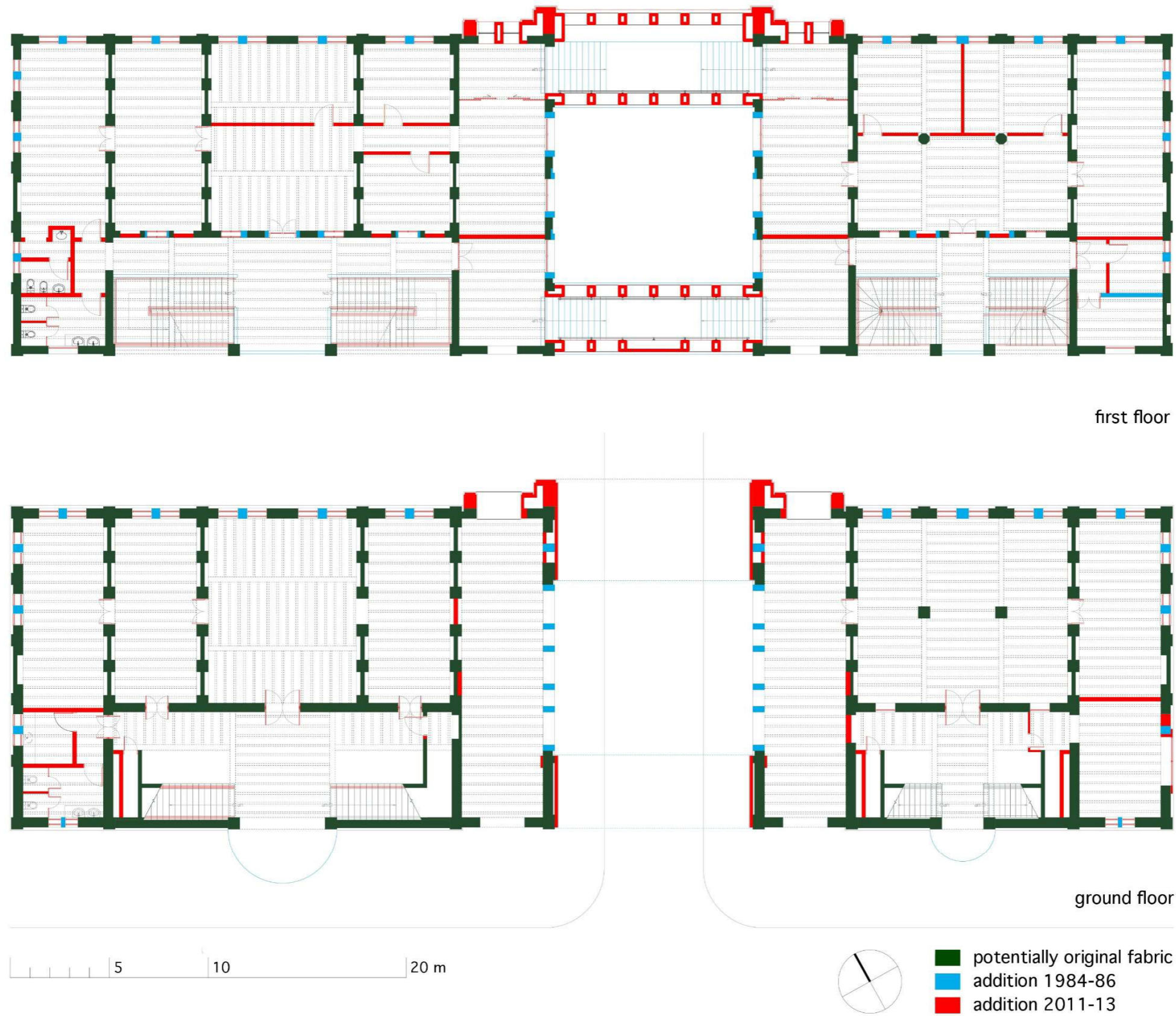


Fig. 3.3.3 – 1: Hypothetical plan of construction phases of Bab al-Bahrain building (with reflected ceiling plan). Drawing: Eva Battis on the basis of design drawings by PAD and reproductions of plans from the 1940s and 1980s

ANNEX 3.3.4 – TABULAR ANALYSIS OF STATEMENTS ABOUT BAB AL-BAHRAIN AREA

3.3.4 – 1: The interviews 86

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3.3.4 – 5: Value attributions to the site’s other buildings and spaces 96

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3.3.4 – 7: Evaluations of the other interventions at the site..... 102

3.3.4 – 8: Authenticity judgments about Bab al-Bahrain building 113

3.3.4 – 9: Authenticity judgements about the other interventions at the site 124

3.3.4 – 10: Overall authenticity judgements of the site and Bab al-Bahrain building..... 140

3.3.4 – 1: The interviews					
Architects (12/4)			Other professional backgrounds (22/12)		
Eastern (5/2)	East-western (5/1)	Western (2/1)	Eastern (13/4)	East-western (5/4)	Western (4)
16,17,21,30,49	7,22,23,32,33	6,20	4,11,15,18,26,38 ^{x4} ,39,40 ^{x2} ,41	8,9,10,12,46	3,13,14,19
bold = on-site interview with a tour at the site/ not bold = expert off-site or spontaneous on-site interview Interviews 38 and 40 involved four and two interviewees respectively.					

3.3.4 – 2: Personal relation to the site and level of background knowledge		(none, low, medium, high)	
Architects	Eastern	16 a	Egyptian employee of the national heritage authority: “I have been there several times. And I know it is like the very old market in Bahrain. I used to come to visit the market itself [...]. But it might be that I have not been here for months.” The interviewee knows the site from before the urban rehabilitation that started in 2006 but has no detailed historic background knowledge . Author: “Do you know something about the history of this place?” I 16: “Detailed history, no.” (low)
		17 a	Bahraini architect: “Bab al-Bahrain was the main gate of Bahrain. Because the sea was just here. So, whatever they imported from out of Bahrain was coming through Bab al-Bahrain. And they had the markets there. So whatever goods they have, they sell it right away in the market. But then, after the reclamation we reached financial harbour, which is now acting like the main gate of Bahrain. But the first design of Bab al-Bahrain was by Belgrave, who was the consultant of the government. He just sketched it and then Salahadin was working on the later phases of it. But I did not see the original look of it. Or the sketch by Belgrave.” The interviewee is aware that Bab al-Bahrain building was constructed in the 1940s and of its former port location . He knew about the screen façade as he worked with the company that designed it in the past. He had only a vague idea about the previously existing Government Offices and Shops and their demolition. (high)
		21 a	The Indian architect was involved in Bab al-Bahrain’s refurbishment of 1984-86 and participated in a design proposal for the refurbishment of the site in the early 2000s. He was rather well familiar with the site and its development since the 1980s and its colonial origin . He was however neither aware of who designed Bab al-Bahrain building originally nor when . He was aware of the screen façade . He was familiar with the building of the Government Shops and Offices and thought their façade was preserved. (medium)
		30 b	The Philippine architect of the national heritage authority does not usually go to the site and had no historic background knowledge about it. (none)
		49	The Bahraini urban planner and expert of Bahrain’s architecture is informed of the site’s history and is familiar with the site’s colonial-style buildings., He is a frequent customer of the area and has been professionally involved in assessments in the area. Visits Bab al Bahrain area frequently for shopping, socializing in the coffee shops and for taking visitors. His background knowledge was not systematically assessed .
	East-western	7c 23 32	As local or foreign conservation architects working for the Bahraini heritage authority, the interviewees are aware of the site’s history but their background knowledge was not explicitly assessed . The partners of interviews 7 and 32 had been involved in recent interventions at the site.
		22	The Lebanese architect working for the local architectural firm Gulf House Engineering was involved in the urban rehabilitation of the site and is certainly aware of the site’s history, but his background knowledge was not explicitly assessed .
		33 b	The Bahraini employee of the national heritage authority was informed of the recent development of the site but had not closely followed it himself. At the beginning of the site visit, he was still clearly influenced by the heritage authority’s narrative according to which the building was restored to its original appearance: “I don’t know anything about the restoration that went in the 80s and I know little about the last restoration. That they removed a lot of the elements which were not authentic. They were added on later. So, they simplified the façade to what it was originally, based on pictures from the 1950s.” “The changes? I don’t remember to be honest. Because before it was changed to what it is now, I haven’t been to Manama maybe since I was 10 years old.” He was aware of the site’s colonial origin roughly in the 50s . “Salahuddin, he built Bab al-

Western		Bahrain – from what I heard, I am not sure.” The interviewee agreed that Belgrave might have designed the building: “It rings a bell. I read it or someone told me before.” He was aware of the reconstructed ruler’s office: “I have not been to the ground floor, I only went to the Secretary’s office on the upper floor. So, I saw that they kept one of the rooms, the ruler’s room . They kept it as it is. Although, I think, they did not keep it as it is, they just rebuilt it based on photographs. ” He was aware of the perseverance of the Customs House and of its planned restoration. <i>(high)</i>
	6	The Italian architectural consultant in charge of the gate’s refurbishment in 2012/13 was aware of the site’s British-colonial origin and function , the former port location and the gate’s construction date in the 1940s as well as the refurbishment of the 1980s . He was aware of the demolition of the Government Shops and Offices and the perseverance of the Customs House and of its planned restoration. <i>(medium)</i>
	20	The German visitor to Bahrain was aware of the site’s British-colonial origin in the 1940s and visited the site for the first time . <i>(low)</i>
Non-architects Eastern	4b	The Bahraini does not often go to the site and did not pay attention to its development. “I know it was like the gate of Bahrain . There was a port here. And it was just adjacent to the sea .” Refers to her childhood memories: “We used to do shopping in Manama Suq , because there were no malls or shopping centres before.” Author: “Do you know who designed it? Or who built it?” I 4b: “Maybe the British . Am, is it the occupator [occupier]?” She assumed Bab al-Bahrain to originate from the 1940s . She knows that the Avenue has been refurbished and was not covered in the past . <i>(medium)</i>
	11 a	The Philippine expatriate regularly comes to or passes the site , e.g. for shopping. She had little, partly imprecise background knowledge including that Bab al-Bahrain was originally a landmark and office building directly at the seashore and part of the market . She was not aware of the construction ages of the buildings but knew that Bab al-Bahrain has been refurbished as she witnessed several of the refurbishment works in the Avenue throughout her stay in Bahrain for the past 6 years. <i>(low)</i>
	15 a	The Bahraini knew that the original gate “was built after WWII by the English consultant ” at the former seashore and thought it was later demolished and built anew in the 1960s at its current location slightly further inland. He was aware that it has been recently refurbished as well as in the 1980s . “I think they turned [tore] it down in the 60s. And they built a new one, they renewed it in the 80s and lately they renewed it by Shaikha May.” “The Bab was used for the ministry of tourism, they had offices there.” <i>(high)</i>
	18 b	The Ethiopian expatriate comes to the site occasionally for shopping and had no background information about the site, except it being the city centre . <i>(none)</i>
	26	The director of a local construction company which is specialized on vernacular building techniques was involved in the refurbishments of Bab al-Bahrain and of the Post Office and Police Station and familiar with the background of the mall building . His background knowledge was not systematically assessed .
	38	The four Bahraini senior gentlemen closely witnessed the development of the site since the 1940s . One of them had been operating a business at the site since 1944 . They did not agree among themselves if Belgrave , “who was running Bahrain for a long time” or the engineer Salahuddin designed Bab al-Bahrain and considered the building twice demolished “to the floor” and rebuilt . Three of them mentioned Belgrave as the possible designer of the gate and one mentioned that he might have copied the idea of the gate from the Gate of India . At least two of them were aware of the planned restoration of the Customs House . Their background knowledge was not systematically assessed .
	39	The Pakistani salesman had been working at the site for nine years and witnesses the recent changes. He had no background knowledge except the area being part of “ a very old suq ”. His background knowledge was not systematically assessed .
	40	The two senior Bahraini taxi drivers stationed at the site considered the site an “ old market ” in the city centre and dated Bab al-Bahrain to be built to more than 50 years ago . They were aware of the governmental origin and function . Their background knowledge was not systematically assessed .
41	The senior Bahraini taxi driver stationed at the site dated Bab al-Bahrain to be built more than 90 years ago . “There was the government , for the migration, for the passports. For the visa, for	

		everything.” He recalled taking his passport from the building in the past when it was used as immigration office. He was aware of the planned renovation of the Customs House but does not seem to be aware of its original function. His background knowledge was not systematically assessed .
East-western	8b	The Bahrain-born Egyptian resident of Bahrain is a frequent customer of shops, restaurants and a tailor in Manama Suq of which he considers the site an integral part: “I come here often, yes. I like this place, so I am here a lot. ” Author: “What do you like about it?” 8b: “I like the shops in here, the different community restaurants, ...” Author: “Which place are you talking about exactly?” 8b: “Bab al-Bahrain, the whole concept of Bab al-Bahrain. It is like an ancient market, you know? It’s like walking in Singapore or in India. ” historical background knowledge: “I know that this was the sea-side and the main gateway to the main port of Bahrain . And it is also the gateway to the Pilgrimage route , Bab al-Bahrain, so people would go to Mecca from here, which is a significant business. Not so much pearling as much as other goods, like the Asian market’s goods like textile, incense and perfumes and anything else. [...] All the bigger ships would come in and out of here. And the smaller ships would go to Muharraq. This was more like the main distribution point.” “I think this part of Manama was built in the 20s and 30s ” He was aware of the two refurbishments dating the first one to the 1960s or 70s. (<i>medium</i>) Is generally aware of downtown Manama having been developed as the state’s capital in the early 20th century: “I mean when I look at pictures of Bahrain from the 20s and 30s [...] this whole area had rich state architecture, it had the Court House, it had things like that.” New Post Office (former Customs House): “Everyone in Bahrain had a PO box here. I had a PO box here, my family did. Because before there were no post offices in all the neighbourhoods of Bahrain.”
	9c	The temporary resident from Kazakhstan visited the site several times including for the event Bab market. She had little background knowledge, except that “the gate was a real gate to the sea . I know that the MoC is still taking care of it and doing different events, the Bab market for example. That’s it. Not much.” (<i>low</i>)
	10a	The Bahraini is a frequent customer of the area and aware of the urban rehabilitation including the mall construction. He has “good memories running around, playing around, buying stuff”, although he does not “really have tons of history with Bab al-Bahrain.” “The Bab itself, the arch, at some point, I remember it was the post office. I don’t think it’s a post office anymore. And now I think it has something to do with the Ministry of Tourism and Culture.” And probably before being a post office, it had a governmental, administrative purpose , something to do with ports or the suq . I have no idea. But when I was young it was the post office.” (<i>low</i>)
	12a	The Lebanese expatriate is a regular customer of the area’s commercial and gastronomic offer. “I have been told that historically Bab al-Bahrain was by the sea. ” (<i>low</i>)
	46	The background knowledge of the Bahraini artist was not assessed .
Western	3a b	The German archaeologist is a regular customer of one jewellery in the refurbished Avenue. Author: “Is it a place you like going to?” 3a: “I like to go to that one jewellery shop. But that is the only reason. No, I would not go there for the place. No.” She knew that Bab al-Bahrain used to be “the entrance to the city somehow. I mean it was located at the shore, so, like the Gate of India in Bombay, kind of.” (<i>low</i>)
	13b	The temporary resident of Serbian-British origin does not come to the site very often . “I know very little. It was the Manama gate , the entrance to Manama , it was built, I think, by the British while they were here. And the sea it stranded actually almost to the entrance, so it was the entrance point, the port where ships would come in and bring their goods and behind it was the suq as far as I know, the market area.” (<i>high</i>)
	14a	US-American archaeologist and rather recent resident of Bahrain comes to the area “not so often” for a tailor , to meet friends , for the restaurants as well as for the Bab market . She had some little information from a previous tour of the area with a local guide and was hence aware of the Customs House perseverance: “From its previous history, this was the gate to the Suq and I know that the shoreline used to come closer than here, because there is a Customs Building . It might be the post office. This might be the old Customs Building actually. [...] I don’t know dates.” Asked to guess the date of Bab al-Bahrain: “I don’t know how old. 150 years? I have no idea.” (<i>low</i>)

	19	<p>The British teacher is a resident of Bahrain since 1974 and has seen the site, its historic buildings and its surroundings change. He had considerable, even if not entirely correct historic background knowledge including of the colonial origin and rehabilitation works. He had however not noticed the recent changes to Bab al-Bahrain and considered it had first been refurbished in the early 2000s. “Bab al-Bahrain before I came here, I understand, was actually a covered suq. People were still referring to it as ‘the covered suq’. Whereas, when I came here there was no covering at all. Actually, I may be mistaken. The covered suq may have started a little further down. I think it started at the first crossroad.” “The old Post Office, where we met, that I believe is the original post office from years ago. Before they started producing Bahraini stamps. [...] And the post office goes back to about 1876. You can find out all this information in Donaldson, British Postal Agencies in the Gulf.” Author: “The building as well?” I 19: “I believe so. What else do I know about this area? It’s not that old! As a matter of fact, the actual gate was, I think, only built in 1949. It was remodelled quite recently to look more sort of Arab than colonial. But even Bab al-Bahrain Road doesn’t go back, I think, much beyond that. I don’t think it is even 1930s originally.” “I have a suspicion that it was built by Belgrave. I think so.” “Recently, probably about 5 years ago, they did all this renovation [...]” He was aware that the site was built on reclaimed land and described the port in the 1970s: “But the port was in a kind of – not a U-shape – but looking at it from this way it was built squared off at the end. And the boats came in. Because all the boats went across to Saudi Arabia, before the causeway came in there. And the boats coming across from Iran, boats with cargo. All of them. So, it was quite a lot. And it was also quite a smell, because they would recalk the boats. Like scrape of all the barnacles and apply fish oil, which smelt like rotting fish. It was pretty awful.” He was aware of the screen façade in Bab al-Bahrain Avenue. (<i>high</i>)</p>
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3.4.4 – 3: Age estimations of the site’s buildings

Architects	Eastern	16a	<p>The Egyptian employee of the national heritage authority estimated Bab al-Bahrain building to originate from the 1930s to 50s. Shown an image from the 1950s of the gate’s original design, she narrowed her estimate to 1950s. Her first impression of the Avenue was that it was newly refurbished with the addition of historicizing elements and possibly the inclusion of some authentic features. She had no background knowledge of the Post Office and Police Station but dated the building to be of the same age as Bab al-Bahrain after seeing the original design of the gate. Shown the historic photograph of the Government Shops and Offices she dates the building to the same origin and age. She tended to believe that the entire mall building was new and certain the interior as well as its southern elevation is entirely new. She dated the Customs House before its restoration to the 1980s.</p>
		17a	<p>The Bahraini architect was aware that Bab al-Bahrain building and the site’s other historic buildings were constructed in the 1940s. He tended to believe that the Post Office and Police Station is the original building and knew that the mall building and screen façade in the Avenue are recent additions. He dated the Customs House before its restoration to the 1970s or before.</p>
		21a	<p>The architect involved in 1980s refurbishment of Bab al-Bahrain building was not aware of its origin in the 1940s. He aware of the recent interventions at the site but considered the Post Office and Police Station as well as the façade of the Government Shops and Offices preserved. He made no estimation of the original construction age of the historic buildings. He dated the Customs House before its restoration to the 1970s/80s.</p>
		30b 49	no estimations
	East-western	22 23 7c 32	no estimations
		33b	<p>The Bahraini employee of the national heritage authority was aware of the site’s origin in the mid-20th century, including the preserved Customs House and the Post Office and Police Station. He considered the façades of the Post Office and Police Station preserved and identified the mall building and screen façade as recent additions. He dated the original Government Shops and Offices to the mid-40s when shown the historic photograph of it.</p>

3.4.4 – 3: Age estimations of the site’s buildings			
Western	6	The design architect of the gate’s latest refurbishment was aware of its construction in the 1940s and made no age estimations of the other buildings.	
	20	The German visitor to Bahrain was aware of the site’s British-colonial origin in the 1940s and identified the screen façade and mall building as new.	
Non-architects	Eastern	4b	The Bahraini assumed Bab al-Bahrain to originate from the 1940s. Based on her background knowledge she thinks that the Post Office and Police Station is historic but younger than the gate building: “Because what I understood is that Bab al-Bahrain in Arabic means the gate to Bahrain. And my father told me that before, like 40 or 60 years ago, there wasn’t anything here. It was only sea. So, the ships used to park in the port. And then this was the gate to Bahrain when you were coming from another country. So, of course this one [the gate] will be older than this one [the Post Office and Police Station].” At first, she dates the buildings in the Avenue, including the screen façade to the 1940s or 50s, then realizes that it is new. When analysing the southern elevation of the mall building, she remembers having seen it being constructed and tends to consider the mall building new, although possibly partly a reconstruction or facsimile. She dated the Customs House to the 1970s-80s and identified it to be an older stone building when comparing to the historic photograph.
		11a	The Philippine expatriate was not aware of the construction ages of the buildings but considered Bab al-Bahrain possibly the oldest, “first” building in Bahrain or at least in Manama Suq: “Like it’s the first building in Bahrain. They said they already renovated the building, but they say this is the first in Manama Suq.” Author: “Do you know how old it is? 11a: „I don’t know. I really don’t care.“ She was aware of the new interventions in Bab al-Bahrain Avenue and identified the mall building as new despite some uncertainties about its historicity. After seeing the historic image of Bab al-Bahrain of the 1950s, she recognizes the Post Office and Police Station to be of the same origin. She first estimated that the Customs House “must be more than 40 years because friends told her, that they have seen this building since they are in Bahrain”, but dates the Customs House to the 1940s after having been made aware of its perseverance under the screen façade.
		15a	The Bahraini knew that the original gate “was built after WWII by the English consultant” but considered it demolished and rebuilt in the 1960s. He dated the Post Offices and Police Station to the 1930s or 40s and the Customs House to the 1970s. He had previously identified the screen façade as a new addition in front of one shop but had not noticed the nature of the intervention on the entire length of the refurbished Avenue and was uncertain how much historic fabric might be preserved along its eastern side.
		18b	The Ethiopian expatriate considered Bab al-Bahrain an old building but guessed it to be “maybe 10 years” old. She estimated the Post Office and Police Station, the mall building, the screen façade and the buildings behind it to be 10 to 15 years old, but when comparing to the historic photographs partially revised her judgement considering the mall building new.
		26	no estimation
	38	no estimation	
	39	The Pakistani salesman considering the area, Bab al-Bahrain and the Post Office and Police Station “ very old ”.	
	40	The two senior Bahraini taxi drivers considered the site an “ old market” in the city centre and dated Bab al-Bahrain to be built to more than 50 years ago.	
	41	The senior Bahraini taxi driver stationed at the site dated Bab al-Bahrain to be built more than 90 years ago.	
	8b	The Bahrain-born Egyptian civil engineer initially dated the site to the 1920s to 30s. “I think this part of Manama was built in the 20s and 30s. So, I think it was here since the 20s, but I could be wrong.” Based on the historic photograph of Bab al-Bahrain he dates the building to the 1930s. After being informed about the construction date of Bab al-Bahrain he judges the fabric along the Avenue as originally 30s-50s and restored: “But I think, I am not quite sure, everything here was between the 30s and 40s, 50s. It’s fairly modern. ” [...] Author: “And what do you think has been built from the ground up? Or has it all been here, or something has and something has not?”8b: “No, I think it has all been just restored. I mean it	

3.4.4 – 3: Age estimations of the site's buildings

East-western		wasn't that old anyway. I think it has just been restored well, without the need of showing bits of what is used to be [...]" Author: "Do you think that both sides are historic like in building time? Like the buildings are original, historic, that were here from the 40s or 30s?" 8b: "I think so, ya, because it wouldn't be so much of a problem to rebuilt it. Maybe they built bits and pieces of it to patch it together." pointed to the Customs House as "a very 70s structure"
	9c	The temporary resident from Kazakhstan was uncertain of Bab al-Bahrain's construction date, and dated it to the 1930s to 70s . Shown an image from the 1950s of the original gate, she revised her judgement to 1950s . She estimates the fabric along Bab al-Bahrain Avenue including the Post Office and Police Station, the screen façade element and the mall building to the 1940s or 50s . When identifying the screen façade element, she dates the interventions along the Avenue to the 1980s , to the time of the first refurbishment of Bab al-Bahrain.
	10a	The Bahraini dates the age of the buildings to "maybe 60, 70 years ". He dates the Customs House to the 1960s . Assumes the Police Station and Post Office to be of the same age as the gate. At first, he considers the fabric along the Avenue refurbished, later identifies them as new additions .
	12a	The Lebanese expatriate guesses Bab al-Bahrain to date from the early 20th century, possibly 1920 . Shown an image from the 1950s of the original gate, he revised his estimation to 1942 . He also dated the Police Station and Post Office to the 1940s after discussing the age of the gate building. He considers the fabric along the Avenue refurbished before identifying it as new additions. He dated the Customs House before its restoration to the 1960 or 70s .
	46	no estimation
Western	3ab	no estimation of Bab al-Bahrain building She was confused about the age and historicity of the fabric in the Avenue . She assumed the mall building would be the same time as Bab al-Bahrain after learning about its origin, but realized that the portals must be older, if they were authentic.
	13b	The temporary resident of Serbian-British origin was not sure the construction year of Bab al-Bahrain building. "Maybe at the beginning of the 20th century? " She finds it difficult to date the fabric in Bab al-Bahrain Avenue : "I couldn't tell whether one side is historic and the other not. [...] I would say they were built in the same period. I mean they could have been built 5 years ago and just mimicking a style from an earlier period or they could have been built 80 years ago . I have no idea." She found the southern façade of the mall building particularly confusing in this regard. She identified the parapet design of the Police Station and Post Office and thereupon dates the building to the 50s : "I haven't really seen this on Arabic houses. It was probably built in the 50s together with Bab al-Bahrain." When identifying the screen façade , she considers it recently built: "Well, if I look at this building which is behind this, it is obvious that this is just a façade for a building that is behind. So probably it was built very recently ."
	14a	Guessing the age of Bab al-Bahrain building : "I don't know how old. 150 years? I have no idea." She dated the Post Office and Police Station to the 1920s and the mall building to the same age. Thinks that the side with the screen façade along the Avenue slightly predates the other buildings due to the Islamic stylistic features before identifying it as new addition. Dates the interior of the mall to having been refurbished in the 1980s.
	19	The British long-term resident of Bahrain considered the site " not that old ". He was aware of Bab al-Bahrain's construction in 1949 and of the establishment of Bab al-Bahrain Avenue and the construction of the Government Shops and Offices slightly before that (1940s): "But even Bab al-Bahrain Road doesn't go back, I think, much beyond that. I don't think it is even 1930s originally." He associated the age of the building of the Post Office and Police Station with the date of the first establishment of a postal agency in Bahrain in the late 19 th century, actually in the year 1884 (refer to chapter 3.3.1.4): " And the post office goes back to about 1876 ." Author: "The building as well?" I 19: "I believe so." He then quickly corrects himself, as he recalls the gate to date from 1949 and thinks the entire area was remodelled in the 1940s: "It's not that old! As a matter of fact, the actual gate... ." He categorized the mall building as new . The Customs House was behind scaffolding during the interview. From memory he judges the building to date from the 1960s .

3.3.4 – 4: Value attributions to Bab al-Bahrain building					
			documentary value	symbolic or use value	colonial heritage
Architects	Eastern	17a		The Bahraini architect comments on Bab al-Bahrain: “Besides it is very old , but it was the main gate of Bahrain . So, it is something very important . Like much more important than the Financial Harbour, which is supposed to be the gate to Bahrain [...]”	
		49		“Bab al Bahrain, the gate building, is very symbolic for an entrance from the sea to the city , [...]”	
		21a			The architect who was involved in the 1980s refurbishment of Bab al-Bahrain seems critical of colonial architecture in general . “Looking at the architecture you should know from where that building is. This is standard colonial architecture. It could be anywhere in the world. Like we have Portuguese buildings in Goa. [...] If you go to Goa, it has a variety in architecture. You don’t feel you are in India.” “ It doesn’t show the character of the land. ”
		30b			With a comparison to the Spanish colonial heritage of the Philippines, the interviewee attributes value to the original building as testimony to the British colonial era .
		49			The senior Bahraini conservation architect considers the gate as one of the “significant colonial” buildings .
	East-western	23	For the Lebanese conservation architect of the local heritage authority “ the interest of the building was that it was a hybrid between this classical colonial architecture and the local architecture ” as well as a testimony of its construction time .		The architect points to the scientific interest of the colonial building .

3.3.4 – 4: Value attributions to Bab al-Bahrain building					
			documentary value	symbolic or use value	colonial heritage
Western	33b		The Bahraini architect of the local heritage authority criticized the latest refurbishment of Bab al-Bahrain for impairing the “historical significance”.	Asked what the building means to him the Bahraini architect said: “This was the gate to Bahrain or to Manama before.”	The Bahraini architect considers the gate and other buildings of the site as colonial-style . This has no negative notion for him.
	7		The foreign architect of the local heritage authority criticized the latest refurbishment of Bab al-Bahrain for lack of consideration for the building’s historic features and elements.		
	32		The Bahraini architect of the local heritage authority criticized the latest refurbishment of Bab al-Bahrain for lack of scientific research.		
	20		The visiting conservation architect considers the original building a document to an important time period (1940s).		He attributes value to the building as testimony of the local colonial era .
	6		The nature of Bab al-Bahrain’s 2012/13 refurbishment and the statements of the design architect in charge indicated that he attributed little documentary value to the building.	For the design architect of the 2012/13 refurbishment, the essence of the building is its symbolism as a “city gate” .	
	Non-architects Eastern	4b			The young Bahraini woman attributes no heritage value to the building except as “memory marker” of the former port area and of Bahrain as an island with longstanding international trade connections . Author: “Does it mean anything to you personally?” 4b: “Maybe it reminds me that Bahrain was an island – ok, it is still an island but not like before. And here was a port and, maybe it is the gate for commercial things between Bahrain and other countries. ”
11a				For the young expatriate from the Philippines Bab al-Bahrain was formerly an important historic building now serving foremost as a landmark and meeting point .	
15a				The young Bahraini likes Bab al-Bahrain for being “an original landmark” and historic gate to the market from the former sea port area .	

3.3.4 – 4: Value attributions to Bab al-Bahrain building					
			documentary value	symbolic or use value	colonial heritage
		39		The Pakistani salesman considers the building a “ very old ” “ famous place ” or “ old palace ”. He hints to the value of the building as a tourist attraction : “I like Bab al-Bahrain! Daily how any people here coming? But good. How many English people here coming!”	
		8b		For the Egyptian expatriate the building is foremost a symbolic “monument” which originally served as gateway to the main trading port of Bahrain: “What I know is that it serves exactly what its name is. It’s the gateway to Bahrain . So, people who come here, it’s like the first thing they see. It’s like the Statue of Liberty , except for a very small island. And many people who came here, like on a ship, and walked through here, [...]. So, this was the first thing they ever saw.” 9: The visitor from Kazakhstan makes now clear value judgement but points out that the building was formerly “a real gate to the sea” .	The Egyptian expatriate attributes value to the building as testimony of the colonial history he anchors this in the symbolism and less the material testimony: “I mean, he [Belgrave] probably go the idea from the Gate of India. Or some other British idea. But this happened, that is history and that is something to cherish even though it might sound like a silly idea to make Bahrain look like a modern country, but ok. There is value. ”
	East-western	10a	When informed about the colonial background and hybrid construction technique the Bahraini states that what matters to him is the appearance of the building rather than its construction history . “Well, for me, I am not an architect. So, what matters for me is how the buildings looks.”	The Bahraini attributes no historic or heritage value to the building for being too young but points to its place branding function . “It’s like the cover, or identity of Manama Suq” “So, it doesn’t have a significant value . It’s just a title of the Manama Suq . That’s how I would put it. If you have a book, that’s the cover of the book.”	The Bahraini attributes no value as colonial heritage.
		12 a	The Lebanese structural engineer acknowledges the documentary/scientific value in theory but personally does not care about it. Comparing the more intensively changed northern to the less changed, “old” southern facade: “I prefer the old one. Does it matter? No. It’s life. It changes. We age. [...] But the backside looks closer to what it was. Does it matter? In terms of research, to check, it does. But for me no. ”	“It’s a gathering place for people from different walks of life. Tourists, merchants , I go there – there are beautiful restaurants nearby, there are jewellery centres , beautiful carpet shops . It’s an attraction , it’s located in the heart of that place. ”	

3.3.4 – 4: Value attributions to Bab al-Bahrain building				
		documentary value	symbolic or use value	colonial heritage
Western	3ab	The German archaeologist acknowledges that she is not aware of the potential documentary value for lack of related historic knowledge . Author: “But don’t you think that it is still an important part of the history? Like, the modernization in the 40s and the European influence, which is also the beginning of the oil era and all those changes?” I 3b: “Yeah, probably. But then I have to admit, I don’t know much about this history. ”	She hints to the value of the building as a tourist attraction and associates it with the Gate of India: “[...] the entrance to the city somehow. I mean it was located at the shore , so, like the Gate of India in Bombay, kind of.”	She attributes little historic value to the colonial building. “It is not something a Bahraini would be proud of , I assume. [...] It would be interesting to see what Bahraini people actually think about this part [of the local heritage].”
	13b		For the Serbian-British expatriate Bab al-Bahrain building is foremost “ a symbol of the gate, an entrance to a place ” but also a heritage asset as a historic government building . Asked if she considers it a historic building : “Maybe yes, because it had a specific function and it was built for the purpose of being a governmental building – in that sense a historic building. More about the functionality than about the architecture. ”	The expatriate attributes rather little value as colonial testimony to the Bab al-Bahrain building.
	14a		The American archaeologist makes no clear value judgement for lack of background knowledge but points to the former function as “ gate to the Suq ” and seaside location .	
	19		The interviewee attributes foremost emotional value . “I am not sure that it had great architectural merit, this one, I think it is more of sentimental reasons that people would run to it. ”	Although the British expatriate does not argue for the preservation of Bab al-Bahrain building for lack of architectural merit, he regrets that Belgrave is not commemorated in Bahrain. He considers Bab al-Bahrain impaired as testimony to Belgrave’s merits: “I mean anybody who is around for 30 years essentially, must have been doing a useful job or he would have been forced to leave. And for them to just forget, intentionally forget, all what he had done for

3.3.4 – 4: Value attributions to Bab al-Bahrain building					
			documentary value	symbolic or use value	colonial heritage
					Bahrain ... Essentially, he set up the government. The ministries." Author: "And this is the architectural testimony to that." 19: "Well, that is true. Except it is not. Because it is different. There we go."

3.3.4 – 5: Value attributions to the site's other buildings and spaces						
Architects	Eastern	16a	attributes historical value to the site and its historic buildings but considers it impaired with the interventions. Argues for the evolution of the old town while preserving the historic testimony unchanged where possible. referring to the historic centre and market of Manama: "And usually, because I am an architect, I like to go through these old places to discover. For me it was like Khan Khalili in Egypt, something like that. " values the original design of the Customs House			
		17a	attributes some historic value to the northern section of Bab al-Bahrain Avenue as a continuation of the gate building and the suq : "It's the beginning of the suq and maybe in that sense it is a historical site maybe." considers the Customs House with the screen façade prior to the restoration evidence of the 1970s and 80s: "70s yes. Or maybe it was built before, but if you look at the songs of the 80s, the video clips they all have these buildings. Even the car park. Everything which is here. So, I think it shows the spirit of the 80s. " Old Police Station and Post Office "I like it. But they have changed it." points to the vernacular building in the vicinity as a heritage asset			
		21a	considers the site a historic place of colonial origin that has significantly changed and attributes main value as main market where people interact			
		49	considers Bab al Bahrain area "an important and very significant place for Bahraini citizens and its residents alike, socially economically culturally and politically "			
		22	points to the commercial character and economic value of the site			
	East-western	32	attributes documentary value to the historic buildings, particularly in substance but also attaches emotional value the site as a memory marker of the former port area			
		33b	attributes value to the site for its historic, colonial-style buildings : "They were the start of a new style that caused the disruption to the traditional architecture used. That is one way of putting it. [...] Or, it could be, it is the first modern building here and the move towards modernism. Which fitted the change of life style that was happening during that period, I think." Attributes scientific value and value of rarity to the colonial-style buildings for the architectural period they represent: "[...] that again, would still be a very interesting period. We don't have a lot of hybrid buildings. " For him the mall building, like the site and the entire Suq , "definitely" has associative historic significance : "I mean there are pictures of major historical events that took place here. So, it is a very important place to preserve. If it is not for the building, for the events that took place in the building, I am sure. "			
		20	[translated from German] considers the site valuable but impaired as testimony of the 1940s and as a " significant layer of time "			
	Non-architects	Eastern	4b	considers the area historic due to the traditional style of the refurbished elements and some preserved historic buildings in the wider surroundings; uncertain whether to consider buildings from the 40s and 50s historic, but does consider them old values the Post Office and Police Station as a typical Bahraini building		
			15a	attributes value of rarity to the Post Office and Police Station as a historic building : "Yes, in Bahrain we don't have much old buildings. [...] I like to keep those buildings still standing because they demolished so many of them."		
18a			attributes value to the site as town centre and commercial site			
38			one of the senior gentlemen points to the tourist value of the site , particularly the new mall			

3.3.4 – 5: Value attributions to the site’s other buildings and spaces		
East-western	39	considers the entire market area very old and of high tourist value : “ Area good , yanni. How many people coming to Bab al-Bahrain... Famous palace . So many people coming here, visitor. Inside there is the Gold suq . Everything... very old suq .”
	40	the senior taxi drivers consider the area the “ centre ” and “ old market ” “all this for government” [built by the government]
	41	likes the area because of the good prices for sales products
	8b	<p>state representativeness and entrance symbolism of the site: “This whole place is about the identity of the country.” Bab al-Bahrain Avenue: “The purpose is the visitor’s first impression of Bahrain. That is the purpose it should serve at all times.” “I think as continuation of Bab al-Bahrain, this has to be a powerful looking alley.” “And its real historical value is in giving that sort of powerful feel, [...]” attributes documentary value to the Post Office and Police Station for reflecting the very early post-oil discovery era and associates the area to the past and present strive for international recognition as a modern state after the discovery of oil but prior to the oil boom: “I mean the historical building is significant also. It’s like the modern state before the ... well it was after the discovery of oil, but they didn’t realize what the discovery of oil means. So, it was just at the very beginning. And it’s purely coincidental that this area was built in this particular time, we are talking about a 10 years period here, or 15 years. They weren’t rich, there was still a pearling economy and a trading economy. But they wanted to try and show that they are on the way to becoming a modern state. Which is actually very similar to what the MoC is doing now. They are not restoring for the sake of the Bahrainis as much as they are restoring for the sake of international recognition. So, in a way it’s the same thing. [...] But this was the exact same purpose they built this. [...] Let’s say they would have waited 20 years, until the 60s ... then all of this would be built with oil money and not with merchant taxes. And it would have looked very different and much more grander and bigger than people like Charles Belgrave. And that’s why you have the Diplomatic Area built in the 60s. you have massive... So, with whatever they had at the time they tried to make a powerful state statement. And it worked and it still works today. And in a way I am glad that they didn’t built something more expensive than in New York or so. Because that is what the country really is. The country is a pearling economy – a simple country of families and people who know each other and have traditions. It’s not a modern nation. Bahrain is not a modern nation. No matter what they say. We are modern! No, you are not. You are a very old country. And so, the idea of making something to make it look like a modern nation, it’s cute. It’s been done. It’s been done in a nice way. So, let’s keep it that way.” points to the testimony to different architectural and historical periods at the site when discussing the screen façade in Bab al-Bahrain Avenue: “You see elements of Bahrain’s modern history here, a bit of 60s a bit of 90s. Some of the better stuff that come up in the 80s.” points to the value of the corner building of the 1980s of Al Khalifa Avenue and Bab al-Bahrain with the shop “Bahrain Optician”, later renamed “Optica” (fig. 3.2.1 -71 and 104) which is covered by the screen façade at ground floor for its architecture and as testimony to the traditional local company. attributes high documentary value to the Customs House when he learns about its perseverance: “And that changes everything! I mean, I thought, - and that is very subjective as well – I thought that they should somehow preserve this as a testimony to the crappy architecture of the 70s. But I didn’t know that if you remove the façade, you can have the building complement that [Bab al-Bahrain]. So, it changes the value. Or maybe you can combine both in some genius move. Half of it that, half of it that. Maybe you should do this. [...] Make it half Bab al-Bahrain, half oil-money crap. This is oil-money crap. That’s what it is. It’s part of history. I think the good and the bad should be preserved in a way, it’s all part of who we are.”</p>
	10a	focus on commercial function : “The alley way for me in my life has always been the suq, like the shops.”
	12b	<p>seems to see the core value of the site in its function as a public space: “Look how people gather here!” (12b) points to the vernacular building in the vicinity: “This is something you can work with. Something to improve - definitely structurally it has to be assessed. It has a lot of potential.” points to the Custom House as an example of the 1970s buildings in the neighbourhood, which he likes: “I love the architecture – I think they are from the 70s – the Sheraton, the parking here...”</p>

3.3.4 – 5: Value attributions to the site’s other buildings and spaces	
Western	the facades. There are quite few. They spread nicely, concrete, but the details of the facades , I think they blend very well with the surroundings. [...] Even the Regency Hotel, it was like this. But now they put this glass cladding on it. [...] [pointing to the former Customs House with the added screen façade] This architecture. This is what I am talking about. They add elements which are different. This is the post office.” (12b)
	46 Values the site [in its state in 2012 prior to the simplification works by the MoC] for being a humble place that communicates local, Bahraini culture and because she considers it a socially interactive, commercial space ; associates a feeling of home with it
	3a discussing the site prior to the site visit: “Well, it used to be a historic place. But if I remember right it’s not conserved [...].” Considers the site lost historicity for being “reconstructed” . Considers the urban and architectural aesthetics more important than the heritage of the site. Attributes little value to the site as colonial heritage . “It is the least important. It is not something a Bahraini would be proud of, I assume.” considers the site a touristic area
	14a attributes value to the site as a historic tourist’s site with a “historic feel” considers the site “maybe a historic place” which gives her a feeling of traditional Arabic market and which includes references to earlier historical periods (points to the gates of the mall building) and tourist site: “This is the main tourist area . I really wonder how many tourists come here because the rest of the area can look pretty daunting.”
	19 attributes some value to the Post Office and Police Station as testimony to the history of the postal services of Bahrain . “The old Post office, where we met, that I believe is the original post office from years ago. [...] And the post office goes back to about 1876.” points to the vernacular building in the vicinity: „That thing I would like to preserve particularly. Pretty grotty. That’s an old building which may have been resigned.“

3.3.4 – 6: Evaluations of Bab al-Bahrain building’s refurbishment in 2012/13	
appreciation of the design	
Architects	Eastern
	16a appreciates the proportions and aesthetics of the new design , despite disapproving of the deviations from the original design; prefers the less changed southern elevation
	17a comparing to the 80s design he prefers the new design: “I didn’t see the original picture of it. If I saw it, maybe they tried to restore it, how it looked before . So, I think it is an improvement .” comparing to the original he prefers the new design, despite wishing to have the original look maintained: “But if it was built this way at the beginning, I would like this more [the new look]. It has more to do with the traditional architecture of Bahrain . More than this one [the original one].” prefers the southern elevation
	33 b considers the newest façade design nice but unfortunately not a conservation project “To be honest, I think this building looks better than the original .”
Non-architects	Eastern
	6 prefers his own design of the gate from 2012/13 over the two previous designs for being “more institutional” : “This building here [80ies version] is ugly. This building [original] is also ugly in my opinion. There is nothing beautiful about this building.”
	4b prefers the new design of the gate to the original for being more Bahraini
	11a comparing to the 80s design : “They made it more beautiful ”
	15a comparing to the 80s design “I like the new one more. Because it is more traditional . It looks more Bahraini than before. Before it was just a building with a gate in it. Now that they added wooden windows it feels more old . Plus, the huge crest in the middle represents Bahrain even more.” comparing to the original design (northern elevation): “ It was ugly! It feels like a school or a policy station! It was a very governmental building. I think it looks much better now . [...] I like the open space in the middle . [...]”
	18a “It’s nice.”
38 the senior pharmacist likes the current design best for being „ very high and wide . Before it was smaller.“	
41 considers the gate improved particularly for its “white colour” and the “design, nice to look”	

3.3.4 – 6: Evaluations of Bab al-Bahrain building’s refurbishment in 2012/13		
		8b “And it always served its purpose and it continues to serve its purpose. Like it’s architectural brilliance . [...]”
		10a find the new design “ more appealing to the eye, more attractive ”
		12b appreciates both facades of the gate, but personally prefers the less changed southern façade “I like it the way it is now. It is a beautiful building . It has a welcoming feel entering .”
	Western	3a b prefers the new design of the gate to the “unpleasant” original one: “Comparing the new and the old building, I am actually happy about the new building. Because the old building is rather... prisonish.” likes the added pedestrian passages
		13b “I think it looks fine like this ” “sort of more grand ”
disapproval of the design		
Architects		21a “Looking at the architecture you should know from where that building is. This is standard colonial architecture. It could be anywhere in the world. [...] It doesn’t show the character of the land.”
		14a “It is not the most aesthetically pleasing . [...] kind of heavy”
preference of the original 1949 design		
Non-architects	Eastern	11a considers the original design was more stunning and welcoming ; likes the openness , the welcoming ambient , the balconies and the wide windows .
		18a likes the original design better
		12b “Which one I prefer? I think I will go for the 40s one. ” “It’s a beautiful building . And I love the balconies . Which are not existing anymore. And I love the windows .” “The centre – I prefer the old arch .”
		14a considers the original design lighter, due to the wider windows 19 comparing to the new design: “I thought it was quite nice as it was, really. ”
preference of the 1980s design		
Architects		21a prefers the design of the 1980s, which he contributed to, to the new and the original designs: “I feel what we had done was better. [...] This has some character and it goes with the local character .”
Non-architects	Western	19 aesthetically prefers the 80s version to the original design and the recent refurbishment “ I must say I quite liked the 80s one. ”
		14a “It looked nicer three years ago than before and currently. [...] Because this looks more traditional, more Arabic let’s say.”
appreciation of heritage features		
Architects	Eastern	16c preserved staircase and the carved gypsum panels in southern elevation “I don’t know how old are the handrail screens, but they look nice. [...] I am not sure if they are old or what, but I like them.”; historic photos in the pedestrian passages
		17a handrail of the staircase
		20 historic photos in the pedestrian passages
		11a wooden ceiling in the passages “At least you can feel this is heritage.” archaeological windows as a memory marker likes the “ very old fashion ” of the building’s design

3.3.4 – 6: Evaluations of Bab al-Bahrain building’s refurbishment in 2012/13		
East-western	15a	traditional wooden windows; code of arms; historic photos of Manama; archaeological windows when understanding they are not merely decorative: “Oh, now I appreciate it way more! It has a meaning to it.”
	8b	code of arms; archaeological windows as a memory marker of the building’s original construction materials and techniques Author: “So what do you think about the window showing the coral stone or sea stone?” 8b: “I think it is a good idea. It’s a brilliant idea. You know exactly what this window means and I think it’s important. There is another one over there, right? It’s really cool.”
	9c	appreciates the archaeological windows as an educational means indicating the historicity of the building
	10a	archaeological windows
	3a	windows in traditional style
	14a	“But it does look like a traditional gate to an old part of the city, the suq.”
other reasons for appreciation		
Non-architects	11a	improving the structural integrity: “Now it is more strong , the building.”
	39	improving the building as a tourist attraction
	8b	appreciates the new design for maintaining the buildings essence and function : “They combined traditional architecture into a modern monument, so the result is a bit strange . But the fact that it is a monument overpowers any traditional architecture you see in it.”
	3a	appreciates the new design for having made the building more attractive for visitors and tourists , as she considered the original design “unpleasant. Which would probably not appeal many visitors to enter the site and do their shopping there. Specially tourists.”
	13b	appreciates the refurbishment for maintaining the function : “I mean it serves the same purpose, doesn’t it?”
disapproval for authenticity reasons		
Architects Eastern	16a	aesthetically prefers the new design but disapproves of the falsification of history by removing historic testimony including evidence of the British and modernist influences : “Yanni, this building [the new design] is really nice, the proportion and everything. But it is not the real building [the original]. [...] So we did not preserve this era, or this... We did not preserve it, we just tried to force it back, to be like an old traditional... because we want to say that this is our heritage. But this [the colonial and modernist influences] is part of it, because this happened. ” “I believe, yes, we twisted the building to look as if it is really old, or related to the old Bahraini tradition. And we skipped the idea, or the concept that the old building was part of this tradition. Even if it looked modern, or... but it has history inside it. So, we should have preserved this history as it is. And what I usually say when you want to develop a city or an urban place or whatever, it has to be evolving. There is no problem to have a very modern building beside the historic one because it means that it is growing and evolving and ...what do we say... going ahead with time. But if we try to capture the moment and come back and fix it again, I feel, at the end we might end up like, you know, Disneyland. Or that we are just capturing a very old moment in an artificial way. So, the city won’t evolve. It will be like a picture of an old city. But what is done concerning architecture and proportion I think it is really looking very nice. But if I compare it to the past, I feel that we just dressed the building a new dress. ” “ We disguise it 1900 instead of 1950. Something like that.”
	17a	disapproves of the design changes despite preferring the new design aesthetically “ I would always go back to the original one. [...] Because it is the identity of the building. We should not change it. Or at least, this is the look of the real building. It should not be changed. ”; disapproves of the repeated changes to the gate : “Why do they keep on changing? I don’t get the point.”
	21a	Considers the new design an artificial imaginary reconstruction . “See, things grow. Something better comes, you improve something. It should grow. You should respect someone’s work and not go back to what was there before. Again it is an artificial thing. ” “ It is not like this even [the original]! Again someone’s imagination. ”

3.3.4 – 6: Evaluations of Bab al-Bahrain building’s refurbishment in 2012/13		
		considers the new design more colonial
	30 b	disapproves of the changes to the original design, particularly of the 1980s refurbishment because for changing the authenticity of the colonial building.
	49	Criticizes the recent refurbishment for “it’s not up to criteria and standards of conservation [...] I fear it send wrong message. ” disapproves of closing Bab al-Bahrain for ingoing traffic to the suq: the no-entry sign does not comply with the symbolic value of the gate as an “entrance”
East-western	7	7c: criticizes that initially “there were no attempts to show the original features of the building ” as well as plans for interventions and additions that would have also been structurally harmful to the “original elements” ; although he criticizes that his recommendations as conservation consultant were not sufficiently taken on board, he considers that the final interventions were “more sensible than the first concept”.
	23	criticizes that the building was “ Europeanized ” and lost some of the “hybrid feel” ; criticizes that the original design elements were not reconstructed
	32	criticizes the refurbishment for the lack of preparatory research and investigations and for being carried out “from a designer’s perspective” rather than from a conservation perspective: “ a new image from a designer’s mind is being forced on the public ” “They wanted to impose their image without any historic study. It’s a new project. ”
	33 b	disapproves of the building having been subjected to a third upgrade and have a personal vision imposed on it rather than restoration/ conservation. “Well, this [the new design] is nice but it is not what is here in front of us [historic photo of the original gate]. [...] It looks nice but it is not what it was before. So, it is not a conservation project then. It is an upgrade project. ” Suggests that monuments of historic significance should persist fashion and personal taste and be preserved in their original state: “Since this is the MoC’s project and the whole concept was to remove the additional elements which were imposed to it in the 80s restoration, at least bring it to what it was or keep the ... Why do a new upgrade now? [...] We set now a precedence. Anyone can come and have a different vision and upgrade it to whatever suits his personal taste at the time. [...]”
	20	disapproves of the building having been modified and the historic testimony of the 1940s impaired
	11	11a: generally approved of the refurbishment but considers that the original design “feels more like this is it.”
		other reasons for disapproval
Architects Eastern	21	criticizes the lack of respect for the design of the 1980s , which he had collaborated in, as a work of a sovereign architect: “There was no need for changing it.”
	49	would have preferred if the money for the refurbishment had been spend on small-scale interventions throughout the market area in order to safeguard historic assets “facing the threat of distinction”
	14a	would have preferred to have the original design maintained for aesthetic reasons
		wish for reconstruction of historic features
Architects East-western	17a	original architectural features “If they were able to show this [the post office and police station] as it looked before, why didn’t they do the same with the gate?”
	7	tried promoting the reconstruction of the balconies in the refurbishment process
	23	original architectural features
	32	future restoration of the original state on the basis of the surviving fabric: “Still the building is there. Thanks god. We can restore it in the future. ”
	33 b	“Whether we should have rebuilt it back to what it was , I think we should have.”

3.3.4 – 6: Evaluations of Bab al-Bahrain building’s refurbishment in 2012/13		
Non-architects	11a	would prefer the original appearance of the building had been reestablished
	10a	“Well, I like the balconies . Maybe they should have left those.”
	12b	“I like wide windows. And I would keep the balconies although I don’t know how much you can use them.”
	13	13b: Asked if she would prefer to have the original design restored: “ I don’t think it makes a huge difference. I think it looks fine like this. I mean it serves the same purpose, doesn’t it? ”

3.3.4 – 7: Evaluations of the other interventions at the site			
		appreciation	
Architects	Eastern	16a	from memory after quick visit months ago she expresses her appreciation of the refurbishment of Bab al-Bahrain Avenue : “My first impression when I saw the stuff apart from being an architect, fine, it looks nice concerning that it is clean, nice, tidy and that stuff.” appreciates the shading of the Avenue for its climatic effect “But what is really positive is the shading. Functional wise.” the mall building : the creation of a large indoor space in the historic market area and the use for cultural events and art exhibitions “The idea is nice. But, again, this is really not real. It is not real.” Post Office and Police Station (visiting the interior): “I like that this building was almost preserved as it is.” appreciates the continuity of use with the police station, would appreciate if the Post Office to be reactivated as such likes the original design of the Customs House approves of the removal of the screen façade from the Customs House : “I was going to tell you, they should remove the façade!”
		17a	sees a functional benefit in the new mall „The building itself, I don’t see something special from inside about it . I don’t hate it either. But it looks fine to me . And I think, there is something good in it . We needed a break from the hot summer weather, you need something air-conditioned and yet still have the spirit which we have outside . So, that is there with the corridors overlooking the main hall. But, still, it can be done in a better way, I think, design-wise. ”
		49	[email] appreciates the intervention of the MoC in the development of the area with both the preservation of historic fabric, the support of traditional local vendors and the promotion of the area and its heritage for public events use and cultural activities : “we lucky that had her excellency Shaikha Mai to save Police and Post Office buildings and the Customs building currently undergone conservation” “al-Thaqhafa under Sh Mai redesign the interior spaces of the mall, assist to re-establishing old popular vendors and introduced cultural activities and events through the year.”
		22	appreciates that the screen façade and street shading brought back the authentic scale to Bab al-Bahrain Avenue and in concealing unattractive fabric
		32	appreciates the restoration of the Custom House , which had started at the time of the interview
		33	appreciates the doors of the shops in Bab al-Bahrain Avenue for being wooden “not plastic”
	Western	20	finds the refurbished section of Bab al-Bahrain Avenue spatially convincing considers that the textile street shading to adds to the quality of space despite criticism of the screen façade in the Avenue he commends the fact that it is identifiable as such
		4b c	Overall appreciates the interventions at the site : “Yes, I like it. It is better than nothing. ” appreciates the street shading for its climatic effect , as it allows shopping in the Avenue in summer appreciates the creation of a traditional mall : „I have seen a lot of new malls, and it’s time to see this old one here.“ appreciates the facsimile reconstruction of the Government Shops and Offices if the original building could not be kept: „It’s good to rebuilt the same - almost the same. So, people will know there was something here.” considers the facade design of the shops in Bab al-Bahrain Avenue as Bahraini style and appropriate for tourists considers the screen façade a good means to revive the area in a traditional way

3.3.4 – 7: Evaluations of the other interventions at the site

Non-architects Eastern		<p>appreciates the refurbishment of Bab al-Bahrain Avenue in traditional style/ architectural revivalism as a form of preserving heritage and cultural memory: “The style is traditional but the building is new.” Author: “What do you think about that?” 4c: “I like it. Because if they just keep it, then it will fall or nobody will ask about it. But if they renew it, it will stay. At least in the minds of kids.”</p> <p>“But I like this idea to just copy things from the past and then bring them alive again. But I have a different feeling. When I come across Qaisariya Suq I feel I am proud of my ancestors, or whatever. But now [at Bab al-Bahrain], I don’t have this feeling.”</p>
	11 a	<p>overall, she likes the interventions in Bab al-Bahrain and appreciates that <u>the site</u> has been modernized</p> <p>seems impressed with the design and ambience of the mall building, which she had not visited before: “It’s nice. Very unique, no? The ambience. The ceiling is modern. It was not like that before, no? But see the style? They try to keep it heritage. Very unique design.” She particularly likes the modern roof.</p> <p>appreciates the approach taken in the Post Office and Police Station for the fewer changes: „For me, as heritage it is better to have this, the old one.”</p>
	15 a	<p>at the beginning of the interview, he expresses his appreciation of the interventions at the site but towards the end of the interview he is less enthusiastic and criticizes the loss of the Government Shops and Offices:</p> <p>appreciates Bab al-Bahrain Avenue:</p> <p>the shading for its climatic benefit and the pedestrianisation</p> <p>finds the alley much more comfortable to walk than before „and people do walk“</p> <p>appreciates the white facade colour of the buildings for its climatic benefit, the wooden doors for the aesthetically pleasing contrast</p> <p>appreciates the site’s colour scheme, the shading and the traditional lamps suspended from the ceiling: “They went for white which is a cooler colour, so it makes the place cooler than darker colours. The doors they went for wooden colours. Which gives a break of colour, that’s nice. The old lights are a nice touch. And they covered the ceiling with white mats. So, it feels like Aladdin. But the same technique is still used in Bahrain. If you go to the old markets, they cover it with white sheets.”</p> <p>appreciates the standardized shop advertisements which he considers an improvement from the previous uncoordinated billboards and other street clutter such as parking meters</p> <p>appreciates the traditional feel in combination with modern comfort (like air conditioning), the Bahraini character (e.g. due to the kind of shops and restaurants)</p> <p>„I like that they kept the same shops. I remember Yacobi, [enumerating further names]. Those are very old shops in this exact street. But what they sell I don’t think is needed today. Like Mahroos building material, it will be much more practical for cars and trucks to go to Sitra. But I think he is keeping the shop for the sentimental value more than for selling stuff.”</p> <p>traditional ice cream shop in the mall: “I appreciate they brought [ice-cream shop] back, since 1920s, that is a very nice touch. [...] They closed I think in 95. It is a good thing the ministry brought it back. It is a Bahraini brand. And it’s good to take care of it.”</p> <p>appreciates the screen façade for its aesthetic effect: “The façade gives a really nice touch” and he considers it cost-effective</p> <p>likes the mall building: Author: “When you come to this place, do you feel it is a historic place?” 15a: “Aside from the Bab I don’t feel this is historic, but I really like it, because it applies the same concept. It still has the touch of the past but in a modern touch – like air-conditioning. And the shops inside they all represent Bahrain, most of them. There is nothing like international franchises. Even the restaurants are all Bahraini, most of them are. I like it. I generally really like it. If I have some tourist coming to Bahrain I probably bring them here.” Author: “Is this Bahraini for you?” 15a: “Yes.”</p> <p>shops in the mall: “There are some old shops in here, some gold makers, Indian. They have been here for a very long time.”</p> <p>appreciates that the mall building has been reconstructed as a copy of the Government Shops (towards the end of the interview he revises that opinion and criticizes the demolition)</p> <p>likes the added portals of the mall building, which he considers Islamic features: “I think they are nice. Yanni, nice. But I wished they added more color to it. Because it is all white. You cannot see the design very well.”</p>

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	<p>appreciates the mall for being contemporary while mixing old and new, for its traditional Bahraini architectural elements, the local shops and the restaurants selling authentic Bahraini food, as well as the quietness</p> <p>appreciates the southern elevation of the mall and the interior of the mall: “It looks better than a modern mall. I prefer the old looks, the traditional look of a building, specially in a place where it is a bit touristy, I really like the idea. And it is mixing old and new. Actually, it is a very nice touch. Especially when you are in the mall, half of it is glass,...” Author: “Does the traditional design make you feel that this part is old?” 15a: “No, I know it is not old. You can easily spot that it is not old. I really like the effort and the thought that makes this place look like this. And even, I think, they implemented rules how to design your exterior banner. You cannot do any colour. Which made it very standardized and very nice.”</p> <p>appreciates the structural upgrade (new foundations) of the Police Station and Post Office ensuring the longevity of the building</p> <p>positively surprised when learning the original Post Office and Police station is preserved: “It is still the same building! It’s exactly the same. I like this! But I don’t know, is it an effective Police station or just a demo?” (the use matters); appreciates the preservation of the building, as not many historic buildings are preserved in Bahrain.</p> <p>E: So, you like the fact that it is still the same?</p> <p>A: Yes, in Bahrain we don’t have much old buildings. [...] I like to keep those buildings still standing because they demolished so many of them.</p>
18 a	<p>likes the shops at the site</p> <p>appreciates the screen façade in the Avenue “I like it.”</p> <p>comparing the mall building to the historic photograph of the Avenue, she prefers the current state for its “nice design”</p> <p>particularly likes the southern facade of the mall building “It’s nice.”</p> <p>enthusiastic about the interior of the mall building “Really nice.” Wants to bring her friends to the coffee shop there.</p>
38	<p>when one of the gentlemen points to the need for additional public sanitary facilities another points to the new ones inside the mall building: “There is one in this new building behind [the mall]. You walk in, there is a bathroom.”</p> <p>appreciation of the plan to restore the Customs House: Author: “What do you think about them changing the building back again?” 38-1: “They are renewing, not changing.” 38-2: “They are renovating now to keep it as it was before.” Author: “Do you think that is good?” 38-1: “Yes.”</p> <p>the new mall building is very appreciated by the senior gentlemen and consider it better than the previous Government shops: Author: “How do you like the new building? [the mall]” 38-1: “It is very good. Because coming people, Bahraini and foreigner. Always full. When you walk, no chair to sit.” 38 -2,3: “Yes!” 38-1: “If they make two, three like this, it is still good for Bahrain.” Author: “And what was there before?” 38-1: “Before it was shops. Old one. Government.” Author: “Nice or not?” 38-1: “It was good, but not that much. Government change it to this. Now, it is very nice. All the people going there for food or drink or anything. Very clean. Service is very nice. And prize is not expensive. People come. Always full. I hope if they can make two, three like that. Good for foreigner, when they come to Bahrain.”</p>
41	<p>Author: “So how do you like Bab al-Bahrain Avenue?” 41: “It is good. Something you want to buy you will find it in different place. If you get it for 10 dinar there, you will get it for 5 dinar here. That’s why I say it is good.”</p>
8b	<p>appreciates the restoration approach at the site: considers it successful “whether intentionally or unintentionally” in maintaining the site’s monumental symbolism and thereby the value of the site</p> <p>„For this particular place, you just preserve the elements of architecture, maybe add some.” “I mean, you are showing something from the 40s. It is really not that worthwhile.”</p> <p>however, thinks that the main purpose of the urban refurbishment is for national branding purposes rather than for improving living conditions and criticizes that: “They are not restoring for the sake of the Bahrainis as much as they are restoring for the sake of international recognition.”</p> <p>appreciates the refurbishment of Bab al-Bahrain Avenue for the powerful first impression it gives to visitors, despite evoking associations of a medieval Arab town, approves of the use of new construction material as long as the main architectural gesture is preserved (statement of</p>

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East-western	<p>power): “But I think, I am not quite sure, everything here was between the 30s and 40s, 50s. It’s fairly modern. So, I guess if you choose to renovate it, it will look more modern than it already is, relative to stuff in Muharraq. I think as continuation of Bab al-Bahrain, this has to be a powerful looking alley. And its real historical value is in giving that sort of powerful feel, even if it is a medieval powerful feel. So, if the solution is to have it all made of modern materials, then ok. I think the little Ramadan lights are a bit tacky. They serve no function or purpose whatsoever. They just look tacky. But other than that, I think it is nice.”</p> <p>appreciates the addition of architectural features like palatial gates as entrances to the mall building: “I think it’s fine. It’s a powerful and nice gate. I mean this whole area I feel different about it than Muahrraq.” Author: “In which sense?” 8b: “But I am talking only about the gate and this Alley. Because, as I said, it serves a purpose. The purpose is the visitor’s first impression of Bahrain. That is the purpose it should serve at all times.” Author: “What is the impression they now get, when they enter? What do you think?” 8b: “The same thing. You are walking down a medieval alley which is the centre of town. Once you get to this point [beginning of the historic Manama suq], then the idea of restoration should be a bit different.” Author: “Why?”</p> <p>8b: “Because you are in the networks of the suq. There is something old worth preserving the way it is, more like adding new materials. But here, the idea is power. And I think it should stay this way. And power can be defined in many ways. There is for example a value in architecture. Like, nothing is symmetric along this wall. There are many different types of elements, there is this balcony, there is this wood, there is that gate. I think it is nice to combine them all into one powerful space. And it has to retain this power. That is more important than retaining materials. And again, it’s 50 years old. It’s not something that is so old.” Author: “60 if it was 40s.” 8b: “Oh, ya, 60. By middle eastern standards it’s nothing.”</p> <p>approves to the screen façade and the textile street shading for hiding the 70s buildings which he does not appreciate, although he criticizes the loss of sojourn quality in the interior of the buildings behind</p> <p>appreciates the design contrast of the traditionalist screen façade and the facade of the corner building of the 1980s at Al Khalifa Avenue: “I think it is a nice contrast. It’s strange and its nice. It works. [...] It’s like they were built together, but they were not obviously. I think this building is nice and it doesn’t lessen the value. And it still shows the idea of the modern state. You see elements of Bahrain’s modern history here, a bit of 60s a bit of 90s. Some of the better stuff that come up in the 80s. Because the 70s were just crap, you can totally forget about that. So, ya, I think it is nice. I think they went about this the right way.”</p> <p>appreciates the mall building (exterior and interior) as a “powerful building” and “continuation of the gate and Avenue” including the recreation of traditional elements (patterns, woodwork, balconies, chandeliers) and the modern glass roof for letting in sunlight, which he considers part of the identity of the country: [upon entering the mall building] “I think it’s the same, it’s beautiful. It’s the continuation of...” “Ya, I like it a lot. I think they have done this the right way. Like I said, only limited to this area. It’s a powerful building.”</p> <p>Naseef Café in the mall as a local brand</p> <p>the conservation approach of the Post Office and Police Station: “I really think it’s nice. They did a good job on this.”</p>
<p>9c</p>	<p>asked how she likes Bab al-Bahrain Avenue: “I like it. It’s like a promenade. I mean in many cities there are promenades with different attractions.”</p> <p>appreciates the screen façade for creating the character of the promenade</p> <p>establishes a connection to the previously visited intervention in Suq al-Qaisariya because the same café brand is operated in both sites (Saffron): “I like it that Saffron is here as in Muharraq. So, again, I see that it has been thought through as a brand image. It links to each other.” brand recognition creates a feeling of familiarity</p> <p>“I found it very interesting to see the vintage shops there.”</p>
<p>10 a</p>	<p>appreciates the urban conservation of the site for preserving the “identity of the place” which evokes nostalgic feelings (refer to comparison of both sites): “I’m kind of happy with the idea, they resisted the extreme kind of change. Any other areas have altered.”</p> <p>asked to describe the Bab al-Bahrain Avenue: “We have this alley. It’s a nice walk, I would say, and it has a nice kind of traditional architecture with a nice gate at the end.”</p> <p>appreciates the mall building architecturally: „I am happy with the work they did, to be honest. Like, architecture-wise, I am satisfied with it.”</p>

3.3.4 – 7: Evaluations of the other interventions at the site

Western		appreciates the screen façade : „I think it blends well with the opposite side. [...] I think it is approvable. ”
	12 b	appreciates the Afghan jeweller and carpet seller in Bab al-Bahrain Avenue and suggests it would need more such type of shops to better cater for tourists the Police Station and Post Office : “Now, this building here I love . It has this ... Look at the details . The beams , the windows . The spread, the square, the finishing. Everything looks beautiful . It’s done with taste . The finishing looks beautiful and pretty interesting.” (12b)
	26	the shading of the Avenue for climatic reasons : “the shade of the suq now, even in the summer if you go now, you feel comfortable.”
	46	appreciates the design at the site for being humble and Bahraini
	3c	positively surprised when she identifies the Post Office and Police Station as the historic building as she had considered the entire site a reconstruction
	13 b	overall, rather approves of the refurbishment of the site
	14 a	appreciates the refurbished part of Bab al-Bahrain Avenue and the events organizes within but „I really enjoy coming into this part. Especially every month there is the Bab al-Bahrain, they have the music with that. This kind of reminds me of a suq of a medina. ”
	19	appreciates the refurbishment of the site for improving the space functionally and aesthetically and as heritage revivalism , although he does not consider it authentic at all: “ But given that most of the old houses are gone, I think, it is quite nice that they are now finally interested in what their heritage used to be, which they have actually destroyed . It is a pity that they destroyed it. But they did. Actually, they are trying their best to make up for it. ” considers the interventions at Bab al-Bahrain more a revamp than a restoration project and hence does not apply conservation ethics which he is aware of; however when discussing the sites authenticity he often laughs amused; comparing the site to creative reconstructions such as in the Suq of Dubai or Riffa Fort he points to the importance of faithful reconstructions and the legibility of historic and new elements ; however, he considers the case at Bab al-Bahrain different ; referring to creative reconstructions such as in Dubai Suq: “Well, it’s sometimes difficult to know whether they have reconstructed something to such an extent that it bears little relation to what might have been there before, whether it is sort of fantasy land that they have reconstructed. But if they have got pictures of what it looked like and they have managed to reconstruct it like that, I think that would be good, yes.” Author: “And even better, if the original building was there?” 19: “Clearly. I mean if it is falling into disrepair, they have got to do something about it. As they did at the Arad fort.” Author: “What about Riffa fort?” 19: “Yes, that had about two thirds of it which had disappeared completely. All the bit as you go in, to the left has been rebuilt. They now have got a museum there, have you been there?” Author: “This glass box.” 19: “That’s right. The bit on the right side I think is still pretty much what it used to be. [...] It was only restored in the 80s, I think. But again, who knows what it was like! It had all disappeared.” Author: “But you like what is there now?” 19: “Ahm, yes. But, you know, when something has completely disappeared, you don’t know whether it is really worthwhile doing anything. Unless they have got any pictures or anything to authenticate it . Maybe they did, maybe they didn’t.” Author: “So if it is fantasy land, you mind that?” 19: “It’s all rather artificial, isn’t it?” Author: “But you don’t feel like that about Bab al-Bahrain area?” 19: “ I think that is something else actually. They have not tried to preserve it as it was. You know, they have actually made it to look quite attractive . With all those lights and it wasn’t covered to start with. No, I think that has been quite successful. ” Bab al-Bahrain Avenue : appreciates e.g. the shop front designs , the fact that the avenue is covered (street shading) : “Well, you have to admit, it is attractive like this. If you were to rip out all of this, which you can see, you’d actually be left with the street as it was. Because all the shop frontage was left exactly as it was . [...] It has actually made it much more pleasant to walk along because it used to be a narrow street with cars, you had a very narrow pavement, and you had cars parked on either side . It was a one-way street and you just about get a car down the middle of them. Whereas now, that they have removed all that, it looks like a broad avenue , doesn’t it?” “You know, they have actually made it to look quite attractive . With all those lights and it wasn’t covered to start with. No, I think that has been quite successful. “

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		<p>appreciates that the shop names and owners remained the same. “Because you got this completely new façade. But I don’t see any new names. I think they kept everybody the same.” “I think that is good actually. It does preserve an element of the old.”</p> <p>appreciates the screen façade: “I think it is much more attractive than the old, yes.”</p> <p>appreciates the air-conditioned mall building “Because people are not going to come to the centre of Bahrain to an un-air-conditioned place when they can go to malls.”</p> <p>“Well, I think it is good, because it has obviously attracted people now. When they first opened it, it attracted people and they had a few little festivals in it. But then I was afraid that people had just forgotten about it, that it had for one reason or another not been successful. But it is nice to see that it is.”</p> <p>appreciates the reconstruction of the design of the Government Shops and Offices with the new mall building</p> <p>southern facade of the mall: likes the traditional stucco arches</p>
		<p>disapproval</p>
<p>Architects Eastern</p>	<p>16 a</p>	<p>considers both the indoor space of the mall building and the outdoor space of the Avenue “not real” and in that sense disapproves of both</p> <p>finds the refurbished section of Bab al-Bahrain Avenue visually pleasing but disapproves that it feels like a „moviemaking place“ that tries to capture an image from the past.</p> <p>criticizes that it is not easy to identify the historic elements: “But now, if I look to this, to the walkway or the market. It really looks nice, but I have to do research to figure out what is really old and what is new.”</p> <p>disapproves of the partially historicizing design of the interior space of the mall building both in terms of being fake and aesthetically unsuccessful “But I think architectural wise, we don’t need to use these old motives. It can be a just modern thing that fits the area.”</p> <p>architectural design of the southern elevation of the mall building: “The same problem as the structure inside [...]. Again, the idea itself, that I do something new but chose to make a part of it old and a part of it new, so it looks like you are making a contrast between what is the past and what is The whole issue is not in the right direction. It’s obvious.”</p> <p>disapproves of the demolition of the Government Shops and Offices, the decision to reconstruct and the manner in which the reconstruction as executed:</p> <p>“So, we actually took the decision to demolish it. So why did we rebuilt it again instead of any other stuff that will match nicely with the place and have a different vision? And we can say that we had a building one time here that was demolished for so and so. A million of ideas could be done. We could have kept the rhythm and do some totally different, modern stuff. Whatever it is. We can make a very simple cube. Specially that they needed to establish the art hub inside it. That could have been an influence to develop something really new.”</p> <p>disapproves of the screen façade which she calls “a facelift” as well as its historicizing features</p> <p>criticizes its effect on the spaces which now have obstructed windows</p> <p>Author: “If this building could have been saved, the Government Shops and Offices. Do you think it would have been worth it to preserve?” 16a: “Yes of course.” Author: “Why?”</p> <p>16a: “I think the architecture is real. It is of its time. And even if we succeeded to keep the façade and did a total renovation on the inside, it is worth it. The element is there, and it is authentic. The space is overwhelming, so you can do whatever you want behind, and the rhythm is very flexible. You can do whatever you want behind it. So, yes, it would have been worth saving, of course. Actually, it would have added to the value of the place, and it would have saved us the issue of the facelift project. Maybe if took another look at what is going on here [eastern side of the Avenue] - we might have ideas to develop it instead of just lifting. So still, we have this old street with some minimal intervention.”</p>
	<p>17 a</p>	<p>the refurbishment of Bab al-Bahrain Avenue and particularly the screen façade: “It’s a nice space when you walk around some traditional features. But then, when I knew the main idea about it, I did not like it.”</p> <p>17a: “The avenue? I don’t like it. I don’t like the avenue at all.” Author: “Why?” 17a: “Because it does not look the way that this suq looked before. If you see old pictures of it, it is totally different. They just copied elements from traditional architecture and they added a façade. I don’t agree at all with that.” Author: “Why?” 17a: “Because this fake façade in front of the original buildings, it’s covering the original building of the place. I don’t like it. [...] The proportions, the composition of elements, I like it. But as a separate design, not to be fit there.”</p>

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	<p>It does not fit in front of that building. And even the roof structure they have there, I don't see it very nice." Author: "Aesthetically, or...?" 17a: "Aesthetically and functionally. Because when they added it, they added some really huge structures which are supposed to carry something very heavy. But in the end, they added a tent. So, you don't need that much of structure to carry the tent."</p> <p>screen façade: "It is very wrong. [...] It is fake. Just one huge façade added in front of many buildings. Each one had its own texture, its own identity."</p> <p>also disapproves of the later changes to the screen façade; says, that the first version of the screen facade showed the buildings behind more clearly</p> <p>considers the removal of the Mashrabia [traditional balconies with trelliswork for privacy screens] design element from the screen facade a mistake, because "It's something very crucial in the cultural heritage, traditional in Bahrain" and because he believes it was used by the building behind it: "If it was not used it would be a fake element. It does not add anything." Nevertheless, he would rather not have had it removed from the screen facade. "I would still say no, not to remove it. If you have two mistakes, you can handle one more than the other..."</p> <p>façade of the mall building, disapproves of the fact that the facade design was imitated without the original function for example of its balconies; he considers it "very fake", however still better than the screen façade for making a reference to the previous Government Shops and Offices regrets that the shading tent covers the parapet detailing of the mall building not realizing that this detail had not been reconstructed</p> <p>disapproves of the discrepancy between the grand architectural gesture of the palatial gates on the mall building and the narrow entrances spaces one enters through them; thinks, the entrances to the building should have been emphasized differently: "As a design itself it is not bad. I like the design of it, the huge door, the gate. But when you go inside it does not reflect the outer look of it. When you go inside [...]it is just a box."</p> <p>disapproves of the design of the southern elevation of the mall building with its mix of elements "I think the designer or whoever was working on it, he just got bored when he reached here [laughing]."</p> <p>disapproves of the glass cladding that feigns a glass curtain façade and of the portal criticizes the poor integration of the interior of the mall building with the exterior space for use by the restaurants</p> <p>criticizes architectural elements that are merely decorative: "Even columns, I don't think they have any function. It is just design. It is just decorative columns."</p> <p>regrets the loss of the ensemble character: would wish the common architectural language of Bab al-Bahrain building and the Post Office and Police Station was preserved/ restored "If they were able to show this [the post office and police station] as it looked before, why didn't they do the same with the gate?" However, he finds the two buildings to be still "talking to other" despite the differences in architectural language.</p>
21 a	<p>criticizes the refurbishment of Bab al-Bahrain Avenue and the mall building as very artificial</p> <p>"Things should develop" instead of being demolished and rebuilt, he thinks</p> <p>criticizes the design of the Avenue's refurbishment: "They are copying things! There is no evolution in things. It is copying! Fake plaster. Things should develop. Use modern technology! Develop your traditional architecture with the technology that you have!" Author: Even the forms or you keep the forms? 21a: "No, it is not putting an arch that makes it traditional."</p> <p>criticizes the screen façade as very artificial: "In Bab al-Bahrain what is done now, is very artificial." Author: "The whole thing?" 21a: "Yes, to promote it as what was there in the colonial days. It is lying." Author: "Did you notice, on this side [eastern] of the street, what is there now?" 21a: "Yes." Author: "What is there?" 21a: "Now, they put an artificially made façade. Behind are the modern buildings." Autor: "Most people don't know that." 21a: "I have seen that!"</p>
49	<p>[email] disapproves of the mall building: "This new Bab Bahrain Suq , the new mall at west side of Bahrain avenue was also another development that depart from the place spirit"</p> <p>regrets the loss of the Government Shops and Offices: "we lost some significant colonial; shops and offices were demolished to construct this mall"</p> <p>encourages "creative ideas" and installations in the public realm in order to "raise the discussion about the issue and promote the public awareness about and involvement in architectural conservation"</p>

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		points to the need for joint strategic planning by the different authorities with heritage preservation as an integral part for the physical and economic development of the area
East-western	23	<p>disapproves of the entire project for the results being not authentic and not truthful to the place, its history and its heritage</p> <p>considers the intervention in Bab al-Bahrain Avenue not authentic: “I think there was a ... Bab al-Bahrain is merely a way to recall a heritage, let’s say. To recall heritage in a way that pleases the popular imagination about what heritage was and what should be. Through the images, and collections and how people perceive the image of heritage. So, it gave an image of heritage without being truthful to the location or truthful to the history or the actual real heritage. The real architectural language. For me it was a really unprofessional way of giving the place an image. And the problem is, that it can be transposed anywhere. It is not specific. It makes a place which is actually very authentic in its use... - this is the place where the market was and where the post office was, this is a place where the authenticity of this life of the forefathers used to happen. And it makes it look like a place that could be anywhere else. Like a suq in City Centre has the same kind of architectural fake language.”</p> <p>criticizes the façade design of the mall building for not being related to the location and its actual history and use: “I am not so aware of the project, no. But they took the liberty to enhance in a way. Furthermore, if you take that non-professional, non-architectural site, for an architect it’s a total fail. Because it is a façade that does not express what is behind it.”</p> <p>points to the portals of the mall building for giving away the falsification. From the architectural language he doubts that is would be an exact reconstruction of a former building based on proper documentation, which would make the project less problematic in his eyes</p> <p>screen façade in the Avenue: “It negates actually architecture as we know it. It is totally non-authentic in the fact that it has no motive. I think what is authentic is what has a clear and genuine motive.” The motive of creating a traditional feel or image is something he considers an imposed motive. “It’s not a motive that comes from the site or from the people living there. This is how I understand architecture.”</p>
	32	<p>criticizes the loss of authentic historic buildings and their fabric and of the site’s historic feel and the “ugly, new high-rise buildings and additions”: “I cannot feel the history of the place. It is lost.”</p> <p>disapproves of the refurbishment of Bab al-Bahrain Avenue for its design with “pasted” and “fake traditional elements”</p> <p>disapproves of the demolition of the Government Shops and Office as well as of their facsimile reconstruction: “Haram! I would go back to 2010 to not demolish the building. Or I would build something totally new, a contemporary architectural reminder of the traditional architecture without just pasting elements.”</p>
	33 b	<p>disapproves of the façade design of the mall building for its fake character and the infusion of traditional elements and the way it is done: “But still it is not really executed very well. If it was maybe traditional plaster used, or traditional materials, so you still have the real material, not just concrete and shape it in a traditional style. Because, I think, to build in traditional style is not just the language.”</p> <p>southern façade of the mall building and its portal: does not mind the glass elements to be introduced but finds the execution “poor”. “There is not enough detailing in it.” Disapproves of the traditional design elements within the façade: “It is just elements superimposed, scaled up or down.” “I don’t think there is any relation to the historic building. And even the historic components, or the elements, they are almost cartoonist. Because they don’t follow any kind of dimension, that would have actually... I mean this arch is very big ... I don’t think I have ever seen in any traditional building an arch that big.” “It does not belong to the suq. It is usually in houses, in residential areas. [...] It is just superimposing incompatible elements and styles. “Just for visual impact ... and give some historic feeling?” “[...] it lacks the detail that those decorative elements require. And this is why I think it is like a cartoon. A caricature.” “It is just an Arabic house scaled up to fit here.”</p> <p>disapproves of the screen façade in the Avenue and – after the purifications by the Moc’s – criticizes the lack of reference to the preexisting fabric: “So for me, there was no point of having this part here. [...] I mean, if it was 70s, it wasn’t old before, why put it here? This I understand. There was an old structure, they wanted to reconstruct it, renew. But there, there was never an old structure. It was all 70s.” Author: “Well, look at the picture [historic picture of the Avenue].”</p>

3.3.4 – 7: Evaluations of the other interventions at the site

Western		<p>They kind of picked the sense of this up. Like the ...” 33: “No.” Author: “Actually, you are right, they have been removed. Originally, they had wooden elements, balconies and stuff. It was more traditional style as in this picture. With wooden elements. But then the MoC took them out two years ago to simplify the intervention.” 33: “It’s funny. Because now, what we are moving towards is preserving those 70s buildings and calling them transitional period. So, we are moving towards preserving them. And there is a bit of inconsistency, I might say.” would have preferred the Government Shops and Offices to be preserved, or rebuilt entirely new in contemporary design, if they could not be persevered, or if possible, to preserve the skin and redevelop the interior</p>
	06	<p>rather dislikes the intervention at the Avenue considers the intention to upgrade the site commercially in vain as it is actually predominantly frequented by migrant workers: “I don’t know. I think they should have just restored and cleaned up what was there. That is what I think. They should have just removed those AC units and leave it what it was. It’s all those Indian and Bengali people, because this is what it is. They are trying to make it to look like what it is not. It can never be like before. And they wish they can bring brands, but they will never be able to do that. No.”</p>
Non-architects Eastern	20	<p>[translated from German] finds the “pseudo-historic” design of Bab al-Bahrain Avenue and the “imaginary reconstruction” of the mall building “problematic for simulating older architectural styles which did not exist at the site in that way.” criticizes the design of the mall building’s facades and the screen façade for not being genuine but insinuating “historicity in a wider sense” criticizes the design of the southern façade of the mall building for the “odd” combination of the “white-plastered parts which pretend to be historic with the clearly contemporary glass-panelled parts, although both were built at the same time.”</p>
	4b	<p>disapproves of the mix of modern and traditional architecture in the mall building: “No, I mean, because they chose this area, Bab al-Bahrain area, and they are thinking of building something very traditional style, it should be completely traditional. Ok, they should have put some elevators, or escalators, but without this roof. Just like City Centre...” would prefer a complete traditional style refurbishment in the Bab al Bahrain area understands that structural state and budget limitations might justify the demolition of the Old Government Shops and Offices but would otherwise have preferred the original building to be kept „You will see some details here and there. So of course, I would prefer the old one!“ suggests the removal of the added screen facade of the Customs House so that people can identify it as a contemporary building to the gate criticizes the historic and new fabric cannot be easily identified at the site; considers the historical references of the historicing new buildings at Bab al-Bahrain might not be easily understood: “[...] if you ask anyone else, maybe he will say no, this is a new building in a new style, maybe he will not recognize that it is the same building – I mean that there was a similar building.” due to the dominance of South-East-Asian traders at the site she describes feelings of socio-cultural alienation and deprivation: “There are shops, maybe, but here [at Bab al-Bahrain] all of them are Indians, so you know, I prefer that one. At least I can see some of my... of the citizens there. But now it’s occupied by Indians, it’s not ours anymore.“ criticizes the lack of historical appeal: “But I have a different feeling. When I come across Qaisariya Suq I feel I am proud of my ancestors, or whatever. But now [at Bab al-Bahrain], I don’t have this feeling.”</p>
	11 a	<p>is not very convinced with the design of the southern facade of the mall building: „They tried to make a modern mall and to keep the traditional design also, they are mixed together with the original.” Does not like to have heritage style and modern style mixed. „It’s nice, but something missing. Maybe because I want modern modern and heritage heritage. Heritage and modern cannot be mixed. Heritage should be heritage and modern should be modern. It becomes ugly, because you can compare too much the new and the old.”</p>
	15 a	<p>After being informed about the background and history of the Government Shops and Offices he disapproves of the demolition: “[Laughing] I get it. They needed to build a mall, so something had to go down. Sadly. They could have removed this part [the eastern side of the Avenue].” Author: “They could have kept the facades, since they rebuilt it anyway, no?” 15a: “Yes. At least,</p>

3.3.4 – 7: Evaluations of the other interventions at the site

	<p>ya. Now I feel a bit sad for the building itself. Now that I know the story behind it, I even hate the mall.” Author: “Sorry about that.” 15a: “No, not that I hate it. But the concept of how they built it, they did not do their best. I really appreciate when somebody does his best to preserve something. If it has to be removed, then it has to be removed.”</p> <p>At the end of the interview he concludes, that after all, he is “not very happy that they ruined a very nice building.” Thinks they should have maintained it or at least maintained the historic facade. “We paid for that mall with a heritage building. It did cost us a very nice building that we lost. I don’t feel comfortable about it. But there is no point crying about spilled milk. It’s gone. You cannot rebuilt it, you cannot do anything about it. [...] Whatever they built is nice. But it would have been way nicer if they kept the old one.” Asked why he would prefer to still have the original Government Shops and Offices: “Because it is the real history. If you burn the Mona Lisa and repaint it, it’s not the Mona Lisa, even if it’s the same technique, the same colours exactly, but it is not the same. When you have a miniature of the Eifel Tower it is not the Eifel Tower, it will never be.”</p>
26	<p>disapproves of the construction of the mall building “because it changed the identity of the old suq” which is part of the local history: “Because this is part of our history. Now you change it to a mall. I can do something. I will not say Suq Waqif in Qatar. But we have the original method. We have everything. It is all there. So, we can maintain it in a proper way.”</p> <p>compares to Suq Waqif as a positive example, where traditional conservation methods were employed</p> <p>would have preferred the Government Shops and Offices had been reconstructed more faithfully including in terms of construction methods rather than converting it into a mall building. Points to the fact that the knowledge of the local construction methods and materials is available and that the heritage should therefore be preserved accordingly. “Even if you are going to demolish this one... to built something near the old one. Because you want to save something! And it is not necessary to do a mall in the old suq.”</p>
8b	<p>dislikes the decorative „Ramadan lights“ suspended from the street shading in Bab al-Bahrain Avenue for having no function and looking „tacky“</p> <p>dislikes decorative modern art features, which he does not consider art, and advertisements throughout the site: “Ok, I like it that they are trying to bring in modern art into a space like this, but this isn’t modern art. This is crap. They should remove the crap and it will be nice.”</p> <p>criticizes the political focus of the site’s refurbishments:</p> <p>“But they wanted to try and show that they are on the way to becoming a modern state. Which is actually very similar to what the MoC is doing now. They are not restoring for the sake of the Bahrainis as much as they are restoring for the sake of international recognition. So, in a way it’s the same thing. It’s this mentality that needs to change but that never did change, ok?”</p> <p>Author: “Why does it have to change?” 8b: “Because a state should function for the benefit of its citizens and nothing else, ok? Nothing else!”</p>
9c	<p>finds the detail of the fake gallery of the mall building with the missing windows irritating</p>
10a	<p>personally, disapproves of the location of the mall inside Manama Suq but considers the public opinion about it more important: „I am not happy about this kind of cold mall in the middle of the suq. But I don’t know, if they do it for the people, that’s what they want. That’s fine.” “It does not blend well with the actual notion of the suq. What’s behind Bab al-Bahrain that’s how I would like to imagine the suq – not an airconditioned mall.”</p> <p>considers Bab al-Bahrain Avenue not to blend with the wider market area, due to the type of shops which he assumes to be regulated and disapproves that the Avenue serves more as a photo scenery than as commercial area: “It’s the fact that the shops are different. I think they only allow selected kinds of shops to be there. I am not sure about that. I am just guessing. It makes it kind of like more a tourist picture taking place than actually a suq where people buy stuff.”</p> <p>Author: “And how do you like that?” 10a: “Not very much. I would like it to be more when you go further down, you would see much more traffic, people walking around. There is actually ... going on. People buying and selling. Do you see the shops are not really busy? It’s mostly for passing to the suq and going back to your car and taking pictures.”</p> <p>disapproves of the missing presence of Bahraini clientele: “I have no objection about the architecture. I object to the way they run the suq. But I think this is life. All the Bahrainis, all the locals are not doing shopping here anymore. It’s mostly tourists who come here and the majority</p>

East-western

3.3.4 – 7: Evaluations of the other interventions at the site

	<p>of the real frequent shoppers are the labour expats. I don't like that. If somebody foreign comes to my country and he wants to see some landmarks and he doesn't see locals, I don't think that is a good image."</p>
<p>12 b</p>	<p>strongly criticises the refurbishment of Bab al-Bahrain Avenue and laments the loss of the authentic market feeling Bab al-Bahrain Avenue: [upon entering Bab al-Bahrain Avenue]: "But here, this looks gloomy to me. [...] It seems detached." criticizes the design and finish of the new building elements in the Avenue: "Funny enough, they try to imitate this [Police Station and Post Office], but it looks ugly [mall building and screen façade]." the buildings: "too clean-cut" "I am not sure about these parapets [the street shading]. How well they work in terms of the aesthetic of the place, to the mood." Bab al-Bahrain Avenue: "But it has this artificial aesthetic to me. It looks like a mall. It's very pretty. Like cookie-cutting. There isn't a personal feel." "The whole place is not impressive. I wouldn't say ugly, but definitely it doesn't touch." disapproves of the screen façade for aesthetic and atmospheric reasons: „I think there is a false façade here or something. And I am not sure it works well. It doesn't add a beautiful feature. [...] And you can feel it is intruding." the doors: "This looks pretty new and a bit artificial to me." criticizes the kind of sale items in Bab al-Bahrain Avenue, as he thinks the shops should cater better to tourists bothered by the discrepancy between the architectural makeup of the Avenue and type of products sold: "With the doors here it looks commercial in a way - like pretty. For selling Chinese watches ... It doesn't give the feel of the suq." Looking at the shops behind the screen façade: "This doesn't work! And the products inside, look Nike and T-shirts!" criticizes the façade design of the mall building: "But this building [the mall from the exterior] has a fake... a cookie-cutting ..." criticizes the lack of liveliness in the mall building: "At least there are some people. Usually, when you come here it is all dead." laments the demolition of the Government Shops and Offices [referring to the historic photograph]: "To be honest I find this more interesting." comparing the mall building to the historic photograph of the Government Shops and Offices: "I definitely prefer the old one. It is more true to the place and landscape. This one [the mall building] is imposing, it's an alien body. Its crude."</p>
<p>13 b</p>	<p>disapproves of the southern elevation of the mall building „Now, this one is very confusing to me. Just because there are two different styles used, which makes it look like this is the authentic traditional building, whereas this is just an addition. But if we know that it is new, then they were built at the same time, which is just confusing."</p>
<p>3a b</p>	<p>does not mind the screen façade along the eastern side of the Avenue per se and considers it well done but she regrets that it conceals buildings which might be more interesting to look at. She seems to mistake historicizing elements of the façade as parts of a historic building behind, which she would hence which to be revealed. talking about the site visit: "I was surprised about certain facts – facts I learned about. Like the façade of this suq, which I did not know it was just a façade, and that was a bit disappointing, because I would actually prefer to see the old houses. But they covered it pretty well. So, they did a good job in covering the 'Missetat'. [German: wrongdoing]." Asked why she reacted with surprise – "Oh, my god!" – about the discovery: "No because I never realized. I mean, I've been there so many times and I never realized that it is just a façade." She thought it was very well done to be so little noticeable but called it a "Disneyland-heritage" and wondered whether the buildings covered by the intervention might have been more interesting to look at. She seems to think that the wall covers valuable and beautiful historic buildings or takes elements of the screen wall as historic: Author: "And why did you call the façade element that's hiding the new buildings, why do you call it a 'Missetat'?" 3b: "Oh,</p>

3.3.4 – 7: Evaluations of the other interventions at the site	
Western	<p>because it is a shame. Because when we looked up we saw this very beautiful corner of the house which was hiding behind and it had these carvings and these very nice windows.” Overall, rather dislikes the interventions at the site for artificiality, being poorly embedded in the urban surroundings and touristified. After seeing historic photos of the site, she would have rather preferred the reconstruction of the Government Shops and Offices. Disapproves of the street shading in Bab al-Bahrain Avenue for artificiality</p>
	<p>14 a disapproves of the state of the wider market area and the products sold in wider Manama Suq and seems to wish the entire suq to be refurbished and to sell different products: “I really wonder how many tourists come here because the rest of the area can look pretty daunting.” “When I think of going to a Suq or a Medina I think of maybe a more traditional... I mean it is traditional, but most of the stuff here is made in China, plastic.” “As soon as you get out in the back, to me that is like plastic alley [the unrefurbished suq]. Yes, all the surrounding streets.” find the buildings of the site to have a “heavy kind of feel” the architecture of the Post Office and Police Station “To me there is nothing about the architecture that stands out. That could be strip-mall in Southern California, where the 7-11 is and everything looks the same.” the architecture of the Government Shops and Offices: “So secured looking. That is why they look so have heavy and austere.” nevertheless, disapproves of the demolition of the Government Shops and Offices: “I guess they don’t need permits for that here.” “How can they demolish historic structures?! You know, in this day and age, tourism ... everyone kind of wants to see historic stuff.” comparing to the historic photograph of the Avenue: “So, they just demolished that. [...] I don’t think it’s right.” talks about the right of the locals to decide what to do with their island and heritage and the search of Western visitors “to have a little bit of something original.”</p>
	<p>19 irritated by the purifications carried out by the MoC in the southern facade of the mall: “It’s nice this stucco over the arch. That is quite traditional. It is a bit odd, isn’t it, the way the put Suq Bab al-Bahrain over the top? What was it actually intended to be? It is very odd. Do you see what I am pointing at? [...] You got ‘the mall’ and then above it they have got something written in Arabic. I suppose it is Bab al-Bahrain. But why they have gone stuck that thing over the top of that. It has clearly been stuck over the top of it after his has been done. Quite tastefully. But they could have put it down below. Why didn’t they?”</p>

3.3.4 – 8: Authenticity judgments about Bab al-Bahrain building	
Form and design	
Architects Eastern	<p>16a considers the building’s design significantly changed and concludes that due to the dominance of the staircases the southern elevation appears to be little changed despite significant changes in the central part considers the new design simulates an earlier construction date than the real (around 1900)</p>
	<p>17a [looking at the historic photo of the original gate] “This building has been through many changes, but still it’s showing the identity of Bab al-Bahrain. So, that is what I mainly like about it. But, you can see that there are many changes. From the picture also [looking at the historic photo of the original gate]. It is different, but still you can see that this is Bab al-Bahrain. It shows the identity.” Author: “What is the identity of it?” 17a: “Maybe the massing? But even the massing is different. [thinking] Maybe the roundabout in the centre. The central access of it – it’s still the same. The flag on the top. The rest has been changed a lot.” “It [new design] has more to do with the traditional architecture of Bahrain. More than this one [the original one].” notices the similarities between the original parapet detailing of the gate and the Old Post Office and Police Station and laments the loss of the unifying architectural features of the site’s historic buildings: “If they were able to show this [the Post Office and Police Station] as it looked before, why didn’t they do the same with the gate?” considers the southern elevation little changed: “But this you can see, it is more or less the same this building [the original]. Which I like. Even the handrail with the details of it. It is exactly the same.”</p>

3.3.4 – 8: Authenticity judgments about Bab al-Bahrain building		
East-western		comparing to the 1980s design from memory: Author: “Do you remember how it looked before? Not originally, but 2 years ago?” 17a: “I remember, but I don’t think there was much of a difference . [...] Specially the logo. The logo was not golden. ”
	21a	comparing to the original design: “ It is not like this even . Again, someone’s imagination.”
	30	comparing the building to the historic photograph from memory (off-site) he considers it similar; sees Roman influence in the original design
	49	seems to consider Bab Bahrain building rather significantly changed and refers to it as having “been reconstructed recently though it’s not up to criteria and standards of conservation, engaging with dismantling it, I fear it send wrong message, [...]”
	23	comparing to the 1980s version from memory and not being very aware of the original design: “What I feel is... but I did not really study the elevation, but what struck me is the addition of elements, which were actually more European. It’s Europeanized, or westernized let’s say, in the classical sense, from the classical architecture. They made it more as a classic, European building, whereas actually the interest of the building was that it was a hybrid between this classical colonial architecture and the local architecture. And it lost a bit of that hybrid feel. Now it’s much more colonial. ”
	32	considers the design changed according to the “designer’s mind” and “without any historic study”
	33b	reacts very surprised when shown the photo of the building from the 50s , because he had believed the building had been restored to its original appearance according to the heritage authority’s initial objective before comparing to the historic photograph takes the façade design as true to the original and having preserved the colonial character: “I think it’s nice to bring back the original image . Because what it would look like after the 80s renovation , I think it looked very post-modernish . But now, it has a sort of colonial style, which I think which it was built at. So, it retained that feature this renovation. ” Author: “I will show you a picture now of 49, yes?” 33b: “Yes. Oh, it is very different! ” considers both elevations “very changed” points out the changed windows, the maintained clock
	6	changed the design of the building to improve its symbolic function
	20	considers the design significantly changed ; points to the abandonment of the rather modernist architectural language (change from vertical to horizontal windows)
	Non-architects Eastern	4b
11a		comparing to the 80s version from memory, she considers the building little changed except in substance: “It is the same way, the same, only the changes is that it became cement.” comparing to the historic photograph she notices the changed windows, centre piece, code of arms and the balconies and considers the design changed from colonial style to a “very old fashion” “This is old style . This is really old fashion of them . But they already renovated it. They made it more beautiful . Now it is more strong the building. ” Considers the architectural style traditional Bahraini . “now it’s already in the fashion of that time. ” comparing to the historic picture considers the southern elevation less changed particularly due to the staircases: “It looks more like heritage in the back.”
15a		comparing to the original design (northern elevation): “ It was ugly! It feels like a school or a policy station! It was a very governmental building. I think it looks much better now . [...] I like the open space in the middle . [...]” “They changed the elevation [northern] completely . I like the open space in the middle . There are no more balconies . It does not seem to be one way in the picture. Now it is one way for leaving the market. ” southern elevation: “The stairs are still there . And judging from the size of the building, it

3.3.4 – 8: Authenticity judgments about Bab al-Bahrain building

	<p>seems like the same building.”</p> <p>points out the clock</p> <p>comparing to the 80s design “I like the new one more. Because it is more traditional. It looks more Bahraini than before. Before it was just a building with a gate in it. Now that they added wooden windows it feels more old. Plus, the huge crest in the middle represents Bahrain even more.”</p> <p>analysing the Post Office and Police Station after having seen the historic photographs of Bab al-Bahrain he notices the loss of the formerly shared parapet design</p> <p>inconsistent design: “It’s confusing. Some of the stuff they kept exactly the same, some of it they changed. The arcs inside the squares, the steps with their ratio are still exactly there. But the area in here is completely different.”</p> <p>based on the analysis of the gate’s latest refurbishment, concludes that design consideration must have guided the intervention rather than considerations for messages and history.</p> <p>Asked if he thinks the building should have been reconstructed to it’s original looks: 15a: “Kept the triangle on the top?” Author: “Yes, for example.” 15a: “I don’t think they removed it intentionally. I don’t think they removed it because it represents something. It just came that they thought this is a better design. If they had focused on history more than on design, probably they would have kept it from the start.”</p>
18a	<p>northern elevation: comparing to the historic photograph of the original gate, she points to the parapet detail to be different; finds the original and current version “Little different.”</p> <p>Mostly she considers the top part different; also points to the changed windows and arch. “Not so different.”</p>
38	<p>„Bab al Bahrain, it was smaller than this. Much smaller.“</p>
39	<p>Author: “And Bab al-Bahrain, did you notice they changed something, like 2-3 years ago?” 39: “No, only painting. Painting only change. Little. All there old. Same this street, post office also old designs. So many years old they designed it. Also Bab al-Bahrain, the gate.”</p>
40 2x	<p>Both taxi drivers stationed at Bab al-Bahrain square found the gate overall unchanged. Author: “Did you notice they changed the gate?” 40 (2x): “No, no. No change.”</p>
41	<p>senior (74 years) taxi driver at the site when asked if the building was changed in recent years: “No, no. Just the paint. Same thing, same design before, but he made design, nice to look. You know, he made it white.” Author: “But it didn’t change much?” 41: “No, he did not change much.” Author: “So, when you were a kid, it looked more or less the same as this?” 41: “That’s right.”</p>
8b	<p>“I think the essence has been kept as it is. I mean the configuration of the windows changed a bit. But that is all that there is, really.” “I don’t think there has been any significant changes. [...] The purpose, the function, the idea of the monument.”</p> <p>is aware of the modernist origin and the changes but does not attribute those changes any importance and that with the recent restoration the building was made to look older than it is: “... like a tribute to something older. But when it was built [...] it was built to look modern and powerful.”</p> <p>attributes little importance to architectural details, function including its symbolism and monumentality matter more): “It always stayed in the exact sort of shape and way it was, [...].”</p> <p>referring to the changed design: “For an architect it probably is a problem. But for me no. I still see it as serving the same function.”</p>
9c	<p>„very slight changes, nothing radical“</p> <p>identifies the changes when comparing to the historic photograph of the building (balconies, windows, the shape of the arch, the parapet) but attributes little significance to the changes: “Not a big deal.”</p>
10a	<p>comparing to the 80s version from memory:</p> <p>“The logo has changed. Maybe the columns have been made different. But I can’t really remember how it looked exactly before, but for me it looks similar. It’s just that this one looks newer.”</p> <p>comparing to the historic photograph: “It does look the same. It has the same dimensions I guess, the same shape more or less. It had the round arch before and now.”</p> <p>points to the clock in the southern elevation when comparing to the historic photograph</p> <p>attributes little significance to the changes</p>

3.3.4 – 8: Authenticity judgments about Bab al-Bahrain building			
East-western	12b	<p>comparing to the 80s version from memory: “I did not go inside. But from the outside for me it looked more or less the same, except they changed the code of arms. It’s golden now, I think.”</p> <p>at the site: “I know that they did some renovation to it. Now, visually the architecture is still the same. Now what did they add to it? It just looks cleaner to me. But I don’t know whether they added something.”</p> <p>comparing to the historic photograph of the gate: “It changed, it’s not the same. Basically, it was rebuilt over the years, I would say.”</p> <p>points to individual change (balconies, windows, code of arms) but they do not matter to him to him the building now looks like from the 70s rather than from the 40s. He does not consider that a problem. “But it doesn’t have a feel.”</p> <p>considers the southern elevation less changed</p>	
	13b	<p>considers the style of the building changed and attributes little importance to that. Asked if she approves of the new design: “It’s not whether I approve of it or not. The style has changed. I don’t know who wanted it changed, or why it changes. It is just a matter of opinion whether you like this style or that style.”</p> <p>“What it looks like now is much more colonial-style then it actually looked like when it was built.”</p> <p>“It is much more striking now, than it looks in the picture.”</p>	
	19	<p>“The Bab al-Bahrain itself has all been redone.”</p> <p>from memory he considers the building redone but rather little changed (at first he is only aware of the 80s refurbishment which he thinks happened in the early 2000s, during the visit it slowly occurs to him that the building changed again)</p> <p>confused that there are no Arabic stylistic features, which he remembers vaguely had been installed; considers the 80s version “more Arab style”</p> <p>comparing the northern facade to the historic photograph: “Comparing it to the photo here, it is different, isn’t it. It is not the same at all. You have got three windows there. And you got a completely different arrangement now.”</p> <p>comparing to the photograph of the 1980s version:</p> <p>He clearly sees a will to go back to the previous “colonial” state but is very puzzled about this fact and secondly does not understand, why it was not exactly restored to the original version in that case. Comparing to the photo of the 80s version: “Ah yes. That is right. They put all those things, didn’t they? [the crenelations] And then they removed them. Is that extraordinary! Really, they have gone back to the colonial!” Author: “Do you think they went back to the colonial?” 19: “Well, it is different again. But, I would say it is closer to the original.” Author: “At least that was their intention.” 19: “They got rid of all these rounded arches. Isn’t that extraordinary?! I wonder why they did that. [...] Yes, there are three completely different stages. But the newest one is very much closer to the original one than that one.” No regret about not having preserved or restored the colonial testimony for lack of architectural merit. Rather regrets the loss of the design of the 1980s: “I don’t know why they have changed it. Maybe they think it looks more imposing or something.”</p> <p>comparing the southern elevation to the historic photograph: “But as a matter of fact, it does not look very different now, does it? I think maybe they have gone back, more or less, to the original one. Not completely... “</p> <p>Surprised that the minister did not assert herself against the architect to restore the original version of the building: “So, his [the architect’s] idea prevailed. Strange.”</p>	
Materials and substance			
Architects	Eastern	16a	wonders if the gypsum panels in the railings of the southern façade are the original ones: “I am not sure if they are old or what, but I like them.”
		17a	wonders if the gypsum panels in the railings of the southern façade are the original ones: “I don’t know about these panels, if they are the same or not.”
		32	finds it important “to show people what is this building made of” (archaeological windows)
		anchors authenticity in the original fabric: “ Still the building is there. Thanks god. We can restore it in the future. So, it is authentic because the building is still there with makeup kind of.”	

3.3.4 – 8: Authenticity judgments about Bab al-Bahrain building			
East-western	49	seems to be considered it significantly altered in substance: “been reconstructed recently though it’s not up to criteria and standards of conservation, engaging with dismantling it ”	
	7	criticism of interventions planned during the refurbishment in 2012/13 indicates that the conservation architect attributes value to the material substance: “Reinforced concrete was supposed to be suspended from original elements.”	
	33b	due to the archaeological window he is aware of the perseverance of the stone masonry and sees some material authenticity: “I think there are old walls. I have seen some pits that they have done. I think they left some. [...] There is the stone structure, it is there. But I guess the elements are changed. Even the windows changed. [...] No, it is a different building now , seeing this.” doubts the material authenticity of the furnishings and interior design of the reconstructed ruler’s office but does not question the authenticity of its location and appreciates the feature: “So, I saw that they kept one of the rooms, the ruler’s room. They kept it as it is. Although, I think, they did not keep it as it is, they just rebuilt it based on photographs.” “The room on the west, in the upper level, that is where the king’s, the ruler’s office was when Belgrave was his advisor. And there is an old picture of him at his table and in front of him Charles Belgrave. And based on that picture, they rebuilt that room.” “I think it’s new, because you can see that it is all new. But built as the old picture. Again, maybe that relates to the authenticity. I think it is a nice feature, although it might not be authentic. ”	
	20	[translated from German by the author] considered the historic building “still standing”	
Non-architects	Eastern	4b	considers the building entirely demolished and rebuilt after understanding the archaeological window : doubts a government building would have been built in coral stone masonry
		11a	considers the building newly built in cement instead of the previously used rock and sand in old style only
		15a	thinks the building had been demolished and rebuilt in the 1960s : “I think they tore it down way before I was born.” When comparing to the historic photograph he revises his judgement that the building was not authentic and shifted in location. “The stairs are still there. And judging from the size of the building, it seems like the same building. They did not tear it down. So, I guess it is the original building. I always thought it was there and they tore it down to build the new post office. Thank you for correcting my information.”
	18a	comparing to the historic photograph of the original gate, she considers the current building to be new	
	38	Remembers that the building was twice demolished “to the floor”: “And then two or three times they rebuilt it.”	
	39	seems to consider the building authentic in substance: “Painting only change.”	
	41	senior (74 years) taxi driver seems to consider the building little changed in fabric as well (refer to form and design)	
East-western	8b	attributes rather little meaning to material authenticity; referring to the archaeological windows : “But I think this suffices – to have a little look-out-window suffices. There is value in that. But the value of its purpose overshadows the value of its materials.” “You are building a building that is supposed to have elements of old buildings and deliver a powerful statement of a modern state that has a lot of history. And you don’t really care about the materials used. I mean at the end of the day, this is very subjective, but I personally believe that a building from the 1940s or 50s should... the material doesn’t have much value.... If you are going to preserve it, it is for other values, like location, what it was built to serve... stuff like that.”	
	10a	having witnessed changes to the site in the past he is certain the gate has never been entirely demolished and rebuilt. „I think they just fixed the external and strengthened it somehow.” attributes little significance to material authenticity	
Western	3a	the gate looks reconstructed to her and not really old; assumes that Bab al Bahrain contains historic fabric but considered it a new building	
	13b	judging from the appearance of the building without comparison to historic photos, cannot tell if it is original, reconstructed or changed : „ No clue. ”	

3.3.4 – 8: Authenticity judgments about Bab al-Bahrain building			
		<p>14a considers the wooden beams in the passage not original, as she believes they would have been affected by termites</p> <p>19 “The structure is the original but they sort of revamped it to make it more modern looking – more to their taste.”</p>	
		Use and function	
Architects	Eastern	<p>17a “I think they used to renew the passports here, in this building, that’s what my father told me before.”</p> <p>49 disapproves of the closure for incoming traffic for compromising the “spirit” and “symbolism” of the entrance building</p>	
		<p>West</p> <p>6 with his own refurbishment of the building considers the function as town gate improved considers the building not to suit the use as governmental office building for practical reasons</p>	
	Non-architects	Eastern	<p>4b Aware of the governmental origin and asked about the current use: “I don’t know what they are using it for now, but it is one of the popular places in Bahrain. But what is inside I don’t know. Maybe some government entity.”</p> <p>15a likes the gate for its landmark and gate function and for being original in that sense points out that the gate was closed for incoming traffic but remains accessible for pedestrians authenticity based in landmark function and symbolism: Author: “What does Bab al-Bahrain, the building, mean to you?” 15a: “It’s a landmark and I really like it, because it is an original landmark.” Author: “In which sense?” 15a: “It is not something they paid so much money for just to make it nice. It is something that was there for a use and they still use it as a gate. Some landmarks being built in the Gulf are just for looks and for tourism. This is not. This looks like this because it was a real gate, it was a real <i>bab</i> to enter the market facing the sea port. So, whoever comes to Bahrain from this seaport, has to go through this gate. It is a real gate. I don’t know if they ever closed it – if it had any gate mechanism. I have no idea.” Author: “So it that sense the building is still what it was, for you?” 15a: “Yes, it is a gate to the market. Although it is one way to leave the market now. But you can walk it to enter the market.” highlights his appreciation of a former gift shop at ground floor: “It used to sell very nice stuff – like the models of old boats.” governmental use: “The Bab was used for the ministry of tourism, they had offices there.”</p> <p>40 x2 Two senior taxi drivers at the site recall the immigration office formerly being located at the gate.</p> <p>41 Senior taxi driver at the site recalls the government formerly being located at the gate.</p>
East-western			<p>8b points to the significance of use and function: “If you are going to preserve it, for other values, like location, what it was built to serve... stuff like that.” “I don’t think there has been any significant changes. [...] The purpose, the function, the idea of the monument.” “It’s the gateway to Bahrain. [...] And it always served its purpose and it continues to serve its purpose.” referring to the changed design: “For an architect it probably is a problem. But for me no. I still see it as serving the same function.”</p>
			<p>10a The Bab itself, the arch, at some point, I remember it was the post office. I don’t think it’s a post office anymore. And now I think it has something to do with the Ministry of Tourism and Culture. Maybe they have an office there. And probably before being a post office, it had a governmental, administrative purpose, something to do with ports or the suq. I have no idea. But when I was young it was the post office.”</p>
			<p>13b the preserved gate’s function “a symbol of the gate, an entrance to a place” seems to matter more to her than to preserve the original design: “I think it looks fine like this. I mean it serves the same purpose, doesn’t it? [...] Like I said, it is a symbol of the gate, an entrance to a place.” asked if she considers the building historic: “Maybe yes, because it had a specific function and it was built for the purpose of being a governmental building – in that sense a historic building. It’s more about the functionality than about the architecture.”</p>
			<p>14a points to the added pedestrian access and the maintained car access</p>

3.3.4 – 8: Authenticity judgments about Bab al-Bahrain building		
Traditions, techniques and management systems		
Architects	Eastern	<p>17a doubts the authenticity of the wooden ceiling in the pedestrian passages because it differs from the execution of the feature in the local vernacular: “In a way it looks fake a little bit. The color and the type of wood used. I think it was <i>danshal</i> at the beginning.” surprised to learn about the coral stone masonry when discussing the archaeological windows, which makes him doubt the late construction date: „But I didn’t know that they used this material. If it’s this material I would definitely say even before the 50s.”</p>
		<p>7 the conservation architect criticized that interventions planned during the refurbishment in 2012/13 would have been intrusive on the structural integrity: “Reinforced concrete was supposed to be suspended from original elements.”</p>
	Western	<p>20 [translated from German by the author] when discussing the archaeological windows expressed his interest in the hybrid construction methods: “It is of course interesting to see that in the 1940s – the time the preserved gate building, which is still standing, dates from – traditional construction materials were used, despite the fact that it would have already been possible to use concrete. It might have been additionally used anyway.”</p>
Non-architects	Eastern	<p>11a considers the building newly built in contemporary construction materials and points to the benefit of that: “This is old style. This is really old fashion of them. But they already renovated it. They made it more beautiful. Now it is more strong the building. [...] Like the materials, the cement. Before it was the materials they had, rock and sand, now it’s cement.”</p>
		<p>8b surprise about the archaeological window: “Was it really built like that? Was it really built with these rocks? [...] I didn’t know that. I thought it was built of concrete.” attributes rather little value to the construction methods of this rather young building: “There is value in that [materials and construction techniques]. But the value of its purpose</p>
	East-western	<p>overshadows the value of its materials” referring to the archaeological windows: “But I think this suffices. To have a little look-out-window suffices.” considers the preservation of the building techniques of the vernacular buildings more important because he thinks they are less well researched and documented than the much younger hybrid construction techniques originally used at Bab al-Bahrain</p>
		<p>10a attributes little significance to construction techniques when told about the hybrid architecture: “Well, for me, I am not an architect. So what matters for me is how the buildings looks.”</p>
	Western	<p>13b points to the wooden ceiling in the pedestrian passage as an adaptation of the local vernacular <i>danshal</i> ceilings asked about the hybrid nature of the building, she considers this aspect can still be experienced in the pedestrian passages</p>
		<p>14a considers the wooden beams in the passage not original, as she believes they would have been affected by termites: “These wooden beams cannot be original.”</p>
Location and setting		
Architects	Eastern	<p>17a points to the importance of the preserved roundabout north of Bab al-Bahrain for the identity of Bab al-Bahrain</p>
		<p>16a referring to the photos in the pedestrian passages: “And photos from the really old site, which was facing the water one day, which is amazing. Bahrain keeps on growing. Whenever you think you are on the shore you’ll never be there for a long time. But it is interesting.” points to the discrepancy between the refurbished site and the surrounding market area</p>
		<p>30 refers to the round about</p>
		<p>32 reference to former sea front location: especially in winter, when the wind blows, she imagines the sea close-by the post office as in the past criticizes the loss of authentic historic buildings and their fabric and of the site’s historic feel and the “ugly, new high-rise buildings and additions”</p>
		<p>49 points to the uncoordinated urban development and real estate pressure in the area and to the need to safeguard the remaining historic fabric: “most of Bab al-Bahrain area in the last 4 decades had been rebuilt, many of the earlier rebuilt buildings now stand sore for the eye, but there are very few some heritage buildings age 90-100 yrs some other colonial 60-70 yrs hope some can be saved before lost as their condition bad, though the value of land here and function would be real tough challenge to tackle these buildings”</p>

3.3.4 – 8: Authenticity judgments about Bab al-Bahrain building			
	22	refers to the compromised setting and lost qualities of the old town compared to other historic cities which are well preserved: “The urban fabric of Manama Suq - it has been disfigured, by roads and so on.”	
	20	[translated from German by the author] points to the importance of the “ impressive urban configuration ” with the roundabout and the “strangely disfigured” still to be restored former Customs House	
Non-architects	Eastern	4b	when asked about her background knowledge of the area: “There was a port here. And it was just adjacent to the sea . But now, they have reclaimed [...]” remembers the roundabout and the fountain from the past points to the perseverance of some historic buildings in the wider surroundings
		11a	points to the importance of the setting: “I like to sit here. Or maybe because of the view also, the fountain, the stores next to it.”
		15a	thought that the gate was demolished at its original location and rebuilt further inland in the 1960s. “The original one was about here. The first one was built after WWII by the English consultant. It was exactly facing Manama port. Most of this [pointing to the surrounding buildings] did not exist. It was almost at the sea front. As soon as you leave the port you are facing Bab al-Bahrain.” “It was originally here and then they built the new one over there.” When comparing the building to the historic photograph realizes his misconception: “I always thought it was there and they tore it down to build the new post office. Thank you for correcting my information.”
		38	point to the loss of the seaside location and “miss” the port
		41	referring to the changes in the area : “Many things changed. Everything changed. From now till tomorrow you will see something change.”
	East-western	8b	points to the significance of the authentic location : “If you are going to preserve it, for other values, like location , what it was built to serve... stuff like that.” points to the real estate development pressure in the area and the importance of maintaining the gate at its location and within its setting which includes the open square to its north: “[...] even though it might be a very valuable plot right now. But there should be nothing else here except Bab al-Bahrain. And there should even be an empty space in front of it. ”
		12a	regrets the changed setting and loss of historic features [talking about the historic photographs in the passage]: “Look at all the buildings. All are historic buildings. What a pity, eh? It’s really sad that all that disappeared. ”
		3c	points to a lack of embeddedness of the site in the urban surroundings : “And Bab is not embedded. It’s like THERE! And then you feel when you leave this exact area we have visited, that you enter a totally different world. There is no transition. It’s very different. It does not really merge into the surroundings.”
	Western	14a	points to the roundabout : “The park is still there!”
		19	“Well, this is all very new of course.” [the area] describes his memories of a busy commercial port still operational in 1974 when he first arrived to Bahrain by boat from Iran before Financial Harbour was built, the port closed and the land reclaimed: “The port was in a kind of – not a U-shape – but looking at it from this way it was built squared off at the end. And the boats came in. Because all the boats that went across to Saudi Arabia before the causeway came, came in there. And the boat coming across from Iran, boats with cargo. All of them. So, it was quite a lot. And it was also quite a smell, because they would recalk the boats. Like scrape of all the barnacles and apply fish oil, which smelt like rotting fish. It was pretty awful. But what I was coming to, is that these rails were in ... what is now the regency car park ... where they used to have corrugated iron sheds, and they were the Customs sheds. That’s before 1975. Because when I first foot in Bahrain in 1974 the King Faisal Road was only half complete. [...] And you had a lot of shops that sold alcohol.” regrets the loss of historic fabric in Manama: “I mean it is a shame that so much of the old here has gone. The old wind towers. There is only one left. The old balconies. You have to now search for them around Manama. But given that most of the old houses are gone, I think, it is quite nice that they are now finally interested in what their heritage used to be, which they have actually destroyed. It is a pity that they destroyed it. But they did. Actually, they are trying their best to make up for it. ”

3.3.4 – 8: Authenticity judgments about Bab al-Bahrain building			
Language, and other forms of intangible heritage			
Non-architects	Eastern	15a	Points out, that the places around Bab al Bahrain are all named after it.
		38	One of the senior gentlemen considers that the current building resembles the previous version (he considers the building entirely rebuilt) foremost by name. “Only by name like this much.”
		8a	“What I know is that it serves exactly what its name is. It’s the gateway to Bahrain.”
Spirit and feeling			
Architects	Eastern	16a	“ I feel it is a new building. If you want my impression. I was trying to relate it to what I know about the old architecture. But for me, I can see it is a new one. I can feel this.” describes it as a sort of fake heritage: “We did not preserve it, we just tried to force it back, to be like an old traditional... because we want to say that this is our heritage.”
		17a	“This building has been through many changes, but still it’s showing the identity of Bab al-Bahrain. So, that is what I mainly like about it. [...] It is different, but still, you can see that this is Bab al-Bahrain. It shows the identity.” considers the gate historic, that is old and historically important as an entrance symbol, but that it does not feel like a historic place: “I don’t see a tourist moving around. Very few people go there. Not much people know the importance of this place.” asked why it does not feel historic: “I don’t know. When you compare it to some historical place, like Arad Fort, or Bahrain Fort. You feel like it is different. People do not pay attention to this building. Maybe because of the traffic, because of cars moving in the building. You don’t feel the importance of it. You don’t see some protected walls. Anyone can go inside. And specially when there are some special occasions, you see people having food in there, dropping whatever waste, they have...”
		49	considers the “spirit” and “symbolism” of the entrance building compromised due to its closure for incoming traffic and the no-entry sign posted in front of it: “[...] the spirit of the gate wasn’t kept. When you go there, you will see no-entry-signs which are not up to the value and spirit of the entrance.” (I 49)
		23	“ And it lost a bit of that hybrid feel. Now it’s much more colonial. ”
		32	especially in winter, when the wind blows, she imagines the sea close-by “I cannot feel the history of the place. It is lost.”
	Western	6	aimed at a “more institutional” city gate with the new design
		20	[translated from German by the author] associates the new façade design with Italian colonial and therefore fascist architecture and therefore finds the character of the building entirely changed from a modernist to a more imperialist expression , which gives the project a political notion: “With the horizontal window format the building had a rather modernist architectural language from the 1940s. With narrow vertical window formats, it now appears much more like Italian colonial, that is fascist, architecture. The building gets a completely different character thereby: less modernist and more imperialist. I don’t know if they are aware of it, of this political connotation.”
		4b	strong association of a traditional town gate (when analysing the new design and when trying to remember how the building looked prior to the intervention): “Well, I think there was a wooden big gate inside this arc. I am not sure. But that is what I remember. Not sure.” entrance symbolism: interprets the gold paint of the code of arms as a reference to the function as entrance to the Gold Suq “So, it is the gate for the Gold Suq. ” considers the building historic because of its traditional design , otherwise does not consider it a special or historic building except for its symbolism prefers the new design of the gate to the original for being more Bahraini “you know most of the people here are expatriates or tourists ”

3.3.4 – 8: Authenticity judgments about Bab al-Bahrain building	
	<p>11a looking at the building: “It reminds me like a mansion, a big castle. It reminds me like the kingdom. The style, the design. Kingdom Bahrain.”</p> <p>when shown the historic photograph she immediately identifies it as colonial heritage and compares it to colonial heritage in the Philippines; the wide windows remind her of Spanish colonial architecture in the Philippines, which she now considers her adopted culture. When told the colonial construction history of the gate: “So that is why the design is not really Bahraini design. As I told you it is like us under the Spanish.”</p> <p>considers the code of arms very important (finds the old emblem more elegant)</p>
	<p>15a considers the gate historic</p> <p>considers the gate more Bahraini in spirit than the 80s design: “I like the new one more. Because it is more traditional. It looks more Bahraini than before. Before it was just a building with a gate in it. Now that they added wooden windows it feels more old. Plus, the huge crest in the middle represents Bahrain even more.”</p> <p>inside the tourist information service at ground floor: “In here used to be a giftshop. They renewed the place. It’s clearly completely renewed, the ceiling, the walls, everything. But they did not lose the touch of being Bahraini and old. It’s not like a very new design. There are pictures of heritage sites around. It still has the touch which shows you this is Bahraini.”</p> <p>state symbolism: mentions the importance of the code of arms and also points to the flag: “I think there used to be flag on the top.”</p> <p>Author: “So, these are colonial style buildings.” 15a: “In a way yes.” Author: “Did you think about it that way?” 15a: “Not much, no. I saw it from the columns and the triangle on the top. We don’t do that.”</p>
East-western	<p>8b national symbolism: associates the gate with the Statue of Liberty and the Gate of India</p> <p>points to the importance of the code of arms, which he first takes an addition</p> <p>“You are building a building that is supposed to have elements of old buildings and deliver a powerful statement of a modern state that has a lot of history.”</p> <p>compares to Mussolini’s architecture using Roman elements in modernist manner: “It reminds me of fascist architecture.”</p> <p>“idea of the monument” maintained. “But the fact that it is a monument overpowers any traditional architecture you see in it.”</p> <p>“It was built to serve a certain function and it’s a state function. [...] And it’s excellent. There is nothing that can be said about it. It’s serves exactly what it was built do be. [...] It is a monument.”</p>
	<p>9c when asked to take a guess about the function of the current building: “Well, maybe something governmental. Like parliament...”</p>
	<p>10a points to the value as a landmark; points to the changed code of arms; does not consider the building historic for being too young</p>
	<p>12b seems to appreciate the buildings from the 40s and 50s (did not know they were referred to as colonial-style buildings): “They had the same feel. Two floors, wide, large windows, courtyard.”; does not mind the changes to the building but considers that feeling lost: “But it doesn’t have a feel.”</p>
Western	<p>3a makes reference to the Gate of India</p> <p>the gate looks reconstructed to her and not really old; assumes that Bab al Bahrain contains historic fabric but considered it a new building</p>
	<p>13b finds the refurbished building „sort of more grand.”</p> <p>“It is much more striking now, than it looks in the picture.”</p>
	<p>14a “But it does look like a traditional gate to an old part of the city, the suq.”</p>
	<p>19 finds the 80s version the most appealing.</p> <p>indirectly suggests the new design is more imposing: “Maybe they think it looks more imposing or something.”</p>
	Other internal and external factors
Eastern	<p>16a takes interest in the historic photographs in the pedestrian passages</p> <p>correctly interprets the archaeological windows: “I note that they kept a window here to see that this is an old structure.”</p>

3.3.4 – 8: Authenticity judgments about Bab al-Bahrain building				
Non-architects	East-western	17a	does not refer directly to the need for interpretation but states: “People do not pay attention to this building.” and “Not much people know the importance of this place.” misinterprets the archaeological windows : takes it as a hint that the building was previously unplastered and doubts its authenticity: “It has the original texture I believe, of the old building.” “I think they should show it a little bit more, in a way. The whole façade to show the original texture of the building. Like to elaborate more on it. [...] to show people what is this building made of – maybe in a better way. ” “They added it later on, or, it was there?” He thought “they added it as a fake part of this façade. ” Author: “Why would they do that?” 17a: “Why would they do this [pointing to the screen façade along the Avenue]? You can expect anything from them!” surprised to learn about the coral stone masonry, which makes him doubt the late construction date: „But I didn’t know that they used this material. If it’s this material I would definitely say even before 50s.”	
		33b	when passing the photo of the southern elevation of the gate in the pedestrian passage: “Oh, I did not pay attention that it is different!” correctly interprets the purpose of the archaeological window as a means to display the original fabric	
		32	points to the lack of research into the history of the building in the refurbishment	
	Western	20	[translated from German by the author] points to the benefit of the historic photographs in the pedestrian passages which allow for a comparison of the current and historic state of the site questions the appropriateness of the archaeological windows as a didactic means particularly without additional interpretation : “They are not convincing. I am not sure they are even necessary. They are arranged side-by-side with those wall niches, in which historic photographs are on display, which nicely show how the site looked in the past. In conjunction with those, the additional layer of windows to the past and material samples is rather irritating. Particularly since no information accompanies them. So, you don’t know what it is about.”	
	Eastern	East-architects	4b	understands the purpose of the archaeological window after discussing the matter in Qaisariya but it evokes some confusion: at first she ponders the windows might indicate the original appearance of the walls, than she considers it might hint to a predecessor building as she doubts the government building would have been built of coral stone or at least they would not leave been exposed: “It’s not like the old houses we have seen before. I don’t know. It’s a government thing. They will pay money to built, not like those built by hand. This is like to show that it was used, maybe not Bab al-Bahrain, but other buildings here... no?”; seems to consider it purpose-built rather than authentic fabric; she considers the detail makes the building more Bahraini probably because of the association to the local vernacular
			11a	did not notice the archaeological windows; when asked about it considers it purpose built to indicate that the building was originally not plastered: Author: “Why do you think this is here?” 11a: “I think to remind that this is how it was in the past.” likes the archaeological window as a memory marker
			15a	appreciates the historic photographs in the pedestrian passages took archaeological windows for decoration, appreciates them more when he learns the meaning of it. Asking about the material authenticity of the building inside one of the pedestrian passages: 15a: “It is definitely renewed. But I don’t know how old it is.” Author: “Is there anything here that can give you a clue? 15a: “This one, but I don’t know if it is real or not. Maybe it is just decoration. Maybe it is a part that they left to show how old the building is.” Author: “They left it to show what the building is made of.” 15a: “Really? Oh, now I appreciate it way more! It has a meaning to it. But it has nothing written to it, that this is the original. I thought it was only a piece of decoration. I did not know it is the real stones.” lack of interpretation facilities
			18a	seems to interpret the archaeological windows correctly. Author: “What do you think this is up there [pointing to the archaeological window].” 18a: “Stone.” Author: “Why is it there?” 18a: “Historic this one.”
	East-	8b	understands the didactic purpose of the archaeological window after discussing the same feature in Qaisariya; surprise: “Was it really built like that? Was it really built with these rocks? [...] I didn’t know that. I thought it was built of concrete.”	

3.3.4 – 8: Authenticity judgments about Bab al-Bahrain building		
Western	9c	understands the didactic purpose of the archaeological window after discussing the same feature in Qaisariya
	10a	at first derives from the archaeological window that the wall was originally unplastered. “I think they left it kind of as a reminder of how it was before.” Then revises this first interpretation and concludes the stones might be displayed to show that the building is old. He considers the feature successful: Author: “What do you think about that?” 10a: “I think it’s a good way to put it. I mean, if I guessed it, then I guess the average person would guess that if he sees it. I think they reached the goal.”
	12b	asked about the archaeological window 12b: “They tried to keep some of the old walls. But otherwise...” Author: “Why do you think that ‘window’ is there?” 12b: “Just to show. It is an architectural finishing more than anything else . Author: “What do you think about it?” 12b: “No opinion. It’s ok.”
	3b	pointed to the need for interpretation that would bring the by-passer’s attention to the archaeological window after having passed it without noticing it during the visit: “But then, it should not be hidden. I mean, nobody knows about that place. So there should be some indicators.... [...] At least a sign that tells me that there is something interesting to look at – concerning the window, I mean.”
	13b	unable to identify the purpose of the archaeological window (but recognizes it as the same feature as in Qaisariya): “Oh, you didn’t tell me what that square is!” Author: “Ah, ya, the same here.” 13b: “I still don’t know.” Author: “What do you think?” 13b: “I have no idea. To show what it looks like without the plaster?” Author: “Yes, to show the construction material.” 13b: “ I don’t think that works . Because if I come here and I see it, it is not clear to me why it is there. I would think, oh, there used to be door here or a window and then they closed it. That would be my first association.”
	19	Expresses his wish for more commemoration of Sir Charles Belgrave in Bahrain in general.

3.3.4 – 9: Authenticity judgements about the other interventions at the site		
Architects Eastern	16a	remembers Bab al-Bahrain Avenue [possibly referring to Al Mutanabi Avenue instead of Bab al-Bahrain Avenue] in the past to have been narrower and less tidy: “For me, as much as I remember, I feel that the place was in a mess. I can’t remember exactly architectural features. But because it was really old. You know like any other old market that you feel it is so busy and there is no order ... But what I think what they tried to do is to put it a bit into order . But architecture wise it is again what I told you. We are trying to capture something to feel this is Since this is the old city.... So, it should look like the old city, and by adding elements, might be that there were some existing and that they build over it by adding more . That is my impression. It looks nice now. But yet, it might be a part of a moviemaking place . That’s what I am trying to say.” 16a [referring to the screen façade]: “ So, this is a facelift .” Author: “This is how they call the project.” 16a: “Really? Ok, interesting. [laughing] Good, that they know, it is.” [...] Author: “Why do you think they put the “facelift”?” 16a: “Because I think they wanted to generate this old feeling, with the old motives ... look they chose, some specific element that they want to develop from the historic Bahraini architecture. So, they have this idea, whatever is behind this wall, does not fit. [...] And they wanted to put everything into order , so they just thought, instead of working it bit by bit and wall by wall, they just did it the easiest way, just to make a face lift.” [...] Author: “Now, if this was a movie screen - what time does it take you to?” 16a: “The movie? I don’t know. Because I doubt that something like this existed in the past . [laughing] I think this is our fantasy about the past, but it is not the past .” Autor: “Which fantasy past would that be? What did they have in mind?” 16a: “ Thousand night and one night! That’s a fantasy that never existed. Usually in the movies, specially the European or American movies, they are talking about the area – Egypt, or the middle east – the Gulf area, they usually figure out that it should look like that. I think so.” Author: “But it is a Bahraini firm that did this.” 16a: “Yes, I know. But, you know, now it is difficult to say who did this and who did that. We have this global influence. So you’ll never figure it out.” Author: “So, what do you feel in terms of authenticity in this place ?” 16a: “As I told you, I feel that it is a place in a movie that never existed. It does not relate to anything in the old city in Bahrain .” Autor: “So, is that something bad for you, or is that ok?” 16a: “As an architect, I think,

3.3.4 – 9: Authenticity judgements about the other interventions at the site

yanni, as a person, you don't like... especially expats, they come and are overwhelmed by the old city. **It is not fun that you discover that you are walking in a place that is not real, ok?** It is as if creating a new mall. So, if you are creating a new mall, so let's do a new mall. Why make something and say that this is a picture of our old city, and it is not? So, but we can say that we have a very nice modern mall in the heart of Manama Suq. And all of the people who will be rushing to see how they did that ultra-modern, high-tech inside this old city and how it fits nicely, and the contrast. And we can have, what they are trying to do in Muharraq now. That they have spots of really old buildings that they are preserving as it is. So after we go through the mall, we go and see Bayt so and so, that is really old, wow, and we start to be overwhelmed by this real historic contrast. **I feel it is not fun walking around something that was built to imitate something that did not exist."**

identifies the **screen facade**: "No, I did not hear that they added a screen. I just noticed it now. The windows and the structure behind."

identifies the **rhythm of the facade of the mall building** to be reminiscent of the neighboring historic structures and as a continuation of design along the Avenue

uncertain but tends to think that the **mall building** is entirely new, wonders what would have been in the space before "I don't know what was behind it. But I feel that all is new. I think it's all new."

"I am not sure if it is an extension to the Old Police Station or if it is a new addition and they took the motive of the handrail and completed this street to make a continuity. Maybe this is the way they thought. **Maybe these are totally new buildings.** I believe that up to this gate this was the Police station, so this is the old building. And I think they imposed the issue of the old handrail on that building, just to look as if it completes it. Might be." Author: "Do you think there is anything historic in this one?" 16a: "I think **the rhythm** that is here, somehow resembles the rhythm there [the Old Police Station and Post Office]. But I am not sure if it is that old or not. **But my first impression is that this is new and they used some elements just to complete the feeling that it is old."**

identifies the **portals** as additions: "Ah, of course, **this is totally ... not old. I'm bad sure about that.** When they do this sort of intervention. Sometimes they use very modern stuff beside the old one, but it is not modern, I mean a new one with the same traditional stuff, beside an old one. **So, when you put them together you just ruin the old one. Because you give the impression that all is fake.**" "[...] But definitely the entrances look new. Very new and **I doubt that even the arches of the entrances are related to the old Bahraini architecture.** I doubt it at this point. I am not sure."

"Whenever you try to use a new thing with an old thing, everything is mixed, you can't tell the authenticity of the thing."

atrium space in the interior of the mall: "I think this is what I saw. And I saw it from the small alley [Al Mutanabi Avenue on the rear]. So, I have never been to the big walkway. **And I liked this space from the outside. I liked that it is a huge space. Because I felt at that time it is hard to find very big spaces, especially that they do art stuff here, in the heart of the old city.** So, I was thinking at that time, how did they create it. And they used these modern waves and that stuff. For me as I told you **the space is nice. The idea of using something very modern for the structure is nice, but not that form. The idea is nice. But, again, this is really not real. It is not real.** So, generally, if we are talking about the space, it is not successful. But again, **the issue of having this wide space in the heart of Manama is really nice. Especially, if it has art exhibitions, it has this cultural essence, it is really nice.** But I think **architectural-wise, we don't need to use these old motives. It can be a just modern thing that fits the area."**

comparing the **interior of the mall and the refurbished Bab al-Bahrain Avenue**: "I feel that **what was done on the walkway is better than the interior.** I mean concerning that new element using the old, historic elements. **I feel both of them are not real, ok? But what is done in the walkway is better for me,** might be because of the colours they are using, **less motives.** Because here, the motives, and the differentiation between them. Also, the rhythm is better outside than inside. I feel that the shades here were just added like this. There is no language between the elements. **I don't think there was an old mall here?"**

shown the historic photo of the **Government Shops and Offices** she assumes they were built at the same time as the gate and Police Station and Post Office as an ensemble and as a commercial and administrative place as an extension to the Police Station and Post Office

3.3.4 – 9: Authenticity judgements about the other interventions at the site

	<p>when comparing to the historic photograph of the Government Shops and Offices to the mall building, she is at first confused about what has been preserved and what might be rebuilt; points to variations from the original in the proportions of the wall openings, rhythm of the pilasters and windows as well as the missing parapet details: [comparing the photo with the mall building] Author: “Do you think the building is the one in the picture?” 16a: “No, no. I can tell you why. The rhythm here is different, 1, 2, 3, 4 and here? 1, 2,3 4, they keep the same number of columns, but I feel it is not the same rhythm. And here are windows, there are no windows.” Author: “If you look at the top?” 16a: “Of course they took of whatever it had.” instantly identifies the southern facade of the mall building as new, despite the mix of historicizing and contemporary elements identifies the Old Post Office and Police Station as rather unchanged and the original building and considers it to be built at the same time as Bab al-Bahrain originally: „But it seems that it was built at the same time as the Bab, for the same issue, the columns they are using,...” irritated by the parapet design of the building: “I don’t know why they added this pitched roof [tympnasium]. [...] Which is a bit strange for modern style. That’s why.” when asked to take a closer look at the Customs House she notices the screen façade.</p>
<p>17 a</p>	<p>the site does not feel like a historic place to him, for the lack of historic buildings and because of the recent intervention: “The suq itself it had many buildings. But right now, it is just one long façade. It does not show the interaction of these buildings.” Post Office and Police Station „I think, they maintained it the way it looked before. That is just a feeling.” [comparing to the historic photograph of Bab al-Bahrain] “I can see it is more or less the same. [...] So it wasn’t demolished, was it? [...] I just had a feeling that it is the same.” ensemble character: notices the similarities between the original parapet detailing of Bab al-Bahrain building and Post Office and Police Station identifies the original Government Shops and Offices as “a continuation” of the Post Office and Police Station and to originally having hosted offices mall building: identifies the palatial gates to be addition to the mall building imitating “a typical traditional arch in Bahrain” (Muharraq) discussing the screen façade: Author: “Do you think most people know?” 17a: “No, I didn’t know myself before. But then, when I came many times and I worked in Gulf House I noticed it.” Customs House: at close look, he identifies the shading facade as an addition. considers the added facade to now be part of the building and that it should be at least partially kept as testimony: “I think now, this is part of the building.” Author: “So you think, they should rather keep it?” 17a: “It would be nice to remove it to show the real building. But still, this is now just a part of the project. I don’t know. [...] Maybe just one part you can remove and keep another.”</p>
<p>21 a</p>	<p>considers the Post Office and Police Station preserved for its continued usage: “This building, the police station, is still there I believe. [...] Because this was in use (the police station). Bab al-Bahrain was not used.” thought that the façade of the Government Shops and Offices was preserved: “This here, some, traditional that was there [the Government Shops and Offices]. And it is still there, I think, and they renovated the façade of it, I think.”</p>
<p>22</p> <p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">East-western</p>	<p>describes the screen façade and street shading as cosmetic surgery: “Whatever we say... this is pastiche, this is only a layer on the top of another.... This is what it was [showing picture of the elevation opposite the mall prior to the intervention]. What do you want to conserve here? [...] And this is where we come... despite whether we disagree or agree... at least this brought back the scale to the street. Because we broke the scale and we hide whatever is behind it. This is the reality. It is like any cosmetic surgery. We do it. People do it.” explains that in the design of the mall building structural deficiencies of the Government Shops and Offices, functional and financial concerns including of the operation of the mall and heritage conservation were considered; points to the fact that the project visually “kept the memory” and that culture changes: “But in fact, culture is always subject to change.” façade design of the mall building: “[...] more or less we have used the same languages and they tried to duplicate it. [...] But we were at the same time in a way bold enough to say: look, this is a glass façade and so on. It is like what Pei did in the Louvre, where he put his glass pyramid. I am not saying to compare Pei and Ahmed.”</p>

3.3.4 – 9: Authenticity judgements about the other interventions at the site

32	<p>considers Bab al-Bahrain building, the Post Office and Police Station and the Custom House the only remaining historic, stone buildings at the site</p> <p>considers the Post Office and Police Station: “It is authentic. Changes have been made in the inside.”</p> <p>thinks that the restored Custom House will better show the history of the site than many other buildings there; considers that with its exposed location at the important traffic artery and opposite Bab al-Bahrain building it has a big impact and will enhance the “historic value” of Bab al-Bahrain Square</p>
33	<p>prior to the site visit he recalls the mall building as new: “From what I noticed, it is all new. I did not see anything old there.”</p> <p>prior to the site visit he tends to believe the eastern side of Bab al-Bahrain Avenue to be also new although it looks old: “It looks old, but I think it might be new.”</p> <p>when visiting the site in the evening he identifies the entire intervention in the Bab al-Bahrain Avenue being new and with surprise notices the screen façade when told to look up: Author: “So let us focus on that then [the Avenue, looking south]. You said you were not sure if the left side was old or not.” 33: “I don’t know. But now looking at it, I think it is new. I don’t think it is old.” Author: “Let us walk to the end and look right and left and see what you notice. You have the photo of the old Government offices and shops to see how they originally looked. But you already knew that that was rebuilt.” 33: “This is completely new, yes [the mall]. This [the eastern side] looks to me new as well.” Author: “Unfortunately it is dark now. So, it is even harder to see.” 33: “I think, yes, it is new also.” Author: “Have a look up.” 33: “Ah, ok, yes. There is double skin. [laughing] ok. So, did they just hide the old buildings with this façade? [...] So, they just built a new façade. Which I think should have been maybe the other way around. To keep the old façade and rebuilt what is inside. Or reinforce it. If it was worth preserving.”</p> <p>identifies the traditional portals in the mall façade as borrowed from vernacular residential buildings</p> <p>considers the façade design of the mall building rather similar to the original but finds it fake including the portals of the mall building: “They rebuilt it, I think, to the same. More or less. But it doesn’t look as impressive as this one. Something is off-putting about it.” Author: “What is it?” 33: “I don’t know. Maybe it is the colour. Or the signage. But it looks very fake.” Author: “What about this corner detail or the entrance detail?” 33: “Well, yes, this, I mean, is clearly.... Again, is it a style? Did they built it because it is a nice style, or did they built it to mimic the old?” Author: “The old picture is here. [...]” [comparing to the historic photograph] 33: “Oh, so this did not exist at all, ok. [...] Yes, this is why it is off-putting. They merged different traditional elements into what was there. They infused a different style. Whereas this is harmonious and consistent [the original Government Shops and Offices]. This, you have intersections that, I think, affect the harmony of what was there negatively.”</p> <p>also identifies the interior of the mall building as entirely new due to the details; does not think anybody could mistake the architecture as being old. “Maybe some people are not aware of these things. But I think it is clear, that this is new.” If somebody took it for old fabric for him it would be “the same way that someone would go to Disneyland and see the Wall Disney Palace and think it is old.” “It is Disneyland to us.”</p> <p>considers it problematic: “For the outsider who has no background about the area it might be a bit deceiving.”</p> <p>would consider the reconstruction of the Government Shops and Offices less problematic if the building had been faithfully reconstructed in terms of construction techniques and materials.</p> <p>prior to the site visit he considers that “nothing” except possibly a “façade upgrade” had been carried out at the Post Office and Police Station; when visiting the site and interior of the building during the interior refurbishment works, he revises his statement: “I think only the façade maybe what remains, and the internal layout was different.”</p>
20	<p>[translated from German] considers that the aim of creating a traditional feel in Bab al-Bahrain Avenue was achieved: “I think the plan totally paid off.”</p> <p>considers the site historic but Bab al-Bahrain Avenue a newly designed space that “mimes” an older historic phase than the one the actual fabric on the site represents: “I gained the impression to be at a historic place from the configuration of the Avenue, the typology with the shops to the left and right and from the simple way the walls are structured with pilasters and niches. [...] It was foremost these textile shadings expanded from the roof, that gave me the impression</p>

3.3.4 – 9: Authenticity judgements about the other interventions at the site

Western	<p>that I am entering a newly designed space. They might be reminiscent of older structures, but they gave me the impression that this is new. [...] Due to various elements, I had the impression to be at a site with a history. The discrepancy became very obvious when entering the <u>mall</u> – this glitter-palace.”</p> <p>partly due to the “compartmentalized design and small scales” of the <u>mall building’s façade</u> and corresponding <u>screen façade</u> on the other side of the Avenue he finds the site characterized by a “pseudo-orientalist historicism”</p> <p>At first does identify the <u>screen façade</u> in the Avenue, also due to the evening visit without daylight; later notices it</p> <p>considers screen façade in the Avenue not convincing from a conservationist’s point of view the, “But if one looks at the overall design, the place gets framed by it. Design-wise it has certain coherence. But it is confusing of course, because it seems not to be contemporary.”</p> <p>considers the site’s liveliness and <u>continuity of use</u>, the survival of the <u>commercial functions</u> at the site within the historic suq area a crucial element of its authenticity. „I would have liked to see more liveliness in the Avenue.”</p>
4b	<p>Bab al Bahrain Avenue is no traditional Bahraini suq for her: „Because, you know, it wasn’t like this. I was only one storey, not two storeys. And there were no gates like this, the shading also. Still, they are trying to...”</p> <p>considers the architecture of the urban refurbishment to be a remake of traditional Gulf architecture</p> <p>spirit and feeling: “But I like this idea to just copy things from the past and then bring them alive again. But I have a different feeling. When I come across Qaisariya Suq I feel I am proud of my ancestors, or whatever. But now [at Bab al-Bahrain], I don’t have this feeling.”</p> <p>at first considers the historicizing architectural interventions in Bab al-Bahrain Avenue as historic fabric, before identifying the <u>screen façade</u> when hinted to it: Author: “Now, when we look inside the Avenue. What do you think about this place?” 4b: Well, I used to come here before. So, the shops are the same, but they added these wooden doors. It wasn’t like this. And they put the names of the shops. 4b: “And are these buildings historic? Or old?” 4b: “I am not sure – if 40s or 50s. But yes, they are old.” Author: “They are the same as post office?” 4b: “ya, maybe.” Author: “Have a close look.” 4b: “Because of these things...” Author: “The arches?” 4b: “Ah, no, it’s new. The building behind is old. I can see it now. Finally! But these two walls they are new.” Author: “So this is just a wall?” 4b: “Ya. Oh, I can see! Ya, it’s new. It’s new!”</p> <p>The intervention in Bab al-Bahrain Avenue reminds her of a similar project in Dubai she saw 7 years ago and which actually served as reference for the urban refurbishment: Author: “And what does this architecture remind you of? What kind of architecture is that, you think? Or what is it supposed to be?” 4b: “Gulf architecture. Because when I went to Dubai they have the same thing.” Author: “Really? Where?” 4b: “In old Dubai Suq. There are some differences, I mean, but they have the same style, with the wooden things and the lights. But the roof is different. But the same idea. They just renewed the old suq. I have seen this before. Actually, I saw it in Dubai first. I went like 7 years ago. And then in Bahrain they had this idea. And then we said, oh, they had a replica of that idea. [...] But it is not necessarily a replica. In the Gulf we have the same style of building with some differences. So, of course if they renew it, then it’s the same.”</p> <p>comparing the <u>mall building</u> with the historic photos of the Government Shops and Offices she notices the added gates, the missing shading and parapet wall but judges the reconstruction to be similar to the original</p> <p>uncertain whether the southern facade of the mall building is new and imitating the vernacular building style or reconstructed but tends to consider it a reconstruction, also because she remembers having seen the wall being built: “Those, maybe they are new. [...] Traditional, yes, but because I have seen that they built this wall and it has the same style. And this is a new wall, then this is going to be new. Or maybe, the original one was here, it was old, and then they copied this style for the whole street.” „But I think they got this idea of these things [vernacular buildings], they have seen a wall, they liked it and they just copied it. Or maybe an architect knew what was the style of this building and he just design this style. I don’t know if this one is the real one or not [southern elevation]. But that one is old!” [pointing to the <u>vernacular building in the vicinity</u> as being old in comparison to the southern façade of the mall building)</p> <p>considers most visitors to the area expatriates and tourists</p> <p>points to the preserved roundabout with the fountain</p>

3.3.4 – 9: Authenticity judgements about the other interventions at the site

Non-architects Eastern	<p>points to the shops still being the same as prior to the refurbishment</p> <p>points to Bab market as a regular event, which she has heard about not visited yet</p> <p>considers the Post Office and Police Station the only preserved historic building at the site (points to the gallery, the <i>danshal</i> roofs, the windows and the wall niches as traditional features) and Bahraini in character; doubts whether the parapet wall of the Police Station and Post Office is original or a new addition; Author [pointing to the Post Office and Police Station]: “So this one, you said, is historic?” 4b: “Ya. Well, it is new now. They painted it again. But it’s the historic style. The wooden think and the niches and...” [...] Author: “And the very top?” 4b: “I think it was like those stones again and then they covered it. Or maybe just the style again. Ok, the niches is ok. But that one on the top, I am not sure if it was really here or not.”</p> <p>identifies the Customs House as an older stone building when comparing to the historic photo</p>
	<p>11 ab</p> <p>considers the authenticity of the site impaired due to the facsimile heritage design and the loss of the original designs but considers it a heritage site: “Even inside in the suq [Bab al-Bahrain Avenue] it was not like that. But they rebuilt again to become like heritage look. Since I came here they changed how many times the picture of this site? They preserve it for being heritage look. If you come here from Bab al-Bahrain you feel ‘wow, this is Bahrain heritage area’. But they already renovated it.” Author: “So is it really a heritage area or not?” 11a: “It is heritage but they renovated now everything. Like they made it more stronger. Not like very, very heritage. Now it has touch of professional hand. They make only the design of heritage building, but it is not now the original one.” (11a)</p> <p>comparing the Bab al-Bahrain Avenue with the historic photograph of it – she finds the ensemble character reduced as the coherent design of the historic buildings was lost with the modernisations; nevertheless, she prefers the current state and feels no regret about the loss of the original buildings: “What we have now is more unique. Now everything is modern, more comfortable for shopping. I like this.” (11a)</p> <p>considers the architectural design along the Avenue Bahraini but doubts that it truthfully depicts the original local building style: “This is the heritage style. But I think this is still not the Bahraini, Bahraini fashion.” (11a)</p> <p>points out that both sides of the Avenue were refurbished to match each other</p> <p>considers the portals of the mall building as well as the screen façade wall “Bahraini, Arab design”, however she does not consider them heritage as she seems aware they were newly built.</p> <p>comparing to the historic photograph, she finds the mall building on the exterior not majorly changed</p> <p>thinks that the interior of the mall is entirely newly built in traditional style but is not very certain if it also contains historic fabric: “This is old design. I think new. I am not sure now. Maybe they only painted it. They renovated everything, made it more strong. They become modern. Still, you can see the heritage things. Still, it’s modern.” (11a)</p> <p>points to the lamp inside the mall building as a very traditional, Arab feature</p> <p>during the interview she identifies the mall building to copy the British style</p> <p>Post Office and Police Station: „They preserved this building because they think it is a historical building of them.“ “still looks heritage, but not too much heritage. Because they modernized it. Maybe I look for a very old look.” (11a)</p> <p>after being told the construction history of the gate she identifies the Post Office and Police Station as British colonial architecture</p> <p>points to the vernacular building in the vicinity to point out the difference</p> <p>prefers the approach taken in the Post Office over the one of the gate for the fewer changes: „For me, as heritage it is better to have this, the old one”. (11a)</p> <p>When asked to have a closer look at the Customs House she notices the old structure behind and assumes that the façade was put around as a brace to make the building stronger: “They added the façade but they did not change the whole building.” (11b) Author: “What do you think should they do with it?” 11b: According to what they want. To make it look more heritage or to modernize.” Author: “What do YOU think they should do?” 11b: “To look heritage. For me I want it to be renovated to look heritage but modern. Like strong. Heritage style only.”</p> <p>Author: “Do you prefer they do it like the mall – they demolish and rebuilt – or they keep the old one?” 11b: “Ya, I think this better. Because it is a historical area. Author: “So better to keep?” 11b: “Ya.”</p>

<p>15 a</p>	<p>points to the continuity of shops and owners: “The same owner who owned the shops before the renovation, they are still there. They only renewed the buildings, but the owners are still there the same. And the same mentality.”</p> <p>the mall building: “I think they tore down most of the building and built a new one.”</p> <p>considers the mall building not authentic because a new building: “It’s a new place. [...] I know it is not original. As long as it is not original it cannot be authentic.”</p> <p>considers the shops in the mall authentic for their products and not being international franchises</p> <p>considers the mall Bahraini “Is it Bahraini?” “For a mall yes. If you compare it to any other mall, it is the most Bahraini mall.”</p> <p>Author: “What is the Bahraini thing in it?”</p> <p>15a: “I know they tried to make it still look like a market on the outside. But I like the doors, they are very traditional Bahraini. Even the colours. The merlons are Bahraini. The fence of the balconies. And if you notice the shops, none of them are international franchises. Most of them are Bahraini. It starts with Nassif the ice cream shop, Safron, which is a new Bahraini restaurant selling authentic Bahraini food. The ministry of social development shop, they sell what Bahraini families make. [talking about the Bahraini handicraft shop] Everything here is made by Bahraini families. [talking about the capital mall for Bahraini handicraft in Karranah] I love the boats most of all. I think it is a monument, when you put it in your house. I give those boast to my friends as a gift. In here, I think this is a new shop. No offence to any other shop, but you don’t see Zarah, or Massimo Dutti, which do not represent anything of this area. That is why I like this place. And if you notice, it is a bit quite.”</p> <p>does not remember the Government Shops and Offices; thinks they might have been lower: “I know the shops but I never paid attention to the buildings.”</p> <p>Comparing to the historic photograph of the Government Shops and Offices: “It is like a copy of it. A renewed copy without the rain nossels [gutters].” Also notices the added gates.</p> <p>“Now, that I know that it is exactly the same design, it has more sentimental meaning to me. Because although it is not the real, old building but it looks exactly the same.”</p> <p>southern façade and interior of the mall: “It looks better than a modern mall. I prefer the old looks, the traditional look of a building – specially in a place where it is a bit touristy. I really like the idea. And it is mixing old and new. Actually, it is a very nice touch. Especially when you are in the mall, half of it is glass,.....”</p> <p>had notices the screen façade in one place in the past when entering a shop after the refurbishment and finding it unchanged in the interior: “It’s renewed, how come it is the same shop inside exactly?! Then I realized it is only a cover, which is a very nice touch and very cost-effective.” “Now, that you mentioned it, I notice more the façade all over the place.”</p> <p>he is unsure how much has been torn down and how much has been kept and covered with the screen façade</p> <p>Avenue: “Now, that you mentioned it, I notice more the façade all over the place.” Author: “But still you like it?” 15a: “Yes.”</p> <p>identifies the Police Station and Post Office to be original; thereupon assumes it was designed by Belgrave; he assumes that the facade is new based on the good condition of the building “I think it is just a shell covering the lower part of the building. It is the original building behind it. Am I right?”</p> <p>asked about his association he points to the local building materials and techniques that make the building Bahraini in character: Author: “Does it look Bahraini to you or English?” 15a: “That’s a good question. Never thought about it this way. It has nothing Bahraini about it.” Points out the parapet detail as not Bahraini as a stylistic features, while he admits the ceiling details, the windows, railings to be local. “But if you think about it. This building was built in Bahrain with materials from Bahrain. So, this is what is available.”</p> <p>points to the parapet wall of the Post Office and Police Station as a colonial feature: „If we go back to the columns. We never had this square thing on the top, the one we saw in the police station in Bab al-Bahain. Yes, we had columns, it’s a must for structural reason. But we never had these.“</p> <p>concerned about the costs and weakness of the vernacular building structure: “I do appreciate what the MoC is doing by protecting this place. But I think it costs them a lot to maintain it. Because the building itself is weak from the foundations all the way up.” Author: “What makes you think that it is weak?” 15a: “Because the way they built these buildings, they were not</p>
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	<p>supposed to live for that long. And plus, this building is a special case. It is on a solid ground.”</p> <p>notices the architectural similarities of the Post Office and Police Station to the original version of the gate (points out the same parapet detailing), finds the building “very governmental”</p> <p>asked him to try look beyond the screen façade of the new post office, he does not notice anything; identifies the old building (Customs House) when comparing the status quo in 2014 with the historic photograph: “There is a building but I cannot tell if it is the same or not. But if it is the same... Ah! This building is old!”</p>
18 a	<p>Considers the site to be the „old city“ but only in „old style“, „only look old but it’s new“</p> <p>comparing to the historic photos of the Avenue, she points to the changed windows and top part of the mall building and to the changes on the opposite side</p> <p>considers the mall building preserved: “Design different, but the building is still there.”</p> <p>identifies the southern facade of the mall building as new</p> <p>entering the interior of the mall building: “I think it is a new place but old style.”</p> <p>points to the vernacular building in the vicinity as the only old one around</p>
38	<p>The four senior gentlemen discuss the names of important traders who have their businesses on the site (Zayani, Ajaji, Kanoo, Ashraf) and still come to the area while the buildings have been built anew: 38-1: “It is better than before. Ashraf is a very known name. Old merchant, also he comes there until now. And I am here from 70 years. But this building is new. They demolished the old one, they built it new. I took same places they had. And this one, I added to this. Before it was closed. Because for my office and my pharmacy.”</p> <p>They (38x3) consider the Post Office and Police Station the original building.</p> <p>Customs House: 38-2: “The building in front, it was the custom. Bahrain custom.” 38-1: [...] Custom it was not like this. It was only one story. It was old type. Room was very small. One Indian, I don’t know what his name, I don’t remember now, he the director of customs and people go by walk, now they go to Mina Salman to clear the goods. Before it was all here. From here, up to the sea, about 100, 200 meters. The old Custom here.” 38-2: “The port, here it was. It</p>
	<p>was the only port.”</p> <p>Author: “When did they enlarge the custom house? When did they add the second floor?” 38-1: “It was some of them two storey, but very old one. More than 70 years. And 70 years they changed it. 60 years, or something.” Author: “and now they change it back.” 38-1: “Yes. there is no custom here.” Author: “What do you think about them changing the building back again?” 38-1: “They are renewing, not changing.” 38-2: “They are renovating now to keep it as it was before.” Author: “Do you think that is good?” 38-1: “Yes.”</p>
39	<p>Bab al-Bahrain Avenue: asked if he witnesses any changes to Bab al-Bahrain in recent year: “No, only painting. Painting only change. Little. All there old. Same this street, post office also old designs. So many years old they designed it. Also, Bab al-Bahrain, the gate. “</p> <p>considers the site’s buildings new with the exception of Bab al-Bahrain building and the Post Office and Police Station: Author: “And how about this building in the front?” 39: “That one, Police station and near that Bab al-Bahrain Suq. Inside mall.” Author: “And the mall is old or new?” 39: “Same time. New. but that one old, old palace [Bab al-Bahrain].”</p>
40	<p>do not consider the site changed in recent years: Author: “And the street behind?” 40-1: “Yes, this is market inside.” Author: “Did that change?” 40-2: “No change. Only making new shop up there, from this way. [the mall]”</p>
41	<p>considers the site little changed but mentions that malls have been built around Bahrain. “41: The street behind they call it Bab al-Bahrain Shop. There is the same thing before. Same as before. Nothing changed. Except, we have some mall. They call it Seef mall, and city centre mall, and Aali mall. Before we don’t have mall. Before we only have this local shops.” Author: “The suq.” 41: “Yes, the suq.” Author: “And here in the suq, behind the gate. Nothing changed?” 41: “No, nothing changed. Just some things. Before they let the people drive one side.”</p> <p>Customs House: “This was the post office before.” Author: “And before that?” 41: “They are going to renovate it, I think, now. They are going to make it same design before, but they will change the colour, I think. We call it al Barid.”</p>
East-western 8b	<p>does not consider anything in the mall building historic:</p> <p>“It’s doesn’t look like anything is historic. I mean they have recreated elements, like different patterns, and the woodwork, and the balconies. But it’s all recreation. And I think it is a good place to recreate this. It’s nice. I like these lights a lot. They should have had a chandelier like</p>

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this outside instead of that crap. I think it's beautiful. Even the glass. To let in light from the top is a good idea. Because it is a sunny country and that is part of its identity. **I mean this whole place is about the identity of the country. I'm talking specifically this square, this building and the buildings behind it. The rest of the suq is a different matter, like I said, but as long as it showcases an identity of the country it's more important than whether a wall is old or new.**" identifies the **palatial gates on the mall's facade** as added design features commenting on what he mistakenly takes as a picture of Sir Charles Belgrave on display in the mall: "For a time, every sheikh had his own British advisor, and every advisor had his own island or something. And **our history is linked to these people**. I think everyone in the Middle East had a British psychic." (**colonial heritage**) identifies the **Post Office and Police Station** as the preserved, repaired historic building replastered: "No, the mall is obviously 2 or 3 years old. But that is probably the original structure just restored and some elements added to it." Author: "What would you think is added?" 8b: "The plastering. Those wooden ceilings, they are probably renovated or repainted. Maybe old cracks were fixed."

Surprised to find out, that the Custom Houses enshrines a building from the 40ies and to partly restore it as part of the historic urban ensemble while preserving testimony to the different architectural and historical periods that shaped the building: "And that changes everything! I mean, I thought, - and that is very subjective as well - I thought that they should somehow preserve this as a testimony to the crappy architecture of the 70s. But I didn't know that if you remove the facade, you can have the building complement that [Bab al-Bahrain]. So, it changes the value. Or maybe you can combine both in some genius move. Half of it that, half of it that. Maybe you should do this. [...] Make it half Bab al-Bahrain, half oil-money crap. This is oil-money crap. That's what it is. It's part of history. **I think the good and the bad should be preserved in a way, it's all part of who we are.**"

during the site visit, he identified the **screen facade** which he had not noticed before: "So, they probably just 'façaded' it." He was not able to identify the details of the intervention: "I cannot see. They did it in the right way."

"Oh, ya, there is 1970s crap behind. I can't even think if this is any form of architecture. It's just crap." Author: "So, it's a good thing they covered it up?" 8b: "Ya, it's a good thing."

identifies the main purpose of the **screen facade** and the **street shading** and generally approves of it: "**They are really trying to hide everything around**. Maybe that is why this stuff is here? Is it [the textile shades above the street] for the heat or is it to hide what's above?"

identifies the **screen facade** and the **mall building** of the Avenue to be **newly built "from the ground up" in new materials but nevertheless refers to it a restoration** **considers the character of the mall maintained:** "And it's built with elements of Bahraini architecture and it's built to showcase something, ok? And that is what it has been made to again." **associates southern facade of the mall building with vernacular buildings;** when discussing the mall building, he points out the **vernacular building in the vicinity** for being the same kind of architecture, but not restored

refers to the **traditional local brand names** at the site and in Suq al-Manama and the **longstanding cosmopolitanism:** "Like there are **big Bahraini family names now**, like perfume shops and gold smiths who came from India or Indonesia or Yemen"

points to **Naseef Café in the mall as intangible heritage and the importance of local brands:** "Here at least you have *Naseef*, people who were sweet-makers in Bahrain for a long time."

considers the refurbishment of the site a tool for international politics, for gaining political influence and recognition internationally: "But they wanted to try and show that they are on the way to becoming a modern state. Which is actually very similar to what the MoC is doing now. **They are not restoring for the sake of the Bahrainis as much as they are restoring for the sake of international recognition.**"

anchors the site's authenticity in symbolism and function and hence preserved despite the change in architectural features and materials

"To me it doesn't matter whether it is built up from the ground or if whatever was here was renovated, because the value here is in the function more than in the elements and materials."

"This whole place is about the identity of the country." " ... as long as it showcases an identity of the country it's more important than whether a wall is old or new."

little significance attributed to authenticity of material and form including the readability of the

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	<p>age of the buildings at Bab al-Bahrain but does consider that historical circumstances should be reflected in the architecture: “So, with whatever they had at the time they tried to make a powerful state statement. And it worked and it still works today. And in a way I am glad that they didn’t built something more expensive than in NY or so. Because that is what the country really is. The country is a pearling economy – a simple country of families and people who know each other and have traditions. [...] Bahrain is not a modern nation” but a “very old country.”</p> <p>compares to Suq Waqif to illustrate why he considers the reference site authentic: “And the reason why I mentioned Suq Waqif in Qatar is that they built something ... Suq Waqif is the Qatari equivalent of Bab al-Bahrain. It was built as a monument. But then the whole thing dilapidated. So they tore the whole thing down and they built something that looks like an old pearling town nothing like the monument it was built as, and it’s huge! It’s like the whole thing is very huge, and built from scratch and built to look like a market in Riffa – like in the very end. And it’s all filled with tacky cafés with no original owners. And it’s very touristy. And that’s it. There is nothing about it.”</p> <p>By comparing to Suq Waqif he elaborates on how the site is a cosmopolitan, socially integrative and democratic space particularly during events like Bab market. While he criticizes the falsification of historic narratives in the case of Suq Waqif he does not do so in the case of Bab al-Bahrain, where he considers the architectural urban image adequate for the actual geopolitical significance Manama had at the time: 8b: “This is much better.” Author: “Why?” 8b: “Because Suq Waqif is so not in the right place! [...] Even though Doha was part of Bahrain and Qatar was part of Bahrain, THIS was the centre of Bahrain, what you are seeing now, including all of Doha. But Doha is a provincial town. Suq Waqif is too much, it’s like a theme-park.” Author: “You don’t think it looked like that before?” 8b: “No, it looked nothing like that. Because even though they are using traditional materials, it looks so rich. Which it wasn’t. You can’t dissociate this place from the people [Bab al-Bahrain]. But in Suq Waqif it’s totally dissociated from everything inside it.” Author: “But it’s popular, isn’t it?” 8b: “It’s popular. It has Ben and Jerry’s. Here at least you have <i>Naseef</i>, people who were sweet-makers in Bahrain for a long time. But there, everything there is franchised internationally. But there is a falcon store there. But it’s for display. Because no one is going to buy a 60.000 Dollar falcon in the market. It just doesn’t happen. So, it’s very silly. Suq Waqif is silly. It’s a re-creation of a Disney theme-park but it is in the wrong place in downtown Doha. If you want to recreated medieval markets, like Gettysburg and Baltimore then make it as a theme-park and old people as well. But don’t do it in the middle of downtown Doha. It’s just not right. This [Bab al-Bahrain] is what this place meant to be, when Manama decided to be the capital of Bahrain. And, so, it retains that. For example, when the Bab Market started, and for the first time ever there was a street musician playing modern guitar music, there were like thousands of Asian labourers standing in front of it. And this is here, in this alleyway. And looking at something these people have never seen in their life, these people are used to working 12 hours a day, going home, the height of their moment is maybe seeing a movie with their friends once a week. The probably conditions, there is no excuse for that. But they saw something beautiful and they really liked it. They interacted with it. They had never seen something like it before. And I think this is the perfect setting to do something like that. You know, the state is changing, this is something very unique to Bahrain, that the social classes are diminishing a little bit, and everyone has a right to beauty and art and things like that. This happened here. Some of the artists were like: wow, we didn’t mean this as our audience, here, but you made lot’s of people very happy.” Author: “When was that?” 8b: “That was when the Bab market started. Like two or three years ago. That was an excellent use of a space like this! This would never happen in Qatar, because they would just kick the labourers out. They are not even allowed anywhere near it. So, the people don’t see them. So, it is not meant to be the same way. This is an Asian market, this part of Manama always had trade with Asians and so on. Down this very street there is a little tailor, whom I use, a tiny little shop, and you go in there and the guy tailors for Jermaine Jackson, he also tailored a suit for Michal Jackson and he tailors for the New York Nicks, the entire basketball team. And that is a tiny tailor in an alleyway here, only because Jermaine Jackson used to live here for a while, Michal Jackson’s brother. He just walks in there to the tailor: you make such good cloths. And he is now his tailor.”</p>
9c	<p>considers the site historic: “That is how I understood it. That it is historical.”</p> <p>considers the fabric of both sides of Bab al-Bahrain Avenue to date from the 40s or 50s: “The</p>

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	<p>buildings on the right and left I guess was old, maybe from the same, 40s 50s... I think the doors are new but they are not super new, they were already used for some shops. So, it looks natural, organic. The titles of the shops, the fonts, the style, looks modern to me, yet again weaved organically. The lamps on the top, it's a new concept to put in this way, but the lamps itself are old ones. But I think the design to put it in this way is modern." Author: "So, you think they are both old, same time, ... 40s, 50s?" 9c: "Both sides? I wouldn't think that one is older than the other."</p> <p>notices the screen façade only when asked to have a close look. Feels confused about the screen façade but does not mind the intervention. She then judges that it must have been added in the 80s during the first restoration of Bab al-Bahrain building while still considering the mall building to be original 1950s: „Oh, wow! [...] But before your question I wouldn't even doubt a thing, that one is older than the other." Author: "What do you think now, when was this built?" 9c: "Maybe 80s. Maybe when there was the renovation of the gate, could be."</p> <p>comparing to the picture of the Avenue in the 1950s she judges, that the screen wall is what creates the character of a promenade. „Because now when I see it on the picture it's a normal street with shops."</p> <p>comparing the mall building to the picture of the Government Shops and Offices from the 1950s she judges them to be preserved; she notices little differences; only when asked to have closer look she notices the gates and thereupon judges that the building was built probably in the 1980s with the screen façade</p> <p>she is surprised about the information that the mall building and the screen façade are only two years old. "Two years ago?! I am surprised. It's not a negative surprise. It's, mhm, because it felt organic. It could have been from the 80s, but now it's from 2 years. I don't know what I feel. I don't feel this, to be cheated, or...."</p> <p>tends to think the Police station and Post Office is a historic building but considers the upper floor to be new and purposefully built to look historic (finds the wood too smooth; confusion about the slightly different surface colours of the two floors, the upper having a more yellowish off-white colour): "I might have thought that this is an old building. But definitely the wood is new. I see from here that the wood is too smooth and it's like new. [...] But the upper part is not the historic. I could tell that it has been made to look like historical."</p> <p>attributes importance to the fact that the use as police station is still maintained its function refers to the events at the site: "I know that the MoC is still taking care of it and doing different events, the Bab market for example."</p> <p>points out the vernacular building in the vicinity as being "super ancient"</p>
<p>10 ab</p>	<p>partly critical of the interventions for authenticity concerns related foremost to use and atmosphere (refer to 3.5.1 – 7)</p> <p>the site evokes nostalgic feelings due to his personal relation to the site but he never perceived it as a historic place: "No, I did not have the historic notion at all. Like going back to how felt coming here 20 years ago, I felt I was going to the suq, where you buy things."</p> <p>At first does not think that the buildings in Bab al-Bahrain Avenue were entirely demolished and rebuilt but rather refurbished. When asked to have close look at the buildings he reconsiders and judges it „all to be completely new".</p> <p>thinks that the avenue prior to the refurbishment „was not as big as this one" and considers the number of shops increased and that shopping was only possible at ground floor level: "It was a one-storey suq. It wasn't like two stories that you can go upstairs and shop or anything like that. And it wasn't as stylish and "blinky" as this one. That's all."</p> <p>identifies the mall building as new "I can feel that." (also recalls having followed the construction process as a passers-by)</p> <p>uncertain if the interior of the mall is all new or if some old structures were maintained along Bab al-Bahrain Avenue; it makes no difference to him if parts of the mall building (interior) were original or not</p> <p>southern elevation of the mall: "The glass? I think it is an attempt to make it a modern kind of building. I think also there is an element of practicality to it, because they want the direct sunlight to come through from that corner, I guess."</p> <p>asked if he has nostalgic feelings in the mall building: „Not at all. Not a single nostalgic feeling there." (10b)</p> <p>considers the mall building new but traditional: "But it gives you the feeling of tradition...</p>

3.3.4 – 9: Authenticity judgements about the other interventions at the site

	<p>heritage... but if it looks old it doesn't mean that it is old. And, also, the fact that it is clean and all white, I mean, the one behind it, you see, is old [comparing to the <u>vernacular building in the neighbourhood</u>]. The colour makes a big difference, the cracks, all the wearing out of the building gives it... while here [mall building] you can see no single crack in the building. So, the building gives me that feeling [of being new]."</p> <p>asked if the mall is authentic: "In which way? I mean it is an authentic mall, yes. So, what I mean by authentic is, it has not been altered. It's brand new. Something new can also be authentic. But I did not mean it in the sense that I am happy about it."</p> <p>judging from the photograph of the Avenue from the 50s (looking north) he identifies the governmental use of the Government Shops and Offices (administration of finance or trade) he considers the Government Shops and Offices traditional Bahraini architecture but adds, that not being an architect, he does not really know what traditional Bahraini architecture is comparing the 50s photographs of the Government Shops and Offices with the mall building he finds it rather unchanged: "It's pretty much the same. It's just that this one looks newer." "I mean, the shaded area is all new. There is no windows here. I don't know if the wooden parts and the windows are the exact same design, but it looks very similar. Ya, pretty much the same." "very similar" "The difference is unnoticeable." (10a)</p> <p>does not notice the added portals of the mall building. When pointed out to him: "That can look like Bahraini but I think it is more like Islamic background than just Bahraini." "I don't remember seeing such a decoration in the houses, but maybe in the mosques it's common to have that." consider the addition of the portals no significant alteration except in terms of giving access to the mall building from the Avenue</p> <p>notices the screen façade as an added, new element, which however, he had never noticed during his frequent previous visits; does not feel bothered not having noticed it before</p> <p>points to the continuity of shops and owners: "Most of the shops are still the same shops that existed twenty and thirty years ago, the same names. They just made this renovation and made a new kind of shopping-mall-thingy. Before, it was more humble shops, I would say." "Few of them are new. But I guess most of them are the same old shop owners."</p> <p>points to the quality of the shopping experience, enjoys the bargaining - a living heritage: "Let's put it this way: the number one reason why I come here is not because I want to keep the tradition but because things are cheaper here. Many times. Number two is that it is just one of the few places, like here and Muharraq, where you enjoy the experience of shopping. You can bargain, you can tease the guys. I don't think I can do that in the shopping mall."</p> <p>is aware of the original use as police station of the Police Station and Post Office</p> <p>assumes the Police Station and Post Office to be refurbished but preserved in substance: "Maybe they didn't really demolish the whole thing and built a new one. They kept what was there before."</p> <p>looking at the historic picture of the Police Station and Post Office he notices the triangular parapet detail and assumes it might also exist on the mall building above the shade.</p> <p>notices the missing gutters of the Police Station and Post Office when comparing to the historic photo</p> <p>points to the lack of interpretation facilities [with reference to Suq Waqif]: "I don't know if they have a picture gallery of how it was before and how they changed it, or a description of the place before. I am not aware of that. But I would like to have that. I mean even in Bahrain here. There are many information that you told me today that I was not aware of. And a passer-by would not even be bother to go and investigate. Probably it is freely available to the public this information, but it would be nice to have somewhere in Bab al-Bahrain." (10b)</p>
<p>12 ab c</p>	<p>artificiality of the site: Asked if the place is historic (from memory, off-site): "Well now? Now it doesn't seem to me historic." Author: "Before it was?" 12a: "Before it used to be an old place to visit, it had its own history, ya." Author: "Why is it that it is not historic anymore?" 12a: "There is something invading from the modern refurbishment. That is pretty visible."</p> <p>Bab al-Bahrain Avenue:</p> <p>laments the loss of the authentic atmosphere: "Again they made it more comfy for shoppers with new shops... [...] I think this makes it a more pleasant walk, but I believe it lost it's earlier feel to it. [...] It used to be kind of real souq like in Muharraq, where you have these shops open etc. Now, it became more formal, I would say." (12a)</p> <p>asked if the buildings in the Avenue are historic: "I am sure they were, but now they don't look."</p>

3.3.4 – 9: Authenticity judgements about the other interventions at the site

	<p>(12b) considers the place “Artificial Bahraini. Wanna-be Bahraini.” “It looks so clean- cut. It has a fake look.” (12b) wishes the area to function as a touristic attraction and public space for people, tourists and locals, to spend time: “For example, I would like to be attracted to come here on the weekend. But I don’t. And now I know why. Because there is nothing really to see or do. Even the kind the products they sell are not my kind.” Author: “What would you want them to sell?” 12b: “Something more related to the place. I would love to see maybe carpet shops, or coffee shops. Something more traditional Bahraini.” Author: “But you said this is not a traditional Bahraini place for you.” 12b: “It should be. It is the extension of Bab al-Bahrain. This is where you would like to have a very touristic place for people to gather. For me to see a coffee maker, a blender, it doesn’t work for me. It’s Friday, so most shops are closed, that doesn’t help. But it has this artificial aesthetic to me. It looks like a mall. It’s very pretty. Like cookie-cutting. There isn’t a personal feel. [...] You need souvenir shops, coffee shops, carpets, silver, gold. But Bahraini made, or even Indian or Persian, but something from the place. Something that allows tourists and visitors to experience what it is like to be in a suq.” (12b) mentioned the Bab Pavilion as one of the public events at the site notices the screen façade in the Avenue during the visit (never noticed it during previous visits); thereupon thinks the mall building is a false facade as well identifies the façade design of mall building as colonial design after discussing the matter in the case of Bab al-Bahrain building identifies the wind tower on the southern elevation of the mall building as a modern copy of the traditional architectural element but considers it “looks unsuccessful”. “I don’t like the blend of the glass with the concrete. It looks imposed.” Author: “Why do you think they do that?” 12c: “Trying to be innovative but I don’t feel it works.” Comparing to the Batelco Building in the neighbourhood, which benefits from the reflection of the adjacent mosque in its glass façade: “This one I don’t think it was taken into consideration what is next to it and how it will blend.” (12c) in the interior of the mall he considers the building renovated to the point that there are not traces of what was there before; he was convinced that the plot has never been empty and that the previously existing buildings in its place must have been heavily renovated: „I think they started from an existing structure. I don’t recall having this demolished. But there is no hand of historic. It is completely renovated, without a trace. [...] It doesn’t talk to me at all.” (12b) comparing the mall building to the historic photograph of the Government Shops and Offices: “I definitely prefer the old one. It is more true to the place and landscape. This one [the mall building] is imposing, it’s an alien body. Its crude. [...] I’m sad it was structurally unsound.” (12b) asked if the design of the Police Station and Post Office is traditional Bahraini to him: “There is an element of traditional architecture. I’m guessing the wooden ceilings. It is not exactly the same, but it has an echo to it. The gallery. It’s a beautiful feel. The square shaped windows and openings are not very Bahraini but there is this element of recess which you can see in the Bahraini buildings. But definitely this building I find very interesting.” (12b) when asked look closely he notices, that the facade of the Custom House was added and expresses his surprise about the survival of the historic building: „No way! Ah, look at this. Yes! Coral?”</p>
<p>3 ab</p>	<p>The archaeologist had difficulties to differentiate between historic and modern fabric throughout the site. talking about the site visit: “I was surprised that there is actually this mixture of original and reconstruction. Because I had never noticed before. [...] And I also think that when people go there, that they focus on the shops, and not on the buildings. The focus is on something different, so most of the people wouldn’t even recognize.” Considered the site overall unauthentic and lacking historicity. Author: “Did you feel that you were in a historic place, or not?” 3b: “Not really. No.” Author: “If you had to describe what kind of place it is. Ah, you said about the façade that it was...” 3b: “Oh, a heritage Disneyland.” Author: “Is that what applies to the whole place, or is it just the façade?” 3b: “The façade in particular. But probably the entire place.” Author: “And if you say heritage Disneyland. Is that</p>

3.3.4 – 9: Authenticity judgements about the other interventions at the site

Western	<p>something positive or negative for you?” 3b: “Negative.” Author: “Why is it negative?” 3b: “Because it is artificial and heritage should not be artificial.” Author: “From an academic viewpoint?” 3b: “No, from any viewpoint. Because it is heritage. And if something is heritage it’s old. And something artificial is something new. It’s nothing old, I guess.” “It is ridiculous actually. Because they made something out of the place which it was not – never was, never is.” Author: “In which sense IS it not?” 3c: “Because it’s somehow unreal. It’s meant to be the traditional suq, whatever. But there is nothing which really reminds you of a traditional suq. It’s not that people go there to do their daily shopping. That is what a suq is actually for. It’s just for the tourists. That’s what I think.”</p> <p>considers the street shading of Bab al-Bahrain Avenue as well as the site overall ahistorical and artificial: “And in Bab they designed this artificial roof which was never there.” (3c)</p> <p>It took her a long time to notice the screen façade along the eastern side of the Avenue and might not been able to completely differentiate between the additions and the pre-existing fabric. She thought it was very well done to be so little noticeable but called it a “Disneyland-heritage”.</p> <p>Is unable to tell if the mall building contains historic fabric. Does not mind this but when discussing if the original building should have been preserved or reconstructed judges about the mall building’s authenticity: “It depends what you want to do with this building. So, if you just want to have a nice mall and a suq then this building is perfectly fine. But if you actually want to tell the story and the history of the place, then this building is definitely not the choice you should go for.”</p> <p>The portals of the mall building confused her. She assumed the building to be from the same time as Bab al Bahrain, but realized that the portals must be older, if they were authentic. She then concluded, that the portals cannot be historic. She did not mind them, as she thought they improved the aesthetics, which she considered most important and particularly more important than the colonial heritage of Bahrain.</p> <p>points to the lack of interpretation facilities: Author: “You said that you couldn’t figure out at all what is old if anything in that building. How do you feel about that fact?” 3b: “Mhm, I’m ok with it, I guess. I mean it would be nice to know more about the building if the building was really important. But if the building was not of major importance...” Author: “What makes a building important?” 3b: “It’s function, or the story behind it. The people who used to occupy it. A lot of things.” Author: “Could the architecture be important?” 3b: “The architecture as such?” Author: “Ya.” 3b: “Could be. If the architecture tells a story.” Author: “Now, I think, that that building used to tell the story of how modern materials – first time use of concrete – merged with the coral stone use, and for the first time this shift which happened really rapidly from vernacular...” 3b: “Well then you need interpretation, because a normal, ordinary person would never realize that.”</p> <p>By the end of the visit, she identified the Post Office and Police Station as probably authentic.</p>
13 b	<p>Perceives the site as somewhat traditional and “more appealing” and “more welcoming” to visitors although not very authentic in comparison to the adjacent unrehabilitated market area. She always perceived the market area beyond the project site as the real suq despite the same kind of products being sold in both places, due to the architecture and decorative elements such as the lamps hung from the shading. „When I came here the first time, I didn’t exactly think, oh my god, this is a historic area. But then it did give me an idea of what a suq could look like. It was a little bit perhaps too clean and tidy but that’s ok.”</p> <p>“I think they were trying to mimic traditional elements.” Author: “Are you happy with that?” 13b: “Yes, I am happy with that. It is not trying to give an impression of a really old place - although it may be does for some people... I don’t know, I don’t know if some people come and think it is a historic area?”</p> <p>Mentions the possibility that the colonial buildings of the site might have been poorly preserved due to reservations towards the colonial heritage by some locals. However, she tends to believe that most changes in the past occurred in an unplanned manner and that the aim of the recent interventions was the beautification of the site.</p> <p>entering Bab al-Bahrain Avenue the historicizing architecture creates the misconception that the buildings in the Avenue are older than the gate, due to the resemblance to the shops in Muharraq suq but judges them to be completely reconstructed “because the lines are straight”</p> <p>points out the similarities in the architecture of the buildings on both sides of the Avenue and</p>

3.3.4 – 9: Authenticity judgements about the other interventions at the site

	<p>judges them to be of the same age and origin: “I couldn’t tell whether one side is historic and the other not. The plaster is new, the elements are sort of similar, the doors are in the exact same way. This side has something that looks like some sort of windows while this side has a balcony. I would say they were built in the same period. I mean they could have been built 5 years ago and just mimicking a style from an earlier period or they could have been built 80 years ago. I have no idea.”</p> <p>identifies the facadism of the eastern side of the Avenue during the interview but show no strong reaction: ““Well, if I look at this building which is behind this, it is obvious that this is just a façade for a building that is behind.”</p> <p>comparing to the historic photograph of the lane she notices that the Avenue had originally not been covered (street shading)</p> <p>during the interview identifies the mall building as reconstructed but considers it “more or less preserved” in design; asked if there is anything historic building elements in the interior of the mall building: “I have no idea. It doesn’t look to me like there is anything historic in it.”</p> <p>points to the inconsistency of the historic references in the architecture of the mall building: concludes that the historizing architectural elements to represent the former market buildings [analysing the southern elevation]: “It gives an impression of what a traditional suq area looked like with presumably older architecture.”</p> <p>finds the portals on the mall building irritating: “There are elements here that look like they belong to a mosque or something, but then there was never a mosque here. So, I don’t know what is with that.”</p> <p>the mall building in the interior: „Well, it looks a little bit artificial. But somehow, I am still ok with that. It looks modern and new with the old elements in it. So that’s ok.”</p> <p>assumes the Police Station and Post Office to be the preserved original building</p> <p>notices the parapet design of the Police Station and Post Office as a colonial architectural feature: “I haven’t really seen this on Arabic houses. It was probably built in the 50s together with Bab al-Bahrain.”</p> <p>impressed with the continued use of the Police Station</p> <p>points out the vernacular building in the vicinity</p>
<p>14 a</p>	<p>takes the entire block with the mall building as historic “I would say so. Unless they’ve just redone it to look like the front part, like the police station and post office. They could have done it to match, if it is not historic.”</p> <p>considers the site’s buildings to date all from one period</p> <p>comparing to the historic photograph of the Government Shops and Offices she concludes the elevation of the mall building along Bab al-Bahrain Avenue to be preserved and “just cleaned”: “It is still those store-fronts. So, this was already here but they cleaned it.” Author: “They demolished it.” 14a: “They must have left one wall remaining.”</p> <p>points to the architectural similarities between the site’s buildings: “because it does have the same heavy kind of feel as the other buildings” as well as the same wooden details “It seems like the natural extension, to keep with the architecture.”</p> <p>points to the “Islamic high doors” of the mall building and considers them references to earlier historical periods but does not identify them as additions to the building</p> <p>identifies the interior of the mall building to be refurbished (1980s) but uncertain if one side of the mall in the interior is historic: “I can’t really tell. I mean, it looks pretty solid. And I don’t know if they would have built like that.” “This to me looks all modern but it is supposed to represent a traditional suq area. The stores ... the little luxury is of course the air-conditioning.”</p> <p>the historicity of the mall’s interior does not matter to her: Author: “Does it matter to you if this place is historic?” 14a: “It doesn’t really matter.”</p> <p>southern facade of the mall: “Oh, now you got the new IT kind of influence, the mirrors. Just progress I guess. Different styles of architecture trying to make it all melt together.” “Everybody has this romanticized image of traditional Islamic architecture but then there is some new throne in there to funkify it – make it funky.”</p> <p>at first takes the screen façade for the oldest feature at the site due to what she considers Islamic stylistic influences: “Yes, this side [the Eastern side] might be a little earlier. Maybe just based on that more Islamic style.”</p> <p>then identifies the facadism, reacts surprised but seems to consider the intervention legitimate: Author: “Look back now! Do you notice anything?” 14a: “Well, they covered up</p>

3.3.4 – 9: Authenticity judgements about the other interventions at the site

	<p>some stuff. Like all those windows have been covered over, and they got additions.” Author: “Look at this.” 14a: “So it is a façade! Aha! It looks dirty back there, and it is marble behind.” Author: “That entire lane is a façade.” 14a: “Interesting.” Author: “When do you think might that have been installed?” 14a: “Perhaps more recently. Maybe they wanted an Islamic cultural heritage, to show more of a traditional style.” Author: “Ya, that is like three years ago.” 14a: “Really!? [Laughing]” Author: “What do you think of that?” 14a: “Well, the surrounding buildings are pretty brown and ugly and you got plaster, and cement and brick and that. And they got a lot of money – if you want to doll things up around tourism with oil-money.”</p> <p>the site gives her more of a traditional feel than the un-refurbished part: „I get a historic feel down here. But not in the other areas [the surrounding market areas].”</p> <p>although she finds the wider area somewhat traditional, it is not what she would consider a traditional Arabic market, mostly due to the products: “When I think of going to a Suq or a Medina I think of maybe a more traditional... I mean it is traditional, but most of the stuff here is made in China, plastic.”</p> <p>“This [the site] kind of reminds me of a suq of a medina. But, again, this is such a small part [Bab al-Bahrain Avenue]. As soon as you get out in the back, to me that is like plastic alley [the unrefurbished suq]. Yes, all the surrounding streets.”</p> <p>Asked about her opinion about the screen façade, she however, points to a certain superficiality in beautifying things for the sake of self-branding, which she describes as a typical phenomenon in the Gulf region: “Well, to me, it kind of sums up what I have seen in 10 months. Maybe not here as much, I just went to a conference in the Emirates. You know it is like shopping malls and pretty buildings that are disguising the desert. Like this whole place [the Gulf region] is kind of a façade. It is just amazing to me. [...] To me it tells a story where they came from and how they want to be projected to the world. This part is certainly an important part of the world in terms of natural resources, oil. And Islam is probably going to be the biggest population. So, I see reasons why they would want to showcase this place. But underneath it all... All of a sudden you are in shanty town.”</p> <p>points to the discrepancy between the refurbished part and the surrounding market area</p> <p>Post Office and Police Station:</p> <p>finds the inconsistent facade paint confusing: “The second floor looks like it is an addition. Although it almost kind of looks older, they need to paint it.”</p> <p>comparing to the historic photograph of the she points to the preserved parapet detail</p> <p>taking a guess on the former use of the Post Office and Police Station she considers it might have been a caravanserai</p> <p>points out the vernacular building in the vicinity: “There are so many stories. You definitely have a contrast of everything.”</p>
19	<p>the street shading of Bab al-Bahrain Avenue evokes the impression of a traditional covered suq; he gets confused at the beginning of the interview as he remembers the Avenue without roof covering until about 5 years ago, but at first thinks it might have been actually roofed in the past; he then remembers, that what people refer to as „the covered suq“ actually starts at Tijjar Avenue was aware of the screen façade as an autonomous element for the buildings behind: “If you were to rip out all of this, which you can see, you’d actually be left with the street as it was. Because all the shop frontage was left exactly as it was.”</p> <p>he reacts surprised to hear that most people do not identify the screen façade as such; he apparently finds it obvious</p> <p>mall building: at first, he considers it all new as a building, from memory he considers that it “does not look anything like” the previous building at all, later gets confused about it; comparing to the historic photo of the Government Shops and Offices he finds the proportions and height different.</p> <p>remembers that the facade originally had awnings</p> <p>concludes that parts of it (the shop areas) have been preserved and only a new facade and back added; thinks that the parapet of the building is covered by the street shading and considers the trellis work to be added. “That is the original building, I think.”</p> <p>compares the mall building to the suq in Dubai. “Well, it has been built to look at if it was old the same as in Dubai, where they have this new old suq. [laughing]” Author: “What do you think of that?” 19: “Well, it is all very nice. If people want to see what they think it used to look like.”</p>

3.3.4 – 9: Authenticity judgements about the other interventions at the site

	<p>Author: “So it does not matter if it looked like that or not, as long as people like it?” 19: “Ya. I mean it is a shame that so much of the old here has gone. The old wind towers. There is only one left. The old balconies. You have to now search for them around Manama. But given that most of the old houses are gone, I think, it is quite nice that they are now finally interested in what their heritage used to be, which they have actually destroyed. It is a pity that they destroyed it. But they did. Actually, they are trying their best to make up for it.”</p> <p>southern elevation of the mall building: “It looks authentic, but it wasn’t there before. [laughing]” Author: “When you say authentic, what do you mean exactly?” 19: “It’s nice this stucco over the arch. That is quite traditional.”</p> <p>asked about the contrast of the glass facade and traditional elements he considers the combination approvable for practical purposes and refers to a historic courtyard house that was covered with glass elements for climatic reasons</p> <p>he refers to the traditional elements in the facade as “the old”, knowing that they are not old in age. “But in style. Since we don’t have the option of the old anymore.”</p> <p>expects the top floor of the Government Shops and Offices would have been accommodation originally</p> <p>does not regret the destruction of Government Shops and Offices because he did not think the building was architecturally valuable or as a testimony to the colonial era: “I don’t think it was of tremendous architectural merit honestly.” Author: “And as a testimony to the colonial time?” 19: “I mean, some colonial architecture is really nice. In Bagdad they have got lovely colonnaded pavements, which keep the pavement cool. But there was nothing of that here. There was only this awning which had fallen into disrepair.”</p>
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3.3.4 – 10: Overall authenticity judgements of the site and Bab al-Bahrain building

		high authenticity	low authenticity
Architects Eastern	16		<p>The Egyptian architect said about the site: “I feel I am walking in a place that never existed.” (16a)</p> <p>She considers the new design of Bab al-Bahrain building a historically falsifying disguise which insinuates an early construction date and obscured the original international, modernist influence. She criticizes the intervention for creating a sort of fake heritage.</p>
	17	<p>“This building has been through many changes, but still it’s showing the identity of Bab al-Bahrain. So, that is what I mainly like about it.” (17a)</p>	<p>asked about the authenticity of the site in comparison to Suq al-Qaisariya: “I don’t feel it’s authentic. Like, the meanings are not honest in Bab al-Bahrain. Maybe that is why it is not authentic to me in Bab al-Bahrain. [...] When you go back to Bab al-Bahrain. It is very clear that it’s lying. It is not telling the original story of the place. [...] But in Bab al-Bahrain it is very clear, it is a lie.” (17a)</p>
	21		<p>The Indian architect involved in the 1980s refurbishment of Bab al-Bahrain building considers the newly refurbished building an artificial imaginary reconstruction. He criticizes the site’s refurbishment for falsifying history: “In Bab al-Bahrain what is done now, is very artificial.” Author: “The whole thing?” 21a: “Yes, to promote it as what was there in the colonial days. It is lying.”</p>
	30		<p>The architect from the Philippines regrets that the colonial building’s authenticity was already lost with the 1980s refurbishment</p>

3.3.4 – 10: Overall authenticity judgements of the site and Bab al-Bahrain building			
		high authenticity	low authenticity
		49 The conservation architect and urban planner considers the Post Office and Police Station and the Customs House preserved.	He criticizes the refurbishment of Bab al-Bahrain building for not complying with conservation ethics, for sending the wrong messages and not keeping the essence of the building. He laments the loss of the Government Shops and Offices and criticizes the mall building for not complying from the spirit of the place.
East-western		22 The architect of the architectural consultancy in charge of the initial refurbishment of Bab al-Bahrain Avenue argued that the site and its buildings had already been impaired with continuous development since the mid-20th century. He argued that the Avenue’s refurbishment was truthful in keeping the memory of the site while admitting and visualizing change and paying tribute to the economic dimension of the site’s refurbishment and operation.	
		23	The Lebanese architect criticizes the site’s refurbishment for artificiality and for providing a fake image of history and heritage. He considers the authenticity of Bab al-Bahrain building lost with the features that made it a testimony of its construction time: “I mean that is the key question, in authenticity: if something was done at some point in a certain way, it was done because there was a certain influence of the era and so on. So, it is typical of that time. So, if you do something totally different now, the authenticity is lost. Maybe the building looks nicer now. I mean nicer from an aesthetic point of view, from whatever point of view, I don’t know. But the authenticity was not...”
		32 The Bahraini architect anchors authenticity in the original fabric. She therefore, perceives Bab al-Bahrain building as authentic despite the design changes, which she regrets: “Still the building is there. Thanks god. We can restore it in the future. So, it is authentic because the building is still there with makeup kind of.” She also considers the Post Office and Police Station and the Customs House authentic.	For the mall building she states: “The authenticity is gone. It is only a reminder of the boundaries of the buildings. The buildings are not authentic. The fabric is lost.”
		33	The Bahraini employee of the national heritage authority criticized the fakeness of the designs throughout the site and the mall building, which he referred to as Disneyland. He considers Bab al-Bahrain a new building due to the changed design and building elements. "I think there are old walls. I have seen some pits, that they have done. I think they left some. [...] There is the stone structure, it is there. But I guess the elements are changed. Even the windows changed. [...] they extended this... [...] no, it is a different building now, seeing this." (33b)

3.3.4 – 10: Overall authenticity judgements of the site and Bab al-Bahrain building			
		high authenticity	low authenticity
Western	6		The design architect of the 2012/13 refurbishment considers Bab al-Bahrain's authenticity lost with the intervention of the 1980s: "We don't have it [the historic building]. It's gone forever. You will never get it back. I mean, if you want to rebuilt it as it was, it will be a fake. "
	20		The visiting conservation architect considers Bab al-Bahrain's and the site's authenticity impaired by the refurbishments. He criticized the " pseudo-orientalist historicism " which insinuates an earlier origin of the site. He pointed to the continuity of use , the survival of the commercial functions at the site within the historic suq area, a crucial element of the site's authenticity and criticized a lack of liveliness.
Non-architects Eastern	4		The young Bahraini considers Bab al-Bahrain Avenue no longer a traditional Bahraini suq but overall approves of the changes as a means of safeguarding heritage and cultural memory.
	11		The expatriate from the Philippines considered the authenticity of the site impaired due to the facsimile heritage design and the loss of the original designs. Nevertheless, she prefers the current state and feels little if any regret about the loss of the original buildings: "What we have now is more unique. Now everything is modern, more comfortable for shopping. I like this." (11a) She would have preferred to have the original design of Bab al-Bahrain preserved but overall does not mind the intervention: "They make only the design of heritage building , but it is not now the original one. " (11a)
	15	The Bahraini considers Bab al-Bahrain building authentic for maintaining its symbolism and function. Author: "Bab al-Bahrain? Is that authentic for you? The gate itself?" 15a: "Yes." Author: "Even though it is changed?" 15a: "Even though it is changed and renewed!" "So, this building went through stages of change. But it still represents the same thing. As a building of bricks and stones it's changed, but as a building of purpose and meaning it is still the same. " He made no authenticity judgement about the entire site but pointed to the importance of the continuity of local brands in this regard.	The mall building: "I know it is not original. As long as it is not original it cannot be authentic. " (15a)
	26		The director of the local construction firm specialized in vernacular building techniques criticized the mall for not fitting the traditional market area and pointed its low structural authenticity as a reconstruction of the Government Shops and Offices.

3.3.4 – 10: Overall authenticity judgements of the site and Bab al-Bahrain building			
		high authenticity	low authenticity
	39	The Pakistani salesman witnessed the site's refurbishment but promoted Bab al-Bahrain building and the buildings in the Avenue as little changed and ancient : "Painting only change. Little. All there old. Same this street, post office also old designs. So many years old they designed it. Also Bab al-Bahrain, the gate."	
East-western	8	The Bahrain-born Egyptian resident anchors the site's authenticity in the continuation of trade and state symbolism and considers both perfectly preserved . "This is what this place meant to be, when Manama decided to be the capital of Bahrain. And, so, it retains that." (8b) "There is a lot of identity here, a lot of interaction and trade. The keyword is trade. And state. It's what it's supposed to be and it stays that way. It will never change. Ok, so we have a glass façade and a modern mall. And the windows of Bab al-Bahrain have changed and so on, but it's still the same function ." Likewise, he anchors Bab al-Bahrain's authenticity in the continuity of its entrance function and symbolism and evaluates the physical changes as minor: "It's the gateway to Bahrain . [...] And it always served its purpose and it continues to serve its purpose . Like it's architectural brilliance. It is exactly what it was and I am very happy that nothing ever happened to this building . It always stayed in the exact sort of shape and way it was, even though it might be a very valuable plot right now. But there should be nothing else here except Bab al-Bahrain. And there should even be an empty space in front of it." (8b)	
	9	The temporary resident from Kazakhstan made no explicit overall authenticity judgement but considered the site to reflect a rather recent phase of the local history. She considered the Post Office and Police Station mostly new.	
	10	The Bahraini overall considers the site neither authentic nor unauthentic (refer to annex 3.5.3) but appreciates the comparably moderate urban development at the site compared to other areas throughout Bahrain. He appreciated the refurbishment for keeping the "identity of the place" but at the same time criticized its poor integration of the "picture taking place" into the wider market area and its lack of liveliness (10a). asked if the mall is authentic: "In which way? I mean it is an authentic mall, yes. So, what I mean by authentic is, it has not been altered. It's brand new. Something new can also be authentic. But I don't mean it in the sense that I am happy about it. " (10a)	
	12		The Lebanese expatriate criticizes the refurbishment of Bab al-Bahrain Avenue for its artificiality in design and atmosphere . He does not seem to consider Bab al-Bahrain building authentic but attributes no significance to this: Author: "Is it authentic to you?" 12b: " It doesn't look to me from the

3.3.4 – 10: Overall authenticity judgements of the site and Bab al-Bahrain building		
	high authenticity	low authenticity
Western		40s. It lost that sense. Referring to the changed design: “Does it matter? In terms of research, to check, it does. But for me no.”
	46	The Bahraini overall perceived the site authentic (refer to annex 3.5.3) as a socially interactive, typical Bahraini commercial space with which she associates a feeling of home.
	3	The archaeologist overall considers the site rather unauthentic due to artificial and ahistorical architectural interventions , for being touristified and not authentic in use and sense of place . (refer also to annex 3.5.3) She considers Bab al-Bahrain a reconstructed, new building and Post Office and Police Station the authentic building .
	13	The British-Serbian resident points to the artificiality and poor legibility of the site, but personally does not consider that very problematic: “I think they achieved that, to create a traditional feel, but the consequence is that you cannot tell which part is historic and which is not.” Author: “But this not such a big deal?” “It depends on whom you ask. For me no.” She states that “there are far too many styles” or rather “adaptations” of styles and shown the historic images of the site, she concedes: “Well, in this case it is a little bit deceiving when you look at it today.” “So, I don’t know, honestly, if something like this, which you could say is a little bit of a Disneyfication, whether it is necessarily bad. Maybe not.” considers the mall building not authentic for being new: “Now, this one is very confusing to me. Just because there are two different styles used, which makes it look like this is the authentic traditional building, whereas this is just an addition.” (13b)
	14	The western archaeologist made no distinct authenticity judgement of the site or its buildings . She appreciates on the one hand, that the site gives her a stronger “historic feel” of a medina than the neighbouring un-refurbished market areas. On the other hand, she critically points to the facadism of the screen façade as a superficial means of nation-branding . When comparing to the second reference site, she evokes the notion that age is a factor of authenticity , which makes the site of Bab al-Bahrain less authentic for her (refer to annex 3.5.3).
19	The British expatriate considers the site not authentic : “Because now they have done all sorts of things to make it look authentic. But it probably isn’t at all, but... [laughing].” Author: “What do you mean, to make it look authentic?” 19: “Well, I mean they have kept most... they have kept all of the old shops. But	

3.3.4 – 10: Overall authenticity judgements of the site and Bab al-Bahrain building			
		high authenticity	low authenticity
			<p>they have just given them new shop fronts that people might think were the original style of shop front when it was a covered suq. But of course, as we know, this is not where the covered suq was. And, of course, it is nothing like what they did look like. But it is nice actually!"</p> <p>Although the British resident did not argue for the preservation of Bab al-Bahrain building for lack of architectural merit, he considers the gate as a testimony to Belgrave's merit impaired: C: [...] "I mean anybody who is around for 30 years essentially, must have been doing a useful job or he would have been forced to leave. And for them to just forget, intentionally forget, all what he had done for Bahrain ... Essentially he set up the government. The ministries." E: "And this is the architectural testimony to that." C: "Well, that is true. Except it is not. Because it is different. There we go."</p>

ANNEX 3.4.1 – PHOTOS, PLANS AND MAPS OF THE SIYADI SHOPS IN SUQ AL-QAISARIYA

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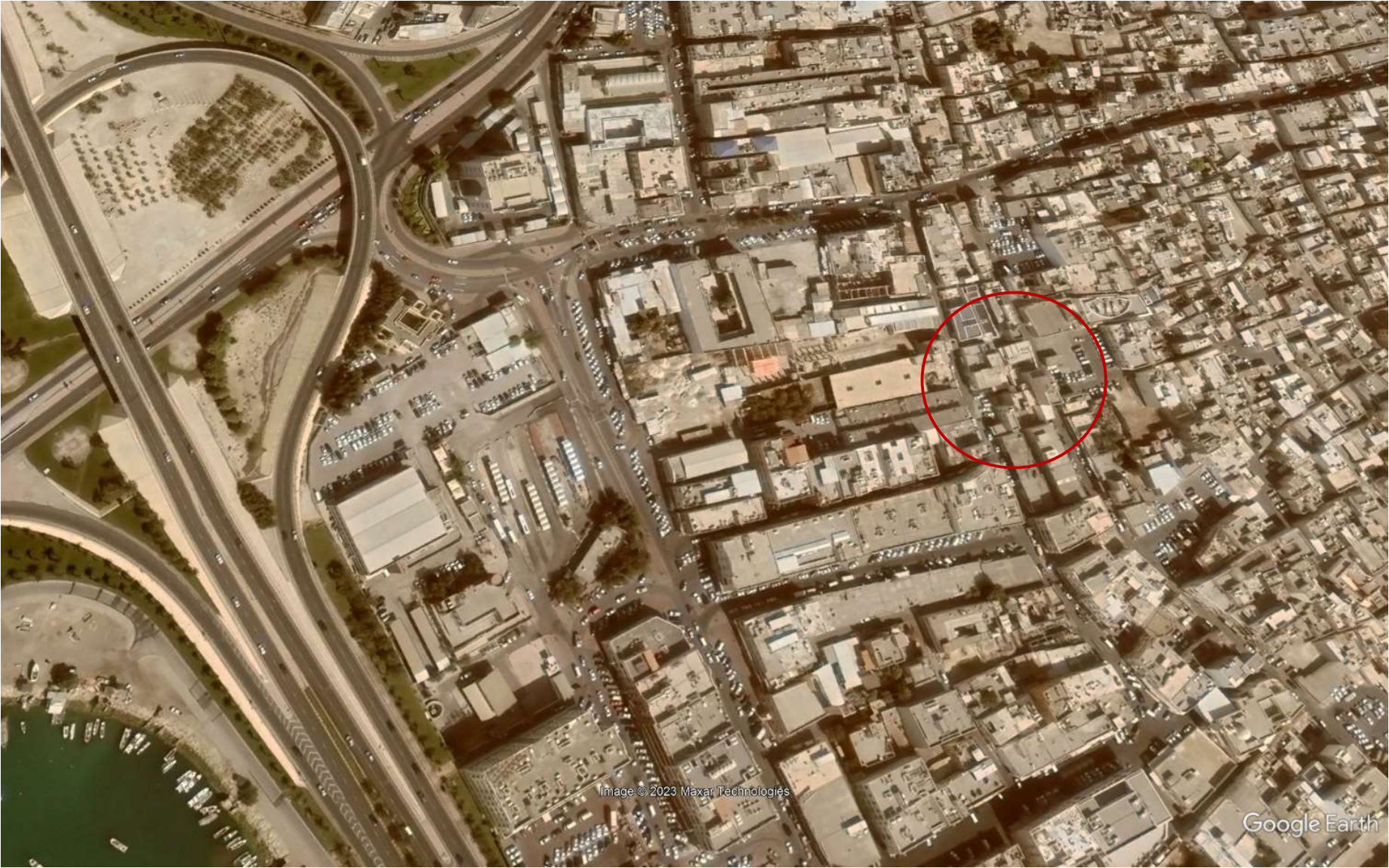


SITE MAP

- preserved/ restored
- reconstructed in trad. technique
- reconstructed in modern technique
- pre-existing building
- exposed archaeological finds
- new addition

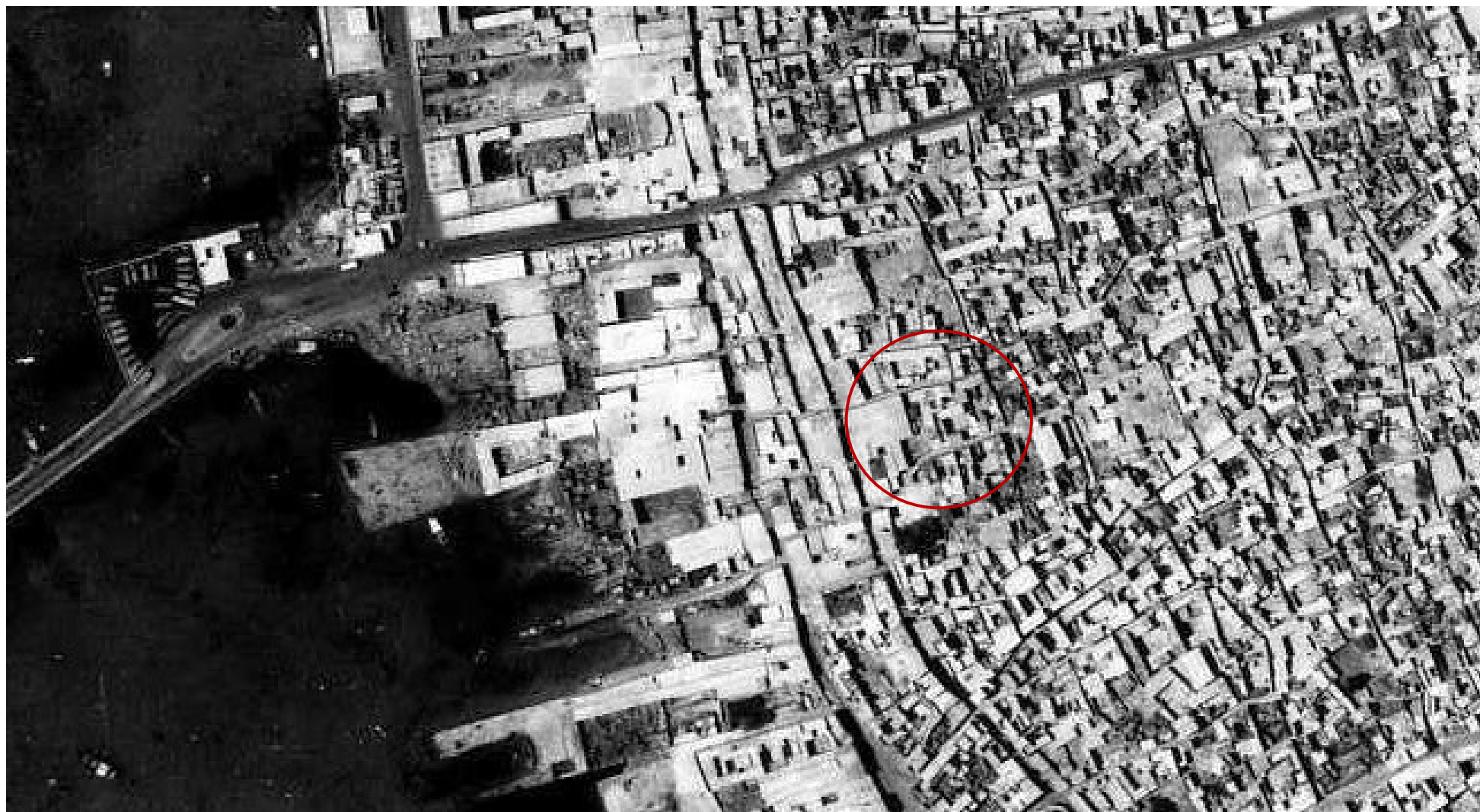
3.4.1 – 1: Site map of the state in 2014/15. Drawing: Eva Battis

SATELLITE IMAGE OF MUHARRAQ SUQ 2014



3.4.1 – 2: Satellite image of MuharrAQ in 2015 (location of the reference site highlighted). Source: Google Earth Pro (accessed July 2, 2023)

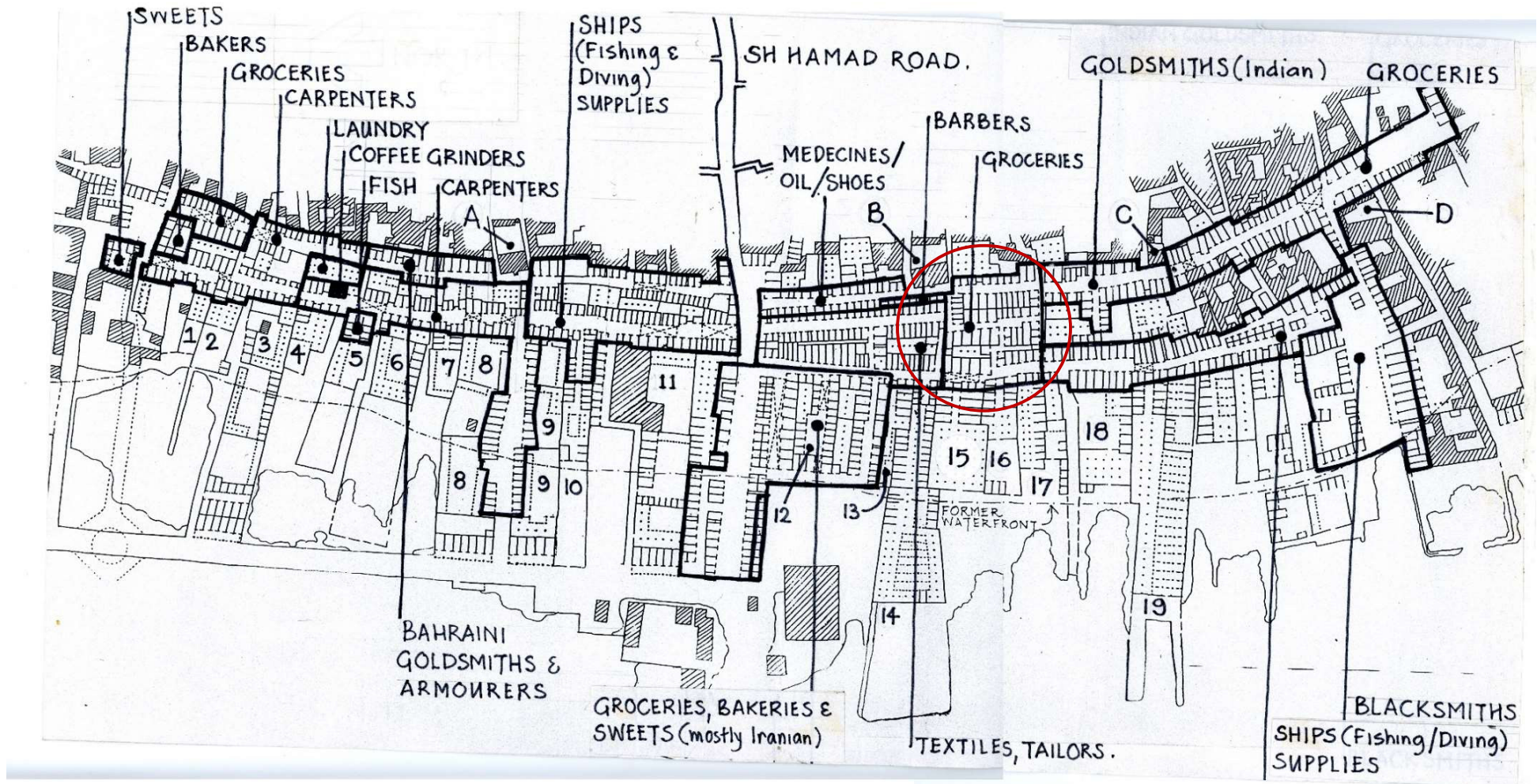
HISTORIC PHOTOS AND MAPS OF MUHARRAQ AND THE SUQ



3.4.1 – 3: Aerial view of Muharraq in 1955 (location of the reference site highlighted). Source: Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities



3.4.1 – 4: Aerial view of Muharraq in the 2000s with the map of Muharraq in 1931 (location of the reference site highlighted)
Source: Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities

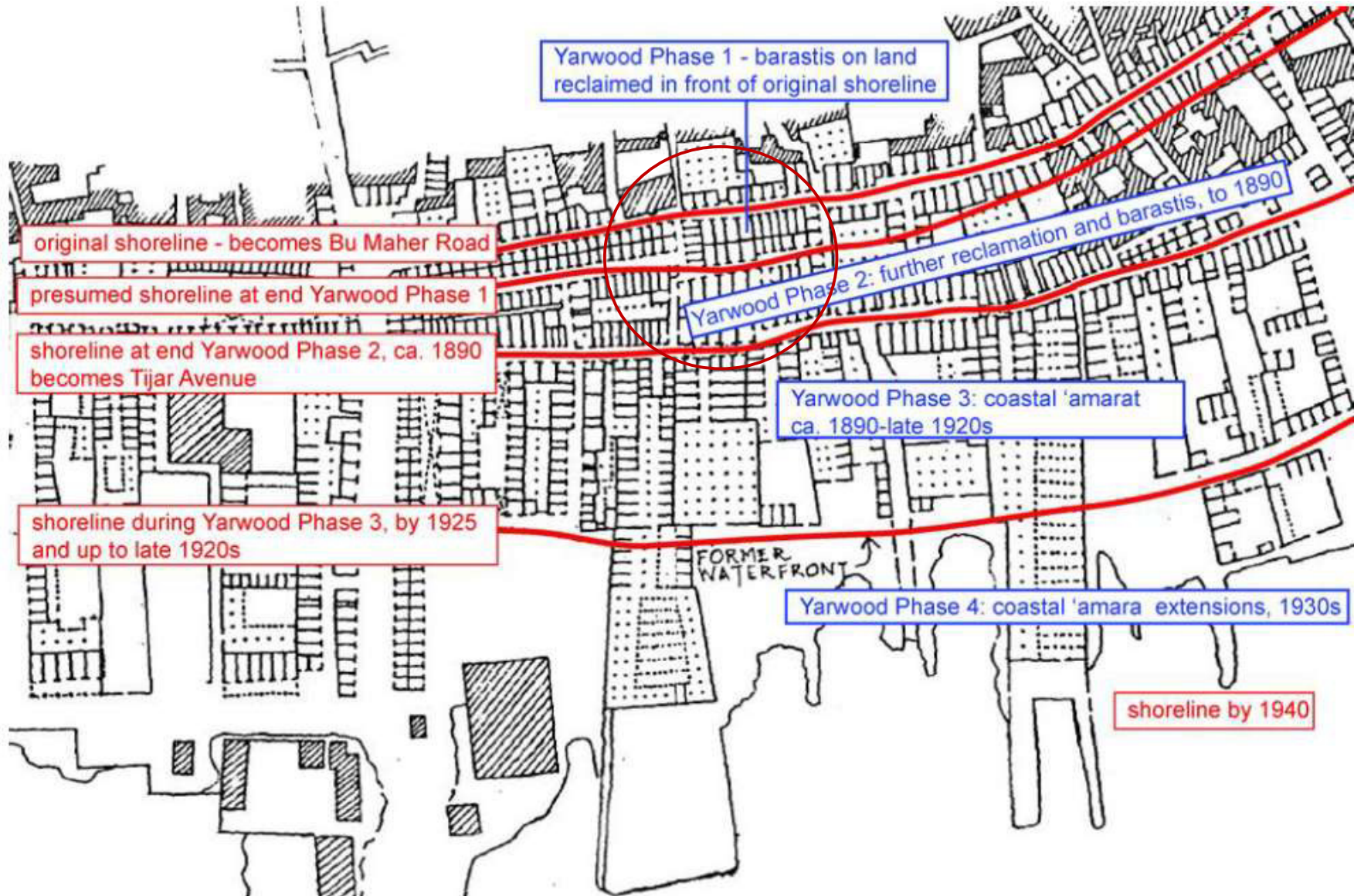


3.4.1 – 5: Retrospective mapping of the historic market structure in the 1930s (location of the reference site highlighted)
 Source: Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities. Drawing: John Yarwood, 1988



3.4.1 – 6: Bird's view of Muharraq from the west in 1953 with the landing of the causeway to Manama (location of the reference site highlighted)

Source: Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities



3.4.1 – 7: Reconstruction of the land reclamation phases according to Yarwood (1988) (location of the reference site highlighted)
 Source: Carter and Naranjo-Santana 2011. Drawing: Naranjo-Santana



3.4.1 – 8: Historic view along Bu Maher Avenue with the Siyadi Shops
Source: Al-Khan 2007, 90

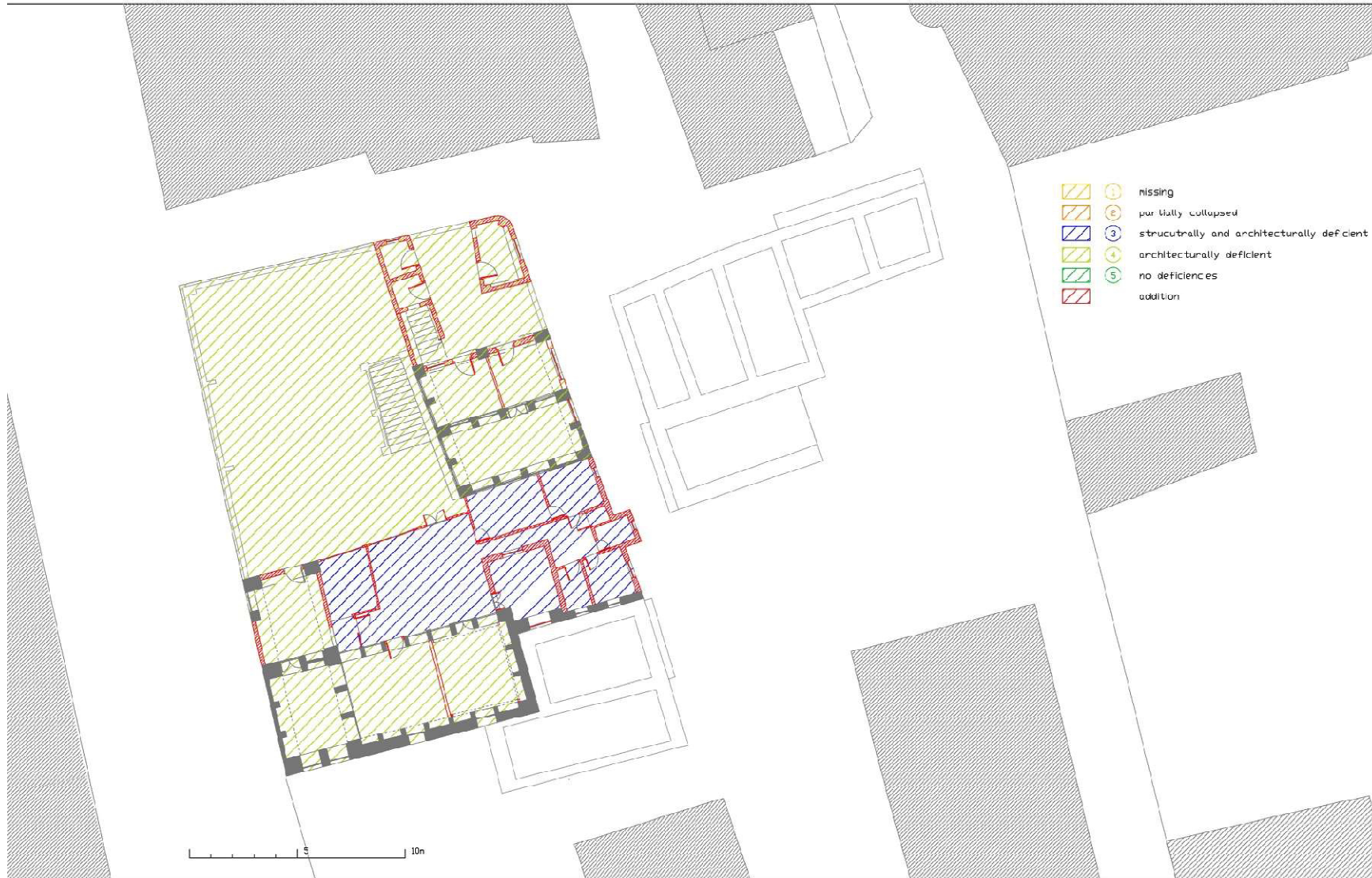


3.4.1 – 9: View along Bu Maher Avenue with the Siyadi Shops in the 1970s
Source: Khalifa Shaheen Digital Images.

ARCHITECTURAL SURVEY AND STATE OF CONSERVATION ASSESSMENT OF THE SIYADI SHOPS 2008/2012



3.4.1 – 10: Ground floor of the western and eastern Siyadi Shops in 2008/2012 Source: Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities. Drawing: Eva Battis



3.4.1 – 11: First floor of the western and roof top of the eastern Siyadi Shops in 2008/2012.
 Source: Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities. Drawing: Eva Battis

PHOTOS OF THE SITE 2008



3.4.1 – 12: The eastern Siyadi Shops viewed from Bu Maher Avenue to the South-West in 2008
Photo: Dr. Alaa el-Habashi



3.4.1 – 13 and 14: Northern elevation of the eastern Siyadi Shops viewed from the West and East in 2008. Photos: Eva Battis, Ministry of Culture and Information, Kingdom of Bahrain



3.4.1 – 15 and 16: Details of the northern elevations the eastern Siyadi Shops in 2008.



3.4.1 – 17 and 18: Western elevation of the eastern Siyadi Shops with ruined sixth unit in 2008.
Photos: Eva Battis, Ministry of Culture and Information, Kingdom of Bahrain



3.4.1 – 19: Western elevation detail of the ruined sixth unit of the eastern Siyadi Shops in 2008



3.4.1 – 20: The ruined sixth shop of the eastern Siyadi Shops viewed from the south in 2008
Photos: Eva Battis, Ministry of Culture and Information, Kingdom of Bahrain



3.4.1 – 21: The rear elevations of the eastern Siyadi Shops viewed from Bu Maher Avenue in 2008



3.4.1 – 22 and 23: View into the ruined shop unit and of the eastern elevation along Bu Maher Avenue in 2008.

Photos: Eva Battis, Ministry of Culture and Information, Kingdom of Bahrain



3.4.1 – 24: Main elevation of the western Siyadi Shops along Tujjar Avenue viewed from the north in 2008



3.4.1 – 25 and 26: Northern and southern elevations of the western Siyadi Shops viewed from the west in 2008.

Photos: Eva Battis, Ministry of Culture and Information, Kingdom of Bahrain



3.4.1 – 27: Southern elevation of the western block in 2008



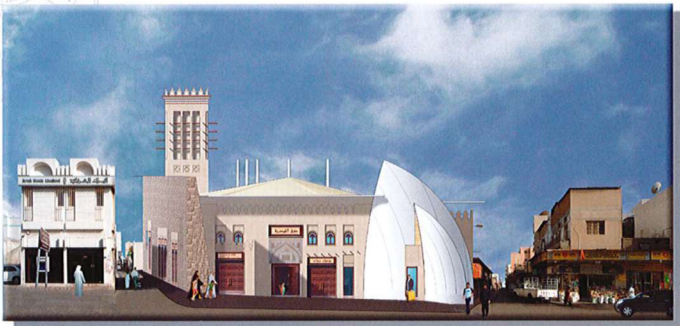
3.4.1 – 28: Rear elevation of the western block viewed from the South-East in 2008
Photo: Eva Battis, Ministry of Culture and Information, Kingdom of Bahrain



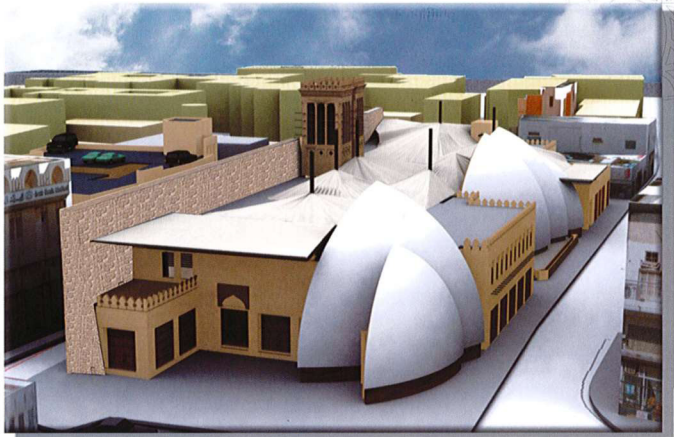
3.4.1 – 29 and 30: View of the eastern and northern pedestrian lanes and rear elevation of the western block in 2008

Photos: Eva Battis, Ministry of Culture and Information, Kingdom of Bahrain

UNEXECUTED DEVELOPMENT PLANS FOR SUQ AL-QAISARIYA OF THE YEAR 2006

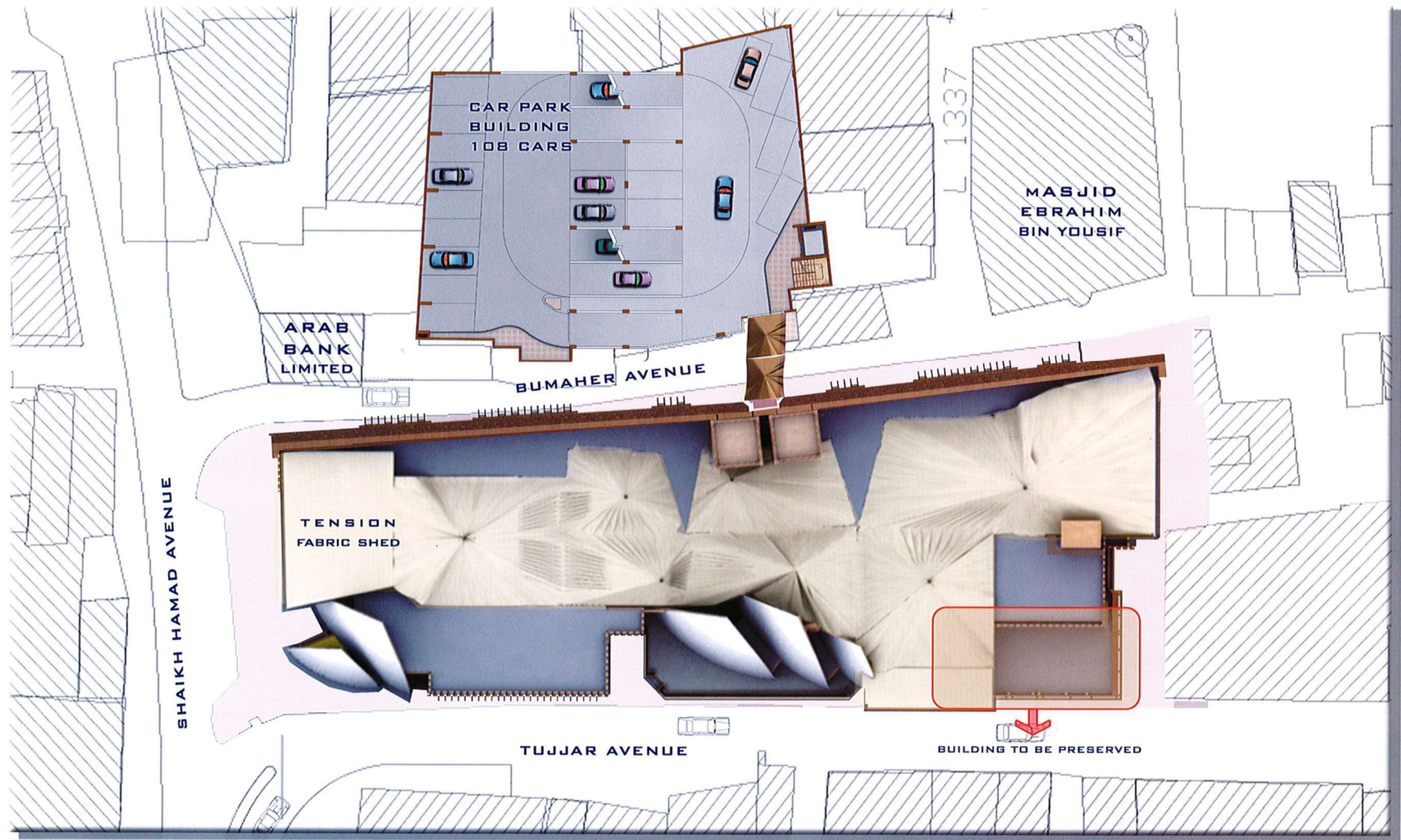


NORTH ELEVATION **SCALE 1:100**



WEST ELEVATION **SCALE 1:100**

3.4.1 – 31: Visualization of the unexecuted project design for Suq al-Qaisariya (Siyadi Shops on the right in the lower images)
Source: Kingdom of Bahrain and United Nations Development Program (2006d). Design: Ministry of Municipalities and Agriculture.



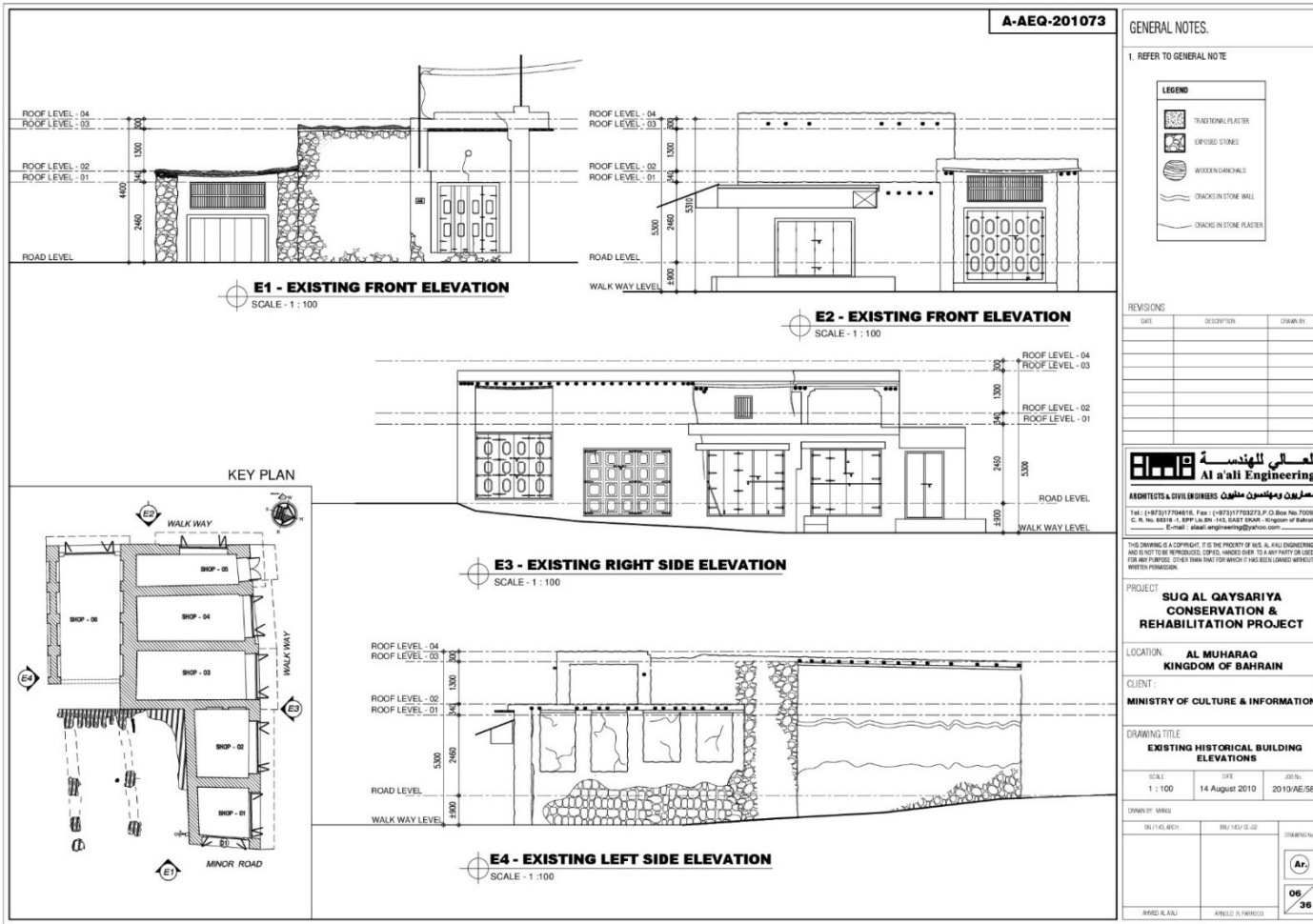
ROOF PLAN

SCALE 1:100

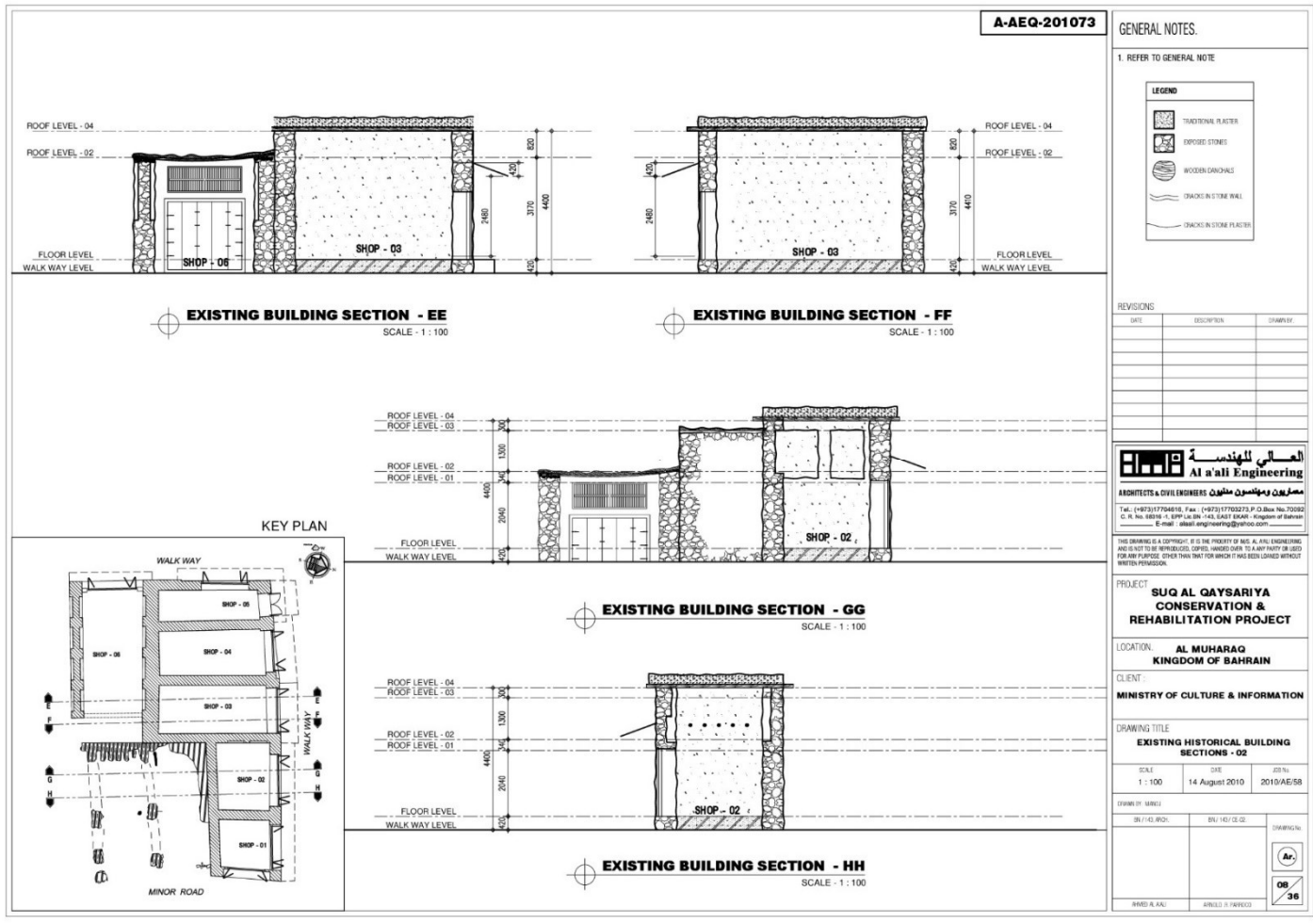
3.4.1 – 32: Roof plan of the unexecuted project design for Suq al-Qaisariya

Source: Kingdom of Bahrain and United Nations Development Program (2006d). Design and images: Ministry of Municipalities and Agriculture.

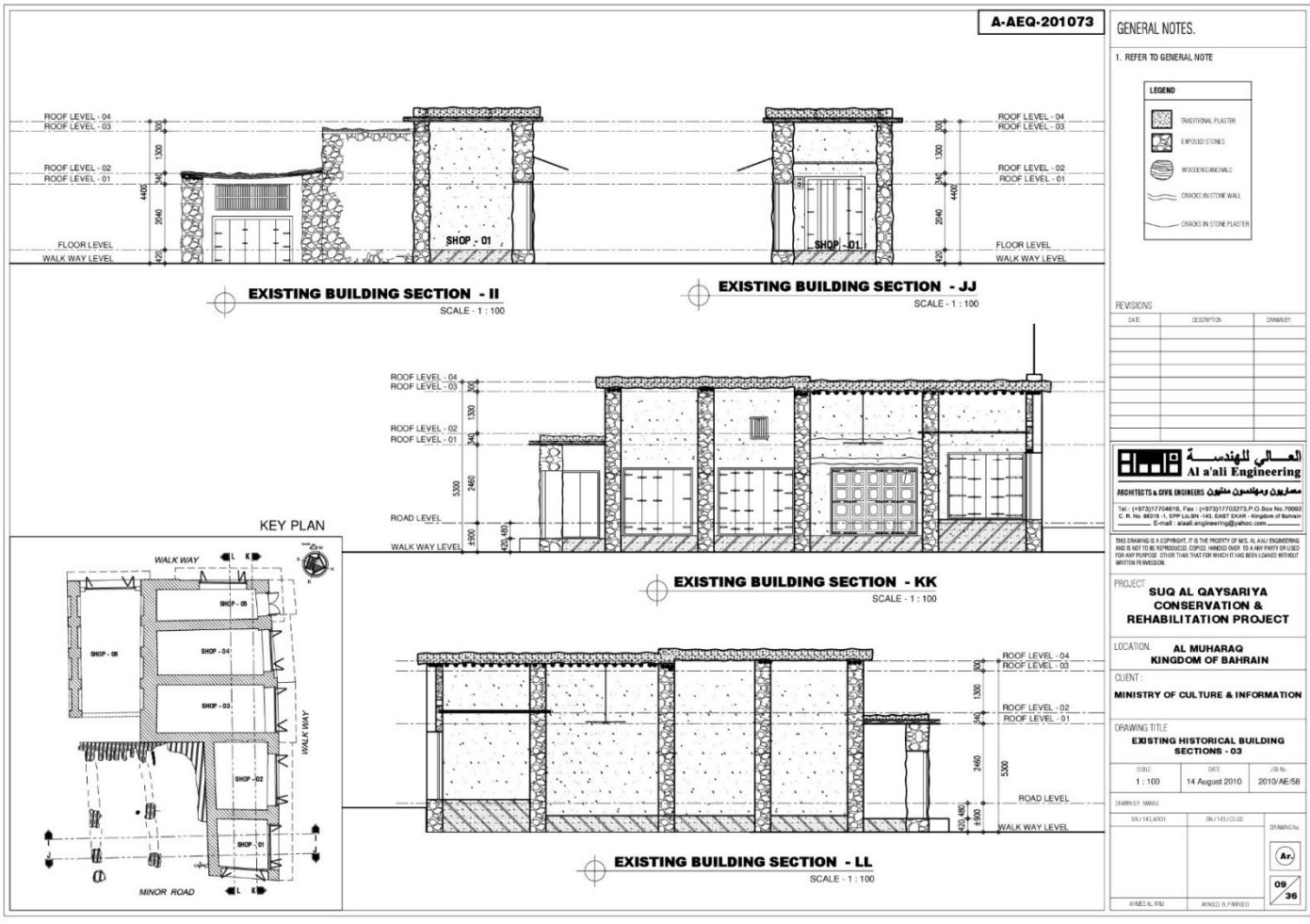
SIYADI SHOPS REHABILITATION 2010-12 (SURVEY PLANS)



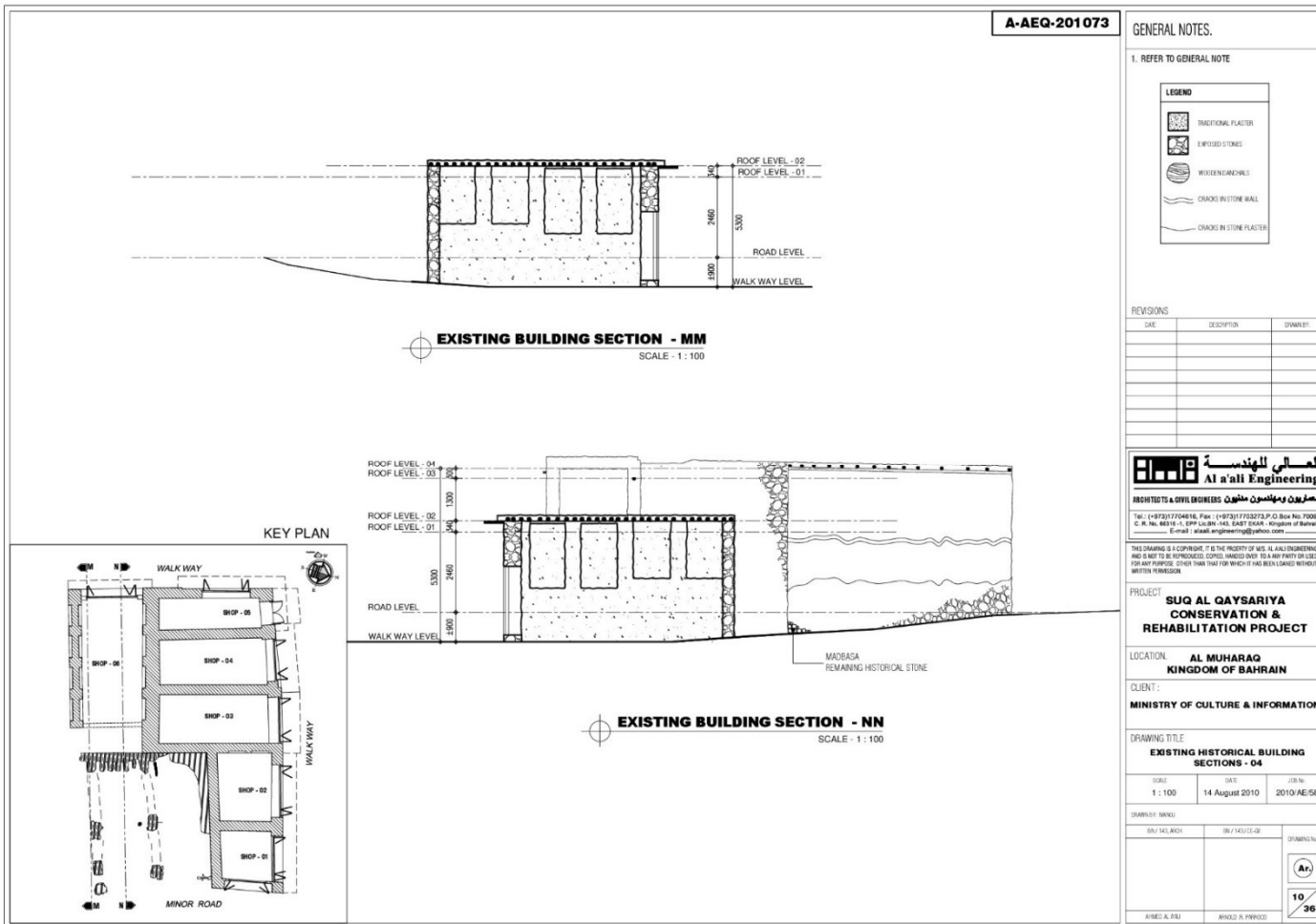
3.4.1 – 33: Elevations of the eastern Siyadi Shops in 2010. Source: Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities. Drawings: Al a’ali Engineering



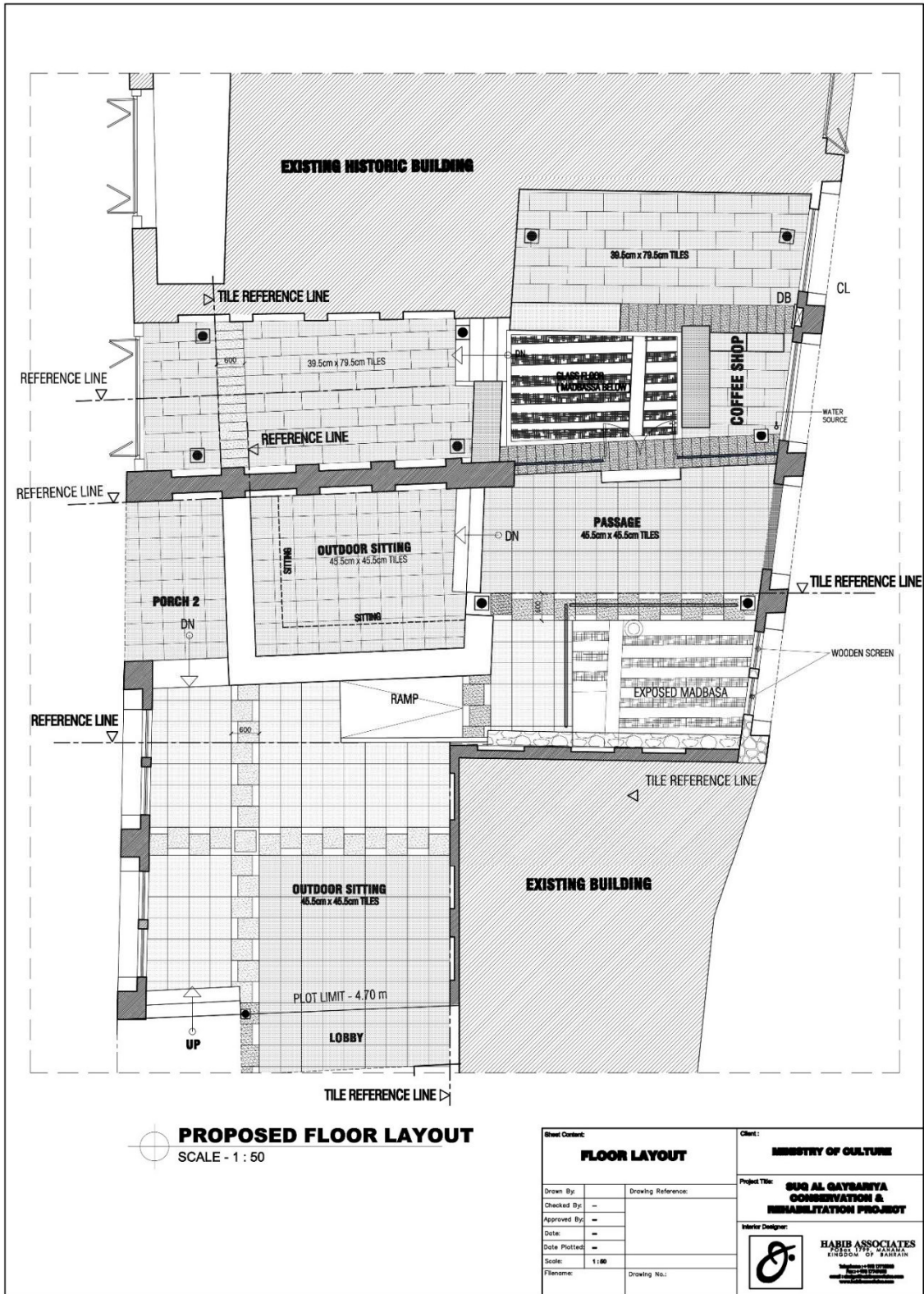
3.4.1 – 34: Sections of the eastern Siyadi Shops in 2010.
Source: Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities. Drawings: Al a’ali Engineering



3.4.1 – 35: Sections of the eastern Siyadi Shops in 2010.
Source: Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities. Drawings: Al a’ali Engineering



3.4.1 – 36: Sections of the eastern Siyadi Shops in 2010.
Source: Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities. Drawings: Al a’ali Engineering



3.4.1 – 37: Floor tiling plan for the eastern Siyadi Shops (re-design of the year 2012).
Source: Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities. Drawing: Habib Associates

SIYADI SHOPS DURING THE REHABILITATION WORKS IN 2011/12



3.4.1 – 38: Bird's view of the eastern Siyadi Shops from the South-West during archaeological investigations in 2011. Photo: Dr. Alaa el-Habashi



3.4.1 – 39: View along Bu Maher Avenue to the south with the eastern Siyadi Shops in 2011. Photo: Eva Battis, Ministry of Culture and Information, Kingdom of Bahrain



3.4.1 – 40: Northern and western elevations during restoration in 2011.



3.4.1 – 41: Eastern elevation along Bu Maher Avenue during reconstruction and restoration in 2011.

Photos: Eva Battis, Ministry of Culture and Information, Kingdom of Bahrain



3.4.1 – 42: Northern elevation during restoration in 2011.



3.4.1 – 43: Construction of a ventilation trench in one of the shop eastern shop units in 2011.
Photos: Eva Battis, Ministry of Culture and Information, Kingdom of Bahrain



3.4.1 – 44 and 45: Interior and exterior works on the five shop units of the eastern Siyadi Shops in 2011.



3.4.1 – 46 and 47: Lower café space during (2011) and after (2012) the installation of reinforced concrete foundations and floor tiles.

Photos: Eva Battis, Ministry of Culture and Information, Kingdom of Bahrain



3.4.1 – 48: Café space with ruined sixth shop unit of the eastern Siyadi Shops under construction in 2012.



3.4.1 – 49 and 50: Archaeological window with date syrup presses in the eastern Siyadi Shops in 2012.

Photos: Eva Battis, Ministry of Culture and Information, Kingdom of Bahrain



3.4.1 – 51 and 52: Reconstructed eastern wall along Bu Maher Avenue and roof of the café space under construction in 2011.



3.4.1 – 53: Additional southern shop units under construction in 2011 with reconstructed lower wall (left). Photos: Eva Battis, Ministry of Culture and Information, Kingdom of Bahrain



3.4.1 – 54: First floor tiling design in the outdoor space in 2011.
Photo: Dr. Alaa el-Habashi



3.4.1 – 55: Outdoor space with sanitary facilities and new floor tiling being installed in 2012.
Photo: Eva Battis, Ministry of Culture and Information, Kingdom of Bahrain



3.4.1 – 56: View to the North along the pedestrian lane and outdoor space during works in 2012.



3.4.1 – 57: The outdoor space with the lower reconstructed wall of the seating area in 2012.
Photos: Eva Battis, Ministry of Culture and Information, Kingdom of Bahrain



3.4.1 – 58 and 59: Reconstruction of a coral stone wall in 2011 (left) and pigmentation works on new traditional surface plaster of a northern shop unit in 2012



3.4.1 – 60: Chipping of cement plaster off the one-storeyed shops units of the western block in 2012.

Photos: Eva Battis, Ministry of Culture and Information, Kingdom of Bahrain



3.4.1 – 61: Removal of cement plaster inside the one-storeyed shops units of the western Siyadi Shops in 2012.



3.4.1 – 62: New palm frond ceiling mat before installation in the one-storeyed shops of the western Siyadi Shops in 2012.

Photos: Eva Battis, Ministry of Culture and Information, Kingdom of Bahrain



3.4.1 – 63 and 64: Details of coral stone masonry with palm trunk (left) and during deep filling of the coral stone masonry of the one-storeyed western Siyadi Shops in 2012.



3.4.1 – 65 and 66: Coral stone masonry after deep filling and repointing (left) and coral stone slab (*farush*) wall masonry of the one-storeyed western Siyadi Shops during restoration in 2012.

Photos: Eva Battis, Ministry of Culture and Information, Kingdom of Bahrain

SIYADI SHOPS AFTER COMPLETION OF THE REHABILITATION WORKS IN 2012 AND 2014



3.4.1 – 67: Northern and eastern elevation of the eastern Siyadi Shops in 2012.



3.4.1 – 68: Eastern elevation along Bu Maher Avenue viewed from the South in 2012.
Photos: Eva Battis



3.4.1 – 69: Evening impression of the northern evaluations of the eastern Siyadi Shops in 2012.



3.4.1 – 70: Eastwards view along the sloped alleyway in 2012.
Photos: Eva Battis



3.4.1 – 71: The outdoor space with viewed from the entrance from Bu Maher Avenue in 2012.



3.4.1 – 72: The outdoor space viewed from the entrance from Bu Maher Avenue in 2012.
Photos: Eva Battis



3.4.1 – 73: Westwards view of the outdoor space in 2012.



3.4.1 – 74: Evening impression of the outdoor space and café in 2012.
Photos: Eva Battis



3.4.1 – 75: Evening impression of the newly constructed shop units in the pedestrian lane in 2012.



3.4.1 – 76: Northwards view along the pedestrian lane with newly constructed shop units in 2012.

Photos: Eva Battis



3.4.1 – 77: Westwards view along the pedestrian lane with newly constructed shop units in 2012.



3.4.1 – 78: The western block viewed from the northern pedestrian lane in 2012.
Photos: Eva Battis



3.4.1 – 79: View southwards along Tujjar Avenue with the western Siyadi Shops on the left in 2012.

Photo: Eva Battis, Ministry of Culture and Information Bahrain



3.4.1 – 80: The one-storeyed units of the western block viewed from Tujjar Avenue in 2012.

Photo: Eva Battis



3.4.1 – 81: Repaired wall segment with coral stone slabs (farush) of the one-storeyed shops in 2012.



3.4.1 – 82: The one-storeyed units of the western block viewed from the pedestrian lane in 2012.

Photos: Eva Battis



3.4.1 – 83: The author with interviewees and a waiter in Bahraini costume (right) in the café in 2014.

Photo: unknown



3.4.1 – 84: The interior of the café in 2014.

Photo: Eva Battis



3.4.1 – 85: The interior of the café in 2014.

SIYADI SHOPS AFTER DURING PLASTER REPAIR WORKS IN 2014



3.4.1 – 86: Northern elevation of the eastern Siyadi Shops during plaster repair works in 2014.



3.4.1 – 87: Northern elevation of the perfume corner shop during plaster repair works in 2014.

Photos: Eva Battis

IMPRESSIONS OF THE REHABILITATION WORKS IN SUQ AL-QAISARIYA AFTER 2014



3.4.1 – 88: View along the rehabilitated Suq al-Qaisariya towards the Siyadi Shops in 2023



3.4.1 – 89: The five restored shops of the eastern block of the Siyadi Shops in 2023
Photos: Eva Battis

ANNEX 3.4.4 – TABULAR ASSESSMENT OF STATEMENTS ABOUT THE SIYADI SHOPS

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3.4.4 – 1: The interviews					
Architects (12/5)			Other professional backgrounds (22/11)		
Eastern (5/4)	East-western (6/0)	Western (1/1)	Eastern (14/4)	East-western (5/4)	Western (3/3)
16,17,21,25,30	7,22,23,24,32,33	20	4,11,15,18,28,29,34,35^{x2} , 36,37,45,47,50	8,9,10,12,46	3,13,14
bold = on-site interview with a tour at the site/ not bold = expert off-site or spontaneous on-site interview Interview 35 involved two interviewees.					

3.4.4 – 2: Personal relation to the site and level of background knowledge		(none, low, medium, high)	
Architects	Eastern	16c	the Egyptian architect of Bahrain's heritage authority visited the site for the first time ; on arrival: 16c: "This is Safron? Author: "Yes. Have you been?" 16c: "No, but I have heard of it." not familiar with the date syrup presses not aware of the link to Siyadi family and World Heritage Site (low)
		17ab	the Bahraini architect visited the café several times before : "I heard of it from friends and then I went there many times. And I read about the <i>mdbasah</i> that they have in Safran, that is I think the coffee shop. So, I have been there many times." familiar with the date syrup presses somewhat aware of past debates about how to develop the site , which is why he initially tends to consider the site's vernacular buildings reconstructed and part of a wider rehabilitation scheme still under development. 17a: „I know that it was a big suq. And then, it was demolished. I think so. I am not sure about this information." not aware of the link to Siyadi family and World Heritage Site (medium)
		21a	the Indian architect has not visited Muharraq in the past 7-8 years; knows little about the Pearling Testimony and is not aware of the site being part of it; not familiar with the syrup presses; is familiar with the local vernacular building tradition (<i>low</i>)
		25	the Lebanese architect was the interior designer of the site's refurbishment but got involved in the works only towards the end of the project; does not seem familiar with the function of the date syrup presses (<i>medium</i>)
		30	the architect of Bahrain's heritage authority from the Philippines was involved in replastering the damages at the site on behalf of the Ministry of Culture and has observed part of the replastered surface being colour-treated; familiar with the date juice presses is aware that the site is part of the pearling site, though not quite certain, and thinks it is still aiming to be inscribed with UNESCO (<i>medium</i>)
	East-western	7	the Egyptian conservation architect was leading the 2010-12 rehabilitation of the site on behalf of the heritage authority and had significant background knowledge of the site; familiar with the date juice presses; aware of the World Heritage status as part of the Pearling Testimony (<i>high</i>)
		22	the Lebanese architect was familiar with the market area for being involved in further rehabilitation works in Suq al-Qaisariya; visited the site recently (<i>medium</i>)
		23	the Lebanese architect of Bahrain's heritage authority was involved in the site's rehabilitation (<i>high</i>)
		24	the Syrian architect of the heritage authority works on conservation in Bahrain and Muharraq but was not involved in the site's rehabilitation (<i>medium</i>)
		32	the Bahraini architect of the heritage authority was familiar with site's rehabilitation and that it is part of the Pearling Testimony (<i>medium</i>)
		33	the Bahraini architect of the heritage authority was familiar with site's rehabilitation and that it is part of the Pearling Testimony; familiar with the date juice presses (<i>medium</i>)
		20	the German architect visited the site for the first time with little background information about the site's rehabilitation; not familiar with the date juice presses; not aware of the World Heritage status (<i>low</i>)
		4a	the young Bahraini woman has heard about the popular café at the site and has seen images on Instagram but had never visited the site or Suq al-Qaisariya: "Safron, the restaurant? I have heard from a lot of people that they have visited this. And it's a popular restaurant so it will be in your list to visit. And it has traditional food."

Non-architects Eastern		Author: "Do you know anything about Suq al Qaisariya?" 4a: "Just it's located in Muharraq and it's an old suq. But what is it inside, actually I don't know. "being from the western villages of Bahrain, she has never been Suq al-Qaisariya and hence had no personal connection to the site prior to the visit not familiar with the date juice presses; not aware of the link to Siyadi family and pearling (low)
	11 cd	the young Philippian woman had never been to Muharraq Suq or to the site before aware of the Ministry of Culture having rehabilitated the site: "This is the project of Shaikha Mai? I see! I heard about that. [...] I heard that she prepares old Muharraq and she is renovating old houses in Arab fashion, you can have a tea... One of my friends is working here. But I have never been here." (11c) not familiar with the date juice presses; has considerable background knowledge about the local vernacular building tradition as well as of the pearling history ; has not heard about the World Heritage site of the Pearling Testimony , nor does she know UNESCO World Heritage (11d) (low)
	15 c	the young Bahraini is a regular customer of the café particularly to take visiting friends there says to have little background knowledge about the site: 15c: "Aside from what is written in there [the informational panels] I don't know anything. I never knew about this place. I used to go to this butcher's place in high school." Author: "But the area?" 15c: "Embarrassingly I don't know much about it." Author: "Where are we?" 15c: "We are in Qaisariya Suq . But more than that I don't know. I know there is this small gold suq of Muharraq over there. In there you see the Qaisariya itself. If you walk to the left you will have the coffee grinding shops at the end. That's all I know." familiar with the date juice presses; not aware that the site is part of the Pearling Testimony (low)
	18 b	the Ethiopian migrant worker visited the site for the first time ; neither familiar with the date juice presses nor with the association to pearling (none)
	28	the site's security guard from Bangladesh has been working at the site for about 1 month and says he was "not informed" about the site (low)
	29	the café's waiter from Bangladesh has been working at the site for 5 months and disclosed hardly any background knowledge about the site; not familiar with the date juice presses (low)
	34	the senior Bahraini was a customer of a coffee shop in the site's direct vicinity; he was born in Muharraq in the vicinity of the site; he is familiar with the market area and seems to have a vague idea of the Pearling Testimony as well as of the changes to the site; his background knowledge was <i>not assessed</i>
	35	the senior Bahraini and his younger Bahraini companion were passing by the site; they are members of the local community and familiar with the market area; their background knowledge was <i>not assessed</i>
	36	the Bahraini lady was a customer at the café; her background knowledge was <i>not assessed</i>
	37	the Bahraini lady is an occasional customer of the café and suq ; aware that the café has been rather recently installed; familiar with the date juice presses; not aware of the UNESCO status or the Pearling Testimony (low)
	45	the senior Bahraini gentleman was watching the rehabilitation works at the site; his background knowledge was <i>not assessed</i>
	47	the young Bahraini woman was a customer at the café; her background knowledge was <i>not assessed</i>
	50	the Bahraini lady from Muharraq is a regular customer of the café; her background knowledge was <i>not assessed</i>
8a	the Bahrain-born Egyptian resident of Bahrain is a regular customer for breakfast at the café and goes to the café whenever he does shopping in the suq from the media coverage he was aware that the site was protected and rehabilitated by the heritage authority and believed it to be operated by the authority , too. "I know that this place was about to get torn down and then it was due to the efforts of the Ministry of Culture that they stopped it at the last minute before being torn down. And they renovated the whole thing into what it is today. [...] The MoC who fought the battle of renovating this place and not wishing for it to be torn down and rebuilt into something more	

East-western		<p>modern - and the people who were against it and wanted to tear it down.” Author: “Do you know anything about that? Do you know about those who wanted to tear it down?” 8a: “No, only from the public papers. But I know it was the local municipality and they do represent the local people and their business interests. And I think, they reached some sort of interim solution that made everybody happy. Which is what I hope for. So, I hope everybody is happy, but in the end, I really don’t know.”</p> <p>not familiar with the date juice presses</p> <p>aware of the World Heritage status, not aware of to the site’s connection to the Siyadi family but of the general linkages to pearling</p> <p>has background knowledge about the Muharraq’s history and urban development including the former linkage to the sea as well as of the vernacular building tradition</p> <p>has seen the site prior to the rehabilitation works (<i>medium</i>)</p>
	9	<p>the temporary resident from Kazakhstan has been at the site before but it was her first visit to the café: 9a: “I know that Muharraq used to be a fishermen port and is one of the most ancient parts of Bahrain, like real Bahrain. And know that it is close to the airport. I am not very familiar.” Author: “Do you know which part of Muharraq this is, where we are?” 9a: “Not really, no.” (9a)</p> <p>not familiar with the date juice presses (<i>low</i>)</p>
	10	<p>the young Bahraini is familiar with Muharraq Suq since childhood: „I grew up there. All my primary school happened there. My schools are there. I had to walk back and forth to school and I did shopping there and I still do shopping sometimes for certain things, mostly sweets, I would say.” (10b)</p> <p>has seen the site prior to the rehabilitation works; aware that the site was rehabilitated by the Ministry of Culture; has been at the site and café before and: “Since it’s opened I went maybe three or four times.” (10a)</p> <p>Author: “And do you know this exact block where Safron is?” 10a: “Yes.” Author: “Do you remember how it looked before they did whatever they did during the past two years?” 10a: “The building? No. But as far as I remember it was shops that were closed, stores that were not used.”</p> <p>aware that the site was formerly part of the port: “It was the port of Muharraq.”</p> <p>Describing the project from memory: “They renovated that small building and put some shops, I think they chose some sales that can represent Bahrain. Like the perfume shop, and a sweets shop and there is some handcraft stuff and Safron. And what they also did are the mdbasahs. I had never seen mdbasahs before that. So, either they existed and they were inside the building but I couldn’t see them or they were covered because they were not using them anymore.” (10b)</p> <p>familiar with the date juice presses; aware of the Pearling World Heritage Site but unaware that the Siyadi Shops are part of it (<i>medium</i>)</p>
	12	<p>the Lebanese resident of Bahrain is an occasional customer of the café (landmark to identify the site) 12a: “I am not going there regularly. I go to this restaurant to eat. And I have been there a couple of times but not examining the place closely.”</p> <p>not familiar with the date juice presses; not aware of the connection to the World Heritage Site (<i>low</i>)</p>
	46	<p>the young Bahraini artist was familiar with the site but her background knowledge was <i>not systematically assessed</i></p>
Western	3	<p>the German resident of Bahrain has been on the site and café approximately five times before but had never taken consciously studied it: “I honestly haven’t been here consciously.” (3c)</p> <p>considers the site would have been originally located at the shore (3a)</p> <p>aware that it developed as part of the market during the pearling era (3ac)</p> <p>is aware of the market’s historic appearance and architecture from historic photographs (3c)</p> <p>not aware of the exact connection to pearling (3c)</p> <p>familiar with the historic date juice presses and of their display at the site (3c) (<i>low</i>)</p>
	13	<p>the Serbian-British resident of Bahrain has visited the site twice before the interview</p> <p>assumes that the site is part of the Pearling Testimony of the World Heritage Site but else says to have little background knowledge about the site and the market:</p> <p>13a: “I don’t know much about the suq itself. I guess it is one of the houses in the pearling route. But I really don’t know anything about it. I don’t know who it belonged to or why it’s considered a historic house, or it isn’t.” (13a)</p>

		<p>"I sort of skimmed through the nomination file [of the Pearling Testimony]. I think it was a really interesting site to nominate. I did not know who came up with the idea to nominate pearling. This is sort of unique. And probably a lot of work." (13a) (<i>low</i>)</p>
	14	<p>the US-American resident of Bahrain visited the site and market for the first time; aware the site is located in a historic market area but also considers it the oldest settlement area in Muharraq 14b: "You know, I did come through here once but I could not find any parking." had heard about the café Safron in Muharraq and in Manama and Riffa. Author: "Have you heard of Safron?" 14b: "Ya. Oh, is this the original?" Author: "Original?" 14b: "Ya, because there is one in the other suq." not familiar with the date juice presses; has only a vague idea about the World Heritage Site of pearling and does not know the site is part of it (<i>low</i>)</p>

3.4.4 – 3: Age estimations of the site's buildings			
Architects	Eastern	16c	<p>identifies the five shops of the eastern block as well as the sixth shop unit as historic and restored takes the reconstructed eastern wall along Bu Maher Avenue as historic for its coral stone masonry and danshals (identifies the plaster and windows as new), including when viewing it from the interior space identifies the glass facade and concrete roofs and steel structures as well as the containing wall around the outdoor mdbasah and the western wall as modern additions identifies the two western shops as preserved: „[...] generally the building, I think, it is preserved as it is.”</p>
		17b	<p>dates the vernacular shops of the eastern block to the 1930s or 40s surprised about their origin (1880–1905): "Mhm, very old!" after initial doubts identifies the vernacular shop units as preserved; the eastern wall along Bu Maher Avenue as an addition; identifies the concrete walls and glass facade as additions in the outdoor space as well as the new shops as additions (the regularity of the details); identifies the concrete ceiling and steel columns in the café as additions; identifies the lower part of the café as old (due to the exposed masonry of the walls and the danshal ceiling); mistakes the low wall of the seating area as historic</p>
		21a	<p><i>no age estimation</i>, identifies the restored shop units of the eastern block as historic; identifies the outdoor <i>mdbasah</i> as an earlier phase that has been excavated; identifies the reconstructed eastern wall as entirely new (from the straight lines and the finishing); identifies the modern additions; at first consider the two western shops not restored yet</p>
		25	<p><i>no age estimation</i></p>
		30b	<p><i>no age estimation</i> confused about the low wall at the seating area but identifies it as an addition despite the historicizing design, which he criticises; identifies the reconstructed eastern wall as an addition built in coral stone (has worked on the replastering); uncertain if the two western shops have been worked on at all</p>
	East-western	7b	<p>the project' lead conservation architect was aware of the building's origin in the late pearling era dates the date syrup presses at the site to the 1920s to 60s: Author: "What period are the <i>mdbasahs</i>?" 7b: "Well, we haven't dated them, to give you the correct answer. But I would say they are 1920s all the way to the 1960s." Author: "Weren't there archaeologists involved trying to date them?" 7b: "No, there weren't."</p>
		23	<p><i>no age estimation</i></p>
		24	<p><i>no age estimation</i>; from memory considers the reconstructed eastern wall original: "I don't have any background. It is an original wall? Or what was there before?"</p>
		20	<p>identifies the additions in contemporary design and that authentic fabric remains in the restored shop units; seems to consider the two western shops not restored yet</p>
		4a	<p>judges the five restored shops from the 1940ies to 60s, as she does not identify them as stone buildings due to their surface plaster dates the two restored shops of the western block to the beginning of the 20th century, possibly</p>

3.4.4 – 3: Age estimations of the site’s buildings

Non-architects	Eastern		<p>20s for being without plaster: “Maybe this is from one hundred before. Maybe. Maybe twenties, maybe before also.” She is impressed when learning about the age of the Siyadi Shops: “Wow, a hundred years!”</p> <p>identifies the restored and reconstructed doors of the five restored shops and dates the original doors to the 1920s</p> <p>identifies the restored shop units of the western block as historic but their doors as new, takes them as the oldest shops at the site</p> <p>identifies the added roofs, glass façade and wooden window grilles as new</p> <p>tends to believe the adapted sixth shop unit is old, but uncertain: “I don’t think it’s new. No, because, they are good in copying these old things. I don’t know if it’s old or not. It seems it is not but maybe it is old and just they have added some plaster.”</p> <p>considers the reconstructed eastern wall of the eastern block as historic due to the stone masonry walls but newly plastered; the finishing she judges to be new with traditional look</p> <p>takes the western containing wall of the open space as a restored old one</p> <p>mistakes the new wall abating the neighbouring building as old due to the wall niches</p> <p>after understanding the date syrup presses, she considers the site older as she associates the <i>mbasah</i> with the Dilum era for having being aware of the ones in Qal’at al-Bahrain; would like to know the age of the date syrup presses</p> <p>identifies the southern building of the eastern block as a new addition in traditional style</p>
		11c	<p>considers the shop units more than 50 years old and is enthusiastic to hear they are more than 100 years old and is impressed with the fact that the buildings are still preserved in this state</p> <p>differentiates between new and old walls and considers the old ones historic</p> <p>considers the five shop units old but restored, e.g. the wall finishes</p> <p>thinks that the perfume shop is partly old and partly new; thinks the wall is fixed</p> <p>identifies the eastern facade as a new construction copying the style of the original shops units in the adapted sixth shop unit identifies the danshals as old and the ceiling as new</p>
		15c	<p>identifies the site as dating from the pearling era (though not as being thematically linked to the pearling site)</p> <p>dates the shops of the eastern block to be approximately 90 years old</p> <p>two western shops: “Because Muharraq was the old capital of Bahrain. So, I assume the place is much older than Manama. But the buildings themselves I cannot tell how old they are. Judging from the stone structures and the wooden ceilings, I would say early 20s. I would say they are older than the 30s and 40s because it is a very basic way of construction.”</p> <p>aware of the five restored shop unit and the sixth shop unit as restored; considers the eastern wall heavily restored but old as well; identifies the new additions in contemporary design as well as the building of the new shop units and sanitary facilities; identifies the freestanding western wall as new; confused about the two western shops and the reconstructed wall of the seating area</p>
		18b	<p>surprised about the age of the site and parts of the buildings: “Old! But I did not think this one 100 years.”</p> <p>identifies the concrete roof, the glass facade, the western wall, the reconstructed eastern wall as new and the original wall of the cafe, the two western shops as old (suggests 15 years)</p>
		28	<p>asked about the age of the site’s buildings: “I am not informed. Only security company.” But considers it a “historical area”</p>
		29	<p>asked about the café building’s age where he works: “No idea.”</p>
		34	<p>for unclear reasons he dates the site’s vernacular buildings to 1927 and at the same time to 300 years of age</p>
		35	<p><i>no age estimation</i></p>
		36	<p><i>no age estimation</i></p>
		37	<p>very uncertain about the age of the site, which was eventually guessed to about 100 years. „The building, yes, too much old.“</p>
		45	<p><i>no age estimation</i></p>
		47	<p><i>no age estimation</i></p>
50	<p><i>no age estimation</i></p>		

3.4.4 – 3: Age estimations of the site’s buildings

East-western	8a	<p>assumes the market area to be 100-200 years old</p> <p>at first considers the <i>mdābis</i> the only historic features at the site and everything else reconstructed; asked to point out what is historic in the courtyard: “I don’t think any of it is historic except this [pointing to the <i>mdbasah</i>]” “The definition of historic is a very hard.”</p> <p>considers the <i>mdābis</i> older than the shop building: “They are showing to historical layers. First it was the <i>mdbasah</i> and then the <i>suq</i>, so they are showing both through this architectural feature.”</p> <p>misreads the shop sign with the date 1762 indicating the age of the brand as the construction date of the eastern shop facades</p> <p>judges the preserved doors of the five restored shops to be 40-50 years old</p> <p>discussion of what historic versus rebuilt means: Author: “So, if you look around can you tell me which elements are historic and which are not?” 8a: “I don’t think any of it is historic except this [pointing to the date juice press in the outdoor space].” Author: “The <i>mdbasah</i>?” 8a: “Ya, the <i>mdbasah</i>, I think, is what used to be here. Maybe it has even been restored a bit. But that is really the only thing that survived the original building.” Author: “So, you think that this wall here along the street that this is not historic? [the eastern wall]” 8a: “Well, the definition of historic is a very hard...” Author: “Like that they didn’t rebuilt two years ago when the project was carried out.” 8a: [laughing] “Oh, so the definition of rebuilt is... I don’t know what they did here. But the idea of what is historic and what is rebuilt ... I mean... like you tear down the original thing and built it as to your best knowledge of what it was designed, is that rebuilding something? Or is it just taking what is already there and sort of plastering it to what it used to look like? Or is it using the same construction materials and the same construction methods to build something that was built before? So, I don’t know how to define whether it was rebuilt. Let us just say it has been restored to what it probably looked like. It’s a very brought question. I don’t think I can...”</p>
	9	<p>guesses the historic shops to be 200-300 years old</p> <p>Author: “And how do you know the building is old. What are the signs that tell you this is an old building?” 9a. “Mhm, I think the texture and the material. There are a lot of wooden structures, I see. The small windows on the top.”</p> <p>identifies the five shops as historic, restored structures; able to tell reconstructed and older doors apart</p> <p>identifies the building additions in modern materials (glass, metal) and furniture as new; thinks all building parts built in traditional materials (plastered elements) are old, at first even including the free-standing western wall of the outdoor space</p> <p>identifies the vernacular structures of the adapted sixth shop as old, including the danshal beams</p> <p>indicators of historicity: texture and material, wooden elements and small windows as indicators that the lane of shops are old structures</p>
	10a b	<p>judges the vernacular market buildings to be “much older” than the historic buildings at Bab al-Bahrain (10b); assumes the buildings to be approximately 100 years old: “I guess those buildings originally are much older than 50 years old. Like maybe a 100 years.” (10a)</p> <p>identifies the five restored shop units as historic, though he considers parts of them reconstructed: 10b: “I feel like portions of it have been done from scratch and portions have been standing.” Author: “But you can’t tell from sight?” 10b: “No. But this part since it’s showing the outside, I think it is the cheat and this is the old part.”</p> <p>thinks that the open space existed for the last 100 years or so</p> <p>identifies the walls of the upper café space as newly constructed</p> <p>before entering the interior of the café he recalls from memory: “The inside of Safron is definitely old.” (10b)</p> <p>identifies the walls of the lower café space as old; identifies the ceiling in the café as new</p> <p>identifies the two restored western shops as old: “I think they are original. They have been renovated. Parts of it is maybe added.” (10b)</p> <p>identifies the two added shops as new</p>
	12c	<p>estimates the age of the restored shops to be 50 or 60 years and later to the 1940s, 50s, maybe 30s; surprised about their actual age</p> <p>12c: “I would say 40s or 50s, maybe 30s. No, 40s, 50s. How old?” Author: “1880, 1905.” 12c: “Really? Wow!”</p>

3.4.4 – 3: Age estimations of the site's buildings

Western		<p>identifies the outdoor space as new; identifies the various restored shop units and the reconstructed eastern wall; identifies the new additions such as the western wall and the additions in modern materials; misinterprets the low reconstructed wall in the outdoor space as historic;</p>
	3c	<p>dates the site to the pearling era identifies the five restored shops as historic: "My impression is that I am in front of a very nice traditional building." Author: "Do you think it's old? When you say traditional, do you mean it's old?" 3c: "Ya." (traditional = old) identifies the reconstructed eastern wall of the eastern block as new (by difference in colour of the plaster, sharper forms) identifies the western containing wall of the open space as new identifies the added shop units as new for their architectural features identifies the restored shop units of the western block as old "I hope so at least!" surprised that the low wall surrounding the outdoor sitting area is new when comparing to the photo of the archaeological investigations, but makes no strong judgement about that: 3c: "So this is totally artificial!" Author: "ya." 3c: "It is just the idea... Ok, that is interesting."</p>
	13a	<p>estimates the buildings to be 50-100 years old identifies the adapted sixth shop unit as old identifies the upper café space and the outdoor space as mostly modern elements, due to the large windows and the open space: "Because the houses here have smaller windows. And you would not have such open spaces - I guess it is a new part." identifies the date juice presses as she is familiar with the feature from Qal'at al-Bahrain the outdoor space: "This space is very new. And I don't think it is really trying to give the impression of an old reconstruction. I guess the wall around the sitting area does try to give the impression that it belongs to the house, while this area around the <i>mdbasah</i> doesn't. It looks modern, with the view towards the <i>mdbasah</i>, so that you can appreciate the old <i>mdbasah</i>." identifies the low reconstructed wall around the sitting area as new: 13a: "Ya, I would say it is not old." uncertain about the reconstructed eastern wall along Bu Maher Lane "And this wall, I don't know, it would probably be old. No, it's new because of the straight lines." comparing to the walls of the five restored shops, which she finds to look "more authentic" as they are "not straight", she first assumes the reconstructed wall to be new, then reconsiders: 13a: "While these walls... ah, no, they also look sort of authentic, just with new plaster." Author: "So you think they are also old?" 13a: "I would think they are either old, or when they were reconstructed, they chose to reconstruct in the way it was and not to make it look new." identifies the added shops and toilet section as a modern addition identifies the two restored western shops as preserved and the doors as new identifies the freestanding western wall with the grid windows as new identifies the five restored shops to be old and considers them to date from different construction stages based on the inconsistencies in the facades and particularly the roof construction</p>
	14b	<p>dates the buildings to the 1890s/ 1870s identifies the two restored western shops as old identifies the five shops as restored original buildings identifies the new walls and roof in the outdoor space as such identifies the historic wall of the adapted sixth shop in the outdoor space as original: "That wall looks pretty original, just because it is not quite perfect." seems to think the café space was conserved in a later stage than the construction time and only little changed; thinks the café (Safron) dates from 1920 "I think Safron has been here since 1920." identifies the lower café space as old, including the sea stone and except the wall plaster, which she considers new uncertain about the historicity of the low wall in the outdoor courtyard considers the new shop units restored; 14b: "These ones don't look so old. I guess because the lines are so straight. It looks like a mould again." Author: "So that could have been added, or just restored?" 14b: "Restored, ya. So, you don't even know what the original was, unless they left something for us."</p>

3.4.4 – 4: Value attributions to the Siyadi Shops and Suq Al-Qaisariya					
		architectural and urban testimony	testimony to cultural traditions	emotional, educational or use values	
Architects	Eastern	16c	“I would generally feel that it is a nice old place near the market and...”	“... since they are having this <i>mdbasah</i> , so they might be selling dates and syrups related to the dates. And that is it.” connection to pearling not clear	
		17a b	considers the site historic values the vernacular fabric and details including historic accessories	values the date syrup presses not aware that the site is part of the Pearling Testimony but does establish a general connection: Author: “Why would it be part of the pearling?” 17b: “Maybe because of the people who used to go for pearling – the <i>tawawish</i> – they had some shops here? Maybe that is why.” Author: “Some of them are owned by Siyadi.” 17b: “I mean, it is all connected to each other. The houses and the mosques and the shops. It’s the same people using everything.”	
		21a	considers the market area second-grade built heritage which needs not to be strictly conserved but rehabilitated in line with the contemporary social and economic dynamics	not aware of the connection to pearling	prioritizes the contemporary use values
		25	values the local vernacular fabric not as historic but traditional buildings; with reference to the Pearling Pathway and its vernacular buildings: “This word ‘historic’ freaks me out! I mean tradition! That’s tradition! Historic. Historic. Conservation. Big words for this! [...] Let’s stop the masquerade”	values the vernacular building tradition as a living heritage considers the value of the houses of the Pearling Testimony to be foremost intangible: “But what we try preserve, [...] is [...] the idea of the pearling. [...] It is more the history and the untold story.”	prioritizes the contemporary use values
		30	appreciates the historic buildings as evidence of the past but perceives the value of the site reduced due to the significant changes	link to pearling heritage not clear	points to the value of historic buildings in general as anchors of cultural identity
		7	values the historic market buildings as urban and architectural testimony	values the testimony to date syrup production considers the link to the pearling narrative intrinsically weak: 7b: “But what I am saying is, that when it comes to the market, those specific five shops didn’t really add anything from an OUV perspective, except if you are talking about the market.” [...] Author: “So you	considers the market area a “living heritage” for its continuity of use and memories; considers the historic value partly based in the collective memory of the local community points to the sites potential value as memory marker and anchor of cultural identity for future

3.4.4 – 4: Value attributions to the Siyadi Shops and Suq Al-Qaisariya				
East-western			don't really see the OUV of the place expressed in it, or do you?" 7b: "No, I don't. In this particular space I don't."	generations if the collective memory is preserved and revived points to the didactic value of the archaeological and vernacular remains and buildings
	22	considers the market buildings second-grade built heritage which needs not to be strictly conserved but rehabilitated in line with the contemporary social and economic dynamics		prioritizes the value commercial and social use (economic value)
	23	value the market's traditional urban layout and historic vernacular fabric besides the continuity of commercial use: "I think in the fact that the existing fabric was tolerated and the fact that it is still used as a market. That's enough. I think it is the use and the layout. And I think that was preserved."	considers the link to the pearling narrative weak for lack of evidence of activities related to pearling except in the case of the two-storeyed western block: "I think the Siyadi shops block A is actually more important for pearling."	values the continuity of commercial use
	24	points to the historical value of the preserved vernacular fabric	points to the value of the vernacular building traditions	points to the value of the site's use
	33	values the historic vernacular buildings	points to the narrative value of the site as part of the Pearling Testimony , which he however considers not well conveyed	
	Western	20	values the historic commercial buildings and spaces as vernacular and urban testimony	
Non-architects Eastern	4a	attributes high documentary value to the site as evidence of the local history and culture values the built vernacular heritage	points to the café as a very popular restaurant for traditional Bahraini food presses as the heritage of her ancestors not aware of the World Heritage status of the site and the connection to pearling	point to the restaurant as a visitor magnet mnemonic and emotional : appreciates the site, because it connects her to a past which she knows little about; considers the site to inspire pride points to the educational value by planning to take her younger brother to the site: "He is now eleven years and he doesn't know anything about the history. You have to tell the new generation."
	11cd	attributes value to the historic vernacular fabric points to the documentary value related to the way of life in the past : "This is how their simple life was." (11c) "Here is the history of Arab people, how they lived. " (11c) considers that particularly the	mdbasah : "It's their culture and unique. We don't have this." (11c) Bahraini dress of the cafés waiter : "It's tradition." (11c) not aware of the link to pearling and OUV	points to the educational value describes the visit to the site as a sort of time travel

3.4.4 – 4: Value attributions to the Siyadi Shops and Suq Al-Qaisariya

	<p>two restored western shops convey relative poverty and simplicity of life: “Maybe before they could only afford it like this and this is the way they lived. Maybe they did not have a metal roof, that is why they kept old mud.” (11c)</p>		
15cd	<p>points to prevalence of the monument value of the historic vernacular buildings (uses the word archaeological site for monument): “The building is more like an archaeological site. Alright?” (15c)</p> <p>points to the value of age: “The older the buildings are, the more precious they are. So, I think it is good that they took care of this.” (15d)</p>	<p>points to the traditional food and traditional music at the café</p> <p>date syrup production: “[...] it used to be a food industry place and it still is.” (15c)</p> <p>connection to pearling no clear</p>	<p>emotional value: nostalgic about the local vernacular architecture and related details</p>
28	<p>points to the historical value: „I like old things. Because historical area, Madame. [...] I like that.”</p>		<p>educational value: “New generations to know previous history. It is part of education.”</p>
34	<p>points to the heritage value of the rehabilitated vernacular buildings</p>	<p>associates the site with the “Pearl Road” and seems aware of the UNESCO status</p>	<p>points to tourist value of the rehabilitated site</p>
35 x2	<p>the two Bahraini men (senior and young adult) do not attribute any value to the site’s vernacular buildings: 35-1: “What is this? Nothing special! It does not take a big effort to build this house”. 35 -2: “Just normal buildings. Nothing special.”</p>		
36	<p>values the vernacular buildings as historic testimony</p>	<p>values the traditional food</p>	<p>attributes value as a memory marker of the traditional way of life in the past</p>
37	<p>values the site for its historicity</p>	<p>values the traditional food</p>	
45	<p>values the two restored western shops for their historicity</p>		<p>very emotional about the two restored western shops which remind him of how the market area looked like in the past</p>
50	<p>the coffee shop as a landmark: “Do you know Safron?”</p>		
	<p>values the vernacular buildings architectural testimony of the pearling era and of the circumstances and lifestyle of the time: “This sort of architecture is part of the pearling period in Bahrain.”</p> <p>points to the value of rarity</p>	<p>values the date syrup presses as an important historic feature</p> <p>Arabian perfume shop: “It’s a part of the heritage of this place.”</p> <p>considers Muharraq’s market area to be “part of the Arabian heritage of the southern parts of Muharraq” (between Busaiteen</p>	<p>points to the educational and use value of the site, its beauty as well as the emotional value: “Everything there is significant in the <i>Ghous</i> [Arabi: pearl diving] area. Because pearling is also an emotional thing.”</p>

3.4.4 – 4: Value attributions to the Siyadi Shops and Suq Al-Qaisariya

East-western	8a		and Arad) as well as part of the pearling heritage , given that Arabs started settling in this area in order to take part in the pearl trade: “So, these are all remnants of the pearling heritage.”	points to the national and international value of the cultural heritage resource : “But as I said, it serves a bigger national purpose to have a place like this renovated. ” Author: “Why?” 8a: “Because there are not many places like this. This is part of a UNESCO World Heritage site. It’s quite rare for people who are born in and lived in Bahrain in my generation to have a feel of how this place used to be. So, renovating this place is important to cultural preservation at a national level.”
	9a	values the historicity of the site	values the testimony to the date sirup production but finds it to distract from the link to pearling cannot establish the connection to pearling/ OUV (points to the missing sea connection and the dominance of the date syrup presses : “How it was connected? I don’t know. It does not really make sense with the dates now, to me.”	points to the tourist value and emotional appeal of the authentic historic site which she considers to inspire curiosity for the local culture and history (educational value); however, she focuses on emotional experience and romantic time travel rather than the acquisition of historic knowledge
	10a b	values the vernacular heritage points to a certain age value in comparison to the buildings at Bab al-Bahrain but does not consider the site historic because it is still in use and rather not old enough : Author: “And is that a historic place to you?” 10a: “No. not historic.” Author: “Why not?” 10a: “Maybe I have a wrong impression of historic, but if I consider that historic than I would consider my grandfather historic.” Author: “So it’s too new?” 10a: “Ya, and also the notion that it is still functioning for more or less the same purpose it was made for. Something historic has to be hundreds of years old, or relatively longer time, and it has to be out of function. Like the fort for example, it is not used to defend Bahrain anymore. That’s my notion of historic.” Author:	values the date syrup presses as historic testimony considers the link to the OUV of the Pearling Testimony not evident at the site	

3.4.4 – 4: Value attributions to the Siyadi Shops and Suq Al-Qaisariya				
Western		<p>“So, traditional then?” 10a: “Traditional! Very much.” considers the archaeological remains historic (including the foundations) because they no longer serve their original function (10b)</p>		
	12c	<p>values the historic vernacular buildings</p>	<p>values the date syrup presses as a historic feature not able to establish a clear connection to the pearling narrative and World Heritage site and: “As I understood all 17 sites, each one presents an element of an operation. Now, I really don’t know what would it be. This one maybe would be where the merchants would meet to discuss over lunch issues like this.” Reminded, that the site contained shops, not a café, he considers it could have been “the market of the pearls”, but objects that “you wouldn’t put them in a shop like this.” (12c)</p>	<p>seems to value the site foremost as a tourist attraction and atmospheric space of relaxation</p>
	3a	<p>refuses to call the site historic only because it is old but appreciates the preservation of the vernacular buildings</p>		<p>makes no explicit value judgement about the site but repeatedly points to the use value and the educational value of the architecture</p>
	13a	<p>considers it difficult to identify the cultural significance as she lacks background knowledge about the site: “I don’t know much about the suq itself. I guess it is one of the houses in the pearling route. But I really don’t know anything about it. I don’t know who it belonged to or why it’s considered a historic house, or it isn’t.” acknowledges a certain age value but refrains from calling the vernacular buildings historic only because they are old, for lack of awareness of any historic significance; the meaning of historic for her encompasses more than only age: “What’s a historic room? Is it old? Yes. It’s specific for some reason? I don’t know.” “I do feel like I am sitting in a house that was built some time ago. But for something to be</p>	<p>assumes the site to be part of the Pearling Testimony but finds the connection not obvious: “I guess it was used as a suq area during the pearling trading times.”</p>	

3.4.4 – 4: Value attributions to the Siyadi Shops and Suq Al-Qaisariya			
		historical it would have to have a specific function or purpose, or be unique in a way adding to the fact that it is just old. If something is simply old it is not historic.”	
	14b	considers the site worth preserving for being a historic settlement area but at the same time questions the site’s cultural significance for the new generations of the local community alludes to the value of rarity: “History is going so fast here. There is not much left.”	points to the loss of collective memory in Bahrain: “I think this has more of a connection with the elders, and they are dying out. I wonder how the Bahrainis feel about preserving this.” “Do you think the people want the preservation? I mean the people to whom this is meaningful are dying out.”

3.4.4 – 5: Evaluations of the Siyadi Shops’ refurbishment in 2010-12			
appreciation of the interventions			
Architects Eastern	16 b	<p>appreciates the conservation and adaptation approaches taken throughout the site for the sensitivity in dealing with the historic remains, for contrast between added and historic fabric and the feeling the designs create</p> <p>the five restored shops: Author: “What do you think of this? What does it tell you? 16b: “It seems an old building. Nice old building.” Author: “What do you think is what the MoCe has done here?” 16b: “I think, a simple conservation.”</p> <p>the mdbasah in the open space as an archaeological feature (taking it for a foundation) glass facade: “This is a new addition, but I like it.”</p> <p>the outdoor space: “A nice place.”</p> <p>the two restored western shops “a nice old place” “I like them. I like the feeling of the façade generally, of the old buildings. I like it a lot. I like this rough feeling. And these old doors. I know that some of them are restored, and some are old. But it is really nice.”</p> <p>the approach taken for the shops front doors throughout the site</p> <p>the café space: the interior of the café: Author: [entering the café] “Very crowded on the weekends.” 16c: “But very nice!”</p> <p>the lower café space and how it has been preserved with few additions</p> <p>the mdbasah in the café: “I am happy to see this.”</p>	
	17a b	<p>appreciates the preservation of the site as opposed to the earlier plans of building a mall at the site; lauds Shaikha May for stopping the bulldozer when being told the story: “Very brave of her.”</p> <p>likes the site overall and the date juice presses (17a)</p> <p>appreciates the traditional, “authentic” appearance of the five restored shops including the rain gutters and the preserved canopy</p> <p>appreciates the atmosphere at the café: “I like the coziness of the place, the materials of the walls. They are very authentic.” (17b)</p> <p>likes the danshal ceilings in the perfume shop and remains of it in the café</p> <p>appreciates the date juice presses: “It is very nice to have it there. It is one good element, one important element of the whole the place.” (17b)</p> <p>appreciates the outdoor space as such but wishes for more intense usage and partly different design: “The open area is needed in such suqs, because in the old times they had many open spaces.”</p> <p>design of the added shops “They are going with the rest of the place. They are not interfering with the place.”</p> <p>likes the two restored western shops</p>	

3.4.4 – 5: Evaluations of the Siyadi Shops' refurbishment in 2010-12	
	<p>21a appreciates the overall project: „It's nice.“ “As a tourist attraction, as a space it looks very nice.” very enthusiastic about the two restored western shops for their natural materials and their finishing and for their „human touch”; at first thinks that they have not been worked on; when comparing to the photo from 2008 he identifies the differences and is very enthusiastic about the work</p> <p>appreciates the preservation and display of the <i>mdbasah</i> after receiving an explanation of what it used to be</p> <p>enthusiastic about the interior design of the café</p> <p>likes the project for its ruinous character and for the differentiability of preserved and newly added elements and fabric</p>
	<p>25 likes the project in which she was involved: “It is very nice.”</p> <p>in the development of conservation projects in Bahrain: “It is a turning point.”</p>
	<p>30 appreciates the conservative approach taken at the two western shops for authenticity reasons</p> <p>seems to appreciate the variety of levels of intervention for comparison of different historic phases and states of the site</p>
East-Western	<p>22 considering the site and market area a second-grade heritage, he does not attribute physical conservation prime importance; with reference to the rehabilitation works in Suq al-Qaisariya generally: “There is also another concept of conservation: the memory of the place, rather than the physical. You protect the physical structure in order to preserve the memory of the place. And to conserve the experience, which allows you to experience when you are in that place. Which will be completely different than the experience of a shopping mall. And by doing this, you are doing a type of conservation. Whatever you want to name, to term it. So, this experience and these places where people can go.... Authenticity... how much degree, we will leave it to be measured, but we have a different place which relate to the history, which relate to the heritage, than the experience of the shopping mall, and supermarket.”</p>
	<p>23 considers the project successful if superficially viewed and not having much background knowledge about the site and the process: “I guess, if I did not know the site, I would really like it. I wouldn't have anything much to say about it. [...] If I didn't know... or if I didn't have any background or worked on the project, I would not have anything to criticize.”</p>
	<p>24 appreciates the project's approach, design and the fact that the rehabilitation served to reuse the site: “It is very, very nice. I like, for me, maybe from the beginning I tried to explain to you, to reuse the monument it is a good idea. Not to block it.”</p>
	<p>32 appreciates the project: “I like the approach”</p>
	<p>33 appreciates the project: commends the installation of a public toilet and the approach of presenting historic features as narrative elements:</p> <p>33: “I think it is the right approach for this kind of project. A public project. It gives a story to the place...” Author: “Which story? 33: “The story, the history of the shops, the suq... Revealing the <i>mdbasah</i>, it shows that there was a different purpose, a different function once. The patterns in the floor indicate... [...] It is very subtle but if you pay attention, this vertical and this is all horizontal.”</p>
	<p>20 appreciates the display of the selected date juice presses, particularly the one in the café under glass for allowing use of the space</p>
	<p>4a enthusiastic about the entire site and intervention; considers the approach of integrating gastronomy in a partly preserved partly refurbished site and to include some interpretation on history and culture is a good means of heritage preservation and protection</p> <p>the adapted sixth shop unit: conservation of the building and adaptation for use as a café which constitutes as visitor magnet:</p> <p>[comparing to the pictures of the adapted sixth shop in the state of 2008]: “Great job!” Author: “Why do you like it? Why do you say it's a great job?” 4a: “Ya, it's a great job because if they didn't restore it, then they will just remove it and build another house and who will know that for examples those shops used to sell pearls. Or who would know about this history if they removed it? Because you know, if you want to attract visitors, even your locals, Bahrainis – don't just build a museum and then come! But to the café, believe me, this is the real story. Have some projects like this! There will be a café, you can see, some things to read. Then they will come. But if it is only this one (pointing to the walls) “what is this? You should remove it!” Some people will say. Trash. So, it is good to renew things while keeping some like this. So people will know, will come, you can mix between your own future, the present and the past.”</p>

3.4.4 – 5: Evaluations of the Siyadi Shops’ refurbishment in 2010-12

Non-architects Eastern		<p>appreciates heritage projects like this one, because it connects her to a past she says she knows little about the mdbasah as a historic feature without understanding its former function at first appreciates the interior design of the café (the furniture (local traditional benches) and decorative accessories as well as place mats imitating traditional palm frond mats (she would prefer mats actually made of palm frond, but assumes that imitations ‘made in China’ are economically more viable for a restaurant and hence approves of the use of it: 4a: “I like the chairs, those things, pots... [...] I can see they are old. We have some of these at my home. Just for decoration. Most of the traditional restaurants in Bahrain, if not all, they have this style of chairs [<i>pointing to the benches</i>]. I like the using of these ... [<i>pointing to the mats on the tables</i>]. It should be made of palm tree..., but it is not. It looks like it is made from the palm tree, but it is not. You can find it from China.” Author: “You like them or you don’t?” 4a: “I like them, the shape... It looks like they are made from the palm trees. But I know, that it’s not. No one will make things like that now. Ok, you can find. But maybe it’s expensive. So, for a restaurant they will buy it from China. Whatever, it is not made of palm trees, Bahraini palm trees, but at least their style is like an old style. So, I like it. [...] In a restaurant you will not buy original things. Maybe it is expensive, you have to think economically.”</p> <p>two restored shop units of the western block (conservation and uncovered display of the construction material): “That is another great job, because they kept those building materials as it is. They didn’t cover it with anything, so you can see the...”</p> <p>rehabilitation approach: preservation of few shops only as examples: „No need to rebuild the whole area. Ok, it’s good to give a life to the past. But you should think about your present. So, a few examples it’s ok.”</p>
	11c	<p>commends the conservation efforts to preserve a heritage area for having safeguarded the historic fabric and for showing how people lived with “these old rocky houses” “This is how their simple life was.”</p> <p>“Here is the history of Arab people, how they lived. Walla, this is a very good job of Shaikha Mai, because she preserved this one. People recognize and try to remember what they had.” she finds it important to preserve vestiges from the past “for the new generation to feel how it was before. Because now people don’t understand how it was before. How simple it was.” after seeing the images of the state in 2008: “No, it’s really unbelievable how they preserved these things when they became abandoned and now people love to see and visit.”</p> <p>lauds the efforts of the Minister of Culture, Shaikha Mai “She is a tough woman to have the idea to preserve the abandoned place. [...] She is doing a good job!! Really good job.” (she has heard of Shaikha Mai from a friend who works for her)</p> <p>the design and atmosphere of the open space: “Just a design. It’s nice. Nice atmosphere. But just a design, nothing more.”</p> <p>appreciates the fact the two restored western shops convey their age</p> <p>talking to her friend who joined us at the café towards the end of the interview: “First time also? Very unique, no? 100 years, unbelievable this is still here. This is how the Arabs lived before. Very simple life. You see, they already had a very beautiful house. But still they wanted to have more, something modern in the house. And now this has become a commercial space, after it had been abandoned.”</p>
	15c d	<p>appreciates the heritage conservation: “Luckily Shaikha Mai is doing a great job in this lately. But ten years ago, I remember when we came to this place to eat, we never knew about any of these.” (15c)</p> <p>appreciates the level of detail in the project and the preservation of historic features up to the electrical cabling and some traditional furniture such as the bench in the pedestrian lane as well as vintage features such as the recycled metal locks on replicated doors</p> <p>“I don’t think they will ever use it, but even the radio, you see, they put an old radio in front of the I-pod-holder. Which means they are into details, and the beauty is all in the details.” (15d)</p> <p>likes the café and adapted shop unit: takes visiting friends there because „The food is very typical Bahraini breakfast. And it is actually tasty. The atmosphere is amazing.”</p> <p>appreciates the projects as a means of heritage preservation and preservation of vernacular local architecture; [referring to his friend]“He loved the place. And he started complaining that Saudi is not doing the same for their own architecture and archaeology. He said he looks forward to come back again. I showed him in a quick walk around the area. And he really liked it. My personal opinion is very similar. Otherwise, would not bring my guest here. I think it is a</p>

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	<p>very nice place and the majority of people agree. Otherwise, the place wouldn't be packed." appreciates the adaption of the sixth shop unit: "The effort they made: they could have easily chopped the building and just put a roof on it. But I do appreciate the effort they made to preserve the building."</p> <p>appreciates the conservation of the two western shops: "You know, whenever you see a historical show about Bahrain, old buildings are like this." When shown a photo of the shops in 2008 he appreciates the conservation work: "Now, I know! [...] They did an amazing job. Very beautiful job!" "I wished the whole area was like this. It would be very beautiful." (15c) (refers to the Qatari retro-village)</p> <p>appreciates the outdoor space: Author: "How do you feel about this space?" 15d: "It's very nice. In Bahrain you have 5 months of acceptable whether. So, sitting outside is really beautiful. Sadly, there is only one table. They could have managed to put more."</p>
18 b	<p>appreciates the rehabilitation of the site (comparing to the photos of 2008) „Too much difference!“</p> <p>likes the café and the perfume shop; uses are more interesting to her than the buildings</p> <p>appreciates the design of the perfume shop</p> <p>entering the outdoor space: „It's an old place, but nice.“</p> <p>appreciates the outdoor mdbasah when explained as well as the indoor mdbasah for the design and old style</p> <p>says she appreciates the archaeological window when explained</p> <p>appreciates the old and traditionally designed doors of the restored shops</p> <p>appreciates the mix of old and new styles</p> <p>appreciates the old music played at the café</p>
34	<p>expresses his satisfaction with the project, which he associates to the „Pearl road“, as it attracts tourists from GCC and beyond as well as local visitors</p> <p>appreciates the rehabilitation of the vernacular buildings, including the café and the five restored shops: 34: "Yes, it is very good. Heritage!" Author: "Why good?" 34: "Because everybody, all the tourists they ask to see this area." Author: "Only tourist or also locals?" 34: "Also local people sometime. GCC nationals also. They ask. They want to see. When they reach there, they ask the taxi driver, just take me to this area." Author: "What do they ask for? Safran or Qaisariya?" 34: "They say take us to the pearl road!"</p> <p>appreciates that Bahrain gets international recognition through UNESCO World Heritage status: "Yes, it is good! At least the Bahrain name, everybody knows about it because of the UNESCO."</p>
36	<p>the middle-aged local lady from Muharraq likes the place because it serves typical, traditional Bahraini food and because the building, which she refers to as a house or a fort, reminds her of how local people lived in the past</p>
37	<p>young Bahraini lady from Zallaq (southern Bahrain) comes to the site occasionally as she likes it for its historicity, architecture and design and its traditional food: Author: "Do you come here often?" 37: "Yes, sometimes. I like this one." Author: "Why do you like it?" 37: "For the old, like the old Bahraini décor and food. Nice this one."</p> <p>appreciates the outdoor space which she however considered too hot to sit at the time of the interview (April): „Very nice. But too much hot now. I cannot sit."</p>
47	<p>when arriving at the site to visit the café she comments on the site to her companion: "You know what I like about this place? It's the same place. They did not change it."</p>
50	<p>appreciates the café: "I go there twice every week on the weekend. One time with my husband, one time with my friend." "Do you like the food?" "Oh, I don't take food. I only have a drink and cake."</p>
8a	<p>the MoC's efforts to stop the demolition of the shops and their subsequent rehabilitation which he considers a deed of national importance (connection of younger Bahraini generations to their culture and history)</p> <p>the UNESCO WH status</p> <p>finds the end result "beautiful" from the point of view of a visitor: "So, I think the end result is beautiful at a very superficial level as a visitor. But I don't know what the residents think and I think that is an important bit of it, I cannot underestimate it. But as a visitor I think they have done a fantastic job." "So, I hope everybody is happy, but in the end, I really don't know. But like I am saying, at a superficial level it is beautiful. I can just walk in and say this is a beautiful place."</p>

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East-western		<p>particularly appreciates the mdbasah underneath the glass for giving grandeur to the place and for integrating use and heritage: "I think this a brilliant idea. Because you use the space and you also show what was here."</p> <p>the Arabian perfume shop "It's a part of the heritage of this place." remodelling the missing shop front doors after the preserved ones open space as a useful space with educational benefit the interpretation panels the conservative restoration of the two restored shops of the western block as a snapshot of a certain point in time "I think this is very beautiful." preservation of the ownership of land and shops units heritage authority's control over the choice of tenants and sales products quality of the Bahraini breakfast offered at the café</p>
	9a	<p>appreciates the use of historic resources (authentic fabric) with modern interventions for national branding in Bahrain appreciates the intervention at the site and its welcoming atmosphere perfume shop (photogenic): „I was taking pictures of this perfumery. I couldn't stop taking picture of this. Because it looks so nice. It's so ... original and like real. It's not fake, it's not copy paste from any other big city or anything. It's like a blend of tradition, an authentic building and at the same time a perfumery." (9a) appreciates the semi-enclosed, semi-open configuration of the outdoor space, which she considers rare: "I like it here. It has a very elegant touch. I understand that this is an authentic place and I would like to have my own experience with this place. [...] It's totally me. It clicks with me." the artistic installations (bicycle on the wall) appreciates the café including its interior design as an authentic yet artistic and touristic place of high emotional and historic appeal, which blends traditional and modern elements: "I like it. Wow. It's very cozy and modern. It's very conceptual. I love it. That is the places I usually look for whenever I'm traveling. I have been living in Europe for a long time and for example my experience in the States after Europe I was really missing all those authentic ... Everything just looked so fake and new. Like new buildings. I was living in L.A., and it looked like a Florentine or Venetian site, but it was fake. It was a sort of bad copy paste thing. But this place is one that I would definitely – if I would come as a tourist – I would be looking for. And I would recommend this place for visitors." appreciates what she considers a minimal intervention in the case of the café space the date juice presses (after having been explained their purpose) for inspiring curiosity about the site and Bahraini culture and history in general by highlighting a human dimension: "Wow, it's amazing. It creates this curiosity to discover more about the place and Bahrain in general. Like, ok, they were doing this and what else, you know? And it would make me also want to go and buy the date honey." appreciates the use of the space "It think the team who worked on the design even of this Safron, they could really make the best out of what they already had in terms of space."</p>
	10a b	<p>likes the place as it is now, its liveliness and the presence of Bahraini people among traders and clients (10a) as well as the café (10b) „This one I approve of [looking at five restored shops]. This is very much older than the ones in Manama, in age and construction style. And I assume this is how it looked like before." (10b) appreciates the archaeological ground window at the café (10b) approves of the conservation approach of the five restored shops and the adapted sixth shop, which have been made functional again while attempting to make the alterations legible: "I am a very pragmatic person. I would rather have a functioning thing rather than a non-functional heritage. Does that make sense to you?" (10b) appreciates the differentiation between historic and added wall plaster: "I would rather have the differentiation so people can understand that this was old and has been fixed and that they kept it that way." (10b) appreciates the approach taken to the doors: "Good! [...] I mean they look similar. It's just the wood looks older in the original doors. So, I think it's fine. I would not like to see completely different doors. It would ruin the theme." (10b) appreciates the rain gutters on the shop facades (10b)</p>

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	<p>appreciates the open space; asked if he would have preferred the shops structures would have been reconstructed: "And make more shops? I prefer it this way. We don't have open spaces anymore. I prefer the open space." (10b)</p> <p>appreciates the minimal conservative approach taken at the two western Siyadi shops</p>
<p>12 b</p>	<p>appreciates the restoration of the Siyadi Shops: "It is a beautiful renovation. And look with the mosque and the building next to it. It goes well."</p> <p>lauds Shaikha Mai for her conservation efforts and for "initiating all this."</p> <p>appreciates the archaeological wall window, the differentiation of the surface plaster in the northern elevation of the eastern block, the doors of the five restored shops, both new and old</p> <p>appreciates the perfume shop (interior design and products)</p> <p>outdoor space: "This is a beautiful space, I really like it."</p> <p>appreciates the furnishing of the outdoor space to serve people as a "small majlis" where people can sit</p> <p>the outdoor mdbasah and "how it is exposed" to serve as "a reminder" without exactly remembering its original function: "I love [the <i>mdbasah</i>]... somebody told me that this is a brewery or something?"</p> <p>loves the two restored western shops "Yes, these two shops, very beautiful. [...] I love the finishing. It doesn't look fake although you can see some renovation works on it. But it looks real and a good chunk of it was there before. I love the wooden beams, they look beautiful and I love the wooden beams in the middle of the wall."; comparing to the photo of the two shops in 2008: "Wow. Beautiful! Very nice. Excellent."</p> <p>enthusiastic about the chain of coloured light bulbs in the pedestrian lane and the art installation – a wall-mounted bicycle</p> <p>the interior design of the café and fusion of historic and subtle modern additions: "Here again I love it."</p> <p>appreciates the subtle modern additions in the site</p> <p>the bread sold in the café [having lunch together] "Good bread, eh?"</p>
<p>3ac</p>	<p>finds the overall conservation approach plausible (conserved, reconstructed and added parts) (3c)</p> <p>contrast of new and old elements in the site including inside the café (3c)</p> <p>as archaeologist the display of the archaeology (date syrup presses) is what she most likes in the entire site (3a)</p> <p>existence of original historic fabric (3c)</p> <p>the feeling of a historic place (3c)</p> <p>the possibility to tell historic and new fabric apart (3c)</p> <p>the preserved urban setting "the streets are the same" (3c)</p> <p>the presence of local, Bahraini clientele</p> <p>appreciates the café as a use and interior space (material: wall plaster) (3a)</p> <p>café as the favourite space at the site (3c)</p> <p>the glass facade as a modern feature for a new coffee shop (3c)</p> <p>the glass covered <i>mdbasah</i> (3c)</p> <p>five restored shops: "My impression is that I am in front of a very nice traditional building." (3c)</p> <p>appreciates that it is possible to differentiate the new and the old doors when looking at them closely but that they do not take the attention. "I think it is good that you can differentiate them if you want to. But normally you would just pass and would not realize. That is a good thing." (3c)</p> <p>subtle differentiation between old and new plaster on the restored shop façades: Author: "Do you have an idea why the plaster up there – you see there is a part that looks different – do you have an idea about that?" 3c: "Is it the original fabric and the newly added?" Author: "Yes, exactly. [...] What do think about that?" 3c: "I think that is also a good thing. Because you will only see it if you want to see it. And if you don't want to see it, you will never focus on that actually. So if you just have a short glance you will just have the impression of the nice old, traditional building. But if you want to find out the secrets of the building you can still see them."</p> <p>the open space and outdoor sitting area ("a peaceful kind of space" in the middle of the buzz of the suq) (3c) "And otherwise it is actually a nice space. This is new that they put tables out</p>

3.4.4 – 5: Evaluations of the Siyadi Shops' refurbishment in 2010-12	
Western	<p>here, no?" Author: "It's the first time I see people sitting out here actually." 3c: "It's nice because it's still in the middle of everything but yet it gives a peaceful kind of space. You now what I mean?"</p> <p>the open space and public toilet (because it serves the people) (3c)</p> <p>the two restored shops of the western block: "I really like them" (3c)</p>
	<p>13a appreciates the general rehabilitation approach and the adaptation of the sixth shop unit for maintaining the feel of a traditional place and for the subtle yet identifiable additions, both the modern ones and the traditionalist ones (e.g. the building with the newly added shop units and sanitary facilities)</p> <p>Appreciates the variety of interventions taken on the site and their legibility: "Ya, I think it is quite good. Because this area gives you an idea of the functionality, this area gives you an idea of what it could have looked like but still it is an obvious reconstruction, and in the lower part we don't even know anything about it, so it looks modern. So, in a way, I think it is ok."</p> <p>appreciates the gastronomic use although not being original</p>
	<p>14 b in the café: Author: "How do you feel about this place?" 14b: "It's nice. It's nice to see some history kept alive."</p> <p>the site's colour scheme from an aesthetic perspective: "I like the way they coloured it."</p>
disapproval of the interventions	
Architects Eastern	<p>16c the western wall in the outdoor space: „But why do we add this screen?"; finds they obstruct the view to the two western shops</p> <p>seems to prefer a bigger contrast between historic and added fabric, such as the glass facade, than given in the case of the ceiling inside the café</p> <p>disapproves of the historicizing reconstruction of the eastern wall along Bumaher Avenue: "Yanni, I think it is better not to reconstruct with the old features, because it is again confusing. [...] If you are adding two stuff together, you might ruin the authentic one."</p> <p>would prefer the reconstructed wall along Bu Maher Avenue to be a simple, modern addition, since it was not existing anymore "The added wall could be a simple modern thing since it did not exist before. I am not sure. Or it might be traces of something that was here?"</p>
	<p>17a b removal of the metal doors on the five restored shops, considers they should have been maintained as evidence of that period (17b)</p> <p>the concrete ceiling interior of the café for not looking traditional</p> <p>walking on the top of the date juice press inside the café strikes him as unrespectful towards the heritage: "And I like the <i>mdbasah</i> with the glass here. It feels like there was something very important here in this place. But the idea of stepping on it clicks something in my mind. I don't know what. [...] It's like you are stepping on the history – really stepping on it. Maybe if you could go around it, instead of stepping on it." (17b)</p> <p>uncertain why and for what purpose the western wall in the outdoor space was added</p> <p>the lack of function and usage of the open space and the location of the sanitary rooms</p> <p>the differentiation between the original and added surface plaster of the five restored shops (better to blend) and the design of the eastern wall along Bu Maher Avenue (better true to the original design or modern in subtle contrast)</p>
	<p>21a has concerns e.g. with the surface rendering of the six shops</p> <p>disapproves of the traditional reconstruction approach and surface plaster of the eastern wall along Bu Maher Road</p> <p>disapproves of the reconstructions throughout the site for being imaginary and not true to history: Author: "What do you think about this here? The fact that they tried to preserve the historic buildings in this place? Is there any point for you?" 21a: "If the house is there, there is a house, a traditional house that is in bad state. Ok, you can restore it, extend its life. But building something what was there before, just imagining it must have been like this, I don't ..." Author: "Is that what you feel they did here in Qaisariya?" 21a: "Yes."</p> <p>criticizes the courtyard as an historically wrong feature, since there was not courtyard originally, as the photos of the excavated foundations show</p>
	<p>25 criticizes that the design, like most conservation projects in Bahrain at the time, lacked an integrative vision with the final use in mind from the start</p>
<p>30 b critical of the project; considers the site significantly changed and that the restoration took away from its historicity/ authenticity and that conservation ethics as he has learned them by</p>	

3.4.4 – 5: Evaluations of the Siyadi Shops’ refurbishment in 2010-12

		<p>working with the Ministry of Culture in Bahrain are not consistently applied; neither seems to appreciate the architecture, nor the technical standard of the interventions and doubts that the spaces have a high value of usage; considers the utilities should have been better integrated into the project design from the start;</p> <p>disapproves of the reconstructed low wall in the seating area for being obstructive and misleading for not being identifiable as a reconstruction</p> <p>critical of the reconstruction of the eastern wall in coral stone</p> <p>disapproves of the “unfinished” danshal ceiling in the café; thinks it might be confusing and interpreted as a pergola; thinks the traditional roof should have been reconstructed</p> <p>disapproves of the inconsistent surface plaster throughout the site and of the color treatments of plaster surfaces; finds it compromises the authenticity of the place and contradicts conservation ethics as he has been taught on the job: “I don’t know, usually what they said, use only original plaster. You also have to plaster. The original plaster should be bit higher and the new plaster is recessed. Sometimes they will change, make it all plaster. So, it’s confusing.”;</p> <p>says that he is currently involved in removing plaster on the site which has been added over historic plaster previously; he does not know why the original plaster was not displayed from the beginning.</p> <p>Author: [looking at the five restored shops of the eastern block]: “Even that side? When you stand in front of those shops. You don’t feel that it is historic?” 30b: “I don’t know. Because I saw what they did – painting.”</p> <p>criticizes the type of doors installed at the two western shops (would appreciate more traditional, nailed doors)</p>
	<p>32</p>	<p>would not have reconstructed the eastern wall in coral stone not to confuse the people: “Also in the eastern wall I would have used a different material, because people might be confused and take it for old. [...] But it is fine. It’s plastered differently.”</p> <p>criticizes the windows in the western wall for design reasons</p> <p>disapproves of the colour treatment of surface plaster for technical reasons</p>
	<p>33</p>	<p>criticizes the lack of reference to and representation of the pearling heritage and narrative at the site</p> <p>criticizes the outdoor space as “lost space”</p> <p>disapproves of the western wall in the open space for lack of function</p>
	<p>20</p>	<p>overall, seems to consider the interventions and their design somewhat overambitious and not entirely successful in trying to deliver messages about the site’s history;</p> <p>criticizes the design of the outdoor space and lack of sojourn-quality</p> <p>regrets that the original space layout is not identifiable in the floor tiling of the outdoor space</p>
<p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">Western</p>	<p>23</p>	<p>“I have a few issues with the glass that was added. Because it is not environmentally friendly. It is oriented south. That is one thing. I also did not like the fact that the danshals in the ceiling were put there without being functional. [...] Because they become a decorative feature. But the argument of the conservation architect was that they were already there and that the intervention is actually just a modern slab that is coming above everything that was already there. So, that was the approach. We didn’t design that.”</p> <p>wished for more attempts to reconstruct the original spatial configuration: “I mean, the proposal on itself is not wrong. But the approach was not to add anything. Not to rebuilt. Not to reconstruct. To create a new space using modern materials. But keeping as much as possible of what was already there. Now you could argue, that if you have the documents and the knowledge and the evidence through archaeology etc. to know how the space was – why not rebuilt a part of it? Why not rebuilt it? And reconstitute at least the space the way it was? That was another approach. This approach is ok. My criticism of this approach as I said, is the glass. The second thing is the foundations, which were made to add the metallic columns that hold the roofs. They were heavy foundations of 1x1 meter that had to be put actually above the archaeology that was discovered. So, they are removable. It is not irreversible. But it is kind of a heavy intervention. [...] The amount of concrete that was put in the ground. [...] It did not harm the archaeology, but it is sitting on the top of it. [...] The question is, was this really necessary? Was it necessary to open this space all together and to have a roof disconnected from the old structure?”</p> <p>criticizes too much focus on material authenticity at the expense of reestablishing spatial authenticity</p>

3.4.4 – 5: Evaluations of the Siyadi Shops' refurbishment in 2010-12		
		criticizes the lack of usage and poor sojourn quality of the outdoor space criticizes the lack of analysing archaeological finds and documents to understand the original layout and historic development of the site
Non-architects	Eastern	11c at first disapproves of the unrendered masonry of the two restored western shops as she finds them inappropriate in an urban context: „Very rough, old look. It's ok if you are living in the mountain but you are in the city. It shouldn't be like this.” Only towards the end of the visit she revises her judgement for this specific case.
		15 d wished for a larger outdoor seating area for the café
		18 b does not appreciate the design of the two western shops , although she says she likes the stones; she considers they look better now than in 2008 but still not very nice. the danshals in the interior of the café attract her attention (apparently not positively): “But this one looks like village.”
		28 the migrant worker from Bangladesh, who works at the site as a security guard, confides problems to the author with the plead to pass the criticism on anonymously; points to the bad and unsafe working conditions , the lack of customers' only parking spaces [explaining that there are troublesome incidences as he is supposed to tell people not to use the parking unless they are visitors or customers]; the lack of a seating and shelter for the security guard h (a room to take shelter or call for help if a problem arose (he seems to be scared by parts of the local Shia population) or at least shading against the sun and heat); the lack of a storage space for the cleaning devices ; there seem to be problems with controlling the usage of the public toilets of the site; besides the unacceptable working conditions he also complains about his general living conditions: “I am deeply shocked about the visa system. [...] Unmerciful. I came here and hoped to gather experience. But this system is no human rights.”
		34 not enthusiastic about the food of the café , the prices and for not being able to smoke there , although a listener to the conversation intercepted that he never went to the café because of the high prices: “Well, you know there is a better coffee shop. There is categories, A,B,C,D. It's B grade. [...] Because of the food, yes.”
	35 x2 the two Bahraini seniors disapprove of the project doubt the value of the site and benefit of preserving it and the for prices being too high for most Bahrainis	
	8a criticises a lack of civil engineering expertise (considers the glass cover of the <i>mbasah</i> cracked for lack of an expansion joint) 1960s Egyptian pop culture decoration and modern art sales items in the new shop units, which he considers alien to the place and to ruin the feel of it; he would prefer traditional handicraft overpriced food items in the café : “I thought that this café is owned by the Ministry of Culture and that its proceeds go to maintaining the site. [...] That is why I come here a lot. It serves a good Bahraini breakfast that is highly overpriced, ok? But I don't mind paying because I always thought that the profits go to maintaining the site. [...] Later on, I found out that it is a private business. [...] Now, that I know that it is a profit-oriented institution I am not so inclined to pay this much for a Bahraini breakfast. [...] It suddenly turns it into a tourist scam .”	
	9a disapproves of the aesthetics of the archaeological wall window (farush) in the façade of the five restored shops: „It's not the pleasantest piece of the building to look at.”	
	10 b criticises the menu at the café as not being genuinely local/ traditional and overpriced: „If you see the menu for example – mostly the food itself: What they serve is kind of a mixture of the past and some creative innovations. [...] Also, the overprizing and the quantity is a big issue. [...] Maybe the overprizing is the main reason. Having a tea here would cost me how much? 500 fils? I would not assume it's less that. If I go to the coffee shop opposite the street it's 100 fils.” (10b) criticizes the conservation approach for being partly inconsistent in trying to be truthful to fact and in other cases being more lenient (example: reconstruction of the eastern wall based on the 70s photograph and the abstract screen wall due to lack of evidence): “I would build the other side the same as this picture.” seems a bit irritated about the two western restored shops ; criticises their lack of liveliness (not operational at the time of the interview) and doubts their stability : „The new ones seem more alive. But the old ones can also be that. It seems like they are going to fall.”	

3.4.4 – 5: Evaluations of the Siyadi Shops’ refurbishment in 2010-12	
Western	<p>12c seems a little irritated by the freestanding western wall with the windows in the outdoor space: “Now, what are these windows? What is their function, I don’t know.” when looking at the photo of the site during excavation works, he clearly dismisses the added wall: “But why did they put this wall? I don’t like it. It separates this from that.” a little disturbed by the floor tiling in the outdoor space and disapproves of the concrete block pavement in the street: “The floor here I am not too sure. It looks a bit odd to me. I would have made a different pavement. But definitely not blocks like here [in the street]. [...] I would make it more organic. It looks too clean to me.” ceiling mounted lamps inside the café: “The lights are beautiful, but they can be done better. I am not sure they are the best choice.” rather disapproves that the excavated foundations in the open space have all been reburied rather than being revealed</p>
	<p>46 disapproves of the project as she perceives the site as a somewhat artificial “museum style space” criticises the lack of social integration with the surrounding market area</p>
	<p>3ac the modern ceiling in the café space (3a) considers the café’s offer overpriced (3a) concrete shelter roof above the <i>mdbasah</i> in the outdoor space (unesthetic); would have preferred a roof that blends in better with the traditional fabric. finds the window openings of the western containing wall of the open space strange. 3c: “New obviously. With this very clearly cut window things – strange – what is it anyway?” finds the archaeological window in the façade of the five restored shops (<i>farush</i> slab above the door) aesthetically unpleasant. With the consolidation work done to it does not look original anymore. (3c)</p>
	<p>13a regrets that the two restored western shops are closed and not accessible (they trigger curiosity) criticize some inconsistency in the conservation approach and designs e.g. with regard to the grid windows in the freestanding wall bothered by the ongoing plastering repair works on the eastern block façades bothered by the archaeological wall window on one of northern façade of the five shops: “Ugly.”</p>
14 b	<p>disapproves of the façade plaster of the five restored shops and of the craftsmanship of the newly plastered historic walls for aesthetic reasons: “It’s a pretty bad job.” criticizes the poor legibility of historic and added parts (the new shop units which she considers restored): “So you don’t even know what the original was, unless they left something for us.” lack of information about the age of the mdbasah irritated by the ongoing repair works on the façade plaster finds the modern additions like the steel columns aesthetically unsatisfactory seems to dislike the contrast of additions and historic fabric critical of the overall aesthetics of the designs and the craftsmanship but approves of the site’s colour scheme from an aesthetic perspective</p>

3.4.4 – 6: Authenticity judgments about the Siyadi Shops	
Form and design	
Architects	<p>Eastern</p> <p>16b appreciates the aesthetics of the five restored shop units and of the reconstructed eastern wall along Bumaher (when taking it for a restored historic wall) “Of course it looks newer than the other façade. But yet the door is old, the rhythm is the same, the danshals are original. Only I can figure out the new plaster. But it is nice.” confused about the façade plaster of the five shops of the eastern block (which was partly being repaired at that point), although she is able eventually to identify the conserved parts (understands the approach) “I think it is old. The other parts, I can notice that they are different. But I don’t know... [...] I can see there is a difference in texture and in colour but it does not tell. It is not that obvious, because actually I have here like four kinds of textures and colour.” for authenticity reasons would prefer a modern reconstruction of the wall along Bu Maher Avenue “So, from my side, when I am working on a project like this, I would love to construct something really very modern. But I might use the same rhythm, with a very modern stuff. And it will recall the past as a shadow and it will highlight this unique place very much.” the two restored western shops: after comparing to the 2008 photograph, she seems surprised with the change and appreciates the conservation approach as something “like an excavation”</p>

3.4.4 – 6: Authenticity judgments about the Siyadi Shops

	<p>the café space: “I like the space generally. In the sense of new renovation stuff, the old thing. It gives you an idea of what existed here in the past. Of course, there are some modern stuff like the lighting, the steel pillars, the ceiling and that stuff... This rough feeling. I like it. I like the feeling in general, but I am not sure if... I feel that something needs to happen to the ceiling. I am not sure what it is. It might be that it is good like this, so it does not overshadow the old historic one. Yanni, there was a sensitivity dealing with this space... But I feel that from outside, I found the glazing court, the glazing addition, and I really like that. I like to have this strong contrast between old and new.”</p> <p>notices the wall fragment between the upper and lower café space and understands that it indicates a former room separation: “Even between these two pillars they left some traces to show that there was a wall here or something like that.”</p> <p>only noticed the floor pattern of the tiling in the outdoor courtyard when directed towards it. She understands and appreciates the approach but does not think it is readable enough as it wishes for the floor pattern of the tiling that indicates the former floor plan in the outdoor courtyard to be more obvious for example using different textures in the flooring material (which was originally the case)</p>
<p>17a b</p>	<p>wishes for restorations and reconstructions (including additions such as the concrete ceiling] to blend in seamlessly with the historic fabric 17ab</p> <p>judges that the different surface renderings and textures of the individual buildings adds to understanding the different phases of the site as a suq that developed gradually</p> <p>two restored western shops: “They look very old. Very authentic. And I don’t think they have demolished any part of it. I think it is the same as it looked before. Maybe I am mistaken.”; considers the “almost the same” when comparing to the photo of 2008 (17b)</p> <p>appreciates the design of the added shops “They are going with the rest of the place. They are not interfering with the place.” (17b)</p> <p>appreciates the „mud-like“ texture of the traditional buildings, which is less “neat” than in other reconstructed sites (17a)</p> <p>appreciates the traditional, “authentic” appearance of the five restored shops: “Because the exterior shows like the old type shops. It’s very authentic. Specially the top part, you can see the danshal and the layer above the danshal. It shows a very authentic way of building this shop. Even the steps under the doors, and even the doors themselves. It’s nice, I like it.” (17b)</p> <p>appreciates that the doors of the five restored shops have been preserved (restored) and partially reconstructed (however, he would have maintained the metal doors which were introduced later) (17b)</p> <p>disapproves of the removal of the metal doors on the five restored shops, considers they should have been maintained as evidence of that period (17b)</p> <p>disapproves of details of the interior design of the perfume shop (glass door and chandelier): Seems to consider the additional glass doors to take away from the authenticity of the building, but approves of them for functionality; the chandelier on the danshal ceiling disturbs him for being younger than the shop itself. „And then they added the glass doors just for the display. Just to go with the movement. Because before, I think before it was just this door and then you go straight away to the shop. [...] But when you go inside I don’t like it. Specially with this chandelier. [...] I think it is an old, that they reused it. But not as old as the place is old.” (17b)</p> <p>disapproves of the concrete ceiling in the interior of the café 17b: “I think they needed it for structural issues... but still it could have been covered with something else. [...] Because usually, above the <i>danshals</i> they had this... we call it <i>hashir</i> [palm frond mat]. Which was used outside in the shading. [...] It could have been used on the top, because it did not look this way. So maybe instead of having this concrete.” Author: “You don’t like it?” 17b: “No, because it shows that the building had structural issues and they tried to fix it. That could have been hidden a little bit.”</p> <p>criticizes the location of the sanitary rooms in the outdoor space: 17b: “It’s an open space and there is the toilets overlooking the place. It can be used for some events, for some galleries. But I don’t like the toilets overlooking here.”</p> <p>criticizes the western wall in the outdoor space; uncertain why and for what purpose it was added: “There might have been a wall there. But then there is small part which was standing and</p>

3.4.4 – 6: Authenticity judgments about the Siyadi Shops

	<p>then they added this just to give the indication that there was a wall here. But I don't really see the function of this wall. Maybe it is in a way enclosing this space." (17b)</p> <p>interprets the low wall of the seating area as indicating a place with a particular function: "And I believe there was a function here. I am not really sure what was the function." (17b)</p> <p>criticizes the design of the eastern wall along Bu Maher Avenue (better true to the original design or modern in subtle contrast): "It is better than what was out there in Manama Suq. But, they could have done it in a better way, so that it would blend naturally with the surrounding. Thinks that "it shouldn't have been demolished in the first place" and the reconstruction should have been exactly like the original or something modern that blends it. "But when they had to build something, to me, I feel it has to be just the same as this one [the historic structure] or something that... not in a big contrast... but something like in Bahrain fort, where they have a museum which is totally modern, and it's totally different than the fort itself but it's nice." (17b)</p>
21a	<p>criticises that some parts of the site have been reconstructed as per imagination at first considers the two western shops unrestored, comparing to the photo of 2008 he concludes: "They have done some work!"</p> <p>appreciates the combination of modern and old designs and materials: Author: "And what do you think about the combination of the glass part and the old part?" "As a tourist attraction, as a space it looks very nice." (e.g. the projecting roof) "For tourists it's ok."</p> <p>enthusiastic about the interior design of the café: combination of modern and old designs and materials: "See, they put a modern slab here. Very nice. That is ok, they did not try to imitate. It would have been too much. I like it! The modern columns, the slab, and in between you have this [the old walls]. Very nice."</p> <p>likes the project for its ruinous character and for the differentiability of preserved and newly added elements and fabric. 21a: "For me, I like ruins. I don't like restored... [...]" Author: "Does the place here, you said you like ruins, does this one feel like a ruin to you?" 21a: "Yes. Author: "So, you like it for that?" 21a: "Yes, and, for me if it is like this... this is modern, what is there you can keep it, what is new, you show it."</p> <p>appreciates the surface rendering of the old wall in the lower café space for the design (partly plastered and partly displaying the coral stone masonry)</p> <p>very enthusiastic about the two restored western shops for their natural materials and their finishing</p> <p>21a: So, this is a better work than this one [the eastern shops]. [...] I am not a modern architect, in the sense, I like old things. And I like the way they were constructed. Personally, what I don't like in modern age... I feel for a house to have a little roughness, not to be very clinical, straight. Architects insist on these kinds of things. I like to live with the land. What you call organic architecture." Author: "That is in terms of shapes but also material?" 21a: "Yes, material, and the finishing. There is a human touch to it. Like this thing here [the two shops], they look to me 'oh, very nice!'"</p> <p>has concerns e.g. with the surface rendering of the two western restored shops</p> <p>considers the historicizing plaster surfaces of the eastern shops unauthentic for being too perfected in craftsmanship</p> <p>uncertain about the building material of the eastern wall along Bu Maher Avenue (blocks, stone?) disapproves of the traditional reconstruction approach and surface plaster of the eastern wall: 21a: "I don't know why they did it in stone. [...] If it is new, show that it is new! [...] This is an imitation of the old. I don't like it. If it is new, show it!"</p> <p>when explained the approach with the photos from the 80s he mocks the reconstruction and compares it to the replicas of Pharonic graves: "The same thing! Something is collapsed, you make the same old thing that was there before. It is not for preservation!"</p>
25	<p>criticizes that the design lacked an integrative vision with the final use in mind from the start and points to the need to integrate preserved fabric and additions: "An overall concept. And the way to link the material, the old with the new seamlessly. Not how to scotch."</p> <p>describes the interior design process as a development trying to work with the completed conservation and construction works and trying to keep the atmosphere of the space with the choice of colours, textures, furniture and accessories: "And we tried to keep the Safron feel."</p>
30b	<p>considers the site significantly changed and that the restoration took away from its historicity/ authenticity: 30b: "Maybe because of how the restoration project was done. Many details that were removed." Author "Like what?" 30b: "Like here, the <i>mdbasah</i>. I don't</p>

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	<p>have other 'markers' that describe this house, what is this house all about. For example, if I come here, I really don't have any idea." not convinced with the architecture of the site: Author: How do you like it as an architecture?" 30b [laughing]: "Moderate." disapproves of the reconstructed low wall in the seating area for being obstructive; approves of the outer appearance of the restored shop units of the eastern block but considers that utilities such as air-conditioning should have been better integrated into the design (for looks and function, points to several leakages) disapproves of the colour treatment of surface plasters throughout the site [he has observed the painting process, which he seems to perceive contradicting the premise, that conservation should not be beautification, as he learned in while working with the Ministry of Culture]: "For example, this one is only a colouring. I don't know why they did that." disapproves of the "unfinished" danshal ceiling in the café; thinks it might be confusing and interpreted as a pergola after seeing the photos of the site from 2008 he considers that the remaining sixth shop unit should have been reconstructed instead of other parts, which had entirely collapsed comparing to the historic photo the reconstructed eastern wall he points to it being reconstructed in very different design two western shops: "Nothing has been changed, nothing has been done. Except for the doors." when comparing to the photograph of 2008 of the five restored shop units, he is impressed how little was changed: Author: "You said wow?" 30b: "Yes, because they maintained everything." Author: "So, you like that?" 30b: [thinking for long]: "My opinion? Instead of plastering... ah, maybe the conservation is, he wants to give an idea, that this is the old one and that this is how it will look like when it is plastered." Author: "I think so. Do you think that is a good idea?" 30b: [thinking for long]: "Ya, I think so." [clearly, he perceived discrepancies in terms of conservation ethics between what he learned in Bahrain from working with the Ministry of Culture's architectural conservation team and what he finds at the site]</p>
23	<p>points to the lack of spatial integrity at the outset of the project and wished for a different approach that would have reconstituted the original spatial configuration: "And the space was changed. It used to be three shops, now it's one continues shop. And this space outside also is used as terrace rather than shops. So, the physical authenticity is there. But the spatial authenticity was not there when the project started. And there was not attempt, other than the street alignment, there was no attempt to get that back. While, the archaeology showed, how the shops were distributed. And it was possible actually to get that same distribution of shops and the same spatial ... [...] That is my main point. Why didn't we try to have a certain space back, a certain spatial distribution?" criticizes the lack of analysing archaeological finds and documents to understand the original layout and historic development of the site: "But nobody is really working on the old layout. Nobody is trying to get the information from the archaeological findings and actually studying this a bit further. [...] That is really a lack, I think."</p>
24	<p>appreciates the modern additions design-wise and considers them to be in compliance with conservation ethics for being differentiable in design as additions: "For the new addition, it is part of the UNESCO charter, in general. It means, it must be without, I mean, not the same design, and it looks good in general."</p>
32	<p>considers the historic vernacular fabric throughout the site little altered and clearly differentiable from added fabric: "In Qaisariya the building is preserved as it is and no image was imposed. Any addition contrasts it as contemporary. The one coral stone wall was not following this rule, it was reconstructed according to a picture." "There are elements I don't like from a design point of view: for example the windows in the new screen wall – I would not have installed them." disapproves of the colour treatment of surface plaster for technical reasons: "It makes the wall surface more fragile, it does not last."; suggest to apply a darker plaster instead of applying colour</p>
33	<p>points to the many changes to the site: Author: "You know also which elements were still standing, and which were rebuilt or added, right?" 33: "Well, the five old shops were still standing, but they were disfigured. They had very weird signs, and cement plaster and steps I think. Some different levels. The café I think it only had one wall, no roof. And the rest was just</p>

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		<p>empty land.”</p> <p>in terms of authenticity, he points out that the site used to be entirely built upon in the past criticizes the design of the outdoor space for making it not usable: 33: “The space, I think, there could have been another approach to it. The outer space.” Author: “In which sense?” 33: “To make it more interactive. Now it is just lost space. [...] I never saw anyone doing anything there. No tables. [indicating the lower open space on the picture] This space is completely lost. [...] it could have been exploited to maybe bring back part of that pearling story, which the aim was to be told in this project.”</p> <p>disapproves of the western wall in the open space for lack of function: “The only thing that I really don’t like is this wall, that was built here. I know that it was built to give a sense of inclusion, but I think, if the area is not covered to make it shaded for use, there was no point. [...] It looks like just a decorative wall. Or just for enclosure.”</p> <p>criticizes the brownish surface colour of most plastered walls throughout the site, as he was not aware of the fact that there are brownish plaster remains in some areas, and prefers the whitish colour of the reconstructed eastern wall:</p> <p>Author: “And how do you like the fact that this wall was reconstructed in coral stone and then plastered in a different colour?” 33: “Well, the different colour in plaster, I don’t ... I think this actual colour [the whitish one] is better than here [the brownish one]. I would have preferred that all the building...” Author: “But what about the parts of historic plaster that was preserved? Are you aware of that one?” 33: “No, I was not aware. Is there any plaster preserved here?” Author: “A tiny bit on this side, on the top.” 33: “No, I didn’t pay attention.” Author: “And it is quite brown.” 33: “So, this is why they did the entire thing brown?” Author: “I think so.” 33: “In that case, it makes sense. But I did not see that one. But because the brown colour, I don’t know... I did not see any other building that had plaster that brown. So, it looks a bit alien. If there is an original plaster that colour, ok. But that is closer to the plaster colour that I have seen. And what I believe is, that usually, if you replaster the point of it is not to make it old. Whenever they plaster a building, or they replaster it, the intention is to make it new. So, in this way, we are giving a wrong impression by doing a new plaster that looks old. That takes away from it, I think. That is why I would have preferred that the entire thing is plastered new.”</p> <p>appreciates the differentiation of preserved and added fabric throughout the site</p>
Western	20	<p>generally, considers the interventions legible and historic elements identifiable but that the site’s presentation is slightly overdone and that is was not always intelligible why certain parts were reconstructed in which way</p> <p>considers the overall design in the outdoor space not convincing; criticises the western wall segment for not defining the space well; considers the ramp to disrupt the space; the outdoor <i>mdbasah</i> to be “lost space”</p> <p>laments that “important information gets lost” [translated from German] as the former urban layout of the site is not legible in the floor tiling</p>
Non-architects	4a	<p>layout: interprets the open space as a courtyard of a historic house adapted to a new use: “It’s an old building, but they have restored it to use it for a purpose or another. It seems like it used to be a house. Those are windows and this is what you call it in Arabic <i>housh</i>.”</p> <p>comparing to the photo of the two restored shop units of the western block in 2008: “It’s the same. Except the doors.”</p> <p>mentions the ramp as a feature for disabled people</p>
Eastern	11c	<p>considers the site improved from its state in 2008 but overall little changed from the historic appearance</p> <p>[walking around the site]: “This is heritage look. Very old. They just changed only a few modern things, the floor... but the walls have an old look.”</p> <p>comparing to the photograph of the 70s she considers the reconstruction of the eastern wall superior to the original</p> <p>appreciates the fact the two restored western shops convey their age but likes the shop units of the eastern block better than the two restored ones of the western block: “Maybe because they wall finish is done already nicely.”</p> <p>at first disapproves of the unrendered masonry of the two restored western shops as she finds them inappropriate in an urban context: „Very rough, old look. It’s ok if you are living in the mountain but you are in the city. It shouldn’t be like this.” She takes them as not worked</p>

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	<p>upon yet. Only towards the end of the visit she inquires, if they were “fixed then?”; after comparing to the image of their previous state she revises her opinion and considers it appropriate to not render the facades in this very case, as it is good “to feel the old times.” “It’s good. But only this place! If it’s everywhere, ah! Only this place you can keep like this to visit a heritage moment. But if it’s like that around it – dirty, messy.” [time travel when visiting historic sites] considers the two restored western shops significantly changed when comparing to the photographs of 2008: “Very different. They were abandoned. Now there are people taking care of it. Unbelievable! You can feel the time, the age.”</p>
<p>15c d</p>	<p>the two western shops: “I wished the whole area was like this. It would be very beautiful.” (15c) [comparing to the 2008 photographs of the two western shops]: “But look at the place before and after! Big difference. I like that they kept the bench.” (15c) appreciation of the designs extends to the furnishings both old and new appreciates vintage detailing such as the recycled metal locks of the replicated doors appreciates the variety of conservation approaches at the site, the minimal intervention of the two western shops and restored five eastern shops: “Actually, the variety of both makes them both beautiful. I don’t prefer this one over the other. It is just that this one is stone, and this one is plastered. [...] I would say this [the plastered shop] is more important, or it has been for a richer person, and the unplastered one was for a poor person. [...] They are both beautiful.” (15c) the adapted sixth shop unit: “I like how they kept it by building something around it. And the building is still there. Although the ceiling is not. And they fit the air-conditioning on the new ceiling. Just to keep the old building. He loved the music in the café. They play very old Bahraini music. He loved the food. The seating was not very traditional but very comfortable. Because usually we sit on the floor on mattresses and stuff like this.” (15c) Author: “What do you think about the roof? The combination of the old and the new. What does it tell you?” 15c: “The old one would be better, but the original one would not have lights, it would be very difficult to wire it. It would not have a fire alarm, a fan and cooling. And it will not be heat resistant. Probably it would leak water in the rainy season. So, it is a practical solution. They had no choice, because I think there was no ceiling when they started the shop.” 15c: “How do you know that?” 15c: “Because they would not tear it down. They put so much effort to keep it up, they would not tear it down if they had a part of it. They did their best. [...] I do appreciate the effort they did and the solution that’s there. I’m sure it’s not the first of its kind as a smart solution... [...] In Bahrain, yes, but I am sure, the idea came from outside.” (15c) the original spatial configuration of the project site is not understood fragments of the back wall of the adapted sixth shop unit separating the upper and lower café space not identified: Author: “And where did this room end? [the lower coffee shop]” 15c: “I think this is a front for a shop. And this was a door for a shop.” Author: “And this was open? [between the lower and upper part of the coffee shop]” 15c: “No, this is just an access to the <i>mdbasah</i>. So, below was the shop and up here was the factory.” Author: “Was it separated?” 15c: “I don’t know.” low wall of the outdoor seating area raises curiosity: “I don’t know why they have this [the low wall]. I think there was a building in here, that did not last.” (15d) not able to identify the floor tiling in the outdoor space depicting the former foundations; looking for the tile design with the help of the photo taken during the excavations: “I don’t see anything.” (15d)</p>
<p>18b</p>	<p>appreciates the old and traditionally designed doors of the restored shops surface plaster of the facade of the northern façade of the shops: considers the colour differences a design only appreciates the mix of old and new styles would prefer the two western shops to be plastered</p>
<p>28</p>	<p>points to the fact that a lot of visitors take pictures and put them on Facebook</p>
<p>34</p>	<p>appreciates the building of the café (possibly more its functionality after having been a ruin than for design reasons): 34: “The building is very good.” Author: “Why?” 34: “See, we are here. Sometimes we are getting the dust and haze and rain. So, the building there is resistant.” Author: “The old building?” 34: “Yes. The old building. Still strong and solid.”</p>

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East-western	35 2x	the two senior Bahrainis consider that the <u>site's vernacular buildings are insignificant</u> and that something old, that they respect, should be something that was an architectural or engineering achievement and be preserved for that reason: "Just normal buildings. Nothing special."
	45	considers the <u>two restored western shops look like in the past</u>
	47	considers the place unchanged
	8a	repeatedly points to the beauty of the rehabilitated site Author: "So looking down into the <u>lower part of the coffee shop</u> . What do you think?" 8a: "I think it is beautiful, that is the word I can think of." points to the importance of sales items and decorative elements; meanings, associations, cultural connotations and people involved matter as much as aesthetics identifies the <u>open space</u> as a new feature as he knows the market consisted of closed spaces appreciates the decision not to reconstruct the missing shop units: "It's better to have a space like this, that is more encouraging to modern visitors to come and learn about how this space used to be rather than to renovate it exactly to what it was." appreciates the decision to preserve the <u>two restored shops of the western block without surface plaster as a snapshot of their state prior to the intervention</u> considers the <u>eastern wall of the eastern block</u> to be restored or rebuilt to what it probably looked like: "I mean it is a good job all in all. It looks old, but I don't think it is."
	9ab	perfume shop (photogenic): „It's so ... original and like real. It's not fake, it's not copy paste from any other big city or anything. It's like a blend of tradition, an authentic building and at the same time a perfumery. " (9a) appreciates the semi-enclosed, semi-open configuration of the open space , which she considers rare: "I like it here. It has a very elegant touch. " considers the intervention in the interior of the café minor: "The interior has been like slightly touched but not really... " (9a) points to the artistic interior design of the café: "I like the way how creatively, artistically the furniture is put." disapproves of the aesthetics of the <u>archaeological wall window (farush)</u> in the façade of the five restored shops: „It's not the pleasantest piece of the building to look at." considers that the design made the site more welcoming for (foreign) visitors considers the design of the <u>reconstructed eastern wall</u> different, when comparing to the historic photo of it and considers it's design improved "It looks different. [...] I like it is now. It gives a different feeling than what I see in the picture from the 80s. I feel now it is more welcoming . At least for me. Maybe for the local people it was always welcoming, but now I feel there is a communication between me and this space. " (9b) Does not comment on the colour coding even when asked about it. The concept of intentional differentiation seems to be alien to her. layout of the outdoor space: unable to identify the original configuration of the space indicators of historicity: texture and material, wooden elements and small windows as indicators that the lane of shops are old structures the look of the historic plaster does not bother her. On the contrary, she thinks the texture is important and is afraid, that if it all was newly plastered „ it would all be a little bit more smooth, then it would look like fake. "
	10b	considers the <u>five restored shops little changed</u> appreciates the facsimile design of the door replicas: "Good! [...] I mean they look similar. It's just the wood looks older in the original doors. So, I think it's fine. I would not like to see completely different doors. It would ruin the theme." (10b) identifies the <u>upper café space</u> as newly build up and changed: "I don't think it was like this. Maybe there were more run-down buildings or maybe there were no buildings here." (10b) notices the combination of traditional and modern elements in the <u>interior design of the café</u> (old benches, new lighting, old style fan) would have preferred the <u>eastern wall</u> as well as the <u>western screen wall</u> of the open space had been reconstructed to their original appearance as per the 70s photograph (considers it legitimate to build based on assumptions) from memory does not recall any modern construction at the site , only restored historic buildings

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	<p>reaction to the two restored western Siyadi shops: “I don’t feel it’s bad at all. It’s good. It looks very authentic, let’s say. Out of all the shops here these look like the most authentic ones. [...] In the sense that it is closer to what it looked like originally.” Asked if the shops looked like that originally he reconsiders: “Actually the fact that the plaster is removed from these ones makes it look older than if it had plaster. So, it is kind of deceiving. [...] I don’t know what they did. But I am sure that the shops in their original state were not left unplastered.” Part of the rationale behind leaving the shops unplastered is then illustrated as we observe a man explaining to two young girls and a boy, probably his kids, the traditional construction techniques on the basis of the two shops. 10b: “He is trying to explain to them how they built this and that the rocks is from the see. [...] He explained the rope around the beams is to make it stronger.” points to the importance of visual appearance and values the predominantly traditional appearance of the restored site : “I think visual is the most ... if it looks authentic than it is authentic for me, unless I am expert and I can identify what is real, what is old and what has been added to it later. But I am not that person. [...] For example, you don’t touch the building and just paint it red. That would entirely destroy the idea to me. If you demolish the building and you built the exact same building again with the same colours and the same exact shape, I would think that the second one is more authentic than the first one just painting it red. Although that might not exactly be the reality.” (10b)</p>
12c	<p>uncertain (from memory) how much the site changed: “And I have been there a couple of times but not examining the place closely. Maybe if we go there now, I will be able to tell you if it has changed a lot in the last 20 plus years.” appreciates the designs of the doors of the five restored shops, both new and old and predicts that with the weathering effect they will blend even better in the future two restored western shops “Yes, these two shops: very beautiful. [...] I love the finishing. It doesn’t look fake although you can see some renovation works on it. But it looks real and a good chunk of it was there before. I love the wooden beams, they look beautiful and I love the wooden beams in the middle of the wall.”; comparing to the photo of the two shops in 2008: “Wow. Beautiful! Very nice. Excellent.” the interior design of the café: “Here again I love it. Obviously, they try to keep visible whatever is there from the original. You can see that they did a lot of masonry work but happy to reveal the real thing. [...] I love the wooden beams [which he identifies as original]. I love the ceiling. This marriage works well here. The use of glass to see the mdbasah, as long as it doesn’t crack and kills people.” appreciates the modern additions in the site as long as they don’t overrule the historic elements: “I don’t mind the step into the 21st century in the sense that you incorporate modern features. It’s nice. Nothing has to be 100% old or remind of that. I love the glass floor. These are beautiful additions as long as we don’t overdo it. I love the metal ceiling and the columns holding the ceiling. I love these additions. But the most attractive is the old part and these are additions. They don’t bother me. There is a thin line between looking ugly and blending nicely.” disapproves of the floor tiling in the outdoor space and the ceiling mounted lamps inside the café for design reasons identifies the café space to have originally been a shop and storage and believes it looked very similar to its current state approves of the addition of a café with modern architectural features to function as a visitor attraction despite the contrast: “Safroon, the café. It adds to the place but still, I don’t know, maybe the glass is forming a big contrast with the surroundings, with these materials. But this kind of contrast, I don’t mind in such places. You need such places to attract the tourists and whoever wants to enjoy this suq, wants to enjoy the functions.” (12c)</p>
46	<p>criticizes the space as a somewhat artificial, not very Bahraini “museum-style space” in which contemporary features dominate</p>

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Western	<p>3c identifies the reconstructed eastern wall of the eastern block as new (by the colour coding of the plaster, sharper forms and the design of the wooden window grills): Author: “Yes, that is new. So maybe if we step back again, I show you the picture. This is a picture how it looked in the 80ies. And in fact, when we surveyed the building in 2008 only this part was standing. And all this was not there anymore. So basically, they reconstructed this part as you see it in the picture. And that is why they did it in a traditional manner, but they are trying to give you a clue that it is new by the colour.” 3c: “Okay. Ya, I mean that’s understandable.”</p> <p>identifies the western wall of the open space as new (due to the window design): 3c: “New obviously. With this very clearly cut window things – strange – what is it anyway?”</p> <p>identifies the added shop units as new for their architectural features</p> <p>identifies the restored shop units of the western block as old “I hope so at least!”</p> <p>understands the colour coding of the plaster in the case of the five restored shops and the reconstructed eastern wall</p> <p>not able to identify the original layout of the outdoor space (thinks of it as one house with a courtyard). She is not bothered by the fact, that she cannot identify the original layout of the site: Author: “Does it bother you, that you can’t read this, what they found here in the place?” 3c: “Not really. Because it is part of the evolution of the place somehow. I think you can’t show everything that ever used to be here, so you have to make decisions.”</p> <p>interior of the café [<i>pointing to the glass covered date juice press in the floor</i>]: “I really like how they integrated that. Actually, I like everything but the roof. But even the roof, you know it is this mix of modern and old. Maybe it is even better to show that it is totally modern than pretending that it is what it is not. So, you have this clash, which is interesting. And normally, who looks up to the roof? Actually, should we have a tea? Outside or inside?”</p> <p>She is uncertain whether she would have preferred a completely reconstructed <i>danshal</i> ceiling in the lower space of the café. Then she judges, it is fine as is to fit the newly added parts.</p> <p>contemporarily designed additions: [referring to the southern glass façade of the extended sixth shop unit] 3c: “I think it is well done.” Author: “And this one? [<i>pointing to the roof above the outdoor mdbasah</i>] 3c:” Well, this one I actually don’t like. It is a very ugly concrete roof. And I am pretty sure they could have actually found a more aesthetic one.” Author: “What would you have preferred?” 3c: “Something... just the continuation of the walls. Like with the colour and everything.” Author: “So, something that would look more traditional, or would blend in better?” 3c: “Yes.” Author: “But here you like the glass.” 3c: “Ya, I like the glass. Because it is a modern cafeteria. So, it fits the idea.”</p> <p>mentions the ramp</p>
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	13a	<p>appreciates the adaptation of the sixth shop unit: “... it has been adapted. They tried to preserve the elements, the roof for examples with the beams. Above, there is actually a modern roof which serves the purpose of a roof while the wooden beams are just decorative, to give an impression, I guess, of what it used to look like. [...] I think it is to clearly divide the old elements and the new elements. And you can tell. You don’t have to be an expert to know that the beams are the old elements and that the metal part is new. I think they probably tried to make modern part not so intrusive.”</p> <p>appreciates the design of the added shops and toilet section 13a: “This part looks modern. And this is now a souvenir shop. It looks modern but is built sort of in a traditional way. Not trying to look like it’s old but just copying the style.” Author: “Is that a good thing?” 13a: “Because it is so obviously modern, I think it is fine. It is not trying to look old.”</p> <p>appreciates the appearance of the two restored western shops: 13a: “They look nice to me, yes.” Author: “It is not appalling that they are crooked and so on?” 13a: “No, not at all.”</p> <p>concludes two restored western shops were left unplastered “to look in fact old” and to create a clearly differentiable contrast to the additions: “To give the impression that this is old and that is new.”</p> <p>appreciates the doors of the two restored western shops: “The doors are new – again trying to look the old style but obviously new. And I think they look fine with the building.”</p> <p>perceives the grid windows in the freestanding wall as an inconsistency in conservation approach and designs: while some new items are designed to more or less accurately mimic the vernacular architecture, such window designs were not originally used: “They look fine design-wise, but I don’t know how much wooden windows in this form would have been used in Bahrain. But it’s a modern area, so... But then, if you are going for the older look, trying to sort of mimic the style even in the newer buildings, why would you not just do it everywhere?”</p> <p>bothered by the archaeological wall window on one of northern façade of the five shops for aesthetic reasons: “Ugly.”</p> <p>appreciates the row of restored shops along the northern alley: “Yes, this gives the impression of a suq.”</p>
	14b	<p>asked about the original layout of the outdoor space: „To me all of this could be how it has been originally and they would have just refitted it.”</p> <p>entering the café: “This looks all original. [...] The ceiling... I mean, it’s concrete, it’s old. But it was not originally like this. [...] This looks like this is coral rock.”</p> <p>the first impression the café space seems to create is one of authenticity; she seems to think the space was conserved in a later stage then the construction time and only little changed; seeing the picture of 2008 she notices the change: “Wow, what a transformation!”</p> <p>disapproves of the “shabby-chic look”; wonders about who carried out the construction works and how the migrant workers, who I told her worked on it, feel about the result</p> <p>disapproves of the colouring of the façade plaster of the five restored shops for aesthetic reasons: “Kind of a crude job. [...] It kind of makes it look very patinated.”</p> <p>at the same time criticizes the clean-cut look of the new shop units, which she takes as restored ones</p> <p>finds the modern additions like the steel columns aesthetically unsatisfactory: “They could have done a better job in blending perhaps. That you tell a difference but... “ finds them “kind of crude”</p> <p>given the “crude” character of the additions in the café like the steel beams, she does not identify them as recent additions and seems to think they were done rather informally with limited resources: “Well, I guess you do what you can with what resources you have at the time, financial and power. I don’t know what the circumstances were.”</p> <p>seems to dislike the contrast of additions and historic fabric for aesthetic reasons: “I guess it is the contrast of the two together. And it probably has a lot to do with texture as well. These forms look so perfect and then you have the original here. I guess it kind of gives a shabby-chic look which is kind of what everyone is wanting these days. It’s not like it is an eye-sore, but... Was it all locals who did this work, right?”</p>
Materials and substance		
Archi Easte	16c	identifies new and restored doors of the five shops : “This one looks new, but this one looks old.”

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	<p>two western shops: identifies some repairs (renovations she says) „[...] but generally the building, I think, it is preserved as it is.”</p> <p>identifies the doors of the two western shops as new (she says restored)</p> <p>identifies the lower café space, including the danshals and walls as preserved and identifies the additions: “Just the addition of new elements like steel columns, the lighting, the fans of course.”</p> <p>understands the archaeological wall window of the five restored shops (as she did in Bab al-Bahrain): “And here, they wanted to reveal the hidden structure. And it was stone. “</p>
<p>17a b</p>	<p>generally, in favour of preserving vernacular fabric: “But I prefer to preserve it. To renovate it but still to have that material.”</p> <p>From memory, he is not sure if the site is reconstructed or not. He tends to think it is, because of the past debates about how to develop the site. He prefers if the buildings were original but likes them even as reconstructions for their traditional appearance, which he calls authentic: 17a: „I know that it was a big suq. And then, it was demolished. I think so. I am not sure about this information.” Author: “So you think all that is reconstructed?” 17a: “I think so. But still, it has a nice texture. It is different than the other things of Shaikh Ebrahim Center and the surrounding buildings.” Author: “In which sense is it different?” 17a: “The finishes are different. When you look at the buildings and the surroundings at Shaikh Ebrahim Center, you feel they are new. The finishes are very neat, nice there. But when you go to Suq al Qaisariya, you feel like it more of mud-like.” Author: “And even, if it is not old, you find that nicer?” 17b: “Yes.” Author: “And it does not matter, if they are really old or if they are just rebuilt?” 17a: “No, it does matter! I does matter, but I don’t really know if it was rebuilt again, if it was demolished.” Author: “But you like them anyway?” 17a: “I like them.”</p> <p>appreciates the „mud-like“ texture of the traditional buildings, which is less “neat” than in other reconstructed sites (17a)</p> <p>uncertain about the differentiation in the surface plaster of the five restored shops:</p> <p>appreciates that the remaining original plaster has been preserved but disapproves of the differentiation from the new plaster: 17b: “Maybe they maintained the top part and they tried to add something here, that will look the same. But still there is a difference. This is what happened?” Author: “Yes. I mean, they wanted to show a difference. But what you see up there is the original thing.” 17b: “Yes, I can see that.” Author: “What do you think?” 17b: “Mhm. It’s the right thing to do to have the original part there. But maybe to continue it in a way to show that it would look all the same. Maybe not to show this kind of texture that this is different than the top part.” Author: “But then you wouldn’t know.” 17b: “You wouldn’t know, yes. That is what I thought at the beginning. The whole think should look authentic. Not just to show this part is being added on another part. Unless it is a different period of time. Like the doors for example. When they added the metal door, it has to show these periods.”</p> <p>identifies the five restored shops as the preserved buildings because of the irregularity of the design and vernacular details, although he considers it possible to be reconstruction: “I can see that it’s authentic. Maybe they have done it really right – they reconstructed the base but in a really good way that looks authentic. But to me, it looks like the real old suq.”</p> <p>interprets the archaeological wall window correctly; has learned about it in Bab al-Bahrain (17b)</p> <p>considers the exterior façades of the perfume shop very authentic: “Specially these columns. Very authentic, very original. And they look very old.” (17a)</p> <p>identifies the restored and reconstructed doors on the five restored shops</p> <p>adapted sixth shop unit: uncertain if the plaster on the walls in the lower parts of the café space is original and was removed in the bottom to “to make the people closer to the stones which were used to built the buildings” or if it was entirely added</p> <p>two restored western shops: “They look very old. Very authentic. And I don’t think they have demolished any part of it. I think it is the same as it looked before. Maybe I am mistaken. But that is my feeling now, when I look at them – like it is the original building.” (17a)</p> <p>mistakes the low wall of the seating area as historic</p> <p>confused about the eastern wall along Bu Maher Avenue</p> <p>at first identifies it as a new, historicizing wall: “It is clear that it has been added later on. [...] Maybe the finishes, the straight lines, it is very neat. Even though they have tried playing with the textures that it will look the same. But still, to me it, I feel it has been added later on.”</p>

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	<p>later confused about the wall and divided in his judgement about it: 17b: “It’s confusing. Because from the first glance I thought that the whole thing was added. [...] But now, when I realize this part [the right] is different than the other part [the left]. Specially these columns. Very authentic, very original. And they look very old. But these ones [the left ones], maybe they were renovated very well. But still it could have been done in a better way to show it all the same.” Author: “So, you think they are original or they were added?” 17b: “No, the walls, I think they were added. [...] They are confusing, because you see the danshal here. [...] They might be old, yes. [...] Specially the danshals and the rocks here. Mhm. [...] It is something maybe new, but built in a traditional way. But then when you see you the danshals, which can be added, it has an authentic feeling. But this confusion is good. So, people don’t see the additional parts which are somehow destroying the place maybe in their own view.”</p> <p>at first criticizes the eastern wall for not blending seamlessly with the historic fabric; eventually approves of the confusion the wall creates about its historicity and authenticity; he appreciates that it leaves doubts rather than trying to pass as original</p> <p>identifies the <u>mdbasahs</u> as original elements: “This was originally here, the <i>mdbasah</i>, it is very clear. And even the one inside, which is covered by glass.” (17b)</p> <p>added wall around the outdoor date syrup press: “But the walls [concrete walls around the <i>mdbasah</i>] I think they have been added. Because they are very neat, very clean. And the dimensions between the recesses, you can see they are identical. While when you go back there, you can see it is irregular in a way.” (17b)</p>
<p>21a</p>	<p>very enthusiastic about the <u>two restored western shops for their natural materials</u></p> <p>21a: “Yes, and, for me if it is like this... this is modern, what is there you can keep it, what is new, you show it.”</p> <p>identifies the <u>danshals in the café</u> as old</p> <p>thinks that the surface rendering with missing plaster at the bottom in the lower café space is a mere design feature</p> <p>identifies the southern <u>wall of the adapted sixth shop unit in the outdoor space</u> as authentic but obviously newly plastered, which he calls “an imitation”: “It gives away, for example this line here...”</p> <p>identifies the historic plaster remains in the northern façade of the eastern block as maintained misinterprets the archaeological wall window as not having been plastered for technical difficulties and thinks that leaving it unplastered will create maintenance issues: “I don’t know why... maybe there are difficulties in plastering this. You see these cracks? The moment you plaster it, it will crack again. Or they have to put a mesh and plaster it.” Author: “It looks unfinished to you?” 21a: “This is unfinished.” (21a)</p> <p>importance of material authenticity: example of fake traditional danshal ceiling in a Bahraini construction project: 21a: “The client wanted old looking things. We were planning to do it the traditional way.” Author: “Here in Bahrain?” 21a: “Yes. But you know, that materials are not available here. You have to get it from Iran or somewhere, the danshal, the mangrove, and all these things. And the client did not want. He was worried that there would be bugs, insects, ... And finally, the interior designer did it in gypsum.” Author: “What?” 21a: “Everything. The roof. Everything painted. And you wouldn’t know. You could not make it out. But it is so bad! Uh!” Author: “So, why do you find that so bad?” 21a: “I feel that the material should be shown, what material you use, you show that material. You don’t imitate things. I am very, very against imitation. Even I tell my wife, you want to get gold, you get gold, you want to wear iron, wear iron. Don’t wear plastic looking like gold [laughing].” Author: “Where did you pick up that mentality? Like, is that a very common mentality, you think?” 21a: “No, most people are not like that. I had good mentors. I worked with good architects. That influenced.” (referring to Laurie Baker and Hassan Fatih, whom he took classes with during his studies)</p>
<p>30b</p>	<p>criticizes that the low wall in the seating area is not identifiable as an addition; when comparing to the photo of its undug foundations from 2008 and not knowing that it was rebuilt in coral stone, he suggests it should not be plastered to make it clearer that it is a reconstructed wall after seeing the photos of the site from 2008 he considers that the remaining sixth shop unit should have been reconstructed instead of other parts, which had entirely collapsed</p> <p>confused about the <u>reconstructed eastern wall</u> for being built in coral stone; considers it contradicts the conservation ethics that he has learned while working with the MoC in Bahrain. He does not find the ethics consistently applied in this and apparently other projects as well.</p>

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		<p>“I’m always confused. Because they said: “If there is a new construction, you can use any material to give a differentiation between the authentic and the new level. Sometimes they also said, just use the same materials to make it compatible with the old one. But I don’t know which is which. [...] Sometimes they will tell this, sometimes they will tell this. So, which one? Which will overrule?”</p> <p>the two western shops make him contemplate (he has not seen them before their restoration); asked if he likes them, he thinks for a while and comes to the conclusion: 30b: “But most of the material here is authentic. So, for me it is enough. You don’t have to finish it. Because that is the original. But since I did not see what it is before, I cannot really say if there was any plaster, or what. [comparing to the photograph of 2008] So, nothing really changed. It’s good. They didn’t touch anything. Same, same, except here, they changed ... [the doors and roof]. Different design.” Author: “I think it [the roof] was missing. It had collapsed.” 30b: “So, they added?” Author: “Yes, they added.” 30b: “This is a total restoration. Nothing has been changed, nothing has been done. Except for the doors.”</p> <p>appreciates the preservation of areas of original surface plaster in the northern elevation of the eastern block: Author: “But you agree with this idea to show the old plaster?” 30b: “Yes.” Author: “Why?” 30b: “In terms of authenticity. For conservation. What are the important elements in saying that this wall is authentic? So, something like this. Authenticity.” Author: “This idea of authenticity, did you learn about it here, or was that something that you already were aware of before?” 30b: “Here. Because in my country, I did not have any idea about this. I only knew about modern construction.”</p> <p>considers the vernacular architecture of the site Arab rather than Bahraini. “Is there such as Bahraini architecture? [...] Isn’t it more appropriate to call it Arab?”</p>
	7b	<p>7b: “I have a problem. This is what is linked now to authenticity. I have a problem confining the concept of authenticity to fabric and physical aspects. I have a problem with that. Because it needs to be integrated with the intangible aspects as well. You know authenticity is not about an original fabric only. But it is about original fabric integrated in a certain context. A cultural context. And this is exactly what I am trying to say here in the case of Qaisariya. The fabric is original, it is authentic. But it lacks this cultural context that links it to the definition of the OUV as it is stated in the listing. I will dwell on that when talking about authenticity: So, authenticity, if it lacks the cultural aspects, the cultural significance, I think, it would not be the subject to conserve.” Author: “What do you mean if authenticity lacks cultural significance?”</p> <p>7b: “I am seeing authenticity both tangible and intangible. Both of it together. If it lacks one of its components, it lacks its existence. So, to me, if we talk about authenticity, and I think it is a message that I have learned here in Bahrain. Because all the memories to a certain degree are forgotten. You know the existing community do not really remember the 60s and the 70s in details. It’s a flew image.”</p> <p>points to the difference between conservation and reconstruction: “Not artificially. We are not reconstructing things. WE are not reconstructing Muharraq. We are bringing up things which were totally forgotten.”</p>
East-western	23	<p>criticizes too much focus on material authenticity at the expense of reestablishing spatial authenticity: “So if physical authenticity was respected, right, ... it was totally respected, because the actual <i>danshals</i> were kept in their place, the actual wall was kept as is, all sort of things were ... but as a fabric! And the space was changed. It used to be three shops, now it’s one continues shop. And this space outside also is used as terrace rather than shops. So, the physical authenticity is there. But the spatial authenticity was not there when the project started. And there was not attempt, other than the street alignment, there was no attempt to get that back. While, the archaeology showed, how the shops were distributed. And it was possible actually to get that same distribution of shops and the same spatial ...”</p>
	24	<p>from memory seems to consider the reconstructed eastern wall original: “I don’t have any background. It is an original wall? Or what was there before?”</p>
	32	<p>appreciates that “you can see and feel the authentic fabric. Whatever is added is clear. [...] In Qaisariya the building is preserved as it is and no image was imposed. Any addition contrasts it as contemporary. The one coral stone wall was not following this rule. It was reconstructed according to a picture.”</p>

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	33	had not noticed the preserved historic plaster in the northern façade of the eastern block but had preferred it not be exposed in favour of re-rendering all vernacular fabric with whitish plaster, not to make the plaster artificially look old
	20	not convinced with the archaeological wall window considers it to create misconceptions about the original appearance (I 20)
	4a	<p>finds the differentiability of historic and new fabric important, as she would wish for historic photos of the site an interpretation means to illustrate what is original fabric and what is not when informed about the eastern wall of the eastern block being a reconstruction, she approves of the decision to reconstruct in a traditional way but would prefer if interpretation means were provided to explain the intervention: 4a: “They copied it, just like it is. It’s an old one.” 4b: “And why do you think did they do that, if it’s not old?” 4b: “Because they had to build a gate in a way or another, but of course they will not have a modern gate. So they will have to do a gate just like it is from that era.”</p> <p>Author: “And does that bother you? You thought it was old and now I tell you it was actually built two years ago?” 4a: “Well, I think it’s better if they had put this photo of the old one, so people they can know what is the new and what is the old. For me, I cannot differentiate.”</p> <p>identifies the coral stone slabs as the typical marine building material</p> <p>walls of the adapted sixth shop unit: uncertain if they are facsimile or old; she tends to think the shop unit is reconstructed; thinks the danshal ceiling was added for decorative purposes</p> <p>does not identify the historic plaster on the façade of the five restored shops</p> <p>five restored shop units: identifies the coral stone slab of the archaeological wall window as the typical marine building material but does not understand the archaeological window (thinks it is a newly closed window): “Maybe it was a window before and just they closed it.” (4a)</p> <p>takes the western containing wall of the open space as a restored old one</p> <p>takes the coral stone masonry as evidence that the eastern wall of the eastern block is historic with newly added surface plaster and new windows: “Aha, the building is an old building but they covered the walls with these new materials. But they have kept this old style. But even the building, I think it is old. You can see it from here, from the stone. But they have covered it with plaster and they have painted it. They changed these windows and doors with the traditional things.”</p> <p>two restored shop units of the western block: Author: “Do you think these have been worked on?” 4a: “No, but maybe just stabilization things.” (then points to a few further interventions, such as the added doors)</p>
Non-architects	Eastern	
		11c

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15c unable to tell the level of intervention of the conservation of the two western shops but says he would appreciate them both if they are preserved or reconstructed. [looking closely at the two shops] **“I think the ceiling has been renewed but these pieces.... I can’t tell if they are old or not. I can’t tell. It’s an old building, it’s falling apart.”** Author: “Is it falling apart?” 15c: “Yes.” Author: “You think it is not stable?” 15c: “From the whole we just peaked from I don’t think it is not stable.” Author: “Do you think they have worked on this?” 15c: **“Don’t tell me it’s a new building and they just built it the old style!”** Author: “Do you think they have done anything to it if it is an old building?” 15c: **“From the outside I don’t think they renewed it. I don’t think they did anything to it. It will be embarrassing, if I am wrong. But the door is renewed. And the frame of it renewed. So, it could be the whole building is renewed.”** Author: “Do you like them?” 15c: “Yes.” Author: “Why?” 15c: “Good question. You know, whenever you see a historical show about Bahrain, old buildings are like this. **I don’t know if it is real or not. That is very confusing. Either it is old or it is well renewed. I cannot tell the difference.**” Author: “If it was renewed?” 15c: “Ok, **if it was an original building, I am happy they kept it like this** and they renewed the door. **If it was completely built from scratch and it looks very old like this, they are doing an amazing job.**” Author: “And you would like that?” 15c: “Yes. I wished the whole area was like this. It would be very beautiful. [referring to a reconstruction project of a pseudo-historical village in Qatar] We’ve seen an example in Qatar. Everybody knows it. It’s very beautiful. Everybody likes it. They are making a huge village like that. A huge village. Five times the size of Suq Waqif. Almost the size of Old Muharraq. On the beach in Qatar. The same technique. Small narrow roads, all like these...” Author: “And then people will think it’s old.” 15c: “I don’t know what people will think. It’s not complete yet. It’s a huge project. It’s slightly unfortunate, the countries with no heritage with money they are starting to make their own heritage. And the countries with real heritage are not taking care of it as they should.”

appreciates the adaption of the sixth shop unit: 15c: “If you step back, you see the glass ceiling, and the new ceiling. And there are the columns inside of Safron which shows they built a building to shell the original building.” Author: “So this is original?” 15c: “Yes. For sure this is original. And they are using this door as an emergency exit still [although the door is locked].”

“So they kept the original walls, they fitted the electricity and the air conditioning in the new ceiling. Meanwhile they **kept the original wooden beams for the ceiling**. Me and my friend appreciated this about this place. They really kept the original building.” **“I don’t think all these beams are real. I think some of them had fallen apart and they replaced them. They are not all old. This one is old, this one is new.”**

informational panels as well as the mdbasah at the café helped him to identify the sixth shop unit as preserved; as well as intuition: Author: “So, you are 100% sure, this is the historic building. Why are you so sure about that?” 15c: “For a start, it’s written on the panel outside. Second, they kept the glass over there, so you can see the original building. And they are proud of it. That makes me love the place. Because they have pride in it, that it used to be a food industry place and it still is. Secondly, I am no expert, but you can tell sometimes, what is real, what is not real, is fake.”

identifies the walls in the lower café space as old considers the eastern wall restored, partly rebuilt: “I think all the walls are old. The whole building. There are renewed parts over there [upper café space], that’s it. But I think it [the eastern wall] is also halfway old. [...] **I think they renovated most of that wall. Maybe it had fallen apart with time. But this is very old.** Correct me if I am wrong.” Later when shown the excavation photo he identifies it as “imaginary”.

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	<p>five restored shops: “See, this one is just a renovation. It was getting rough by time. I don’t think they built it from scratch, they just made a layer around it. I think it is the same up here and the wood is very original. It’s all an original building. [...] What gives it away as an original building is the palm frond. It looks very old.”</p> <p>does not understand the archaeological wall window in the northern façade of eastern block, finds it confusing (11c)</p> <p>identifies the archaeological wall window after visiting Bab al-Bahrain: “I think this is the original wall, which they kept, just like in Bab al-Bahrain. It’s not very clear here.” (15c)</p> <p>surface plaster of the five restored shop units (northern elevation): “I notice something but I don’t know what it means. Could it be, that this is original and this is not?” [the thinks the lower part is original and the upper, brown part is not]</p> <p>surface plaster of the different shop units: “I would say this [the plastered shop] is more important, or it has been for a richer person, and the unplastered one was for a poor person.”</p> <p>doors of the five restored shops: 15c: [pointing to an old metal lock] “This is nice. I don’t know how original, how old it is, but if you keep an eye, these are screws.” Author: “Is this an old door?” 15c: “No. this one has screws. They did not have screws. They used nails, like this one.”</p> <p>“I think the electrical cable is very old. It’s good they kept it.”</p> <p>asked about the preserved façade plaster of the shops: “It’s good they kept it, but to maintain it, it will be difficult, I think.”</p> <p>takes the low reconstructed wall of the seating area as historic: “[...], the low wall I think is real, but I guess it was not a whole wall so this is all they could manage.”</p> <p>understands that it hints to a former building, that did not survive, but considers the presented wall fragment as a historic and renovated fragment of a no longer existent building, because he assumed that if it was added it would be in modern features; 15c: “I don’t know why they have this [the low wall]. I think there was a building in here, that did not last.” Author: “So you think the wall is old?” 15c: “I don’t know. But I assume, since it is here, otherwise they would have made another design.”</p>
18b	<p>identifies the old doors of the five restored shops; points to differences in colour, material and design, although all “old style”</p> <p>the archaeological wall window attracts her attention (I 18b)</p> <p>interior of the café: identifies the danshal beams as original</p> <p>she considers the two restored western shops to be rebuilt (not as originally in mud) and only to be made to look old</p>
8a	<p>upon entering the open space he considers the mdābis the only historic features at the site and everything else in that space to be reconstructed and newly added (bias towards the short life span of the traditional fabric)</p> <p>identifies preserved shop front doors and replicas of the five restored shops</p> <p>asked about the differences in plaster of the façade of the five restored shops he does not identify the original plaster remains “I honestly don’t think there is a reason for it.”</p> <p>then partly misinterprets the archaeological wall window showing the farush slab in the façade of the five restored shops as “a snapshot of time, how the building looked back in time.” Judges on that basis that the wall was renovated. (I 8a)</p> <p>later judges the lower parts of the walls of the lower café space when examining the coral stone masonry as original but heavily treated:</p> <p>Author: “So looking down into the lower part of the coffee shop. What do you think?” 8a: “I think it is beautiful, that is the word I can think of. But I think... this is thinking speculation... it could be a really wrong answer. Let us go down for a minute! [...] I think this wall might be... this is a coral stone wall! They used to build like this. Which is like the first layer of lime stone which you have under the sea. It’s consisting of silt and coral. They used to actually build of this. But obviously it is heavily treated - so they put something over it. That is what I think. So, I think this wall is original. [...]” Author: “And the top part?” 8a: “I don’t think so. I think it is built new.” Author: “What makes you think that?” 8a: “Because the wood looks obviously new and the plaster also. And I don’t think it will survive that long. I could be wrong, of course, it could have been there and they could have just rebuilt this part. But I think this is all new.” Author: “How about the danshal?” 8a: “No, the danshals are definitely new.” Author: “New? Why?” 8a: “Because this doesn’t look like a hundred year old wood. [...] Maybe they took the old</p>

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		<p>wood and managed to treat it beautifully. But I don't know much about that. But most likely it's new. Even if it's new, I don't think that it matters. The fact that they used wood like this, obviously it is not a support, it is just an architectural statement." Author: "Which is?" 8a: "Which is that this is how they used to build things. And it is worth it. Because this wood is very expensive and it is very hard to find today. So, for them to expend this much to show how it used to look like is beautiful in itself. You know, for a detail like this it does not matter if it is the original, or restored, the method matters. They are trying to show something that is a strong part of the old architecture. It's nice."</p> <p>Considers the danshal ceiling in the lower café space "an architectural statement"; appreciates that genuine wood was used; it does not matter to him if the danshals are original or not (considers them bought for the rehabilitation)</p> <p>uncertain if the eastern wall of the eastern block is entirely rebuilt or just replastered. „It probably is built like what the old one looked like – exactly. But maybe the old one is still underneath it and was too dilapidated and was covered."</p> <p>identifies the western wall of the open space as "an architectural feature [...] indicating the site of an original wall."</p> <p>considers the two restored shop units of the western block original</p> <p>identifies the new shop units as additions</p>
East-western	9	<p>identifies the five shops as historic, restored structures; able to tell reconstructed and older doors apart</p> <p>does not understand the purpose of the archaeological wall window (farush) in the façade of the five restored shops; points to the need for an interpretive sign to indicated the purpose of it, particularly as replastering works were ongoing on the same façade at the time: "Because now the work is in progress, I would not understand that this is meant to be kept and to show." Considers that a small sign next to the archaeological window would suffice to indicate that there is something on display and „it could be like an outdoor museum“ (9a)</p> <p>notices the lighter colour of the reconstructed eastern wall along Bu Maher Avenue but does not guess the rationale behind it, however, intuitively she perceives it as a different building that the darker coloured restored shop units</p> <p>identifies the building additions in modern materials (glass, metal) and furniture as new; thinks all building parts built in traditional materials (plastered elements) are old, at first even including the free-standing western wall of the outdoor space</p> <p>identifies the vernacular structures of the adapted sixth shop as old, including the danshal beams</p> <p>not able to differentiate between historic and new plaster in the facades of the five shops, thinks it is ongoing works (ongoing plaster works make it more difficult to read the building); has no strong opinion about the differentiation between historic and new plaster</p> <p>would have preferred that the replicas of doors would have perfected their historic look not to be identifiable as new: "Even the doors, from a distance, I kind of felt that it is new probably, coming now closer it is a little bit... mhm... it's like, ach, it's like a fake vintage kind of thing." Author: "Compare these two. [pointing to the new and the authentic door] Can you tell a difference between the two?" 9a: "Ya, ya, ya. I prefer the one on the left, and I guess it is an older one." Author: "That is the original. And this is a copy." 9a: "This is a bit disappointing to me. In terms of assuming that this is a building that might be 200 years old and seeing this type of wooden ... it's like too smooth, it's too new. [...] They could have done something in order to make it look more old." Author: "Ok, so you would have preferred if they tried to make it look the same even if it was not the original?" 9a: "I don't know. It depends on the effects. Because sometimes it can be also ... when it is not done well. it feels like cheated. Like someone wanted to cheat me that this was old, but I can tell." Author: "Ya, and here they are trying not to cheat you." 9a: "At least you can tell that this was new. So, you can have different..." Author: "So you can appreciate that?" 9a: "Ah, yes, I think so. It is like being honest with me."</p> <p>Apparently, she minds less to be cheated if she does not realize. At first, she disapproves of the new look (smoothness) of the reconstructed doors, as she feels disappointed when realising they are not old but appreciates the differentiation in theory, when thinking about it.</p>

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10b	<p>indirectly points to the importance of telling historic and reconstructed fabric apart when judging the historicity of the five restored shops: 10b: “I think it is the cheat and this is the old part.”</p> <p>points to the differences the wall plaster of the five restored shops, identifies the purpose and can tell what is older and what newer: “So what I was telling you about Qalat Arad is similar to this kind of thing. So, you can see the different colours of the two plasters.”</p> <p>appreciates the differentiation between historic and added wall plaster: “I would rather have the differentiation so people can understand that this was old and has been fixed and that they kept it that way. Rather than demolishing it and building it all in the same way so people can think wrongly about it. Or if they did that at least they declare that and put some written explanation of what they did and why.” (10b)</p> <p>identifies the archaeological wall window of the five restored shops after discussing the feature at Bab al-Bahrain; confused about the chopped plaster at the base of the five restored shops (asks if this serves the same purpose as the archaeological windows) (10b)</p> <p>at first takes all the doors of the five restored shops as new, at second sight identifies the two older ones</p> <p>identifies the eastern wall of the eastern block as an addition “because it is more consistent”</p> <p>appreciates that the wall of the upper café space/ eastern wall is identifiable as new fabric: “But maybe the walls were demolished and rebuilt. I can’t really tell. This looks entirely new. They did not make it to give a false impression at least.”</p> <p>when other Arabic visitors comment on one of the exposed mbasahs as having been „made“, the interviewee interferes and tells them that „it is original. They just protect it.“</p>
12c	<p>appreciates and understands the different surface colour of the reconstructed eastern wall: “The finishing looks pretty interesting” and it enables him to differentiate between restored and reconstructed building parts as well as to identify surface areas with original plaster</p> <p>identifies and understands the surface plaster of the five restored shops: “It feels like the top part is very genuine and the bottom part.... [...] They tried to blend and they did a fair job. You can tell that the upper part is genuine.”</p> <p>attributes importance to the preservation of historic fabric when asked for his opinion about the surface plaster treatment in the northern elevation of the five restored shops: “I think it is important to keep whatever is genuine from the building. And to show it. And to work around it.”</p> <p>identifies and appreciates the archaeological wall window in the northern façade of the eastern block (after seeing the same feature at Bab al-Bahrain): “So this one, keeping the wall, it’s a nice feature. It looks nice. It gives you a reminder of the building.” Author: “Do you think you would have recognized it if you hadn’t seen the same thing in Bab al-Bahrain just now?” 12c: “Ya. I mean, why would you keep it like this?” (12c)</p> <p>takes a water stench caused by the AC unit above a historic wall in the café as a historic trace: “Here this is very neat.” [Has internalized the conservation approach to the point that he interprets every irregularity as a historic trace, while he seems to care more about the visual or atmospheric effect than about any informational content. Possibly he takes the moist surface area as original plaster due to its darker colour.]</p> <p>identifies the danshal beams in the café as original: Author: “You think they were here?” 21c: “I think so. Otherwise they wouldn’t keep them here.”</p> <p>differentiates between old and new doors of the restored five shops</p> <p>standing in Bu Maher Lane he differentiates between the restored shop units and the reconstructed eastern wall: 12c: “I think this is the old part and this is the new part.” Author: “What makes you understand that?” 12c: “The façade. The treatment.”</p> <p>does not mind to identify the low wall in the open space, which he had taken as historic, to be reconstructed: 12c: “This one I don’t mind [the low wall]. [...]” Author: “Earlier you said that this wall was historic.” 12c: “Ya, it’s not. But it’s beautiful. I like it.”</p> <p>uncertain of the intended message of the low wall around the sitting area “ It could show that there was an additional room to the house or something. I am not quite sure.”</p>
3c	<p>at first considers all doors of the five restored shops new; at second sight identifies the old ones correctly. Author: “And what about the doors?” 3c: “Pretty, pretty, new.” Author: “All of them?” 3c: “Wait, this one looks old, and this one.” Author: “Yes, that is right. How do you feel about the differentiation between the old doors and the new doors?”</p>

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Western		<p>3c: “Neutral. I think it is good that you can differentiate them if you want to. But normally you would just past and you would not even realize.” Author: “Is that a good thing or a bad thing?”</p> <p>3c: “It’s a good thing.”</p> <p>can tell the new and old plaster of the five northern shops apart</p> <p>finds the archaeological window in the façade of the five restored shops (<i>farush</i> slab above the door) aesthetically unpleasant. With the consolidation work done to it does not look original anymore (3c); but understands the purpose of the archaeological window in the shop front after discussing it at Bab al-Bahrain (3c)</p>
	13a	<p>identifies the differences in the facade plaster of the five restored shops but feels uncertain about the interpretation: “The top part is different. Maybe the upper part was actually saved. While the lower part could be a reconstruction. I am not sure about that. [...] I’s not exactly obvious.”; appreciates the conservation of the original surface plaster of the five restored shops</p> <p>unable to identify the function of the archaeological wall window on the northern façade; takes it for a former window or advertisement area: 13a: “Ugly!”. Author: “What do you think would that be for?” 13a: “I think that would have been a window in the past, no?” Author: [shaking the head] 13a: “Maybe for advertising? Fresh Fish...!” [going closer] It still looks ugly. I don’t know what that is.” (13a)</p> <p>identifies the added ceiling of the adapted sixth shop unit and the danshal beams as historic asked about the missing wall plaster at the bottom of the walls in the lower café space she assumes that the upper parts are reconstructed, rather than the bottom parts</p> <p>identifies the reconstructed part of the mdbasah</p> <p>identifies the doors of the five restored shops to be partly older, partly newly constructed. However, she thinks they are all not the original doors and hence attributes little importance to the differences: “Honestly I don’t see such a difference in them to say one is older or newer. It could be a few years difference, or 20 years. But I don’t think that is very important.”</p> <p>identifies the low reconstructed wall around the sitting area as new and does not mind its poor legibility: 13a: “Ya, I would say it is not old.” Author: “What do you think about that?” 13a: “I think it’s fine. I don’t know if a lot of people would know what it is.”</p> <p>identifies the differences in the facade plaster of the five restored shops but uncertain about the message; values the historic plaster: Author: “This is the only original piece of historic plaster. Would you rather have it removed and made all the same?” 13a: “No. I don’t think they should have removed it. It is just not so obvious why it is different. But I definitely don’t think they should have removed it.”</p> <p>issue of reconstructing fabric and adding new elements:</p> <p>asked for her opinion about the reconstruction approach taken in the case of the eastern façade along Bu Maher Street in traditional techniques based on the historic photograph: 13a: “I think it is not absolutely and totally obvious. But then my question would be, does it have to be absolutely and totally obvious?” Author: “And can it be?” 13a: “And can it be!? And how many different materials would you have to use to make it obvious? Is there a need to be so obvious? Because the purpose of this reconstruction is to show what it could have looked like or looked like in this case, as they had a picture. And I think that is well done” as one can more or less tell old from new fabric.</p> <p>“I think reconstructing and making it obvious that it is a reconstruction, if you have evidence of some sort, then I would say ok.”</p> <p>considers it the right decision to not reconstruct the shops in the open space, in order to avoid “inventing what the inside looked like” and in order to differentiate it from the preserved, historic sections of the site: “This way you see that this area is the original area, or the authentic area, although... When you look at Qal’at al-Bahrain what is unique about it, is that you have one layer above another layer on that top of another layer. And that is what makes it World Heritage. And what we are doing sometimes is to say: ‘No, we only have to preserve the original, we should not reconstruct and we should not add.’ But is that so bad? I don’t know. [...] I think, probably, you as an architect would say: ‘No, this should have been done differently.’”</p>
	14b	<p>identifies the preserved historic plaster of the northern elevation of the five restored shops and surprised about it: “That looks pretty original. Interesting. Especially when you think about roofs, roof areas...” [authors explains that humidity raises from the bottom and the replastering after removal of cement]</p>

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		<p>criticizes the poor legibility of historic and added parts: “So you don’t even know what the original was, unless they left something for us.”</p> <p>identifies the five shops as restored original buildings: “Well, it’s the suq area. This obviously has been restored. They are trying to restore it. These beams look original. The twine around it, it looks pretty original. These were the individual shops.”</p> <p>understands the archaeological wall window on the northern façade (14b)</p> <p>on the five restored shops she identifies the reconstructed and the original doors: “The wooden doors are meant to look like it originally was. [...] This one kind of looks original. They even replicated the hinges.”</p> <p>identifies the danshal beams of lower café space as old</p> <p>irritated by the reconstructed eastern wall along Bu Maher Street: “It looks so smooth. This all looks like a modelling form. I wonder about the wood. The twine cannot be original.”</p>
		Use and function
Architects Eastern	16c	<p>identifies the café as former shops spaces</p> <p>confused about the different floor levels inside the café</p> <p>does not consider the former configuration and function of the outdoor space readable, assumes it might have been now demolished shops: 16c: “I am thinking about the space outside. What it was.” Author: “It gives you no clue?” 16c: “No, I don’t know. [...] So, for me it was either an outdoor think related to the <i>mdbasah</i>. Or simply it might be another shop that was demolished.”</p>
	17b	<p>identifies the coffee shop as an addition: “I don’t think this was originally there [the coffee shop]. The <i>mdbasah</i> was only there.”</p> <p>identifies the lower part of the café as a former shop opening to the west</p> <p>confused about the different floor levels inside the café: “I don’t think we had this kind of levels in these shops before. I don’t know if they added this or because of the levelling.” (17b); assumes it might have been separate buildings</p> <p>uncertain about the former function of the open space and of the low wall of the seating area</p> <p>criticizes the lack of function and usage of the open space and the location of the sanitary rooms: Author: “So, how do you feel about this area, this place?” 17b: “Right now it’s dead. Nothing is going on here. There is no functions here. It’s an open space and there is the toilets overlooking the place. It can be used for some events, for some galleries. But I don’t like the toilets overlooking here.”</p> <p>appreciates the outdoor space: “The open area is needed in such suqs, because in the old times they had many open spaces.”</p> <p>does not identify the floor pattern in the outdoor space: Author: “Do you notice anything in the floor pattern?” 17b: “Nothing special. It’s modern finishes.” Author: “And here you see the madabis. They tried to show them in the floor pattern.” 17b: “Maybe it could have been shown a little bit more clearly. [...] I don’t think anyone would notice these lines here.” (17b)</p>
	21a	<p>identifies the original function of the restored shops</p> <p>criticizes the courtyard as an historically wrong feature, since there was not courtyard originally, as the photos of the excavated foundations show</p>
	25	<p>criticizes the operator’s intention to expand the café’s seating area into the outdoor space: “The operator wanted to expand. I said: you don’t understand where you are! What expand? That’s it. ‘ok, from outside. Built us something.’ Money greedy. Why? [...] Just do it here. Enjoy the smallness of it. They just can’t. But the good thing, the operator, she is a darling, Nareez, she understood finally and she did very well in it. And she has other branches now. She is doing very well. Ok, the business has been split. It was not the same pressure like in the first days of opening. But, it created ... There is a phenomenon called Safron!”</p>
	30 b	<p>questions the usability of the restored shop units of the eastern block and of the two restored western shops due to insufficient or lacking amenities</p> <p>confused if the two conserved shops are only for display or supposed to be used</p> <p>points to the original use and function of the site not being clear: “Like here, the <i>mdbasah</i>. I don’t have other ‘markers’ that describe this house, what is this house all about. For example, if I come here, I really don’t have any idea.”</p>
	7b	<p>use and function revitalizing: “We are dealing with a market that is alive, still not dead, even though it was about to. [...] This area was almost dead. [...] This area was a garbage dump. That</p>

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	<p>is why most of the shops around us were only used as storages and still are by the way. But now they start to see the value and started to think ‘Oh, why don’t we open a shop here.’” points to the importance of the economic dimension: “As I said the main message is historic buildings can be reused – and can be reused efficiently and as an income generating entity. [...] It’s not a museum.”</p> <p>points to the importance of providing for usage post rehabilitation and partly criticizes the way this has been approached in the project:</p> <p>“You know, we had an image of the market as being traditional, so the goods have to be traditional. And we have imposed some tenants dealing with traditional objects in a context that does not really appreciate that yet. So, I was hoping in the market to do one example and stand out, and let the market grow by itself. Business, retailing and transactions. Because otherwise you are trying to impose a model that would create a fake representation regardless of the preservation aspect. So, you do the best conservation technique but then when it comes to function, which is the life of the space, you are trying to fake it up. I don’t think that is the proper way to do it. I think you should let it go. Even if you sell plastic now. Sell plastic for the moment and let it pick up by itself. That’s my point of view on how to deal with a market which we want to revive. Yes, if you have an opportunity to introduce one or two for people to appreciate, so other would look at them as being models if they are successful and then the wheel would run. If I could step back, that is exactly what I would do in determining the tenants of each shop in Qaisariya.”</p>
East-western	<p>22 positively points out the attractiveness of the site: “And it draws quite a lot of people nowadays.”</p> <p>points to the economic pressure of the ongoing rehabilitation works on traditional traders in the market area</p>
	<p>23 criticizes the lack of usability of the outdoor space: “Let us go for the terrace. When you see it today, you see that this terrace is not working. Nobody is using it. Because it is a point of passage. It is too hot. Because people are not used to sitting outside anymore. Nobody wants to sit outside. [...] Nobody is putting seating, for which reason, I don’t know. They [the café’s tenant] asked for a cover. A shade. [...] It did not happen because a proper design was not there. But there are a few months, like the past four months, were always cloudy and shaded. And still, they did not try to use the terrace. [...] It’s a question: Why didn’t they put seating? [...] It has so many accesses. And I think it maybe needs a tree or something.”</p>
	<p>24 appreciates the use of the site; points to the importance of rehabilitating for usage and the benefits of daily maintenance and monitoring by the users: “To restore it is a great idea. To reuse it, more than great idea. Because you will have the contact between the people and the monument, on one hand. On the other hand, you will know about the problem physical. Like step by step. If something happens, the people there, they will ask, tell you what is the problem. If they saw cracks... any problem there, insect or something, they will tell you and then you will go there to solve this problem.”</p>
	<p>33 criticizes the design of the outdoor space for not facilitating any use</p> <p>considers the interaction of people in the market an essential element of the site’s historic authenticity; at the same time, he doubts that use and function should be assessed for authenticity:</p> <p>33: “The suq is a major social element of the pearling industry. That is where the interaction of all people -merchants, divers, buyers, sellers - took place.” Author: “So that value, that part of the value of the site is reflected there in that project, or not?” 33: “I don’t think it is reflected. [...] I mean, the story is lost in the project. As an element it is important. But as a project, the way we executed it, I don’t think we took into consideration, or we didn’t focus on that aspect of the project – to tell the story of pearling. I don’t know if it will be done in the next phase. And again, when the Amara finishes, and the next phase finishes, as a whole, then the story will start to show. That interaction will ... Maybe shops that related to the pearling industry maybe come back. Maybe jeweller, because there is a row of jewellery shops right next to Safran. [...] Maybe other jewellery shops will come here. That will bring back ...”</p> <p>Author: “But we don’t know if there was jewellery in the past, right?” 33: “No, we don’t know. It is not just about the jewellery. It is about the interaction between the people. People did not come to the suq only to buy back then. They came to hang out, just to meet, in the coffee shops... So that is one aspect of the suq that can be reflected. That reflects the pearling era.”</p>

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		<p>Author: “This whole modern intervention, like the open space, the café, how authentic are they?” 33: “Well, as a function, I don’t know. Because I don’t think there was a café there. And the space surely that it was built up before. So as a function I don’t think they are authentic. But you can’t really put authenticity as an element on function. Because function is always changing. [...]”</p> <p>commends the installation of a public toilet hopes for jewellery shops at the site aware of the floor pattern: “The patterns in the floor indicate... [...] It is very subtle but if you pay attention, this vertical and this is all horizontal.”</p>	
	20	considers the original small-scale shop structure not identifiable in most of the site points to a poor usability of the outdoor space	
Non-architects	Eastern	4a	identifies the lower part of the café as a former shop interprets the open space as a courtyard of a historic house which has considers adapted to a new use
		11c	takes the café for a historic residential house
		15c	in the outdoor space: Author: “Do you have an idea what this space was before? Can you figure it out?” 15c: “No.” Author: “Do you notice anything about the tiles of the floor?” 15c: “No.” at the café: Author: “Do you know what this was before?” 15c: “I assume that since there is this for making the dates honey, I assumed that this is the storage for it, or the shop for it. Something that relates to it.” “So, below was the shop and up here was the factory [for date syrup production].” identifies the historic door in the lower café space as an original shop front points to the success of the café and its great visitor numbers “ it used to be a food industry place and it still is. ” space layout and use of the café and outdoor space: “I think this was all connected as one big hall with the outside. [...] If you see the <i>mdbasah</i> over here and the <i>mdbasah</i> over there, there should either be a corridor in between or it was one big room. That’s what I think. I don’t know if it’s right.”
		18b	the café attracts her attention as well as the perfume shop in the street; uses more interesting to her than the buildings
		28	security guard at the site points to Bahrainis coming to the café for food and that a lot of visitors take pictures problematizes that the sanitary facilities are used publicly , not just by customers of the café
		29	the waiter working at the café since five months said he has no information about the historic site
		34	asked about the former usage of the site, he refers to usage as a khan up to 300 years ago , which however, seems to have operated in the neighbourhood rather than on the exact site; says that the site stopped being used in 1955
		35	one of the two seniors complained about the high prices of the food and drinks and that most people in Bahrain are poor and can’t afford that
		36	misconception about the original use and function: Author: “This one was house, or...? 36: “Same like house, yes. House or fort. ”
		37	misconception about the original use and function: thinks the building was formerly a house heat at the outdoor space: „Very nice. But too much hot now. I cannot sit.”
		East-western	8a

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Western	9ab	<p>appreciates the adaptation of the existing spaces and building for gastronomic and commercial uses (particularly the perfumery and the café)</p> <p>attributes importance to the personal experience and individual interaction with the space. In her view, the clear and elegant design of the space adds to this as well as the function of a public space and coffee shop.</p> <p>all of the five shops except the perfume shop being closed during the visit, she associates them with small workshops of different craftsmen (reminds her of Rome, where artisans are carrying out their crafts and selling the products in similar lanes of shops): “Right now, it looks abandoned even. I don’t know if it is still functioning, but I think it is. What could it be? First idea, is that it is small workshops for different craftsmanship maybe. That’s what it seems to me with those different doors.” (9a)</p>
	10a	<p>likes the site’s liveliness and the presence of Bahraini people among traders and clients points to the importance of usage: “I am a very pragmatic person. I would rather have a functioning thing rather than a non-functional heritage.” (10b)</p> <p>had not noticed the door in the lower part of the café and hence not identified the original room layout and function as a shop</p> <p>appreciates the attempt of depicting the archaeological finds in the floor tiling in the outdoor space despite being unsuccessful and points to the need for interpretation facilities: “Ya, unless you put that picture there [during constructions works showing undug foundations] people would not really notice the pattern. They would think they did a lousy tiling job. But it’s nice that they actually thought about it. But more information in all these things would be really helpful.”</p>
	12c	<p>appreciates the usability of the outdoor space as a seating area “little majlis” but would prefer it to be larger; wishes the use of the open space to be intensified: “This is an area that can be used better as a public space.”</p> <p>identifies the café space to have originally been a shop and storage</p> <p>approves of the addition of a café to function as a visitor attraction</p> <p>the café Saffron serves as a landmark to identify the site before visiting it</p> <p>not able to interpret the floor tiling in the open space: „Here there are pieces that are cut in half. But why? I am not sure, maybe to correct an error. “</p>
	46	criticizes that the site in not used by the local community
	3ac	<p>not able to identify the original layout of the place (thinks of it as one house with a courtyard): Author: “Do you have an idea what this space was in the past? Does it give you a clue what it was like in the past? At some point in the past. Maybe you now as an archaeologist. I guess not...” 3c: “No, because it is really wired that you have these walls here. But probably it was a house before. Was this all one house? I have no idea. What was this place?” Author: “Are there any clues you can get from here?” 3c: “This is probably the outer wall of the building (<i>pointing to screen wall</i>). And then you entered and you had a courtyard I assume. And then you had different rooms.”</p> <p>appreciates the open space and public toilet for serving people (3c): Author: “How do you feel about the fact that they created an open space behind us. Do you think they should have much rather reconstructed those shops there, completely?” 3c: “No. Because there are a lot of shops. And you know an open space is nice and what people need probably more than to have even more shops. So, you should also serve the people. So, no, I think it is a very good thing that they designed that open space. Also, they needed a toilet. How could they have designed it? And I mean it is a café. So if you have an outside facility to sit there, that is nice.”</p> <p>does not identify any messages of the former layout in the floor tiling of the open space</p>
13a	<p>regrets that the two restored western shops are closed and not accessible (they trigger curiosity)</p> <p>finds the original use and function of the site not legible: “So, I guess this door would open here and would have a little shop inside. I think this would be a shop. And behind would probably be the living quarters of the person who owned the shop.”</p> <p>“I would not even notice that this was a suq, just because you told me it is, but just because there are doors it doesn’t tell me this is a suq. I like it that there is a coffee shop here. But it does not give me anymore the impression that it was a suq.” (13a)</p> <p>with the exception of the shops along the pedestrian lanes, she does not find it obvious that the site was formerly a market area with shops; considers the other parts of the site (the</p>	

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	<p>upper café space and outdoor area) residential quarters belonging to the shops; she revises that opinion when the <i>mdbasah</i> in the café comes to her mind</p> <p>notices the floor pattern in the outdoor space: “The middle tiles are a little different – are they supposed to represent different rooms or something? That is not obvious at all.”</p> <p>identifies the lower café space as a former shop with a door front to the street</p>
	<p>14b identifies the five shops in the northern alley: “These were the individual shops.”</p> <p>seems to consider the site originally a residence, possibly due to the misconception which the courtyard creates; shown the images of the site in 2008: “[...] was this just a village?”</p> <p>when shown the photograph of the excavation process on the site, she interprets the foundations to having belonged to “individual rooms. Traditional multi-family.”</p> <p>original use of the outdoor space: „This would have been a traditional courtyard area. [...] To me all of this could be how it has been originally and they would have just refitted it.”</p> <p>uncertain about the former function of the low wall in the outdoor courtyard</p> <p>cannot spot anything particular in the floor tiling of the outdoor space</p>
Traditions, techniques and management systems	
	<p>16c points to the original stone masonry preserved and exposed in the lower café space</p>
Architects Eastern	<p>17b likes the various vernacular features of the restored shops units including the <i>danshal</i> ceilings in the perfume shop and café, the original canopy in the northern façade of the eastern block</p> <p>inspecting the two western shops he is confused about the partially plastered and partially unplastered outdoor facades of the buildings: “I like them. But I still, I don’t see why sometimes they plaster some parts of the walls and sometimes they kept them there like this. I still don’t see why.” Author: “Does it disturb you?” 17b: “Not really. But it is confusing.” Author: “Confusing in a bad way? Or confusing in a good way?” 17b: “In a good way. You know why? Because the suq is never built at once it the past. So, there are phases even in the old times. So, you can see that this was the original thing, then this was added...”</p> <p>likes the lower part of the café best due to the exposed masonry of the walls</p> <p>told about the history of the place and construction date (1880-1905) he considers them very old and takes that as a proof, that the local vernacular buildings actually last longer than is generally believed in Bahrain; looking at pictures of the construction process with the excavations he is surprised about the conservation approach taken: “Mhm. So, it is possible to not demolish the building and add something.” (17b)</p> <p>when told the age of the vernacular buildings at the site: 17b: “So the notion that old buildings don’t last for more than 50 years is totally wrong. I did not believe it in the beginning. But we have to show these kind of examples, so that people...” Author: “Who says that?” 17b: “Many people. That is why, when you ask anyone, why do we demolish our buildings? They say it does not stand for so long.” [regrets the loss of heritage buildings throughout Bahrain]</p> <p>takes the wall niches in the lower café space as former ventilation openings</p> <p>considers the traditional building materials and way of construction healthy: “You know it is even healthy to stay next to the materials of the old houses here in Bahrain. The stones and stuff.”</p>
	<p>21a when approaching the site points to the traditional techniques: “See, this is what they used to use. Sea stone and gypsum mortar. You must be knowing about that.”</p> <p>has not seen such conservative restoration works in Bahrain before: Author: “Have you seen something like this happening in Bahrain?” 21a: “No, no, this is the first time I am seeing renovation work being done. I don’t know how they manage it. As I said, Bab al-Bahrain was a construction, something like this. It was very, very difficult. This renovation work, how long it will last, we don’t know. Whether it will require a lot of maintenance.”</p> <p>points to the lack of expertise for restorations of local vernacular buildings</p> <p>disapproves of the traditional reconstruction approach and surface plaster of the eastern wall: 21a: “I don’t know why they did it in stone. [...] If it is new, show that it is new! [...] This is an imitation of the old. I don’t like it. If it is new, show it!”</p> <p>when explained the approach with the photos from the 80s he mocks the reconstruction and compares it to the replicas of Pharaonic graves: “The same thing! Something is collapsed, you make the same old thing that was there before. It is not for preservation!”</p> <p>considers the historicizing plaster surfaces of the eastern shops unauthentic for being too perfected in craftsmanship (in addition the base part was in the process of being fixed during the</p>

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	<p>visit) for deviating from the original appearance by looking „too finished“; (considers that originally the plasters would not have been very skilled and the natural traces of the works would have been apparent) The efforts of the conservation and restoration works seems to make it look artificial to him. He points out, that originally the workers would not have been very skilled and the natural traces of the works would have been apparent. For the most authentic look, it would require equally unskilled workers to apply the plaster. Intentionally faking poor skill. Author: “Why do you say, it looks too finished for you?” 21a: “Yes, because in the old days you did not have this kind of ..., the trowel marks and all would be seen. When they were trowelling – people were not skilled in construction. You had those marks. It’s like painting. A computerized painting and handmade painting. So now, [...] now, it is smooth.” Author: “But why does it bother you? You would prefer that it looked like in the old days?” 21a: “Yes. Even if it is not... But I don’t want it done artificially. Like people, will scratch it and make it look old. [...] I want those people, who don’t know to plaster, to plaster it! [laughing]” referring to the surface plaster of the reconstructed eastern wall along Bu Maher Avenue: “This is what I was talking about. This is done artificially. It’s scratched, and this...”</p>
25	<p>appreciates the preserved traditional door in the café but points to the functional deficiencies which she solved by hanging a woollen fabric in front of it: “And then of course there was the historic door. The wood. Which they were preserving. But it was allowing flies inside.”</p>
30b	<p>criticizes that the doors installed at the two western shops are not strictly traditional (not nailed); thinks the danshal ceiling of the café or even the entire shop unit should have been reconstructed interprets the exposed masonry in the lower space of the café as purpose-built for didactic purposes showing the construction method</p>
East-Western	<p>7b One aim of the rehabilitation: “Showcase several construction techniques.” Aims at fostering public appreciation of the vernacular heritage and efforts to preserve it. “Here, in Qaisariya for example, we decided to show the coral stone. And for that it has already given a huge difference in the perception of people of heritage buildings. Before, that wall, people did not really know what is a coral stone. They knew that they have been used. But then, when you put in context and reveal some of it, they started to understand how things are assembled.” challenges of preserving the vernacular fabric: “Well, as you know, the conservation science and the practice is a bit new to the country so we are facing many problems. [...] And we are actually developing the techniques, the materials on what is found in the local market. And if we find that the local market is not really sufficient enough to supply us with sufficient material we have to go for imported things. Specifically for fine conservation as you know. And already in the last couple of years we have developed a great deal, in terms of recipes of mortar, of rendering mortar, of roof screeds, floor screeds, all of these have been developed a great deal. And by monitoring already accomplished projects we come back and revise the recipes accordingly. And I would say that we are now trying to put together a maintenance team within the Ministry to revise all the work that has been accomplished in previous projects. [...] In Qaisariya you noticed already that people are working on it. Bayt Shaikh Salman will be next.” Author: “Those were the first projects. Do you feel that there are most flaws in terms of material, there? Do you already see an improvement in later projects?” 7b: “Ya, a great deal. And if we compare now Amarat Fakhro to the recipes that have developed with all the recipes... But it also has to do with execution process. And how keen are the contractors to follow instructions, as well. It means that we are to provide better supervision and surveillance of the details work of every day. In that aspect I think we are developing in the right direction, but it is a bit slow.” Author: “Did you make sure of any of the experience that the local construction and architectural firms had with the projects they did? There have been several projects carried out in private and by the Ministry of Culture, too, by for example EWAN. Could you use any of their experience? Because they already tried to investigate into local construction techniques, traditional techniques, trying to develop them as well.” 7b: “Ya, certainly. There are many details here and there, materials also that we are using, waterproof membranes for example that are quite different that the ones that we usually use in our projects. Sometimes they used light weight concrete for screed, which we have been employing as well, learning from their experience. The use of a particular kind of lime that is</p>

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	<p>not existing in Bahrain but imported from elsewhere for wall plaster. Unfortunately, the lime is no longer fabricated here since centuries. So, we had to go for importing it and the sources are either from United Emirates or from Saudi Arabia. But then, EWAN has introduced a new kind of lime, that they call red lime. And these are imported the East. [...] But what I am trying to say, ya, we are trying to learn of course from previous experiences, also from their failures, not only from their successes. We have consistently in all the projects a problem with salt efflorescence. [...] We have remedied that with several little techniques. Specifically, the ventilation, either the natural ventilation conduits that we are inserting all around the walls, or now in crucial cases we started to introduce mechanical ventilation.”</p> <p>points to the lack of qualified contractors for the works on vernacular fabric</p> <p>notes, that the heritage authority’s architectural conservation efforts are still seen critically by the local community and wishes to gain appreciation and active engagement</p> <p>criticizes the way capacity building for architectural conservation is done in this and other early projects: 7b: “The contractors are resisting.” Author: “Why?” 7b: “Because heritage, conservation work is not at all beneficial for them. And the requirements, maybe, were a bit misunderstood before. So, they underestimate always the prices and then they are faced with all our requirements either in the implementation processes or in the documentation of the work and the reporting required. These were always underestimated and I agree with you, it needs a bit of a capacity building for contractors, as for designers and consultants. But with the pressure of the work, with the current team members, I don’t think the capacity building is any efficient. You know, it is not done systematically, and it is not done according to a very clear plan.” Author: “Ok, but you are carrying out the work with somebody and these people learn.” 7b: “Ya, but what if they learn today and the works are laid off tomorrow.” Author: “So who are the workers mostly?” 7b: “You know they are mixed, either Indians, Bengalis, ...” Author: “So, migrants.” 7b: “Very, very few Bahrainis.”</p>
23	<p>points to the fact that the effectiveness of the ventilation trenches, which are to minimize dampness of the walls, was not yet assessed but considers that the feature does not impact the site’s authenticity “Because it is totally reversible. [...] You can fill them back in and that’s it.”</p>
24	<p>appreciates the traditional reconstruction of the eastern wall and the use of coral stone: “It is a good idea for me. Yes, why? Because they used the coral stone. Because to keep the coral stone inside the material in the site, it is also very necessary. Because if you did not use the coral stone and you used block and cement and so on, where will we go to the coral stone? They will take it sometimes maybe to fill the sea, right? The idea to use again the same material it is very interesting, because it is part of the monument.” Author: “Even if it is reconstructed? 24: “Even if it is!”</p>
32	<p>would not have reconstructed the eastern wall in coral stone not to confuse the people but approves of the color coding of the surface render: “Also in the <u>eastern wall</u> I would have used a different material, because people might be confused and take it for old. [...] But it is fine. It’s plastered differently.”</p>
33	<p>thinks the site’s buildings should have been replastered in whitish colour</p> <p>points to technical issues with the traditional surface rendering: “Again, there is the issue of the plaster mix. There were a lot of issues in here, that it is cracking up. [...] Because this is really the first project, I guess.”</p>
20	<p>comments on the difficulty of reactivating the traditional constructions techniques and keeping them alive given the fact, that the it is mostly temporary migrant workers who are trained</p>
4a	<p>The young Bahraini woman takes interest in the vernacular building tradition, which she feels rather detached from, never having lived in a vernacular building: <i>[walking towards Suq al Qaisariya in the market area]</i> “I was saying, usually, once I walk in this street, I like to look at those old houses. How, you know the building materials, like mortar, stones, or whatever... I usually take a look inside those doors or windows to see what is inside, what is on the ground. You know, I did not live in such a house. Even my grandmother ... or maybe she. But you know, not me.”</p> <p>She thinks that the vernacular houses were usually unplastered. Hence, she takes the unplastered two shop units of the western block as historic and the five plastered shop units as either no stone buildings or having been renewed.</p>

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Non-architects	Eastern		<p>five restored shop units: identifies the coral stone slab of the archaeological wall window as the typical marine building material</p> <p>appreciates the conservation and uncovered display of the construction material of the two restored shop units of the western block</p> <p>considers the reconstructed eastern wall of the eastern block as historic due to the stone masonry walls; the finishing she judges to be new with traditional look; when informed about the approach, she approves of the reconstruction of the eastern wall of the eastern block in traditional manner as it is known to have existed like that (photo from the 70s)</p> <p>mistakes the new wall abating the neighbouring building as old due to the wall niches</p> <p>thinks the danshal ceiling in the adapted sixth shop unit was added for decorative purposes</p>
		11c	<p>differentiates between new and old walls and considers the old ones historic, yet originally unplastered; the unplastered masonry of the two restored western shops creates the misconception that the vernacular buildings were originally unplastered</p> <p>passing the five restored shop units she explains to me the functioning of the ventilation windows and the cooling effect of the wall structure and plaster – her friend had explained it to her.</p> <p>values the traditional building techniques as heritage [passing the two restored shops of the western block]: “This is heritage! This is how they built their houses. You can see the wood and the mud that kept the house together. This is the design of their houses. You feel the rock and mud only. This is the first Bahrain houses.”</p>
		15c d	<p>points to the damaged plaster due to the raising humidity in the eastern block: “I know the plaster will crack again, because if you don’t correct the foundations all the way up, you won’t have a good building. But look at the place before and after! Big difference. I like that they kept the bench.” (15c)</p> <p>points to the screws in one of the replicated doors, which were not traditionally used</p> <p>wonders about the wooden poles on the roof of the five restored shops (15d)</p>
	East-western	8ab	<p>value attributed to the vernacular building techniques: “When people built this stuff, Bahrain wasn’t a very rich country. Now it’s significantly richer. And people were more used to manual labour than they are today. So, people were building their own houses. And when you are building your own thing, you put a lot of – it’s a different mentality – you put a lot of ... This might sound weird. But this sort of love of building your own thing reflects in the building itself. That’s why you have much more architectural details at the time than you have now. [...] You can’t get that now. But you can try to get what is the closest to it. And that is the job of the Ministry of Culture and the Municipality. They are supposed to find a sustainable way to build these things, even if it’s less cost effective than doing it like any other building. So, it’s not just about how it looks like, it’s about how it was built, the material used in building it.”</p> <p>appreciates the remodelling the missing shop front doors following the model of the preserved vernacular ones (8a)</p> <p>appreciates the conservative restoration of the two restored shops of the western block including the unplastered walls although they were originally plastered: “It’s a snapshot of how this was like when you decided to keep it. [...] So, it may not be how it was built, but it’s an important decision when you decided to keep it. So, we should keep that snapshot in time somehow as well.” (8a)</p> <p>eventually mistakes the reconstructed eastern wall of the eastern block as historic for its construction material and method (8a)</p> <p>identifies parts of the adapted sixth shops as authentic, yet repaired fabric from the coral stone with reference to the <i>danshal</i> beams in the lower café space, which he considers not authentic he points to the importance of construction techniques and materials, including the people who carry out the work: “So, it’s not just about how it looks like, it’s about how it was built, the material used in building it. For example, they did a great job getting this wood. But who is the one who put this wood up? These are the questions I would personally feel strongly about.” (8a)</p> <p>Asked if it matters to him if the walls of the café are rebuilt: 8a: “I have to think about that question. There is no straight answer. It depends on the place. It depends on how and who built it. If it is built using slave labour, ya, it matters to me. If it is built using the grandchildren of the people who built the original one, then it’s fine. It’s like they built it.”</p> <p>gives the example of the WH site of Bergen, Norway where he had to replace a 18th century glass pane he broke with a traditionally produced copy as per the heritage authority’s request</p>

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	<p>(manufactured in the same production method as the original and ideally by descendants of the person who originally produced it) And for example, I used to live in Norway in a WH site, in Bryggen. Close to it. I broke a glass pane once. It was just a glass pane. So, I went to exchange it. They are like: ‘Sorry, you can’t fix it. You have to get - you actually have to find the guy who made this glass pane in the 18-hundreds. Find out if his grandson has a shop, and make it, and you have to This is Norway, it’s an extreme case. Social protectionism ... and if this family still makes glass you have to get it from that family. And if not, you have to get it from somebody who makes it in the very same way, which is handmade. And that glass... And you have to do it like that and you cannot put in a small new pane of glass. We are talking about a pane of glass that is maybe 30 by 20 cm.” Author: “So you broke an original 17th or 18th century glass pane?” 8a: “Ya, but, it’s a house. [...] I was living there. So, people live all over here, it’s a WH site.” Author: “How did you feel about that?” 8a: “I think they were doing the right thing. Even though I was having a hard time trying to replace that glass.” Author: “How did it end?” 8a: “It ended by me finding an old glass maker far away who did the exact same...” Author: “Who paid the costs?” 8a: “I paid the costs of replacing a glass pane, but then the state subsidized it.” Author: “And why do you think they did the right thing?” 8a: “Because that is the way to preserve a certain site. If you are going to have it functioning and living in it. It is going to be subject to wear and tear. I mean, these walls are not made for decoration, if they are original, they are made to be used. So, with time something will happen to them.” Author: “So why was it good then ... why does it matter to have the glass pane that is new, that you replaced. Why does it have to look like an old one?” 8a: “It’s not just a matter of looking like an old one. Like for example, if it was built by slavery it matters to me. But it’s not just a matter of looking... it has to be MADE by the same people or by the same guild. Not in mass produced factory. It’s about how you make it, and why you make it, and it’s about how it looks like. It’s a system.” surprised to find out the five restored shop units and parts of the plasterwork being original and about the accurateness of forms of the original vernacular buildings: 8a: “So it was painted over?” Author: “This part is not even painted over. It is the surrounding new plaster that has been painted to match. But the only historic plaster...” 8a: “So it is untouched?” Author: “This is untouched.” 8a: “Really?!” Author: “Well, it’s consolidated. I think they put some chemical to make it more stable.” 8a: “But the lines are so sharp. [...] Was it really that sharp. The niche and everything?” Author: “Yes. That part, the plaster that you see historic there is untouched.” 8a: “Ok, so this wall was all there. [...] What can I say? They built really cool stuff.” surprised and appreciative when finding out the extend of the preserved fabric (8a) surprised about the conservation approach of the two restored shop units of the western block, asking if the works on them are completed or ongoing: “They are finished?! I think this is very beautiful.” [...] Author: “You like it? You don’t think they should have fixed it up?” 8a: “No, I like it like this. But it’s subjective. Maybe other people don’t like stuff...” Author: “Other people use it as an ashtray [pointing to cigarette buds stuck into the joints of the masonry].” considers the vernacular buildings testimony of the pearling period: “this sort of architecture is part of the pearling period in Bahrain.”</p>
9a	<p>points to the Ministry of Culture’s heritage conservation endeavours: “I wouldn’t be so much surprised that this building has been taken care of and renovated, because as far as I know Muharraq, a part, ... like the Ministry of Culture were really working on this space. And recently I attended the talk where they were talking about public space.”</p>
10b	<p>assumes that all walls in the café were originally plastered and are kept partially unplastered for didactic purposes (displaying the original wall masonry) does not identify the wall niches in the lower part of the café and considers they might be additions doubts the authenticity of the danshal beams: “I don’t know if the used old danshals or new ones, but it looks new to me. It does not look reused.” (10b) discusses the missing plaster of the two restored western Siyadi shops: “I don’t know what they did. But I am sure that the shops in their original state were not left unplastered.” assumes that the plaster had a stabilizing function identifies the conservation approach of the two shops as “a minimum kind of intervention” and asks about the motives (eg. showing off with different kind of conservation skills) when told</p>

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Western	<p>about the capacity building in the project: “Maybe this minimal intervention is the first to be done in Bahrain. That I agree.”</p> <p>rightfully identifies the different levels of intervention as a display and trial of various approaches: “Either they want to show that they are really original and maybe some a bit more intervened ones and the completely new ones. Or maybe the main architect wanted to show off. I can do this and this and that.”</p>
	<p>12c asked why the bottom part of the walls in the lower café space are not plastered and the top is: “Maybe because in the top part there was a lot of work to be done so they had to come with an architectural idea to hide – I think.” (12c) [actually, it was the opposite]</p>
	<p>3c takes wall niches in the lower space of the café as decorative features. She takes interest in the function of the wall niches (saving construction material, ventilation or storage area). thinks that the lower parts of the historic walls of the lower café space had been left unplastered to appear more original to laypeople: “Although I guess everything was plastered before, it seems more original if it’s like that, to the layman.”</p> <p>thinks the traditional danshal ceiling is not complete in order to accommodate the air conditioning units. She is uncertain whether she would have preferred a completely reconstructed danshal ceiling. Then she judges, it is fine as is to fit the newly added parts.</p> <p>irritated by the disintegrating wall plaster (during repair works in 2014) on the facades of the five restored shops: [pointing to disintegrating plaster, which was chipped to be renewed.] 3c: “What is going on here? Is this right?”</p>
	<p>13a identifies the danshal beams in the adapted sixth shop unit as vernacular elements doubts that the two restored western shops were originally unplastered identifies the vernacular construction technique of the reconstructed eastern wall, but is uncertain of its material authenticity</p>
	<p>14b misinterprets a ventilation hole in the facade of one of the five restored shops which she associates with the defence system of forts she has seen in Bahrain and Turkey “When invaders came, they would pour hot oil on them. But this is a very small hole.”</p> <p>points to the “coral rock” of the adapted sixth shop unit</p> <p>wonders about the wooden poles on the roof of the five restored shops</p> <p>uncertain about the historicity and potential former function of the low wall in the outdoor courtyard</p> <p>the two restored western shops inspire curiosity [touching the walls]: “Well, this is definitely old. What is this place?”</p>
Location and setting	
Architects	<p>Eastern</p> <p>17a b laments the adjacent four-storey building (17b)</p> <p>points to the qualities of the setting, which is unpredictable due to the irregularities of the urban pattern and fabric triggers curiosity</p> <p>17b: [at the corner of Bu Maher Avenue]: “This corner I like. You know why? When you look here, you see the continuation of the suq and then when you go there you see that the vertical lines are inclined a bit. [...] So you can see that there are some other passages, which you don’t see what comes after them. That adds an interesting factor. [...] The urban layout is nice, specifically from this angle.”</p>
	<p>7b points to the importance of historic plot and street lines: “Street lines or property lines. That is something very important, if we hadn’t done that here in Qaisariya it would have been the end of the market.”</p>
	<p>East-Western</p> <p>22 points to the dynamic changes in Suq al-Qaisariya and the poor state of conservation of the heritage assets: “And it keeps changing here. And we need to ask ourself: not all heritage is pure in their form as we see it maybe in some western context, or some other country. Like in Egypt, Syria and so on. While it has been part of the urban dynamic for some times. And it has changed. [...] And there is a life span for a building. And when this life span... And this is part of the dynamic of a society. Then to say for example the pyramids – they have been standing for I do not know how many years. But they have also been subject to conservation. But this one changed as society changed. And those dynamics, we cannot ignore them. We classify heritage, yes, first, second, as I understand. Where first, you look at it and you keep it as it is and you try to retain. But those ones, it is a little bit more dynamic and it needs to be. And the question which we need to ask. What could be done about it? How it could be done.”</p>

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	33	points to the historic value and of the wider area with its preserved vernacular elements and the jewellery shops in the vicinity of the site	
Non-architects	Eastern	11c	notices the neighbouring mosque and likes the design; considers the building old
		15c	appreciates the neighbourhood points to the loss of historic fabric in the area: “So many buildings in here, are only half a building, or they took a part of it away.”
	East-western	8a	points to the cultural significance of Muharraq’s old town and historic harbour: “The road that goes around this whole neighbourhood is called <i>Sharia al-Ghous</i> and it is a very old name for this particular road. Now it is a highway, but before it used to be sort of a walking road. And it is a very sort of unique arrangement, because even though you have a lot of medieval cities across the Middle East, like Damascus and Cairo and so on, but you have very few that actually have a very strong interaction with the sea. And this particular business, there is no other that I know of. So, it is very unique even by Middle Eastern standards. And it always has the feel of a little island. Something you will only find in the Caribbean or so... It’s very unique in its own way. So, it deserves to be preserved.” points the neighbourhood being part of the pearling heritage
		9a	urban liveliness and local community adding to the authenticity of the setting: “Right now it is a little bit quiet, but what I felt is that here it is a really dynamical city. Like people are actually living here and using these spaces. Not coming here for specific things, but living, just for daily life. And that’s what’s really attracts me. It shows that there are real inhabitants here – real! ” points to the missing sea connection when discussion the pearling testimony but does not seem aware, that it used to exist
		10b	points to some unchanged historic fabric in the setting: “Also that part can be the same as it was before [looking at the shops north of the five restored shops]”
		12a c	points to the authenticity of the wider market area: “ This is my favourite area in Muharraq. I love this area a lot. They changed few houses only, not the whole area. ” (12a) considers the restored site well embedded in the setting: “It is a beautiful renovation. And look with the mosque, and the building next to it, it goes well.” appreciates the outdoor space as a modern element that fits well into the setting of the suq: “This part looks new, which doesn’t bother me. It goes very well with the neighbouring houses in terms of colours, in terms of spirit. ”
		46	criticizes the site’s lack of social integration with the surroundings
	Western	3c	urban setting preserved “the streets are the same” (3c) thinks the site was originally located at the shore (3a) appreciates that the site is “ embedded in its surroundings ”
		14	alludes the urban compactness and lack of parking space in the area
	Language, and other forms of intangible heritage		
Architects	Eastern	16c	impressed when told that the date juice press is associated to a millennia-old tradition in Bahrain
		17a b	points to the importance of the sales products and types of shops: disapproves of the planned ice-cream shop in the two western shops: 17b: “I don’t know. It pops – an ice cream shop in the middle of this. An ice cream shop you can find it in City Centre or anywhere else. But here you should go for authentic goods. ” Author: “Like what?” 17b: “A <i>halwa</i> [traditional sweets] shop. Or something that is brought out from the <i>mdbasah</i> and sold here. Maybe. This is a designer shop. But still it is related to the culture in a way. But not necessarily Bahrain. Because they have many things which are related to Egypt, Lebanon... ” wishes for a use that relates to the production of date syrup: “Maybe somewhere to sell dips, which was produced in the <i>mdbasah,</i> or dates. Maybe more than Safron.”
	East-western	7b	points to the importance of traditional ownership and active involvement of owners: “Secondly, the respect of properties and the owners. So, in this project I think it was dealt with in a very sensible way. Because each property owner was dealt with separately. [...] And then how would you transfer this ownership into a tenant/ owner’s agreement. That is another deal, where conservation had its own role in shaping. Because otherwise you would preserve and the place is locked” considers the site a “ living heritage ” for the market being active and for the value being based in the collective memory: 7b: “So, when we talk about a living heritage, authenticity is very

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		<p>hard to define. It is not an archaeological site.”</p> <p>gives high importance to the date syrup presses and wishes to reactive that cultural tradition in the area in the traditional way; also wishes to reactive the vernacular building traditions and pearl diving besides strengthening the commercial life of the market</p> <p>aims at revitalizing memories and practices: 7b: “As I said, that is my objective, that is my dream to have the community to appreciate it [the governmental heritage conservation efforts] and also to integrate into the activity. I am hoping also that many of the building crafts and some traditional associated activities would be revived in the community.” Author: “Which associated activities?” 7b: “One that comes to my mind is the <i>mdbasah</i>. I would love to see a <i>mdbasah</i> working.”</p> <p>considers the connection of the restored shop units to the pearling narrative weak despite knowing about the link to the Siyadi family of most of them: Author: What is the role of this [site] in pearling, what is the contribution to OUV?” 7b: “No. I don’t think it is quite clear here. And in fact, in all my presentations of this project elsewhere, in conferences or in meetings I highlight the fact that actually there is another value that has been revealed here, right, that might not contradict but actually go in parallel with the pearling.” Author: “Which is?” 7b: “Which is the <i>mdbasah</i>. Which is a very important craft.” [...] Author: “So what do you think is the contribution to OUV in this place? Or you don’t see any?” 7b: “Well, the market in itself is a contribution to OUV, as a component in the urban fabric.”</p> <p>criticizes the name under which the site is monument protected, as some of the shop units and plot belong to other owners than Siyadi family: “[...] and you have called them Siyadi shops, which are not Siyadi shops.”</p>
Non-architects	Eastern	<p>4a she is enthusiastic about the <i>mdbasah</i> (she takes pride in it as the heritage of her ancestors and plans to take her father here to let him share his knowledge about the date syrup production)</p> <p>4b: [<i>looking at the outdoor mdbasah</i>] “This I like to see.” Author: “What is that?” 4a: “I don’t know, but I like stones on the street. Is it a well?” Author: “No, it is not a well.” 4a: “Swimming pool?” Author: “No, it has something to do with dates.” 4a: “Ah, it is a <i>mdbasah</i>! I thought it’s only in Bahrain fort. We don’t have it here.” Author: “No, they found it here.” 4a: “Wow! So, this is an old building! Maybe it belongs to ... not Dilmun era.. but I hear it, that Bahraini people they have such a thing. My father he used to do this date syrup. But actually, I don’t know the technique or the things that they used, that they had a special place for it. Although, you know, my father worked in palm trees groves for a long time. Like 20 or 30 years. Since he was maybe 10 years. And he knew all the kinds of dates, how you can make date syrup. But unfortunately, we are girls, he will not teach us how to do it. But he will not even teach my brother, because nowadays they will not be interested, actually. I don’t know the differences between the types of dates although I would like to know. But it is hard to learn these things.”</p> <p>appreciates the emergence of traditional Bahraini restaurants throughout Bahrain in recent years which reconnects her to the country’s culinary heritage.</p> <p>not aware of the link to Siyadi family and pearling: “But what does it have to do with pearling? In those shops they used to sell pearls?”</p>
		<p>11c notices the outdoor <i>mdbasah</i> and inspects the information board: “I have never seen this. It’s their culture and unique. We don’t have this.”</p> <p>points with a rather amused look to the Bahraini dress of the south-east Asian waiter: “It’s tradition.”</p>
		<p>15c appreciates the traditional food: “The food is a very typical, Bahraini breakfast. And it is actually tasty.”</p> <p>“it used to be a food industry place and it still is.”</p> <p>“They play very old Bahraini music.”</p> <p>points to a shop sign: “This is the local Bu Khamas, an old Bahraini family, which used to sell hardware. They still do. They used to be one big shop, now the brothers got separated.”</p> <p>not aware of the link to the Siyadis and does not refer to their link to pearling but points to their importance: Author: “What about the Siyadis?” 15c: “I don’t know them well. But I know a couple who are very generous. Till today, they have hospitals that they made for the government. They are the richest non-ruling family in Bahrain. But they give so much to society.”</p>

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	<p>as we discuss the date juice press a senior Bahraini gets involved in the discussion and explains the syrup production process</p> <p>the same senior Bahraini gentleman tells that the are of the market was originally called the Door to Muharraq in Persian (<i>Dawasa Muharraq</i>)</p>
18b	appreciates the old music played at the café
36	reference to the traditional way of life : “The place, we remember here all this people how they lived. ”
8a	<p>points to the importance of preserving ownership: “It should be that way, because the people are part of the site.”</p> <p>thinks the shops should be operated by original merchant families, assuming they still pursue the same business (in fact, the original owners rent the shops to new tenants who sell different products)</p> <p>at the same time appreciates the role the heritage authority played in choosing adequate tenants</p> <p>points to the importance of the local community having a say in the development of the site: “It’s always tricky when people are part of a site, and their lives are part of a site. So, you have to... in the end of the day they have their business interests, they are not really concerned as much with cultural preservation, so it has to be aligned with it. And they have the full right.”</p> <p>“I think the residents would be people that live around the area and the people who have inherited the shops and this place from their grandfathers and so on. I think they should have a final say in what happens in these areas.”</p> <p>considers that it would be good to have a paradigm shift towards conservation, even if for the sake of beauty mainly; refers to a lecture he heard by the lead conservation architect of the site’s rehabilitation: “I mean some of the architects of the Ministry of Works were saying things like: we consulted the opinions of the locals. For me that was just an arrogant statement. These locals they are talking about, they are the decedents of the pearl merchants. This is their neighbourhood. It’s like me walking into your house and redecorating it and consulting on your opinion on how you do it. It’s like they have the say. That is what I personally believe. But in way, if this is going how is going to be done anyway, then at least maybe there will be a paradigm shift, in the sense of people coming out of their house, and they would be like: ‘Ah, it doesn’t look too bad now. I kind of like it, I like the idea of a nice square.’ So maybe more people will be more receptive to the idea of yielding their properties to the Ministry of Culture in order for them to come up with the best renovation philosophy. Only from a sheer idea of beauty, not in the sense of historical preservation, but it makes things look a bit more beautiful.”</p> <p>considers the Arabic perfume shop part of the site’s heritage</p> <p>appreciates the traditional Bahraini breakfast</p> <p>points to the impact of sales items and decorative features on the traditional, Bahraini atmosphere: “They tell you something about the place. This is a Bahraini old suq.”</p> <p>[pointing to the chain of coloured light bulbs extended across the alley]: „It disturbs me very strongly. Because it is all about Egyptian 60s pop culture, even these colours are 1960s. So, it is like walking into an Egyptian alley. And I think it defeats the whole project – a small detail like this can ruin the feel of the whole place. I am not saying it is not beautiful, I am just saying it doesn’t belong here. [...] I mean, this in particular is a real culture clash.”</p> <p>when he found out, that the café is commercially operated rather than being a non-profit governmental business his attitude towards it changed: “Now, that I know that it is a profit-oriented institution I am not so inclined to pay this much for a Bahraini breakfast. [...] It suddenly turns it into a tourist scam. I can’t explain it, like suddenly you are in a place that is overpriced because it is a historical site. And you can get the same thing in genuine atmosphere for much less of the price.” Author: “So, is this not a genuine atmosphere?” 8b: “It is a genuine atmosphere, ok. But the prices are not genuine. Like I said, I would have no problems paying for this if it goes to the site itself. But if it doesn’t, why is it overpriced? Because it is a tourist site?”</p> <p>compares Khan al-Khalili: with reference to the touristified Khan al-Khalili in Cairo and surrounding more genuine parts of the market he points out the presence of local people and the trade of commonplace products increases the value of heritage sites: “But if you walk just a hundred meters out of it [Khan al-Khalili], then suddenly all the prices go down and you have more locals and less scammers and the value of the site as a historical site goes up, because of</p>

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East-western		<p>these things. You know, you have local people, you have people trading tents and silverware and stuff like that. But in Khan Khalili you just have little fake Egyptian statues.”</p> <p>considers the site at the time both touristic and genuinely local: “The two concepts are not in conflict. It’s both.”</p> <p>perceives Southern Muharraq and the entire market as “remnants of the pearling heritage”</p> <p>Author: “How do you know it, by the way, that this is part of the pearling?” 8a: “This whole neighbourhood is, and this sort of architecture is part of the pearling period in Bahrain.”</p> <p>“The whole of that area of Muharraq is linked to pearling. Directly or indirectly. If there was no pearling industry there would not be a market there. So, it’s linked with it. Even if it’s to support the pearling merchants somehow, I can’t say what the shops were... nobody knows, was there a pearl trader who had his shop there, or was there a guy who sold fishing supply or whatever?”</p>
	9a	<p>considers that the date juice presses should reflect in the products sold at the site: the café and a shop on site should offer date syrup for sale. 9a: “So you think in the café there is also something in the menu with date juice?” Author: “Let’s check.” 9a: “That would be nice, and it would be shame if they don’t have.”</p>
	12c	<p>wishes for a function of the place that would allow tourists and other visitors to enjoy the place but at the same time relates to the traditional function (related to the <i>mdbasah</i> in his understanding): approves of the addition of a café to the place “Safroon, the café. It adds to the place but still, I don’t know, maybe the glass is forming a big contrast with the surroundings, with these materials. But this kind of contrast, I don’t mind in such places. You need such places to attract the tourists and whoever wants to enjoy this suq, wants to enjoy the functions. I don’t think this was originally there [the coffee shop]. The <i>mdbasah</i> was only there. So maybe if they had something more to do with the <i>mdbasah</i> itself, it would have been nicer. But the idea of having a coffee shop here with the glass is not bad.”</p> <p>appreciates the traditional food</p> <p>points to the importance of the products sold in historic places: Author: “But why particularly here or in Bab al-Bahrain they are supposed to sell traditional products?” 12c: “Because you are in a historic site. And this is where you have tourist visiting, people who are relaxing during the weekend. People who are visiting Bahrain want to get a feel of the place. These are traditional products and very specific to the region that you would like to buy as a gift The other utilitarian products you can go to other places, like malls. But this is more visited by tourists and expats.”</p>
Spirit and feeling		
Architects Eastern	16c	<p>appreciates the rough feeling the designs creates at the café; appreciates the atmosphere at the café</p>
	17b	<p>appreciates the atmosphere at the café: “I like the coziness of the place, the materials of the walls. They are very authentic.”</p>
	25	<p>describes the “Safroon feel” as to be based in the colours: “Safran is more yellowish and the burned Siena” which she tried to maintain in the interior design</p> <p>describes how she purchased part of the café’s furnishings in Muharraq market to maintain the traditional atmosphere while the interior design’s chic touch comes from the carefully combined patchwork of high-quality natural fabric from international designers: “So, I said, ok, I walked down the street in Muharraq, and there is this guy who does the benches. So, I said, I don’t want the benches to be high, I want to cut the legs, bring it down a little bit. It is still traditional. And then he has traditional tables. And then I was walking down the street further and I found an old man sitting on the floor in his shop where he works with those metal sheets. He makes them into pans and pots and so on. And he had this old radio station. Very old man. And when I was watching him, part of the street. So, I said, we will take the sheets from him and cover the tables. They are like table cloth.”</p>
	30	<p>seems to point to a lack of aura: 30b: “See, for example, my own observation. People come here, they only want to come just to eat, that’s it. Not really to feel. [...] Author: “What do you feel here? “ 30b: “Just like in a restaurant.” Author: “Do you feel this is a historic place?” 30b: “No.” Author: “Why not?” 30b: “Maybe because of how the restoration project was done. Many details that were removed.”</p>

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East-western	7b	<p>lack of emotional attachment particularly of younger generations; authenticity based on collective memory and therefore weak. 7b: “You know, all the new generations are not linked to that cultural background.” Author: “Ah. But the older generations are?” 7b: “The older generations need to have some inciting moments for them to remember. But as it is for now, they don’t. you know? It is a forgotten thing. So, to me, authenticity is very hard to define here. Because it doesn’t exist anymore. Because one aspect is lost. The cultural aspect. Now, I am hoping that through those kinds of interventions here and there, that authenticity would again be complemented. We are dealing with one aspect of authenticity- the tangible one. He intangible one is still not there. It started to be seen here. See, this is what we started to feel.” Author: “Wait a minute. You mean, you talked about memories and cultural significance and history. Or are you talking about present day use? And present-day-interaction?” 7b: “It doesn’t have to be presently active. Authenticity – all what I am trying to say is that it exists in the memory. It exists in that cultural definition. [...]”</p> <p>points to the importance of reviving emotional attachment and collective memory: “That is our role now. To reveal some tangible aspect for the intangible to pick up, for the intangible to be revived, for the intangible to be remembered.” Author: “Right. Out of the mass of people, there are still people that remember, that have those memories. But you want to basically redistribute those memories to a wider part of the society?” 7b: “Wider and also to second generations. That is what we are trying to do.” Author: “And is that authentic to artificially...” 7b: “Not artificially. We are not reconstructing things. WE are not reconstructing Muharraq. We are bringing up things which were totally forgotten.”</p>
	33a	<p>points to the strong historic appeal and radiance of the site’s vernacular buildings: Author: “So when you come there, do you feel you are in a historic place?” 33: “Yes, yes. Not only when I am in that facility, or that space. Even when I am around it. Even though, some of them are all new buildings, that side, the mosque, but just having that in the vicinity, it gives you that sense.”</p>
	20	<p>points to a poor sojourn-quality in the outdoor space</p>
Non-architects Eastern	4a	<p>considers the site traditional because she knows it to be traditional but with new things is enthusiastic about the site; the site inspires pride in Bahrain’s heritage and history: “I feel that I am proud because my grand-grand-grand they are there and they were smart. It’s nice to see and know about your past, especially when you don’t have a lot of information. And I think I will come again and again. And I am thinking that next weekend I will come with my father, if he will see it, he will tell the story of his... he will be the legend, you know (<i>laughing</i>).” at the café: “I am happy I am in Muharraq.” (describes how she is curious about her own culture and history, which she learned less about than about other cultures, like Egypt, and how she feels pride when discovering Bahraini culture and history like at this site.)</p>
	11c	<p>points to the “nice atmosphere” of the outdoor space as we enter the café to have a drink there while continuing the interview, chilled Arabic music is playing in the background; she seems impressed but at the time bewildered with the interior of the café.: “Wow, this is inside! Mhm. See how it looks! Like a barn, like a stockroom. And this is the house before? [...] And if it was like this 100 years ago they had very elegant house!” referring to the two restored western shops: “You can feel the time, the age.”</p>
	15c	<p>talking about the café: “The atmosphere is amazing.” talking about a Saudi friend he took there: “He loved the atmosphere.”</p>
		<p>appreciates the historic building and its adaptation including the fitting of air-conditioning, the neighbourhood, the music played at Safron, the comfortable seating at Safron “I think it is a very nice place and the majority of people agree. Otherwise, the place wouldn’t be packed.”</p>
	18b	<p>interior of the café: feels this is an “old place”</p>
8a	<p>café: “It’s a nice place to rest.” considers the rehabilitation successful and innovative in giving grandeur to the rather humble site and in connecting to the people and the emotional dimension of the pearling heritage: “I mean the area [pearl diver’s area of Muharraq] has a lot of value as is. The pearling monuments are beautiful in their own way. But they are not grand. [compares to monuments in Cairo and elsewhere] So, when you are renovating something that is not so grand, somehow you have to try and give it some grandeur. And a <i>mdbasah</i> with a glass floor on the top of it –</p>	

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East-western		that is pretty grand actually. So it takes a bit of innovation. And I think they should continue. Everything there is significant in the Ghous area [pearl diver's area of Muharraq]. Because pearling is also an emotional thing – you know this. The divers would go out and they sing, and every ship would come back missing two people. And the ladies would wait at the shore. There would be some ships coming back with a black flag, and they would not know whether their husband... and then some guy would have found the perfect pearl, a dana, they call it. And then him and his family were set for life. And that is how a lot of families today in Bahrain have become, because some diver found the perfect pearl. So, there is a whole emotional level to it, and it's at the grassroots people's level. That has to be reflected in the renovation as well, ok?"
	9ab	Perfume shop (photogenic): „Like, it welcomes you. But it's intimate. " (9a) outdoor space of the eastern block: "It's totally me. It clicks with me." (9a) emotional appeal of the café: "It's very cozy and modern. It's very conceptual. I love it. " (9a) historic appeal of the interior space of the café: "What I like is that I feel there is a history here, and it's been respected and it's been just edited in order for all of us – people – to be able to enjoy and to have an experience and to have some relationship with the place. And it looks very traditional, conceptual, modern, creative. " (9a) the personal, intimate atmosphere of the café: reminds her of a private house rather than a public café. " I feel more comfortable, more easy. I am really grateful to you for bringing me here. " (9a) "I feel really great here. There is not only the physical, like the material thing, but also atmosphere. It makes sense for me the atmosphere inside. It's very cozy and nice. And I would definitely come back whenever I am back to Bahrain." (9b) „I feel the historical spirit in part here as well, but of course it is also a modern space. " (9a)
	10b	no nostalgia inspired at the café or in the outdoor space: Author: "Does this place make you nostalgic? Because earlier you said that Suq al-Qaisariya makes you nostalgic." 10b: "No, I meant more the other side of the suq, the Suq al-Qaisariya itself." points to a lack of authenticity and emotional appeal at the café: "I think it's nice. I would come here again and again. But I would not be a frequent visitor of the place. It wouldn't give me that nostalgic feeling. Maybe because it is a café. For a café I would go to more local places. They tried to make it like a local looking café. They succeed in a way but they fail in other ways as well." (e.g. the menu) the exterior of the restored shops does inspire nostalgia
	12c	historicity of the site: "It used to feel to me like a historic place. Shops pretty old and they were, I would say, 50-60 years old. " differentiates between the open space , which to him does not feel like a historic place, which however does not bother him, and the restored shops which do feel historic to him points to the ambience at the perfume shop due to the interior design and products sold: " Beautiful ambience inside, it looks really nice. I mean these are the kind of shops you would like to see in Bab al-Bahrain as well, rather than a Hoover and a mixer and microwave."
	46	points to a certain artificiality of the site and that it " isn't humble enough " to be typically Bahraini
Western	3ac	[<i>looking at northern elevation of the Siyadi Shop from the lane</i>] Author: "So now we are approaching the shops of Qaisariya. What do you see? What do you feel about that?" 3c: "I honestly haven't been here consciously." feeling of a historic place (3c) exterior design of the café and outdoor space gives the feeling of a modern space (not the typical Muharraq feeling) (no value judgement about that) considers that the presence of local, Bahraini clientele adds to the site's authenticity. 3c: "[...] But it's not only for tourists. There are a lot of locals. Although the typical visitor to Qaisariya to do his or her daily shopping would not come here." Author: "I think that is not true! Because the other day I met a local Bahraini, and she comes here twice a week. She goes every day to the suq to do her shopping and she comes here twice a week to have coffee or tea, or whatever." 3c: "Ah, see! That is nice news."

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	<p>13a traditional feel of the café space: “Ya, I like it! I mean, it’s adapted, but it looks ... [...] I do feel like I am sitting in a house that was built some time ago.” She refrains from calling it historic only because it is old.</p> <p>notes that the gastronomic use reduces the feel of a traditional market: “I like it that there is a coffee shop here. But it does not give me anymore the impression that it was a suq.”</p> <p>emotional and human dimension: appreciates the site being “cozy” in scale and style and making her feel “connected to the people who may have lived here”</p>
	<p>14b small scale and traditional atmosphere: “I like the feel of this area [Suq al-Qaisariya] better. It is smaller, more like nooks and crannies. It just has more of a traditional feel than the Bab al-Bahrain.”</p>
Other internal and external factors	
Architects Eastern	<p>16c misinterprets the mdbasah in the open space as a foundation (archaeological remains)</p> <p>16c: “And this is the old foundation. It’s nice.” Author: “Actually it not a foundation [pointing out the informational panel]. Can you take another guess, what it might be?”</p> <p>16c: “The flooring of the original place, or...” Author: [explaining the date juice press as being associated with a millennia-old tradition] 16c: “Of course I will never guess!” Author: “But there is a panel if people are interested.” 16c: “Yes, but what if we introduce something here, to give the feeling... But wow!”</p> <p>thinks more obvious interpretive features would be required directly at the date juice press rather than the information panels provided in their vicinity</p> <p>finds it confusing to find mdbasahs both indoors as outdoors since the spaces do not seem to be connected</p> <p>confused about the different floor levels and particularly the different levels of the mdbasahs connection to pearling not clear and instead association of date juice production dominant; when told the site is part of the Pearling Testimony, she rightly assumes there is a connection to pearling related to the trade in the market: “Yes, the shops. They might be selling pearling stuff. Or they might be selling the stuff that the people used to use while they are diving searching for pearls. Something like that.”</p> <p>would not establish the connection to pearling if not told the site is part of the Pearling Pathway and she does not see the details of the connection communicated in the site. Furthermore, the mdbasahs are emphasized in the site’s interpretation.</p> <p>Author: “If I hadn’t told you it is part of the pearling project, you wouldn’t know, right?” 16c: “No. I would generally feel that it is a nice old place near the market and since they are having this mdbasah, so they might be selling dates and syrups related to the dates. And that is it.”</p> <p>informed about the details of the connection to pearling: “It is an interesting place. I like it. But yet it is not revealing all this.”</p> <p>finds the pearling story of the site interesting and would wish this to be communicated on site</p> <p>legibility of the history of places generally matter to her as an architect: Author: “Is it important for you, when you come to a place to see, to read its history in the place?” 16c: “Yes. Actually, for me it has been like this all my life. Since I am an architect, and my husband is an architect as well, we like to go around and read the history of the place. And we like to tell it afterwards.” (16c)</p>
	<p>17a b assumes the mdābis are lower in the floor due to the gradually increasing floor level, but considers it possible, that it might have functional reasons instead „But, maybe it is how they used to produce the dibs.” (17b)</p> <p>points to the discrepancy between displaying the date juice press as something very precious below glass inside the café and walking over it as a disrespectful gesture (17b)</p> <p>points to the need for interpretation facilities or something to attract peoples’ attention and motivate them to research and learn about the history of the place (17b)</p>
	<p>21a appreciates the preservation and display of the mdbasah after receiving an explanation of what it used to be; at first, guesses it might be water channels</p> <p>“A nice idea [...] Because now the original thing, that was there before, is being preserved. I have been here for 30 years and I did not know these things were there!”</p> <p>appreciates the display of the mdbasah under glass in the café: “Nice!” (He had referred to a similar display in a museum in Athens earlier)</p>
	<p>25 points to the communicative impact of architecture and the role of the architect in architectural conservation: “So, it is difficult to say who is the architect there. Because the</p>

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	<p>architect is history - what it used to be. And we are preserving it. But then there is the subtle way of reinterpreting.”</p> <p>does not seem to be aware of the original function of the <u>date syrup presses</u>; she refers to them as “something historic underneath”</p>	
	<p>30b thinks the <u>mdābis</u> (outside and inside) are not adequately displayed; they would require better interpretation for people to understand</p> <p>points to a general <u>lack of interpretation</u> at the site</p> <p>thinks the historic features should be presented in a way to receive more attention:</p> <p>30b: “And I don’t know if this is the right way to do the <i>mdbasah</i>.” Author: “Why?” 30b: “I don’t know. Because for example, if you are coming here, usually your focus is not here. So, there is something missing that would catch the attention of the people.”</p> <p>30b: “Like here, the <i>mdbasah</i>. I don’t have other ‘markers’ that describe this house, what is this house all about. For example, if I come here, I really don’t have any idea. If I am only a visitor, when I come inside here, as well I have many locals that come here, but they will only come here and stand here and look down. That’s it.” Author: “But there is some description, right?” 30b: “Yes, but not everyone will read.” Author: “So what should be different?” 30b: “I don’t know. It’s hard to put it in words. But I my idea is that.”</p>	
	<p>7b points to the <u>architectural, archaeological, archival and anthropological research in the process</u>: “Because once we reveal something, we bring the owners, and try to refresh their memory. They say: ‘Oh, yeah, there used to be something there...’”</p> <p>highlights the <u>didactic purpose of the interventions</u> (legibility of interventions, showcasing vernacular construction techniques and archaeological finds)</p>	
East-western	<p>33 criticizes the <u>lack of reference to and representation of the pearling heritage and narrative</u> at the site:</p> <p>33: “The <u>suq is a major social element of the pearling industry</u>. That is where the interaction of all people -merchants, divers, buyers, sellers - took place.” Author: “So that value, that part of the value of the site is reflected there in that project, or not?” 33: “I don’t think it is reflected. [...] I mean, <u>the story is lost in the project</u>. As an element it is important. But as a project, the way we executed it, I don’t think we took into consideration, or we didn’t focus on that aspect of the project. To tell the story of pearling. I don’t know if it will be done in the next phase. And again, when the Amara finishes, and the next phase finishes, as a whole, then the story will start to show.</p>	
	<p>20 appreciates the display of the <u>date juice presses</u></p>	
Non-architects	Eastern	<p>4a thinks the <u>mdbasah</u> it is a well or a pool. When understanding the purpose of the date juice presses she thinks it was built below ground level for functional reasons: Author: “Why is it so deep in the ground, you think?” 4a: “For the purpose of making these dates syrup. Because my father he said they take the dates and put something that is heavy on the dates for weeks until it becomes like this, then they will take the syrup. So that is why. I am not sure actually.”</p> <p>criticizes that <u>no age is indicated for the date syrup presses</u> on the interpretive panels but finds the feature important for the lack of general knowledge about this local cultural tradition: 4a [<i>looking at the interpretive panel explaining the mdbasah</i>]: “I just wonder from what time.”</p> <p>would wish for <u>historic photos of the site an interpretation means</u> to illustrate what is original fabric and what is not</p> <p>would wish for <u>more projects with gastronomy in historic houses in Bahrain</u> so that the buildings are preserved and that <u>Bahrainis will be enticed to visit and learn about the local past and history</u></p>
		<p>11c the outdoor <u>mdbasah</u> raises her curiosity, before noticing the information board she wonders if it is a <u>fireplace</u></p> <p>interprets the <u>mdbasah in the café as an underground storage</u></p>
		<p>15c would expect a <u>signage relating to pearling</u> (the given is very discrete, only the logo)</p> <p>confused to hear the site is included in the World Heritage site: 15c: “I assume they are just old buildings from the era of pearling. That’s it. But I don’t know if they are related to pearling. Because this is just to make date honey.” Author: “Do you know what the pearling site is about?” 15c: “[...] Since you included this, now I am confused. [...] I thought anything that has to do with pearling. [...] But now that you tell me this one is included, I would say, anything that was in the pearling era.”</p> <p><u>appreciates the informational panels</u> at the site, which helped him to identify the sixth shop</p>

3.4.4 – 6: Authenticity judgments about the Siyadi Shops

		<p>unit as preserved: “For some reason in Bahrain they don’t write the history, although it is very rich in history and relative to the other Gulf countries. At least here, they wrote what this place originally was.”</p> <p>misconceptions about the date juice presses persist although he read the information board about them; not aware that the mdābis are lower due to archaeological layering; thinks they were always dug deeper into the ground. 15c: “From the panel I understood it is always low. So, when they put the dates, the honey comes down on one side. I think they do it in lines, so they don’t mix everything.” Author: “Do you have an idea, why they are not on the same level?” 15c: “Maybe because they dug them?”</p>
	18b	considers the outdoor mdbasah possibly a water basin (washing facility)
	29	the waiter at the café points to the informational panel explaining the date juice press when asked about its function; suggests the mdbasah was used for making Arabic coffee
	37	understands the date juice presses as she is familiar with their function: “Before this old, you make this one. Date. You put it inside for four months, five months...”
East-western	8a	<p>points to the didactic value of the site</p> <p>appreciates the interpretive panels</p> <p>Author: “And can they [site users] learn about what the place used to be here?” 8a: “I’m learning a lot from you. So, they should be informed a bit more. I mean they are informing a bit [panels explaining the mdbasah, the digs]. But it will be nice to show them a bit more.”</p> <p>points to the benefit of integrating use and display of archaeology as in the case of the glass-covered date juice press in the café</p> <p>wish for more interpretation facilities in the site (appreciates the background information about the site given during the interview)</p> <p>points to a need for interpretation facilities regarding the conservation philosophy (differentiated reconstruction methods) and construction ages: “It’s a bit philosophic. It would be nice to explain it.”</p>
	9a	<p>associates the date syrup presses with water or food storage (fridge)</p> <p>positively points out the informational boards at the site</p>
	10b	<p>appreciates the archaeological ground window at the café (10b): “I like it. I believe this is an original, authentic <i>mdbasah</i>.”</p> <p>identifies the lower position of the mdbasah as the original street level: “I think this is where the original level of the street was. [...] Because <i>mdbasahs</i> go back a really long time. I don’t think they used them the last 50 years.”</p> <p>considers the legibility of interventions important; with reference to Arad Fort: “It is good to know what made it over time and the parts that were added to make it more complete. So, it’s not really fake, you have an original Rolex but it has a leather strip that is not a Rolex, but that does not make it not a Rolex.” (10b)</p> <p>points to the need for more interpretation facilities: “But it’s nice that they actually thought about it. But more information in all these things would be really helpful.”</p> <p>points to the lack of interpretation with regard to the site’s link to the pearling narrative when told about the connection to the Siyadi family: “Where does Siyadi come into this thing? I have not noticed Siyadi name in any of the shops.” (10a)</p>
	12c	<p>loves the outdoor date juice press and “how it is exposed” to serve as “a reminder” without exactly remembering its original function: “I love [the <i>mdbasah</i>]... somebody told me that this is a brewery or something?”</p>
		<p>points to the need for interpretation facilities establishing the site’s connection to pearling</p> <p>asks about the plaque indicating 1762 on the facade of one of the five restored shops in confusion</p>
	46	criticizes the space as a somewhat artificial “ museum-style space ”
	Western	3ac

3.4.4 – 6: Authenticity judgments about the Siyadi Shops	
	<p>13a wishes for <u>interpretation facilities</u> explaining the cultural significance of the site including the site's connection to pearling (contribution to OUV) finds the <u>connection to pearling and the OUV</u> not obvious though significant: "I guess it was used as a suq area during the pearling trading times." "The general idea is represented here. But it is a little difficult to understand the site. I think it is an amazing nomination. But it is difficult to understand it." the original market function of the historic building, now used as a café is not obvious, which makes it difficult to understand its cultural significance; considers that the display of the <i>mdbasah</i> makes it further confusing: "You can see that this is an old building - for some reason they are preserving it. When you enter it is a coffee shop and honestly for me it could be anything. And then I see a <i>mdbasah</i> and then I would never make the connection to a suq." identifies the <u>date juice presses</u> as she is familiar with the feature from Qal'at al-Bahrain identifies the <u><i>mdbasah</i></u> (outside) as only partly exposed and to date from two different construction periods: when asked about the low level of the interior <i>mdbasah</i>: "Probably the upper floor was constructed later on the top of an older construction. Probably there was an older house that was built upon. And this is now an adaptation of the second and the first together." "So here we have <i>mdbasahs</i> again. Actually, these ones look like they were cut. Because they are usually longer. They should be extending to where we are standing." "I have no idea why they would be in two different levels. [...] Maybe again, the older <i>mdbasah</i> belonged to the older house." points out the importance of having <u>interpretation facilities for the <i>mdbasah</i></u>: "Is it normal that they have <i>mdbasahs</i> in the suq area?" wishes for <u>interpretation facilities</u> explaining the differences in the facade plaster</p>
	<p>14b criticizes the lack of information about the age of the <i>mdbasah</i>: Author: "I am afraid they didn't date them." 14b: "The damage has been done. You can't get any archaeological dates." does not understand the <u>date juice presses</u>; points to them as „something odd“ possibly used for dyeing cloth OUV not discussed</p>

3.4.4 – 7: Overall authenticity judgements of the site			
		high authenticity	low authenticity
Architects Eastern	16c	asked about the authenticity of the site : "I feel that this place existed and it has some addition from our time , which I understand. I like this."	
	17ab	considers the site authentic: "I feel like it is authentic. Like I feel comfortable when I go around these buildings. You can see they are the original buildings." the "original people" [meaning local] add to this perception. Author: "What are the things that you would consider authentic here?" 17b: "The atmosphere of the place. Including the textures, the wall materials, the wooden elements. The whole thing is giving me the authentic atmosphere . But it is the original place at the same time . Like it is original and it has the authentic atmosphere in it. [...] The meanings are clear and very honest. The stones are very clear. [...] Like, it is telling the story of the place. It is telling the original, the honest story of the place. It's not lying ."	
	21a	considers the conserved vernacular elements authentic, particularly the two western shops and the adapted sixth shop unit for its ruinous character	criticizes the reconstructions at the site for being based on conjecture and/or for falsifying history: „ All the things that are being built try to visualize what was there before . [...] That is wrong history . [...] It is someone's

3.4.4 – 7: Overall authenticity judgements of the site		
	high authenticity	low authenticity
		imagination. [...] No, as a space and how it looks it is very nice." Author: "But what is the imaginary thing that is wrong?" 21a: I don't know. I don't know what must have been there before. What you see this only this [the foundations]. So, you don't know what was there on the top."
	24 points to the compliance with conservation ethics in the way the vernacular buildings have been adapted (differentiability); commends the re-use and the use of traditional coral stone for some reconstructions	
	30	seems to consider the site not authentic for being changed and lacking interpretation criticizes untruthful representations of the local vernacular building tradition
East-western	7b considers that the interventions respected authenticity for having spatially, culturally and functionally reintegrated the site into the wider market area and for ensuring legibility of the different levels of intervention; considers the material authenticity high	considers intangible heritage dimensions, which significantly contribute to authenticity in his eyes, weak: "So, to me, authenticity is very hard to define here. Because it doesn't exist anymore. Because one aspect is lost. The cultural aspect. Now, I am hoping that through those kinds of interventions here and there, that authenticity would again be complemented. We are dealing with one aspect of authenticity- the tangible one. The intangible one is still not there. It started to be seen here. See, this is what we started to feel."
	22 points to the honesty of the architectural interventions and popularity of the site: "He [the lead conservation architect] was at least not trying to ... [...]. Safron itself. He didn't try to rebuilt it as it used to be. At least he was sincere about it. [...] And it draws quite a lot of people nowadays. [...]"	questions the spatial and architectural authenticity of the site and points to the illusory architectural authenticity of restored heritage site in general: "But if you look at Qaisariya and you question yourself, what authenticity is there? How I would like to... It has been subject to change over many years. It is completely different when I have, let's say, Al Ummayad Mosque. Even Al Ummayad Mosque in Syria, or any of these heritage places. Even Bahrain Fort. Do you think that is has been rebuilt and conserved to its original? I don't think so!" points to the importance of experiential authenticity (unclear if he considers it high at the site or not)
	23 considers the material authenticity of the remains high	criticizes that the spatial authenticity was not re-established
	32 points to the fact that the site was restored with concern for authenticity: "In Qaisariya the building is preserved as it is and no image was imposed. Any addition contrasts it as contemporary. " appreciates that "You can see and feel the authentic fabric. Whatever is added is clear."	

3.4.4 – 7: Overall authenticity judgements of the site			
	high authenticity	low authenticity	
Western	33	<p>commends the rehabilitation for conveying the history of the place, despite some limitations in this regard: “I think it is the right approach for this kind of project. A public project. It gives a story to the place...”</p>	<p>points to the spatial changes; considers the pearling related value dimension poorly conveyed, presented and interpreted; considers the artificial patination of surfaces to take away from the site’s authenticity</p>
	20	<p>associates the use of traditional construction techniques, capacity building efforts in this regard and the intended differentiation of added and historic fabric with authenticity</p>	<p>has reservations about the site’s authenticity with regards to the multitude of interventions levels and a lack of readability of interventions and history</p>
Eastern	4a b	<p>existence of historic buildings which are identifiable as such by everybody; Bahraini clientele; emotional connection to the past; feeling of socio-cultural belonging and pride</p>	
	11	<p>consider the site authentic evidence of the past way of life and building tradition</p>	
	15	<p>considers the site authentic for the preserved historic fabric, the historicity of the place and the way it is presented compares to Suq Waqif and the facsimile heritage village Al Wakrah at the time under construction in Qatar in order to highlight the authenticity of the site: “But the real history is here, it’s the same history, but the real buildings are here.”</p>	
	34	<p>historic fabric: “The old building. Still strong and solid.”</p>	<p>points to the high prizes at the cafés</p>
	35		<p>one of the two senior gentlemen points to the high prizes at the café and resulting lack of social inclusiveness</p>
	36	<p>points to the vernacular fabric and traditional food as reminders of the past way of life: “The place, we remember here all this people how they lived.”</p>	
	37	<p>points to the historicity of the vernacular fabric, and “the old Bahraini décor and food”</p>	
47	<p>“You know what I like about this place? It’s the same place. They did not change it.”</p>		
East-western	8a	<p>considers the vernacular buildings authentic testimony to the pearling era; considers that the traditional products sold at the site add to the genuine atmosphere</p>	<p>considers that the overpriced service at the café diminishes the authenticity of the place. Considers it would be different if the profit was used for conserving the site. Considers that the overpriced service corrupts the genuine atmosphere of the site – truthfulness and credibility extends to the services. considers that the local community’s attitude towards the site plays into its authenticity: „But I don’t know what the residents think and I think that is an important bit of it.” (residents and inheritors of the place = descendants of the previous inhabitants and owners of the area)</p>
	9a	<p>considers the site highly authentic for blending authentic traditional elements with modern features in a sensitive manner (criticizes copy-paste historicizing architecture in other places in comparison) and for</p>	

3.4.4 – 7: Overall authenticity judgements of the site		
	high authenticity	low authenticity
	<p>integrating the human dimension for her, the authenticity of the site resides in the fact that it has history – that people interacted with it in the past – and that it connects to this past, that it inspires imagination of what might have happened there in the past, that it evokes romantic feelings, radiates energy and allows for a sort of time travel: „It’s like the authenticity for me in the buildings is that people were living here, maybe it is even more energetically, or, just connecting me also with the past. That is what I think I like as well. Imagining that in this building people would be wearing this, and doing this... having coffee with different ingredients. Not what I am doing now. And this connection is ... not like a time machine... but something very romantic in that. Something like a true spirit of a traveller. A traveller around the world.”</p>	
10 b	<p>considers the rehabilitated site neither particularly authentic nor unauthentic but points to the importance of traditional appearance: Author: “What is authenticity to you in historic places? If Suq al Qaisariya is a historic place – or at least a traditional place, let’s call it – what are the things that would make it authentic or not authentic?” 10b: “Ok, for me I am not an expert in the architecture field, but as a simple person, I think visual is the most ... if it looks authentic than it is authentic for me. Unless I am expert and I can identify what is real, what is old and what has been added to it later. But I am not that person. It still looks old with a few exceptions and I am not against those exceptions. But the main part of it looks old to me, it looks the same it was 10 and 20 years ago.”</p>	
12 c	<p>high authenticity of the site due to the conservation approach taken: “I think it is properly renovated. I am not sure, but I feel there is a lot from the old part maintained and they built on the old one. Definitely it was not demolished and it looks like they did a good job.” [despite the ongoing maintenance work on the plaster of the base of the buildings] considers the two western restored shops highly authentic: “This is where I use the word authenticity!” highlights the various aspects that make the visitor experience at the café authentic, including the rarity of comparable sites in Bahrain: “You see: the beams, the stones, the setup. The food we are having, not hamburgers. Next to a perfume shops. It helps. It relaxes. And there aren’t many settings in Bahrain like this. So, you enjoy it.” while having lunch at the café: “Yes, this has a beautiful authentic thing to it. Good bread, eh?”</p>	
46		<p>criticizes the space as a somewhat artificial “museum-style space” in which contemporary features dominate</p>

3.4.4 – 7: Overall authenticity judgements of the site			
	high authenticity	low authenticity	
Western	3c	<p>“And here you really can feel what was there. And you actually HAVE the original fabric. And you can distinguish between the new and the old.” “But it’s not only for tourists. There are a lot of locals. Although the typical visitor to Qaisariya to do his or her daily shopping would not come here.”</p>	
	13a	considers that the interventions maintained the feel of a traditional place with identifiable additions and various intervention levels	points to shortcomings in conveying the site’s cultural significance, original use and functions
	14b	associates the site’s authenticity with its age and the preserved vernacular fabric: “It’s nice to see some history kept alive.”	considers that the contrasting contemporary interventions take away from the site’s authenticity

ANNEX 3.5.3 – TABLE OF COMPARATIVE STATEMENTS ABOUT THE TWO MAIN REFERENCE SITES

3.5.3 – 1: Comparisons of the two main reference sites by the interviewees	
Architects Eastern	<p>16 b somewhat prefers the approach taken in Suq al-Qaisariya, but both interventions do not meet her standards, because neither take a clear approach. At Bab al-Bahrain she criticizes that there is no clear differentiation between historic and added elements and that historic parts were even deliberately demolished. In Muharraq, she criticizes the historizing reconstructions. The paradigm of differentiating between new and old, which she considers appropriate in order to preserve and put in value the historic structures, is not consistently enough followed through in either case:</p> <p>“I can tell you, that ok, both used the historic elements and reconstructed. But here, the one in Muharraq, I feel that it was done in a sensitive way. I can say that, maybe the elements here I like more, but I am not sure. But as I said, there is an issue of the process in both, that I am not in favour of. I feel that it is better, to have a clear difference, of what was there and was demolished. Actually, it did not exist and they tried to reconstruct it in Muharraq. But in Manama it was there and it was demolished, so that is another problem. So, this is one difference between the two. The other issue is that, I prefer, when we want to reconstruct something from the past, I prefer to reconstruct it in a modern sense, even if the old neighbourhood is going into modernity. For me it is sort of evolving the city, or the urban place. And it is more dynamic. It won't be static. You know, at a certain time, if we started to make it like static things and capture certain moments, at a certain time it will die. But if we kept on making it evolving, the old building will be like a pearl inside this setting. It will show more and it will be more authentic and the value of it will raise more. And that doesn't mean that I'm totally going to make a modern city. But I mean to evolve.”</p> <p>Author: “Do you feel that a part of this philosophy has been applied in this project? [Suq al-Qaisariya]” 16a: “Yes. Because I can see some elements. As I said, the old part in this, the old existing part was dealt with sensitivity. A nice one. There is a contrast. I can see the steel columns, I can see the modern lighting fixture, so I like that.” Author: “What about the authenticity of this place [Suq al-Qaisariya]? How do you feel about this? How authentic is this place to you?” 16a: “If you are comparing to what I said before, that in the other place [Bab al-Bahrain] I feel I am walking in a place that never existed. Now, here I felt that this place existed and it has some addition from our time. Which I understand. I like this.”</p>
	<p>17 b has a preference for the interventions and the site of Suq al-Qaisariya considers both sites historic. Qaisariya not more than Bab al-Bahrain, particularly in theory: „When you say Bab al-Bahrain, or when you read about it, when you think of it. It is different than when you go there and you see the cars moving everywhere, the traffic and the horns of the cars. But this area is different [Suq al-Qaisariya]. It's a quite area. And it's clean. No cars coming around here. Original people are moving around. Bab al-Bahrain you don't see original people. It's very less number of people going there.”</p> <p>explains that Manama Suq is populated with Bahrainis especially on the weekends, but that mostly foreigners visit the refurbished parts.</p> <p>considers Qaisariya more authentic, more intimate: „Bab al-Bahrain itself. It is touristic, but still, there is something wrong about it. But here, you feel closer to the authentic buildings.”</p> <p>Author: “What are the things that you would consider authentic here [Qaisariya]?” 17b: “The atmosphere of the place. Including the textures, the wall materials, the wooden elements. The whole thing is giving me the authentic atmosphere. But it is the original place the same time. Like it is original and it has the authentic atmosphere in it. It's very complicated and confusing.” Author: “Can you replace the word with a few other words in that phrase? Why is it authentic? [...]” 17b: “The only synonyms I know is original and old, ancient. These ones. If you go back to my house, by grandfather's, my sister's house. When you go to a courtyard house it is maybe more authentic than a normal store at the same time... I don't know I am still confused. I need to research about it. But to me, when you go to a place which has this kind of atmosphere, I feel it is authentic.” Author: “And Bab al-Bahrain?” 17b: “I don't feel it's authentic. Like, the meanings are not honest in Bab al-Bahrain. Maybe that is why it is not authentic to me in Bab al-Bahrain. But here, the meanings are clear and very honest. The stones are very clear.” Author: “What is the meaning?” 17b: “Like, it is telling the story of the place. It is telling the original, the honest story of the place. It's not lying. When you go back to Bab al-Bahrain. It is very clear that it's lying. It is not</p>

3.5.3 – 1: Comparisons of the two main reference sites by the interviewees		
	<p>telling the original story of the place.” Author: “But that [reconstructed] wall here, that was reconstructed? Is that lying or not?” 17b: “It is confusing. That is what I told you in the beginning. But it is not the same as this part [the preserved parts]. When you see it, you know that it is different. This part you know, it is very old and original. So that part, you are still confused. It could be yes or no.” Author: “So it is not a lie? Because you are not sure about it?” 17b: “Yes. But in Bab al-Bahrain it is very clear, it is a lie.”</p>	
21 a	<p>considers both sites artificial but prefers the project in Suq al-Qaisariya because he considers the reconstructions in Bab al-Bahrain to falsify history: Author: “Which project do you like better?” 21a: “This is better than the one in Bab al-Bahrain.”</p> <p>compares the project to an Indian example of a building that was demolished and replaced for ideological motives and later rebuilt: “It is like wiping out some part of the history and ‘oh, it never happened!’ Like and ostrich putting its head in sand. Things are developing!” [at Amarat Fakhro in Suq al-Qaisariya, observing restoration works of the Ministry of Culture under way] Author: Have you seen something like this happening in Bahrain? 21a: “No, no, this is the first time I am seeing renovation work being done. I don’t know how they manage it. As I said, Bab al-Bahrain was a construction, something like this. It was very, very difficult. This renovation work, how long it will last, we don’t know. Whether it will require a lot of maintenance.”</p> <p>judging from the photos of the Qaisariya, he considers the gate was in a better but still very bad state of conservation in the 80s than the vernacular shops in 2008</p> <p>considers both projects artificial: 21a: “Everything grows. Otherwise, you would have stayed in primitive days. When we were building with bamboo.” Author: “What do you think about this here [interventions at Suq al-Qaisariya]? The fact that they tried to preserve the historic buildings in this place? Is there any point for you?” 21a: “Now, if the house is there – there is a house, a traditional house that is in bad state, ok, you can restore it, extend its life. But building something what was there before, just imagining it must have been like this, I don’t ...” Author: “Is that what you feel they did here in Qaisariya?” 21a: “Yes.” Author: “And in Bab al-Bahrain?” 21a: “In Bab al-Bahrain what is done now, is very artificial.” Author: “The whole thing?” 21a: “Yes, to promote it as what was there in the colonial days. It is lying.”</p>	
East-western	7	prefers the project in Suq al-Qaisariya in which he had the lead, for better compliance with conservation ethics
	22	compares the projects from the operational and economic perspective and points to the need of both sites to operate commercially viable and to the probably high maintenance costs of projects like Suq al-Qaisariya
	23	disapproves of the refurbishment of Bab al-Bahrain building and of the interventions at Bab al-Bahrain Avenue for the historical untruthful designs approval of the rehabilitation of the Siyadi Shops despite some reservations regarding spatial authenticity and environmental sustainability
	32	vehemently prefers the approach taken in Suq al-Qaisariya : “Qaisariya is much better than Bab al-Bahrain because you can see and feel the authentic fabric. Whatever is added is clear. In Bab al-Bahrain an image was imposed on the building. In Qaisariya the building is preserved as it is and no image was imposed. Any addition contrasts it as contemporary. The one coral stone wall was not following this rule. It was reconstructed according to a picture.”
	33	undecided about the difference in historic significance of the two sites : “Well, this was the entrance to Manama . I think, I am not sure, it is just a personal opinion, and this was at the waterfront where the loading... where the ships came from out of Bahrain . So, this would have been more prominent than Qaisariya Suq, I assume. Maybe Qaisariya Suq is older . I am not sure, to be honest. So that might be a point. [...] So that would maybe give it more significance in terms of age. But in terms of prominence and its place , when they are both together, this [Bab al-Bahrain] would have been more significant. ” critical about the latest rehabilitation of Bab al-Bahrain building : “We set now a precedence, anyone can come and have a different vision and upgrade it to whatever suits his personal taste at the time. But if we had brought back to what it was, then it would stay at it was.” (I 33b) approval of the rehabilitation of the Siyadi Shops despite some reservations: e.g. he finds the pearling related value not well conveyed

3.5.3 – 1: Comparisons of the two main reference sites by the interviewees		
Non-architects	Western	<p>20 has reservations about both projects but is more appreciative of Suq al-Qaisariya; commends the approach in Suq al-Qaisariya foremost for the traditional construction techniques and capacity building efforts, the differentiation of added and historic fabric; critical of the interventions in Bab al-Bahrain Avenue as he found them impaired as testimony to the mid-20th century</p>
	Eastern	<p>4b prefers Suq al-Qaisariya project for authenticity reasons because of the existence of historic buildings which can easily be identified as such by everybody; because of an emotional connection to the past; feeling of socio-cultural belonging and pride; Bahraini users in Qaisariya versus migrant („Indian“) users from South-East-Asia (feelings of socio-cultural alienation and deprivation at Bab al-Bahrain); considers the historical references at Bab al-Bahrain might not be easily understood</p> <p>[at Bab al-Bahrain] Author: “And if you compared this project and place to Suq al-Qaisariya? How would you compare them?” 4b: “Maybe because Qaisariya Suq still has some old buildings, but here, if you ask anyone else, maybe he will say no, this is a new building in a new style, maybe he will not recognize that it is the same building – I mean that there was a similar building. But that one [Suq al-Qaisariya] they can see the walls, they can see, the style of shops. But here, it has some modern things. I prefer that one [Suq al-Qaisariya].” Author: “Why do you prefer it?” 4b: “Because still I can feel that it is old. From the past. But here, ok, it is the same traditional style but there are all of these new things – new buildings.” Author: “But you said the post office and Bab al-Bahrain not.” 4b: “Only those two buildings! But this mall, no. It’s new. But I like this idea to just copy things from the past and then bring them alive again. But I have a different feeling. When I come across Qaisariya Suq I feel I am proud of my ancestors, or whatever. But now [at Bab al-Bahrain], I don’t have this feeling.” Author: “But you like it?” 4b: “Yes, I like it. It is better than nothing.”</p> <p>“I like Suq al-Qaisariya more than this one [Bab al-Bahrain project] because I can still see some Bahrainis sitting and selling. There are shops, maybe, but here [at Bab al-Bahrain] all of them are Indians, so you know, I prefer that one. At least I can see some of my... of the citizens there. But now it’s occupied by Indians, it’s not ours anymore. “</p> <p>11c prefers Suq al-Qaisariya for its older age, because it conveys a feeling of history and because she seems to be able to relate to it better: „It’s a 100 years. You feel like there is more history here. I don’t know what they built Bab al-Bahrain for, but here is the history of Arab people, how they lived. [...] People recognize and try to remember what they had.” nevertheless, considers both places to be heritage sites containing historical buildings points to the difference that the gate building of Bab al-Bahrain is remarkable and long valued, while the buildings at Suq al-Qaisariya were not famous, temporally abandoned and are only recently promoted to visitors</p> <p>15 ad tends to have a preference for Suq al-Qaisariya for its older age and the stronger attention to detail of the intervention: “Maybe because it is a smaller project, they managed to go a lot into details. I enjoy the details. I think Bab al-Bahrain also had commercial influences in the decisions made. In the end the cost is much less than in Bab al-Bahrain. There it’s a huge project. In here it is basically one shop. In here you can do your best in one shop. But you cannot keep up the standard for every project. Plus, this building is much older. The older the buildings are the more precious they are. So, I think it is good that they took care of this.” (15d)</p> <p>comparing the mall building at Bab al-Bahrain with the café at Suq al-Qaisariya: “I know it [the mall building] is not original. As long as it is not original it cannot be authentic. But if we go to Safron in Muharraq it is an authentic building with authentic food.” (15a)</p> <p>18 b prefers the site of Bab al-Bahrain over the the site of Suq al-Qaisariya for being bigger and newer despite the old style; likes the old style of both sites; considers the site at Muharraq significantly older; wants to bring her friends to the coffee shops in both sites: „But I like the coffee shop also here [Suq al-Qaisariya].”</p> <p>8b considers the two sites incomparable, no preference</p> <p>“I mean this whole area I feel different about it than Muharraq. Because, as I said, it serves a purpose. The purpose is the visitor’s first impression of Bahrain. That is the purpose it should serve at all times.”</p> <p>considers the different ages, construction techniques, historical context and purpose of</p>

3.5.3 – 1: Comparisons of the two main reference sites by the interviewees

East-western	<p>the sites fundamentally different: Author: “I was going to ask you. Can you compare the two?” 8b: “Ya, the building material matters a lot and how you build something. [...] This [Bab al-Bahrain] is 40-50 years later. And Qaisariya was probably built over something that is older to begin with. No, there is quite a difference. When Bab al-Bahrain was built, here, Qaisariya was probably the same age as Bab al-Bahrain is now. It was already an old building. The entire construction technique was different. The idea of a state or a nation was entirely different. It was built because of a bunch of traders getting together and wanting to form a place to trade their goods. And the purpose is different and the way they did it is different.</p> <p>This [Bab al-Bahrain] is not built like that. This is built with contractors and some British designer, and the king coming to check every now and then to check how the construction is going. It’s different. So, there [at Suq al-Qaisariya] is a value in the material and the construction techniques and also because we don’t know them that well, we never know what happened in those times, we can only guess how they built it and so on. But we have records of how this thing was built [Bab al-Bahrain]. But the knowledge is there [for Bab al-Bahrain], and it’s not that old, and the material isn’t that different than what we use today. Ok, it’s interesting, but there is concrete in there, at the end of the day. I don’t think there is as much value in the material, the idea of value is different. The idea of value in this thing is in the fact that it’s a monument.”</p> <p>recommends different restoration approaches for sites and buildings of different ages therefore approves of the different restoration approaches in the two sites</p> <p>considers the buildings of the Avenue, possibly with the exception of the gate, too recent to be worthwhile restoring in a conservative approach “I mean, you are showing something from the 40s. It is really not that worthwhile.” Building of 100 years age should possibly be restored differently, showing bits of original fabric “I mean if it is a hundred years old, then you shouldn’t go about it in the same way.”</p> <p>considers that the conservation approach taken depends on the significance attributed to the site: “This is completely different than Suq al-Qaisariya. Suq al-Qaisariya was not built to be a monument. But this building was built to be a monument ever since its very beginning. So, it has to be restored with the same architectural statement or purpose.”</p> <p>comparing the urban renewal approaches: “I mean this whole area I feel different about it than Muahrraq.” Author: “In which sense?” 8b: “But I am talking only about the gate and this Alley. Because, as I said, it serves a purpose. The purpose is the visitor’s first impression of Bahrain. That is the purpose it should serve at all times.” Author: “What is the impression they now get, when they enter? What do you think?” 8b: “The same thing. You are walking down a medieval alley which is the centre of town. Once you get to this point [beginning of the historic Manama suq], then the idea of restoration should be a bit different.” Author: “Why?” 8b: “Because you are in the networks of the suq. There is something old worth preserving the way it is, more like adding new materials. But here, the idea is power. And I think it should stay this way. And power can be defined in many ways. There is for example a value in architecture. Like, nothing is symmetric along this wall. There are many different types of elements, there is this balcony, there is this wood, there is that gate. I think it is nice to combine them all into one powerful space. And it has to retain this power. That is more important than retaining materials. And again, it’s 50 years old. It’s not something that is so old.” Author: “60 if it was 40s.” 8b: “Oh, ya, 60. By middle eastern standards it’s nothing.”</p> <p>“They are incomparable. [...] I could compare Qaisariya with other buildings in Muahrraq. Or I can compare this [Bab al-Bahrain] with Suq Waqif. Author: “Compare this to Suq Waqif!” 8b: [...] There is a lot of identity here, a lot of interaction and trade. The keyword is trade. And state. It’s what it’s supposed to be and it stays that way. It will never change. Ok, so we have a glass façade and a modern mall. And the windows of Bab al-Bahrain have changed and so on, but it’s still the same function. You cannot compare that to Qaisariya. Qaisariya is not the same. When restoring it, the idea should be very different. I’m not a professional. This is just a very subjective opinion.”</p>
	9c

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	<p>buildings in Manama and Muharraq are different. A different style of architecture.” “Both of them give me a completely different feelings and ideas. I would say Muharraq gives me more a traditional and authentic feeling and being closer to the culture, the historical culture of Bahrain. And here [at Bab al-Bahrain] it is more modern, not modern up to day, but modern Bahrain [...]. They are two different phases.”</p>
<p>10 abc</p>	<p>has no clear preference for either site but has a stronger emotional attachment to Suq al-Qaisariya for biographic reasons; Suq al-Qaisariya evokes stronger nostalgic feelings, in this case his personal history likes the liveliness of both sites; commends the stronger presence of Bahraini people in Suq al-Qaisariya: „I like it that it is still alive. I mean like Manama Suq, it is also still alive, but one thing I like better about Muharraq is that actually you see more locals. Not more locals but ration wise both the shop owners and the people shopping they are more Bahraini. considers Suq al-Qaisariya much more traditional than Bab al-Bahrain area, also after the interventions points to the fact that both sites display various levels of intervention: “It is not on the same level, but Bab al-Bahrain has a similar thing. One was totally demolished and one was totally new. And they kept the front part of the police station. Maybe this minimal intervention is the first to be done in Bahrain. That I agree.” considers neither site particularly authentic or unauthentic but appreciates the fact that they were somehow preserved: “I don’t see them as unauthentic but I don’t see them as authentic. Because they have been altered, and they have been changed through time. But I see that as process of evolution, things evolving keep changing. But I’m kind of happy with the idea, they resisted the extreme kind of change. Any other areas have altered.” Author: “Why are you happy about that?” 10a: 10a: “Because it keeps the identity of the place. When I pass through these places, I feel kind of nostalgic to the past.” Author: “In Bab al-Bahrain and in Qaisariya?” 10a: “Ya, ya, more in Qaisariya because that is my hometown. Because I don’t really have tons of history with Bab al-Bahrain.” But also in Bab al-Bahrain he has “good memories running around, playing around, buying stuff...”. [looking at Qaisariya shops] “This is very much older that the ones in Manama, in age and construction style.” (10c)</p>
<p>12c</p>	<p>prefers the intervention in Suq al-Qaisariya: [while having lunch at the café in Qaisariya] “This is more successful than the project in Manama. But authenticity, yes, this has a beautiful authentic thing to it. Good bread, eh?” walking in Muharraq suq: “What you see here is a true feel of walking in the suq and this you don’t feel in Manama. They have an organic feel to them, they blend well, they are part of the landscape, they don’t impose. Look at this door! Here whatever you see, you follow. This is what I like about Muharraq, the unpredictability. And I love to get lost in Muharraq. [music playing] I love the music. This is what I missed in Canada. I missed the walk, and the smell of spices, of wood during cooking time, the music from the houses and the kids playing.” prefers the doors at Qaisariya to those in Manama suq: “The doors are nice. They don’t bother me. The doors in Manama they look artificial. These are new, I am guessing, but this is an old one. These look to me acceptable. In few years with the weathering effect and with time they will blend better.” compares the shops: prefers the perfume shop at Qaisariya in ambience and products sold to the typical shops at Bab al-Bahrain: “Beautiful ambience inside, it looks really nice [the perfume shops]. I mean these are the kind of shops you would like to see in Bab al-Bahrain as well, rather than a Hoover and a mixer and microwave.” considers both sites historic and of relevance mostly to tourists and expatriates who should convey a typical image of Bahrain and offer the opportunity to buy souvenir gifts in a relaxing ambience. The sales outlets on the sites should be chosen accordingly: “Because you are in a historic site [both sites]. And this is where you have tourists visiting, people who are relaxing during the weekend. People who are visiting Bahrain want to get a feel of the place. These are traditional products and very specific to the region. Then you would like to buy as a gift... The other utilitarian products you can go to other places, like malls. But this is more visited by tourists and expats.”</p>
<p>46</p>	<p>prefers Bab al-Bahrain project over Qaisariya as a socially interactive, commercial space and</p>

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		<p>associates a feeling of home and Bahraini culture with it, while she does not consider Qaisariya project typical Bahraini, authentic or socially integrative: “Well, what I feel about this space is that it communicates culture, because it is an interactive space [Bab al-Bahrain]. With the shops and people going around. And perhaps it is slightly larger [than Qaisariya]. It is definitely Bahraini. And close to home. In comparison to Qaisariya, though, I feel that that place is isolated and slightly more contemporary. And I don’t think ... this [Bab al-Bahrain] is humble. That [Qaisariya] isn’t humble enough. And that is more of a museum-style space. While this [Bab al-Bahrain] is more interactive.”</p>
Western	3c	<p>prefers Suq al-Qaisariya for authenticity reasons [at Suq al-Qaisariya] Author: “And if you compare this place to Bab al-Bahrain. Like this project? Can you compare them from your point of view?” 3c: “I feel better about this project here. I mean it is already some days ago that we went to Bab – so my memory is not that fresh anymore. But this seems a much better approach. And more authentic than it does in Bab. Because you know, you have this artificial façade and it’s all very artificial. Besides this one corner [Post Office and Police Station]. And here you really can feel what was there. And you actually HAVE the original fabric. And you can distinguish between the new and the old. Like this glass façade and everything. So, Muharraq it is. Because also, I also noticed, the streets are the same. You know, it’s streets. And in Bab they designed this artificial roof which was never there. It is ridiculous actually. Because they made something out of the place which it was not – never was, never is.” Author: “In which sense IS it not?” 3c: “Because it’s somehow unreal. It’s meant to be the traditional suq whatever, but there is nothing which really reminds you of a traditional suq. It’s not that people go there to do their daily shopping. That is what a suq is actually for. It’s just for the tourists. That’s what I think.” Author: “But this café? Is it different?” 3c: “Well, ya.” Author: “I mean, this whole project is not about the daily shopping anymore either.” 3c: “That is true. But it’s not only for tourists. There are a lot of locals. Although the typical visitor to Qaisariya to do his or her daily shopping would not come here.” “But ya, it just feels more right here. Also, it is more embedded in its surroundings. And Bab is not embedded. It’s like THERE! And then you feel when you leave this exact area we have visited, that you enter a totally different world. There is no transition. It’s very different. It does not really merge into the surroundings. While here, it was part of it, and it still is part of it.”</p>
	13b	<p>prefers Suq al-Qaisariya for authenticity reasons, because it is cosy and Bab al-Bahrain feels more artificial. “I like the one in Muharraq better. This one [Bab al-Bahrain] feels more artificial. Muharraq is cosy, this one is more artificial. [...] Maybe it’s because the houses in Muharraq are smaller and you feel more connected with the people who may have lived there, then this area here [Bab al-Bahrain].” Considers Bab al-Bahrain more appealing but Qaisariya to be more successful „project-wise, design-wise“ and in terms of conservation ethics despite some technical mistakes such as the disintegrating wall plaster: „Because it shows clearly which elements are authentic and which ones are not.” perceives both sites as Bahraini, but does not know whether they really are: “Ya, both are Bahraini to me. I don’t know if both are Bahraini to Bahraini people.”</p>
	14b	<p>prefers Suq al-Qaisariya for its traditional feel: “I like the feel of this area [Suq al-Qaisariya] better. It is smaller, more like nooks and crannies. It just has more of a traditional feel than the Bab al-Bahrain.” considers both sites worth preserving but seems to consider Suq al-Qaisariya of a higher priority for the older age and that politically there is a priority on preserving the site in Muharraq, as it is more traditional Bahraini: “They both should be preserved. It is just the age of this place, before... [...] They are trying to get preservation for both places. Is there a certain hierarchy? I am sure there is politics involved in that process as well. I would think this [Suq al-Qaisariya] might matter more because this is more of traditional Bahraini style.” Asked to compare the authenticity of the two sites, she refers to Qaisariya as the older, and for her apparently consequently more authentic site: Author: “In terms of authenticity?” 14b: „I feel like this is older. Obviously, this was the first part of the island that was populated. I think this has more of a connection with the elders, and they are dying out. I wonder how the Bahrainis feel about preserving this.”</p>