



**Companion  
to European  
Heritage Revivals /  
edited by  
Linde Egberts and  
Koos Bosma**

STEP IN



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Linde Egberts and Koos Bosma (eds.)  
CLUE research institute  
VU University Amsterdam  
The Netherlands

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# Preface

This book owes its existence to a long-term European project called *Cradles of European Culture* (CEC) that was developed within the framework of the Culture 2007–2013 program in 2010. The project drew upon both scientific research and public outreach in order to answer a specific question: how can heritage – in this case early medieval heritage – play a vibrant role in creating public enthusiasm for the past and in motivating people to become further acquainted with the cultural-historical foundations of their daily life. This concern is one that is shared at the highest administrative levels, as is evident from reading the Council of Europe's *Framework on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society* (FARO Convention - 2005) and the ICOMOS *Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites* (ICOMOS Ename Charter - 2008). From their own specific points of view, both emphasize the importance of involving the community in understanding its past and participating in commemorations of past events.

It is no secret that it can take quite a long time for international heritage guidelines to be generally accepted and effectively implemented, and this is precisely the reason to welcome the publication of this book, which was planned within the CEC project and is appropriately titled *Companion to European Heritage Revivals*. It supplies the basic knowledge relevant to any effort meant to engage a broad public in the past and to enable people to experience their heritage in a more conscious way. Such initiatives, in which an organisation and its public work together to create meaningful experiences of the past, have been called *heritage revivals*. In the book, concrete cases are analysed in the course of discussions of important themes such as authenticity and heritage experience, and building bridges between experts and a wide audience. The basic elements needed for the development of key concepts are combined with practical applications and presented in a lively and engaging fashion.

The book is not pedantic and does not hesitate to consider topics like the importance of commercial expertise, respect for the expectations of the public, and the opportunities the digital world provides for making it easier to get a sense of how life was lived in the past, to make it more “experienceable”. It offers concepts useful for turning heritage revivals into undertakings that enlarge the public’s historical understanding and strengthen the social basis for heritage. And these, after all, are the ultimate goals of the FARO Convention and the ICOMOS Ename Charter.

I wish to thank the editors, Linde Egberts, MA and Prof. Dr. Koos Bosma, and the authors for this splendid achievement. And I hope the book will enjoy the enthusiastic reception it deserves and have a broad impact.

Dirk Callebaut

Scientific coordinator for *Cradles of European Culture*

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Part 1 /

**The Context:**

**Heritage Practices  
in Today's Europe**

Chapter 1 /  
**Experiencing the Past**  
Introduction to  
experience, strategies,  
authenticity and  
branding /  
Linde Egberts



Historical objects  
on a weekly market in  
Strasbourg, France  
(Linde Egberts, 2012).



Interest in our past and engagement with history is everywhere. Turn on the television and you will surely be able to find films or drama series set in the past. Take a stroll through any town and you will spot not only monuments and well-restored historic buildings, but also old-time cars, vintage clothing stores, and antiques dealers and second-hand furniture stores. Walk into any bookshop and you will find an abundance of historical novels, travel guides to historic places, and books on topics like art history or the Second World War. Researching one's own family tree, watching historical festivals, and playing computer games that are set in historic environments are common leisure activities. The vintage, the traditionally hand-crafted, and the historically or personally significant are guaranteed to find attention, engagement, and passionate defense when threatened with loss or destruction.

History is *hot*, and it seems it will not to go out of fashion anytime soon. Yet professional historians, archaeologists, curators, and cultural tourism professionals whose job it is to narrate specific histories to large audiences find themselves confronting a major challenge. For it is not to an easy task to match the academically approved or nuanced histories of experts with the appetite for experiencing the old, the nostalgic,



Cyclists use the statue of Ambiorix, the mythical, Batavian symbol of Tongeren, Belgium, as parking place on their stop in a Sunday morning tour (Linde Egberts, 2012).

and the authentic that is omnipresent in popular culture and daily life today.

This is particularly true when experts try to bring a lesser known chapter in our history to public attention on an international scale. In the past, European projects have been executed to promote a common history in several countries, for example the pilgrimage routes to Santiago de Compostella and the educational project Discovering European Heritage in Royal Residences. This companion focuses on how to conceptualize international *heritage revivals* for large audiences and addresses the challenges and issues – but also the great advantages – of building bridges between professionals in the historical and cultural tourism sectors, on the one hand, and the public, on the other. To this end, it surveys existing European heritage practices, offering an extensive *tool kit* for facilitating a heritage revival, and, in the final chapter, draws on the material presented by its different authors to highlight the most innovative and successful concepts in the field today.

### Conceptual fuel

This companion seeks to be a source of experience and insight for anyone needing to conceptualize the revival, on an international scale, of some specific portion of Europe's heritage. It takes into account the ways in which today's public expresses its interest in history and the way we Europeans engage with our past. It does not take the form of a practical handbook for organising such a revival, but offers, rather, *conceptual fuel* relevant to the many aspects involved in developing the concept of a new project. It offers a context, a broad range of possibilities, and the pros and cons of many of the means one might use. It is a guide to formulating goals and missions, to finding target audience, and to creating the right conditions for revival to succeed. The practical organisation of your project is the next step, to be taken only after the hard work

of conceptualization is done. The practical phase is not the main focus of attention here, although some more practical aspects of heritage revival are, in fact, mentioned throughout the companion.

Part 1 sketches the context for such undertakings. How does heritage work in today's Europe? What strategies do European institutions possess to stimulate the sense of a shared past and a shared European identity? How does heritage work on a regional scale, and what differences exist between professional historians and others who feel engaged in their regional or local histories? These questions are central issues in chapters 2 and 3, which treat different aspects of heritage and identities in present-day Europe. Chapter 2 focuses on the role of the Continent's early medieval heritage, in order to illustrate how one phase in European history can take on many different forms and have its own key issues when it comes to implementing heritage strategies on an international scale. Chapter 3 focuses on one particular region, the Arnhem Nijmegen City Region in the Netherlands, to illustrate how heritages are used in strategies for the construction of local and regional identities.

Part 2 contains a collection of articles on how to conceptualize a revival of a particular heritage by using different 'tools': media and methods that can be used to make a historical project or initiative come to life. Authors from many different disciplines were asked to offer insights into the benefits and strategies of using a particular 'tool', for example historical re-enactments, computer and alternate reality gaming, and spatial design.

Part 3 invites you to get ready for building a concept for a new heritage revival, perhaps even on an international scale, and it stresses several important aspects of working with history and reaching a broad audience. It sketches opportunities, raises questions, and highlights some key decision points encountered in every heritage project for a broad audience. Finally, it addresses several central issues which arise in the course of working on such a project, for example the multi-

dimensionality of authenticity and ethical issues such as the 're-playing' of history in films, games, and re-enactments.

This companion is written for archaeological and heritage experts, as well as tourism professionals working on a historical theme or body of heritage, be it the Roman Limes, a Second World War memorial, or a museum on Napoleon. It therefore does not focus on the presentation of the heritage of one particular period but seeks, rather, to introduce many strategies, approaches, and media relevant to different sorts of heritage from various periods. However, in writing a companion to developing concepts for a heritage revival, one cannot avoid mentioning the background of the particular heritage project that this companion itself is a part of, namely *Cradles of European Culture: Francia Media*, a pan-European cultural project devoted to the presentation of the Continent's early medieval heritage as a cradle of our diverse European cultures of today. This companion is thus rooted in the desire to make Europeans aware of the heritage of Charlemagne, and especially of the Frankish Middle Kingdom that was formed when his realm was divided by his offspring, highlighting the formative role of the period for today's Europe in the areas of governance, language, the arts, learning, and religion.

### Heritage revival

This companion is centred around the concept of a *heritage revival*, a term chosen to stress that in order to reach large audiences, it is necessary to bring a history or heritage to *life*. Telling a story or showing what we (experts) know of a certain period is not enough to make people feel connected to this part of our common past. Creating a meaningful historical experience for the audience, and offering opportunities for personal development and self-expression are necessary ingredients if the enterprise of bringing a part of the past to life in the minds of an audience is to be successful. The task is even more challenging if one wishes to reach an audience in a large area,

encompassing several countries. Cultural barriers, differences in national senses of identity, and conflicting interpretations of the past complicate matters even further.

The term *heritage revival* carries the connotation of something man-made: a construction from elements of the past. Conceptualizing a project capable of bringing a part of the past back to life on an international scale resembles a work of construction in many respects. Contemporary goals and ideals determine what storylines and which representations of the past receive the most emphasis.

We need individual members of our audiences to become interested enough to go out of their way to involve their families and social networks in the online world as well as in physical places. What we need is a *joint venture*, a project that not only historians call *ours*, but one that is also owned by the public – people with other backgrounds than ours yet engaged because they feel part of the revival. Multiple media channels need to be involved, different platforms need to be reached, places over a vast area need to be connected, and multiple tools need to be used to engage people in a revival, which is nothing short of a new construction of a shared past.

There are several key issues one needs to be aware of when conceptualizing a heritage revival for any given aspect of history. These include authenticity and selecting the best ways of experiencing and representing the past today, taking into account the desire of professionals to be as nuanced, ethically conscious, and accurate as possible, but also the need to invite multiple audiences to engage in a way that is valuable to them.

In this Introduction, I offer examples of heritage practices and historical experiences involving audiences that do not have a professional archaeological or historical background. The many ways in which history is consumed by non-professional historians can generally be gathered under the term *public history*. This is history which is popular, multi-faceted, omnipresent, and which has many different connections to the professional field of historians, museums, and other cultural and historical institutions. This companion approaches the



subject not only as an important aspect of society with many links to professional organizations and disciplines, but also as an opportunity to bring new stories of our past to audiences by using existing media, networks, and platforms, though in new, creative ways.

### Routes, networks and places

In this companion places, networks and, especially, routes are given a central role in the process of conceptualizing a heritage revival. Places are local, but networks and routes make a project truly and tangibly international in character, by integrating places, objects, and local meanings and stories into a larger body of heritage.

In heritage studies and the management of heritage sites – but also in spatial planning and design – a shift has taken place from preserving authentic historical material to

A former miner or “Kumpel” serves as a bicycle-tour guide on the former mining terrain of Zollverein, Essen, Germany (Linde Egberts, 2011).



a broader notion of *place*, one which also incorporates the ‘connections between the material and spiritual, the tangible and intangible.’<sup>1</sup> In discourse concerning heritage, the *site* has thus been re-*placed* in response to a desire for a richer, dynamic approach to heritage which includes more than the values scientists and archaeologists assign to a place. Heritage sites that are approached as meaningful places are a suitable resource for a heritage revival. They offer a great opportunity for rendering authentic experiences and offer even more options if they are made part of a wider network of historical places.

Historic places are always part of a larger network of historic ties, but they are also part of a contemporary spatial context, one which, to a greater or lesser extent, is based on and evolved from these older networks. Connecting historic places by travelling from one to another brings different stories or aspects of the past together in one experience. The act of travelling adds an extra dimension to the experience, since it gives a person a physical sense of the distances and landscapes of

A runner in the Valkhof park, Nijmegen, the Netherlands (Linde Egberts, 2012).

which these places are part. Walking on historic roads, crossing (former) landscape barriers, and experiencing the vastness, chaos or natural beauty of an historical environment adds to one's understanding and feeling of connection to the past. Heritage routes create a *need to travel* and thus offer their designers an excellent opportunity to co-create meaningful experiences together with their audiences. As will become clear, heritage routes offer great opportunities for international heritage organisations. Travelling from one heritage site to the next, connecting histories to places which were important to them, and physically connecting parts of a story oneself is an ideal way of co-creating authentic experiences and is thus a great tool for an international heritage revival. As has been said before, conceiving a potential audience and gaining an insight into their desires is a very important condition for success.

## Experience

When it comes to understanding the behavior and needs of consumers and strategies to involve them (and of course: make money), those with economic and commercial interests in the subject are much in advance of museums and the archaeological professional. While one might feel it is best to avoid too much commercialism in the case, for example, of publicly funded projects, one can still learn important lessons from studies of consumer behavior and marketing strategies and seek to apply them when appropriate.

This companion is based on the premise that a heritage revival can only be successful when the experience of the audience is the central concern, and marketing and business research offers us insight into how consumers, visitors, or audiences respond. Understanding consumer behavior in terms of *experiences* is an approach which developed around the beginning of the new century, and it offers great opportunities for a *heritage revival*, because museums and cultural institu-



Rusty coke oven  
plant annex giant  
wheel and ice skating  
rink. World cultural  
heritage site  
Zollverein, Essen,  
Germany (© Frank  
Vinken/Stiftung  
Zollverein).

tions, in general, are arenas where the notions of the *experience economy*<sup>2</sup> are particularly relevant.

In the twentieth century, the economy in the West changed from one with a focus on production to one focused on service, and now it is rapidly developing into an *experience economy*. For a long time, commercial thinking centred on how to offer a product or service to consumers who were seen mainly as passive subjects, and marketing was viewed as a means to bridge the gap between supply and demand.<sup>3</sup> Cultural organisations and projects, it was assumed, should offer their audiences the opportunity to look, learn, and enjoy art, historical buildings or archaeological sites, and should promote them through advertisements and news items.

Thanks to recent thinking about how consumer experience things, they are no longer considered to be the passive subjects of marketing and communication strategies, but, instead, as communicative and self-directed individuals. Therefore, the focus of business has changed from the production of goods and the provision of services to the experience of joint

'co-creation' by consumers and organisations. The economy is now focused on the personal and socio-cultural values that an individual seeks to pursue and on the money he or she sets aside for creating the meaningful experiences which give shape to his or her life.<sup>4</sup>

When applying this approach to heritage revivals, one cannot simply provide information online, in books, or in a well-conceived exhibition and expect to reach the desired audience. A heritage revival also requires gathering knowledge about individual members of a potential audience and the sort of experiences they desire. In any given project, one must find an answer to the question which role it can play in the 'life world' of its potential audience members and in the way they wish to give shape and meaning to their life. The co-creation of meaningful experiences is the key to a heritage revival which will turn out to be durable and sustainable. This implies a concentration on the individual's need for experiences, in other words, for practices which promote having fun,

Reading time frames on an archaeological site, with the early medieval St. Laurence church in the background. Ename, Belgium (Linde Egberts, 2011).



creating meaning, and developing one's self-image. Travelling a heritage route, contributing to solving a mystery in an alternate reality game, or re-enacting an historical moment at an historic place are all ways which allow the audience to co-create experiences.

### Authenticity

One of the main aspects of the experience economy is the importance of *authenticity*. It is at the core of consumer behavior: it is 'what consumers really want' in all their purchases and daily activities. Business authors James H. Gilmore and B. Joseph Pine devoted a well-received book to describing the ways in which our entire economy is based on the desire for authenticity, a desire shared by young and old, and by the middle class and the very well-off. They stress the necessity for companies to invest in *rendering* an authentic experience for their customers in order to be successful.

The contradictory element, of course, is the fact that every business offer, just like every heritage revival, is in essence *fake*, because it is man-made. Yet, consumers long for authentic experiences and can indeed experience inauthentic offerings as being authentic to them. A project or a company can earn the privilege of being seen as authentic, only by rendering an authentic experience.<sup>5</sup> Pine and Gilmore's ideas on authenticity are applicable to heritage practices and the cultural field. Customers, but also the audience of a heritage revival, tend to develop new desires for authenticity in whatever they do or spend money on.<sup>6</sup> Rendering authenticity is therefore also a main concern for us when conceptualizing a heritage revival. But, what is authenticity and how can a heritage revival, itself being a contemporary construction based on the past, be authentic?

We need to ask a different question first: what is authentic? To archaeologists, historians and art historians, this might mean something completely different than to a member of the



In October 2012 the main 'battle' of Hastings was cancelled due to the safety risks caused by heavy rainfall (Oli Scarff/Getty Images, 2012).

audience of a heritage revival. The experience of authenticity can vary in many ways. There are, in fact, several different forms of authenticity which play a part in the dynamics of heritage and identities, and they are sometimes the cause of competition and debate. First of all, there is authenticity of *place* and of *object*, which is in many cases the form of authenticity that experts refer to. Authenticity of *place* refers to the *actual* place where an historic event took place; for example, the coast of Normandy is the authentic place where the Allied Forces launched the military operation known as Decision Day on June 6th 1944.<sup>7</sup> Authenticity of *material* refers to the *realness* of historic material, for example historic documents or the archaeological soil archive.

There are others forms of authenticity as well, which can be called *relational*, *creative*, and *referential*. *Relational* authenticity is the experience of authenticity through the personal engagement of individuals in historic events, places,

or object, such as the storytelling of witnesses of a specific past event. *Creative* authenticity refers to the artistic unicity or integrity with which an object or place is shaped.<sup>8</sup> *Referential* authenticity is the contemporary reference to an historic event or historic practice that is consciously and self-evidently produced, as the annual commemoration of the Battle of Hastings (1066) in England.

Complex combinations of these types of authenticity exist in many heritage projects, public history events, or commemorations. The annual commemoration of the Battle of Hastings in England between the Norman-French and English armies, for example, takes place on the location where the battle occurred in 1066 and also around the same date, October 14th. Here, we see the authenticity of place (and time), but also a complex form of referential authenticity. The commemoration takes the form of a re-enactment of the battle by hundreds of actors, who bring back to life the battle as it really was. 'Re-enactments create a dynamic, lifelike context in which participants can identify closely with historical events.'<sup>9</sup> The developments of the role of history in the media and online add a further dimension to the complex notion of authenticity.

Conceptualizing a successful heritage revival that is perceived as authentic incorporates multiple forms of authenticity, more than only *place* and *material*. Involving audiences in the co-creation of the revival is an important factor in its success, since it gives individual members the chance to make the past their own, deciding for themselves what is authentic. The raw, original, and rustic is often perceived as authentic. It makes good sense to engage audiences in the project at a stage when ideas and activities are still being developed and need to be worked out further. Questions of historical accuracy and authenticity are very important when using television, 3D reconstructions, films, computer games, or other digital strategies to organize a heritage revival and convey a sense of authenticity with these tools (see Part 2 of this companion).



## Re-playing the past

Building bridges between experts and a broad audience involves many different interpretations, selections of the past, and representations of heritage. It also raises moral and ethical issues. Throughout this companion, several of these issues will be mentioned only briefly, but they are, nevertheless, crucial, inasmuch as they can make or break a heritage revival in the world of experts or in the realm of public opinion. One essential issue needs to be considered when reading this companion and conceptualizing a heritage revival: should we replay the past and, if so, how?

The chapters in Part 2 of this companion all present a way of reviving the past, and many of them contain elements of performance, acting, and game playing. Take, for example, historical films, in which contemporary actors dress in period costumes and act out a story set in the past. How accurate should these films be about historic figures, locations, dress, or the language spoken? And what about television documentaries on historical topics? Should actors be used to clarify and illustrate a story if no contemporary film footage is available? More extreme examples are re-enactments, in which amateur historians in historical dress refight historic battles in front of (sometimes) huge audiences. What if women want to participate as soldiers in the re-enactment? And how should one deal with Nazi-ideologies if German SS groups need to be represented? And what stand should one adopt towards computer games in which war is idealized and the individual soldier becomes a hero by shooting as many enemies as possible? Is that OK – and without placing any limits on the degree of violence depicted – if it proves effective in engaging new audiences with the past? Finally, who is responsible for historical accuracy and respect for different interpretations of the past, if experiences are co-created with audiences? What happens when the past becomes a game?

It is not possible here to give satisfactory answers to all these questions here, but it is clear that moral and ethical issues

Banning all motorised traffic from highway A40 area attracted 3 million visitors on foot, by bike and on inline skates. For one day it was possible to experience the central highway of the German Ruhr region, once designed for speed, in a slow way (Linde Egberts, 2010).



Visitors exploring German Halde Norddeutschland, an artificial mountain formed through past coal mining, which now functions as artwork, panorama and location for cultural and sports events. (Object: Hallenhaus by Observatorium) (Linde Egberts, 2010).

regarding our heritage are unavoidable and need to be given careful consideration. This does not mean that only experts can decide what a correct representation of the past is. A fine balance needs to be established in the course of every project. Involving the audience in these matters can be a precarious, but also a valuable step for a heritage project.

Discussions about authenticity are closely related to discussions about performance, acting, and game-playing, as the chapter on re-enactments will illustrate. Many re-enactors are very serious about re-presenting the period of their choice as accurately as possible. They use online networks to order their gear, but also experiment with ancient production techniques to acquire the authentic outfits they need.

## Branding Europe

Another topic needs introduction here, as it forms the backdrop of many international heritage revivals and is also mentioned throughout this companion: branding. Many international heritage projects, such as cultural routes, travelling museum exhibitions, and educational programs originate in an ambition to improve the image of places, regions, or even an entire continent, as is the case with Europe. They are also very often funded with the aim of contributing to a more positive image of the area in question.

Images of places, regions, countries, or continents are very stable. The reputation of a country in the rest of the world barely changes over time. Branding strategies, with their slogans and logos are too one-dimensional to be effective for places (or for regions, countries, or continents). To change the public opinion of a place, it is necessary to highlight its richness and complexity, as these are always 'valuable image attributes'.<sup>10</sup> Places or countries should not try to become mere *brands*. 'Governments need to help the world understand the real, complex, rich, diverse nature of their people and landscapes, their history and heritage, their products and their resources: to prevent them from becoming mere brands.'<sup>11</sup> The only way to do so is to create more engagement with the rest of the world, as 'higher visibility does tend to go together with stronger appeal.'<sup>12</sup> Deeds, not logos and images, create public opinion. It is not hard to make the jump from the notion of improving the image of a place by *doing* rather than by *saying and showing* to the idea of co-creating experiences together with the audience.

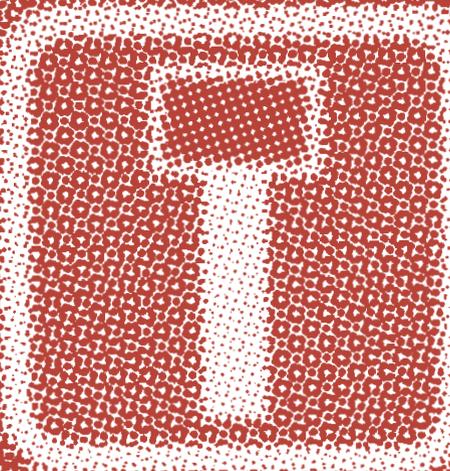
As to the Europe's reputation in the rest of the world, we know that the continent as such has a very good image: it is the top scorer in an international ranking of national 'brands'. Yet, it seems that the international public does not differentiate between the European Union as a governmental institution and Europe as a continent: perception in this regard is not pre-

cise. In pursuing the question, it becomes clear that contemporary European culture scores extremely high, but European governance scores low. It was an unpleasant surprise to learn that heritage and tourism are the weakest points in Europe's reputation in the world. It is thus clear that we have our work cut out for us if we hope to carry out a successful European heritage revival!

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Chapter 2 /  
**Creating a Shared Past?**  
Europe and the Frankish  
heritage in one of its  
heartlands: Alsace /  
Linde Egberts

THE  
CHARLEMAGNE



For international heritage revivals within Europe, the concepts, strategies, and policies of the European authorities are usually very important. Not only does the European Commission stimulate international cooperation in the field of shared heritage and identities; it also creates a framework for these projects, since many heritage networks, platforms, and co-operative efforts are established at the European scale. In addition, it provides the necessary economic and political liaisons. Therefore, it is important to gain some insight into how European cooperation and the idea of European identity have evolved. Today's Europe was shaped by the wish to bring lasting peace to the continent. We would not need pan-European governance if the diversity between countries and cultures was not as large as it is, and thus diversity is a core element in the *project of European identity*: the attempt to create a shared notion of identity among the citizens of the member states. As we will see, most international heritage policies, projects and selections are based on national interpretations of the past. In practice, it appears to be extremely difficult to select and represent heritages in a truly international manner.

In the second part of this chapter I will focus on one particular European region, Alsace, which was literally at the heart of the decades-long German-French conflict that only ended with the Second World War. Strasbourg, the capital of this battlefield region, became one of the centers of the European Union, as a symbolic and physical confirmation of European peace. The development of a strong sense of regional identity in Alsace is an interesting example of how heritage is employed to construct a regional identity. This is illustrated by a brief analysis of three places which were important in the early Middle Ages. The way in which this local heritage is treated illustrates how heritage works in practice and is used for "identity" projects on different scales.

## The European identity project

The European Union was initiated around 1950 with the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community. It was seen as a means of preventing another war in Europe; for it would encompass two key industries necessary to create military build-ups. Since then, the European Union has gone through several phases of expansion and institutionalization. The current European Union (EU) was established with the signing in 1992 of the Treaty of Maastricht, and after 2000, the Euro was introduced, though a European constitution was turned down by referendums in number of countries.

The ideal with which the union started, never to wage war again, has been pushed to the background and seems almost forgotten after several decades of relative peace in Western Europe, the expansion of the Union, and the introduction of the Euro. At present, the European unification process suffers from a severe lack of popularity, as well as a lack of trust not only among the member states' populations but also on the inter-governmental level. The recent economic and Euro crises have changed the value people accord the Union along with the feelings attached to sharing something European. In a symbolically important decision, the Nobel Peace Prize for 2012 was awarded to the European Union. Clearly the committee wanted to highlight the most important result of the Union: "the successful struggle for peace and reconciliation and for democracy and human rights. The stabilizing part played by the EU has helped to transform most of Europe from a continent of war to a continent of peace."<sup>1</sup>

Within the European context, all kinds of cultural projects and initiatives have been undertaken to enhance the notion of a shared identity, culture, and past. The basis of all of them is the notion of "unity in diversity." This is the motto of the European Union and it emphasizes that the variety and cultural richness of the continent is its main asset. While I cannot cite here all the European cultural initiatives, I would like to mention several examples. The first is the annual naming, since 1985, of two

cities as European Capitals of Culture, chosen to “provide the living proof of the richness and diversity of European cultures” and “foster a feeling of European citizenship”.<sup>2</sup> Another example is the European television (and radio) channel Arte (Association Relative à la Télévision Européenne), which has been broadcasting German and French shows on cultural and art-related topics since 1992. The annual Eurovision song contest should be mentioned, as well. It started in 1956 as the initial program on the European Broadcasting Union, which has grown into a cooperative venture of 23 national broadcasting organizations.<sup>3</sup>

### Europe in international heritage policies

In the area of international policies regarding heritage, UNESCO World Heritage, part of United Nations, is of course the major institution. Its strategy focuses on selection through the national heritage commissions of the member states. As a consequence, its international list reflects the self-images of these countries and the aspects of their culture they find most valuable from that particular perspective. Despite the presence of relatively many heritage objects in Europe on the UNESCO World Heritage List, most of them reflect national self-images and historical epochs in history that were important to the formation of the different European nation-states. For example, the list is filled with castles and cathedrals of the Gothic and Romanesque periods. Less well represented are sites from earlier ages, as well as reminders of the European scale of the ambitions of former rulers such as Napoleon, Charlemagne, or the Roman emperors. The dark side of Europe – crises, conflicts, wars, and the Holocaust, all essential formative factors of Europe’s history – is under-represented on the UNESCO List.

There is, however, at least one example of *international* heritage that ignores all national borders and is listed and protected in its entirety by UNESCO. It is the Struve Geodetic Arc,



Tartu Meridian 26° 43'E  
Arc 25° 20' 2822 km

70°

65°

60°

55°

50°

45°

Norway

Sweden

Finland

Russia

Estonia

Tartu

Latvia

Lithuania

Belarus

Ukraine

Moldova

**Struve Geodetic Arc**  
1:14,000,000

 The Struve Geodetic Arc

 Sites that represent the Struve Geodetic Arc

 Countries that are connected by the Struve Geodetic Arc



a series of points established by a survey undertaken to measure a part of the earth's meridian and covering a distance of 2,820 km. Crossing ten different countries, from Norway in the north to the Ukraine in the south, the project dates from the nineteenth century and was carried out in conjunction with an agreement on international boundaries within Europe, something which required accurate mapping.<sup>4</sup>

One of the Struve  
Geodetic Arc Monu-  
ments (1816 - 1855),  
Hammerfest, Norway  
(Daniel Fischer, 2011).

The European authorities have a cultural agenda that is based on stimulating cultural diversity and dialogue, promoting culture as a catalyst for creativity and innovation, and enhancing culture as a part of the union's international relations.<sup>5</sup> Many of the projects that are funded through the European cultural programs are concerned with European heritage, history and

identity. One recent initiative is the creation of a European Heritage label which

“highlights heritage sites that symbolise and celebrate the integration, ideals and history of the European Union. From monuments and archaeological landmarks, to places of remembrance and cultural landscapes, each site has played a significant role in helping to shape the common history of Europe and the building of the European Union.”<sup>6</sup>

The criteria used by the European Commission stress the importance of a site's symbolic value in European terms and its relevance to Europe in the past as well as in the present; it must have a pan-European or cross-border character as well as a connection to European events, movements, or people.<sup>7</sup> The emphasis on *tangible* heritage and the lack of participation is a classic approach. Significantly, and somewhat in contradiction to its international character, all the sites on the list have to be pre-selected at the national level. As a consequence, national criteria and ambitions primarily determine which sites receive the European label and which sites do not.

A successful European initiative that should be mentioned here is that of the European Heritage Days. Since 1991, 50 countries have been celebrating their heritage on the same day.<sup>8</sup> Again, every country has its own way of organizing and programming the event, which makes it as much a national as a European event and as much a national as a European interpretation of the past. The European Heritage Network, an initiative of the Council of Europe, has set itself the goal of linking heritage organizations and facilitating new partnerships and projects. The latest institutionalization of heritage policy on the continental level was the establishment of the Steering Committee for Culture, Heritage and Landscape by the Council of Europe in 2012.<sup>9</sup>

There are also many other European initiatives and insti-

tutes involved in the selection, preservation, interpretation, and presentation of European heritage. One of them is the European Institute of Cultural Routes, which fosters the development of cultural routes on a broad range of themes in order to create common memories and strengthen European solidarity through the activity of travel.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, a lack of monitoring has left us without a clear picture of the uses and effects of these routes.

Summarizing this brief impression of European heritage policies, I want to stress the fact that national interpretations of the past are dominant in deciding how shared heritage is selected and represented. European heritage is consequently often simply a sum of national interpretations of the past. The question remains of whether this truly advances the *project of European identity*.

### A case study: early medieval heritage in Europe's current heartland

In this chapter, I would like to go slightly further into detail on how heritage works on a regional scale, without losing sight of the European context of heritage practices. My example is the use made of the past in a region in the heart of Europe which possesses an important symbolic value for the continent as a whole, namely Alsace. Not only does this small region in France border Germany; its very existence is bound up with being the border area in which Roman and Germanic cultures met. The division between Franconian and Germanic languages and cultures stems from the late Roman and early medieval periods and is still at the core of the region's identity. Borders like this one are often fought over, and in the past, Alsace (or Elsass) has, at different times, been dominated by both German and French rulers and has been a subject of conflict as well as buffer zone since the Early Middle Ages. This *in-betweenness* was most dramatically evident between 1870 and 1945, when the Alsatians changed nationality no

less than four times. Alsace's role as a contested border region in the heart of Europe gained symbolic meaning in the postwar period when over twenty European institutions chose Strasbourg as their base, including the European Council and European Parliament, which are also partly seated in Brussels.

In this European battleground region,<sup>11</sup> the Alsatians became very much aware of their own identity and promoted a sense of regionalism to be able to better withstand the fierce blasts of partisan cultural politics coming from both the French and German sides. As in many regions and countries across Europe,<sup>12</sup> the Alsatian middle class started studying, conserving, and collecting regional (mostly rural) folklore, literature, art, architecture, and other forms of heritage. In the case of Alsace, French patriotic sentiments among members of the middle classes and protests against the German rule went hand in hand with the "musealisation" process of Alsatian regional culture. After the First World War, French rule did not bring the population what it had hoped for, and this same regional heritage was used to offer a counterweight to French cultural politics. Since then, care for its heritage has been closely related to the region's traumatic recent past and its attempts to remain truly Alsatian in the midst of war, conflict, and cultural oppression.

### The Early Middle Ages in today's Alsace

The regional identity of Alsace is thus strongly related to the long-running Franco-German conflict. In the formative decades of this identity, the past was used as a rich resource for giving Alsace a self-consciousness and sense of identity. It is interesting to see what effect this had and still has on the way historic places are used, altered, and conserved. Three places will be briefly discussed here, all of which were important in the Early Middle Ages, at the time when Charlemagne and his heirs ruled large parts of Europe, including Alsace. Before that, the region had fallen under the rule of the Merovingian

kings, who resided in several palaces, one of which is known to have been in *Marlenheim*.<sup>13</sup> This was also a period when the cultural and linguistic borders between proto-French and proto-German worlds were being established. These dividing lines became important ingredients in constituting the region's identity, and they continued to play a role in more recent cultural politics in Alsace. The first duke of Alsace, Adalrich, along with other family members, founded several monasteries. His daughter Odilia became the abbess of two of them, located on and beside an old Roman mountain-top stronghold that later became known as *Mount Ste. Odile*.<sup>14</sup> Adalrich's grandson later founded the monastery of *Murbach* together with a priest called Pirmin.<sup>15</sup> When Charlemagne became ruler in the region, he used the same residence as his Merovingian predecessors: *Marlenheim*. His grandsons divided his empire, and they chose Alsace as their power base. They had temporarily dethroned their father at the so-called *field of lies* somewhere in the surroundings of Colmar in 842, and their alliance was made official in the so-called *Oaths of Strasbourg*. These documents were written in languages that are now seen as the linguistic ancestors of modern German and French. In the following year, the empire was divided up between the three brothers. Later it was restored as the Holy Roman Empire by King Otto I, making Alsace part of the German realm for the next 700 years.<sup>16</sup>

When researching historical writing on the early medieval period, I noticed that the balance between French and German influences on the region's history is discussed over and over again, along with its centuries-long role as a battlefield between them.<sup>17</sup> The political, social, and cultural developments after 1870 have thus entirely colored the interpretation of the Alsatian past, constantly giving rise to questions about which influences have been dominant in the construction of the region's characteristics and self-image.<sup>18</sup> This process has also determined the way in which its early medieval history is studied, interpreted and presented. In the dominant discourse

the most important part of Alsatian history starts after 1648, the year in which the region ceased to be part of the Holy Roman Empire (German territory) and was incorporated into the French territories.<sup>19</sup> The Middle Ages and the long history preceding them play only a minor role in Alsatian memory.<sup>20</sup>

### The Early Middle Ages in today's Marlenheim

Today, Marlenheim is a rural village located 20 kilometers west of Strasbourg, exactly in the area where the Alsatian plain meets the foothills of the Vosges Mountains. It was once the residence of Merovingian and Carolingian kings, but not much is known about this royal palace, not even where it was situated: the excavations that have been undertaken have revealed no traces of it.<sup>21</sup> Only two kilometers to the south of Marlenheim, in the small village of Kirchheim, traces of a large complex have been found, but cannot be linked to the Marlenheim palace with certainty. Other theories suggest that the palace must have been located between today's Kirchheim and Marlenheim, and speculations continue as to the location of the palace, which is mentioned in early medieval documents.<sup>22</sup>

What most strikes the visitor about today's Marlenheim is its viticulture: the hills around it are covered with vineyards. In the village about ten caves offer their products and wine-tastings, and the internationally known Alsatian 'route du vin' brings many wine lovers to the village every year. Nowhere in Marlenheim is reference to be found to its rich past, the presence of kings and a royal palace, or of the mystery in which the story is shrouded. The only way Marlenheim refers to its royal past is in the names that were given to the streets in a new residential area that has been developed since the 1970s.

The village's opportunities for heritage development are endless. What is no longer visible can be made so by reconstructions, exhibitions, festivals, artistic projects, and so forth. None of these things have happened yet in Marlenheim. Apparently no one thinks that it is important to make them happen.

In Marlenheim, France, only a street name refers to Charlemagne (Linde Egberts, 2012).



### The Early Middle Ages in today's Murbach

Leaving the plains of Alsace and entering into the hilly Vosges area, one enters a narrow, wooded valley right under the 'Grand Ballon', the highest mountain of the Vosges. After passing the last houses and under the gateway, the road leads to the former abbey of *Murbach*. Just as a millennium ago, the abbey of Murbach lies in a remote place, hidden away from business, the tourism industry, and traffic. Even religious life has almost come to a standstill there, as the monks have left the abbey and mass is said only once every few weeks. The scale of the complex and the impressive remaining westwork of the former abbey give a hint of the importance and wealth of the abbey in

the early medieval period. But as for the rest, the rich past of this historic abbey is left in oblivion.

The monastery was built, extended, destroyed, abandoned, and rebuilt several times in the course of its history. In the eighteenth century, the monks temporarily left while it was being reconstructed but then decided not to return when the work was completed. Shortly after that, their monastery was suppressed in the French Revolution,<sup>23</sup> and the monastery complex was demolished, together with large parts of the abbey. The remaining westwork was turned into a parish church, which was listed as a monument by the French authorities in 1840.<sup>24</sup> Now, the church is maintained, and the organ restored, but one wonders who comes to hear it played.

Today, the peacefulness of the abbey and its wooded surroundings are valued as one of its main assets. The small local community has therefore actively tried to keep the area free of tourism.<sup>25</sup> The only way tourists are made aware of the abbey is through descriptions in travel guides or by following the tourist route of Romanesque architecture in Alsace, of which Murbach is one of nineteen itineraries.<sup>26</sup> Since the disappearance of the monks, there has been enough interest in the abbey to keep it (at least partially) standing up, but no one has appropriated it for new purposes or attempted to draw attention to its regional importance. It is literally left on the margins.

### The Early Middle Ages and today's Mount Ste. Odile

Until now, it seems that little importance has been given to early medieval sites in the history of Alsace, even though they link the region's past to that of many other parts of Europe and to Europe as a whole. *Marlenheim* and *Murbach* (and perhaps also places like Colmar, Sélestat and Strasbourg) do not appear to actively recall the memory of the Merovingian and Carolingian epochs as there seems no desire or necessity to do so. There is, however, a place in Alsace whose early medieval

The partially restored abbey of Murbach, France, in its quiet, wooded valley (Linde Egberts, 2012).





past plays the leading role in the story of Alsatian identity and memory – a “history in the heart of history”.<sup>27</sup> It is a place that dominates Alsace in a very literal and symbolic way. Mont Sainte Odile is the home of Alsace’s patron saint, who overlooks the plains of Alsace from her mountaintop location. What is the reason for this dominance? The answer is that the Church and the faithful, artists, and rulers all actively remembered it. They preserved, appropriated, and changed this heritage and have kept on attributing meaning to it up through the present day.

Ste. Odile was supposedly the first abbess of the convent, and it is where her remains are kept, as are those of her father Adalrich. The biography of Ste. Odile, written in the early tenth century, attributes several miracles to her, and her fame grew and spread through large parts of the Holy Roman Empire. The convents of the mountain were inhabited, devastated, abandoned, and reclaimed several times – as was the case in *Murbach*. Beginning in the late seventeenth century, Ste. Odile

The convent of Ste. Odile, France, is a popular place of pilgrimage and offers a view of the entire region on clear days (Linde Egberts, 2012).

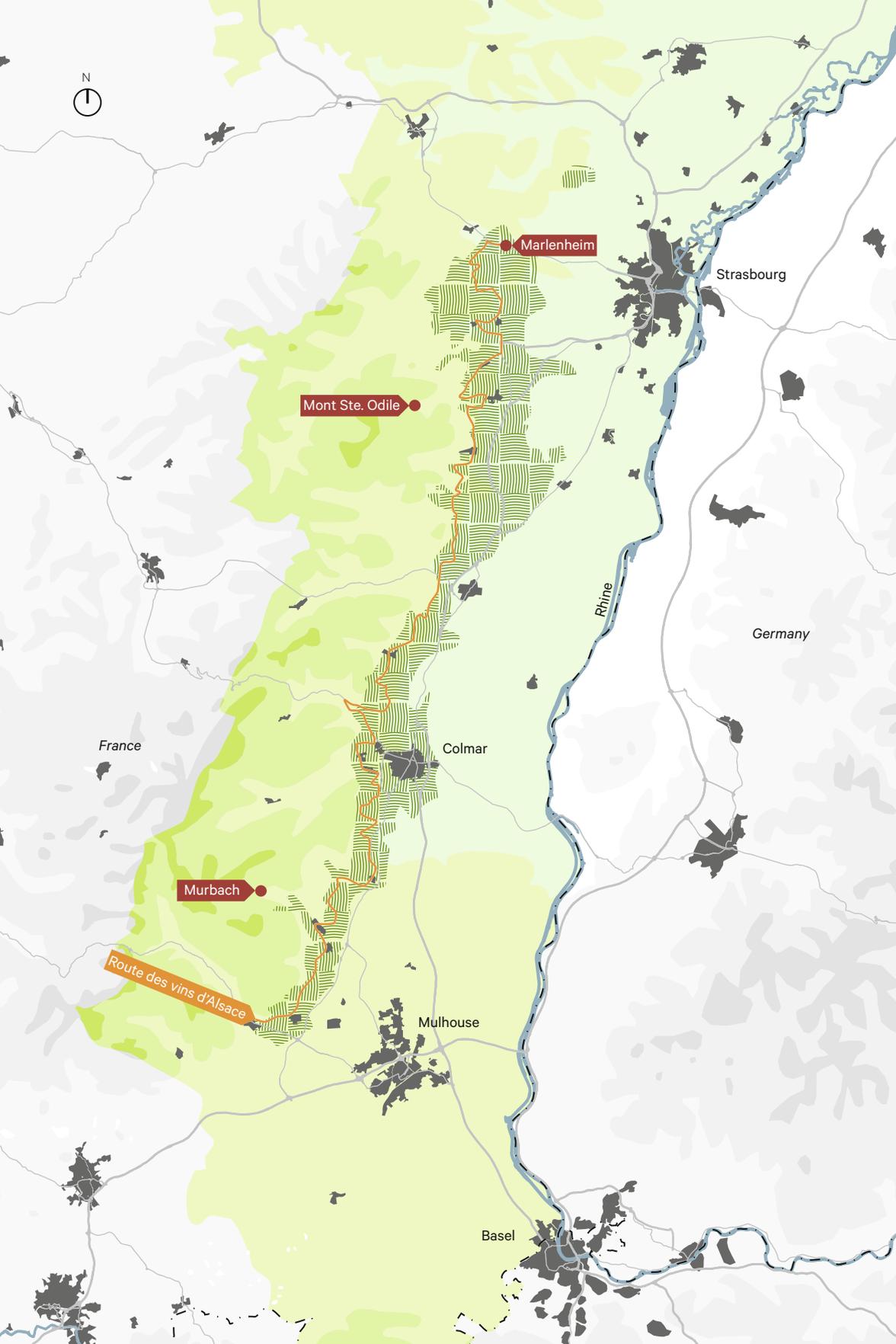
was promoted as the symbol of Alsace and the mountain as the *soul* of the region.<sup>28</sup> It grew into a place of pilgrimage and was venerated by Catholics and Protestants alike.

During the nineteenth century the appreciation of Ste. Odile and her mountain changed in character: her life story became more and more embedded in the romantic mythology of Alsace, and her image became less and less religious. Poems, songs, and plays were written in honor of the saint and the mountain, as a part of the newly developing regional identity under German rule.<sup>29</sup> Under the later French rule, the political symbolism of Ste. Odile became even more pronounced, as she was also called the *guardian of the border* (“*gardienne de la frontière*”).<sup>30</sup> Her image was further transformed into that of the patroness of peace in the aftermath of the First World War. In 1946 Ste. Odile was officially recognized as the patron saint of Alsace, which was once again French following the German occupation.<sup>31</sup>

Since then, Mount Ste. Odile has not experienced any decline in popularity. In 1988 Pope John paid a visit to the convent, drawing renewed attention to the mountain and its saint. The convent is still inhabited, masses are heard by as many churchgoers as can be seated, and every year around one million visitors climb the mountain either on foot or by driving up.<sup>32</sup>

### Touristic routes in Alsace

Having discussed individual historical sites in Alsace, I will now turn to the role of touristic and heritage routes in this area. Mont Ste. Odile is an historic place of pilgrimage, for which trails exist in the surrounding area. But the mountain is not part of a larger network of trails or heritage routes. What is true for Marlenheim, is also true for the entire Alsace region: its tourism relies heavily on the *Route des vins d'Alsace*, a 170-kilometer long route which meanders along the edge of the



Marlenheim

Strasbourg

Mont Ste. Odile

Rhine

Germany

France

Colmar

Murbach

Route des vins d'Alsace

Mulhouse

Basel

Alsatian plane and the foothills of the Vosges. The route is over sixty years old and well known among wine-lovers worldwide for its picturesque villages and wine tasting along the way. The visitor is expected to travel by car but is also offered local hikes passing through vineyards and places of local historical interest. Educational wine trails, too, are very common in villages and towns along the route, which is maintained with markings in the field but also has an extensive website suited to the needs of 18 different language groups/nationalities (including a promotional film in which national wine experts are interviewed). Travel books, group trips, and a smartphone application have been made to improve the accessibility of the route. Well integrated into a communication strategy in which wine producers present themselves and annual traditional wine festivals are promoted, the wine route in Alsace has successfully combined the commercial interests of Alsatian local wine-makers and the tourist's desire for meaningful experience.<sup>33</sup> A *need to travel* through the historic Alsatian landscape is generated by gastronomic, cultural, and educational offerings. In the north, the route starts in Marlenheim, passing through Ottrott at the foot of Mont Ste. Odile and through Guebwiller near Murbach further to the south.

There are other touristic routes in Alsace with a more historical focus, such as the *Route Romane d'Alsace*, which promotes Romanesque architecture and medieval music in Alsace. Although the actual route is marked, its online presentation is rather poor and very out of date. The hugely successful example in this group is the *Route de Crêtes*, an historic, 77 km-long trail along the ridge of the Vosges Mountains. After the Franco-Prussian War (1870–71), this ridge became the border between Germany and France. The road was developed by the French in the First World War to connect the Vosges valleys. Today it is used by hikers (Grande Randonnée 5), cyclists, and motorists, who are treated to panoramic views of the region and beyond. The route, it should be noted, has no website, nor is it promoted by any single organization as a cultural itinerary.

Alsace  
1:1,000,000



Urban Area



Roads



National border



Water



Vineyards



1000m - 100m

## Conclusions

The perspective from which the history of Alsace is studied and interpreted is determined by the conflicts between France and Germany after 1870 and the impact of those events on the region. The approach to the region's heritage is also governed by this perspective on the region's past: it is interpreted through the lens of war and conflict between these two major powers. The early medieval period is most often seen as part of the region's pre-history, in which the roots of its identity – in terms of toponymy, geography, and language – were formed. The heritage from this period is preserved only very selectively (as happens in many regions). Merovingian and Carolingian kings and their palaces do not seem to have evoked much interest in modern-day Alsace, as the case of Marlenheim-Kirchheim has shown. No monuments, reconstructions, festivals, or other references to them are to be found, except for the naming of several new streets after historic groups and figures. The brief analysis of Murbach showed that one of the most powerful monasteries in the region in the Middle Ages is largely demolished and is now maintained as a parish church lying at the far periphery of historic consciousness in the region.

The major exception to this all is the Mount of Ste. Odile. The saint's memory is anchored in this 'lieu de mémoire' by her relics, as well as in many paintings, sculptures, churches, plays, songs, poems, books, and, not least, in the ceremonies and pilgrimages that are performed repeatedly throughout the year. Ste. Odile's heritage has proved to be malleable enough to be valued by pro-German, local patriotic, and pro-French parties; she spoke an old version of German and was initially adored in the German world, but later even more so in France. Beyond that, she has been able to transcend her role as a Catholic saint and become the patroness of a multi-religious region.

In this chapter, I discussed European heritage policies in relation to the idea of a shared European identity, based on unity in diversity. I also illustrated how some parts of the early medieval past are forgotten or, at best, of marginal interest, while

other parts are re-used, having been adapted to fit new roles and purposes. This is how heritage is preserved and passed on from one generation to the next: by appropriation and change, related, very often, to changing power relations. Creating new heritage revivals on an international scale requires adding a new layer of meaning to an already dynamic heritage.

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Chapter 3 /  
**Battlefield of Histories**  
Competition over  
authenticity and heritage  
in an urban region in  
eastern Netherlands /  
Linde Egberts



## Introduction

A heritage revival on a European scale will be ineffective if it is not embedded in heritage practices on a regional or local scale. Chapter 2 discusses the way in which the early medieval past is remembered and forgotten in today's Alsace, a region with great symbolic value with respect to European peace and unification. In this chapter, I discuss heritage practices and the role of the experience of authenticity in a relatively new region: the Arnhem Nijmegen City Region in the eastern part of the Netherlands, where various interpretations and selections of the past compete for attention and investment.

Different experiences of authenticity sometimes clash, leading to heated debates on how to treat a local, but internationally valuable historical heritage. The experience of authenticity can vary in many ways, and one can distinguish several different forms of authenticity which play a part in the dynamics of heritage and identities in the Arnhem Nijmegen City Region and which are sometimes the cause of competition and debate. Different forms of authenticity have already been discussed in Chapter 1, of which authenticity of place and of material are the ones most familiar to archaeologists and heritage professionals. Other forms of authentic experience can be called referential, relational and creative.<sup>1</sup>

In this chapter, I briefly introduce the region and discuss developments in two historic places located within it: the old Valkhof in Nijmegen and Schuytgraaf, a new housing area on the southern edge of Arnhem. I use these examples to show how heritage works on regional and local scales and to stress the importance of thinking carefully about authenticity.

## The Arnhem Nijmegen City Region

The Arnhem Nijmegen region is a rapidly urbanizing area, lying between the largest Dutch cities in the west of the country (Amsterdam, The Hague, and Rotterdam) and the German Ruhr

River area in the east. Only recently the national government started developing policies which treat the cities of Arnhem and Nijmegen as constituting a single coherent region. In the Fourth Report on Spatial Planning of 1988 the region was designated a Daily Urban System (DUS), an urban network of national and international importance; and the report stressed the need for spatial planning on this regional scale, a task assigned to the new governmental entity, the Arnhem Nijmegen City Region, which has been commissioned to coordinate the process of urbanization in the region as a whole.

Welding two cities together in a brand new region is, of course, easier said than done. Historically speaking, Arnhem and Nijmegen share several important similarities in their development and character. The former lies on the northern side of the Rhine River, twenty kilometers from Nijmegen, which lies on the southern side of the Waal River. They mirror each other and are rapidly growing towards each other. Their own historiographies describe the cities as each other's competitors throughout most of their history. My impression is that even today this is a region that does not want to tell the story of a shared past, but rather sees its two main cities as separate entities, competing in the past as well as in the present. The region's name already reveals a part of its identity problem: it is a geographic area in which both expanding cities have strong autonomous historical identities. In business, culture, and politics they are more competitors than partners. Each city cherishes its own heritage, has different memories, and has suffered different traumas. This is the background against which a new identity for this *composite region* is being promoted by governments and private organizations.

In my research, it became clear that this competition between Arnhem and Nijmegen has an influence on heritage practices in the region. The historic episodes with which one city is mainly associated are envied by the other. Nijmegen is known as the Netherlands' oldest city on account of its role as a Roman town, while Arnhem is actively promoting the Roman

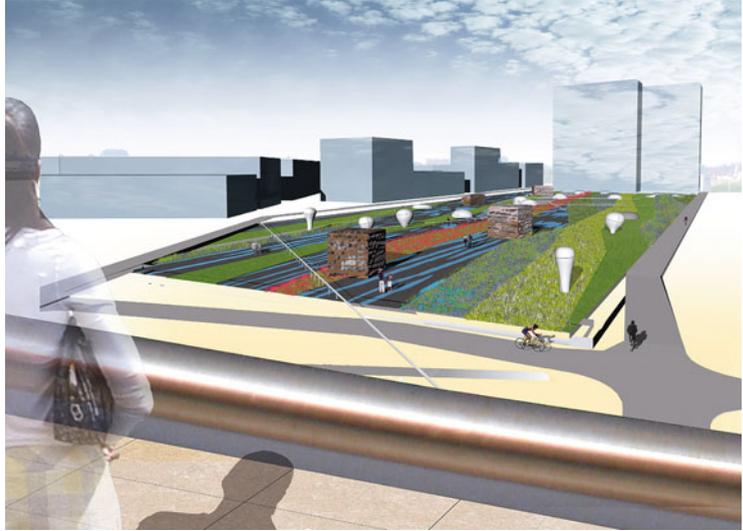
finds in one of its newer residential areas. Arnhem is internationally known for a battle which took place there in the Second World War, but the city puts little effort into emphasise this part of its past. The damage Nijmegen suffered in the war, due to friendly fire from Allied air forces, is much less well known, but it is there that a national liberation museum is now being built, not least because Nijmegen is eagerly seeking recognition of its war trauma.

Now I will turn to two cases to illustrate how competition works in the Arnhem Nijmegen City region. As will become clear, they show not only that competition between the two cities plays a role on a local scale, but also that competition can arise between several historic themes, and that, most importantly, there can be competition between different forms of authenticity.

### Schuytgraaf

The first case is that of Schuytgraaf, a large residential development project of the 1990s, located 5 kilometers southwest of Arnhem's city centre. With its approximately 6,250 new houses, this area provides housing for about 15,000 people. The name Schuytgraaf derives from the historical name given to the area in which a canal functioned as a watercourse ('schutgraaf').<sup>2</sup> In the master plan, developed by the Rotterdam-based agency KCAP, the existing structures in the formerly agrarian landscape of the Overbetuwe were respected and taken as a starting point for a new layout. The designers wanted to integrate built and green structures, making Schuytgraaf into a transition zone between the city and the countryside, and the existing landscape structures and elements were used as much as possible to help realize this idea.<sup>3</sup> While the agrarian cultural landscape was a crucial element for the designers of the initial master plan, they turned out to be only the first of several groups competing to determine which parts of Schuytgraaf's history should receive the most prominence.

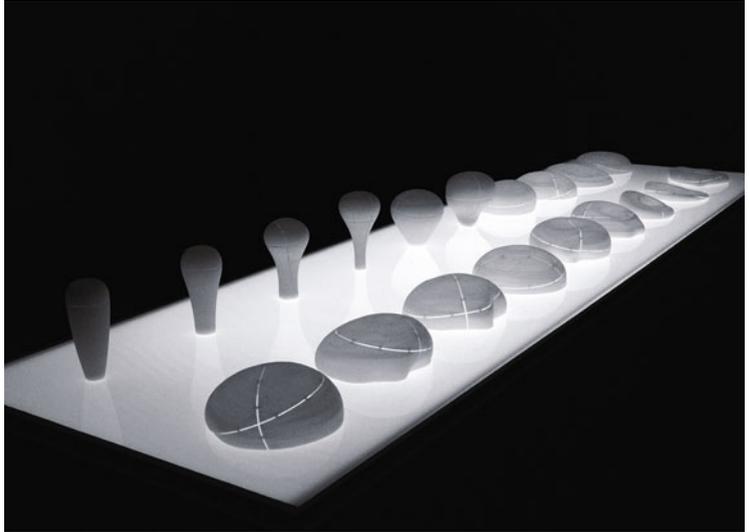
The winning design for Schuytgraaf was “De Landing”. The artist impression shows the future terrain with parachute-like structures in Arnhem, the Netherlands (courtesy of CHORA, 2009).



In the late 1990s, the preparations began for the construction phase, which included archaeological research. Local archaeologists found considerable material from various periods: remains of a hunting camp from the Stone Age, traces from the Middle and Late Iron Ages, a Roman settlement, and a medieval farmhouse, among others. The remains of unknown German and British soldiers were also found, as well as parts of a German aircraft – not surprisingly, as the front line ran straight across Schuytgraaf during the last months of the Second World War. The interest of amateur historians of the Second World War in these bodily remains far exceeded the resources, knowledge, and experience available to professional archaeologists to document and research them properly. Most of the traces have by now been lost without being thoroughly documented, but many of the objects have been moved to the nearby Airborne Museum.

The archeologists valued the findings from the Iron Age very highly, which led to their conservation *in situ* and the protection of the area as a national monument. This made it impossible to develop Schuytgraaf's central commercial zone near the Arnhem-Schuytgraaf railway station as originally intended.<sup>4</sup>

CHORA studied and reconstructed various stages of landing of a parachute with scientific exactitude for their design of “De Landing” in Schuytgraaf, Arnhem, the Netherlands (courtesy of CHORA, 2009).



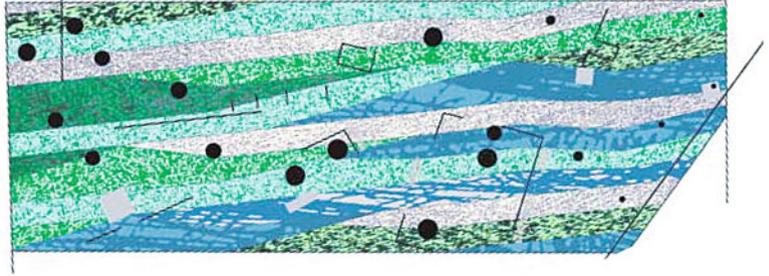
A design competition was held to develop an alternative location for this zone, respecting the archaeological archive by not planning any built structures at the originally chose location, but still allowing it to form the entrance to Schuytgraaf and to become the ‘memory’ of the new development area.<sup>5</sup>

The selection committee wanted, among other things, a design that would tell the story of Schuytgraaf’s past. It did not favor any one layer of history over another, leaving it up to the competition entrants to make the choice and to decide how this story would be told. The winning design was submitted by Chora, an architecture and city planning office from London, founded and directed by *Smart City*-specialist Raoul Bunschoten.

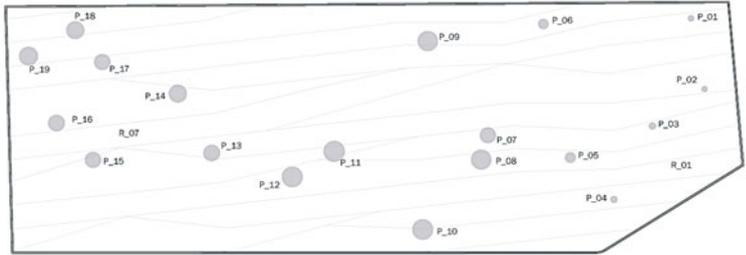
“The monument will be a field that contains a landscape based on the natural flood zone of the nearby River Rhine, [with] specially designed railings with texts about the archaeological finds that remain in the ground, four pavilions that house different programs and form the settings for the last layer, the parachutes, shaped freely on different stages of a jump from a plane.”<sup>6</sup>

In this winning proposal, most of the site’s historical layers

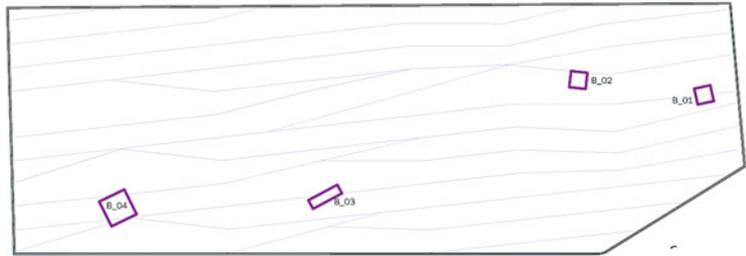
Ground



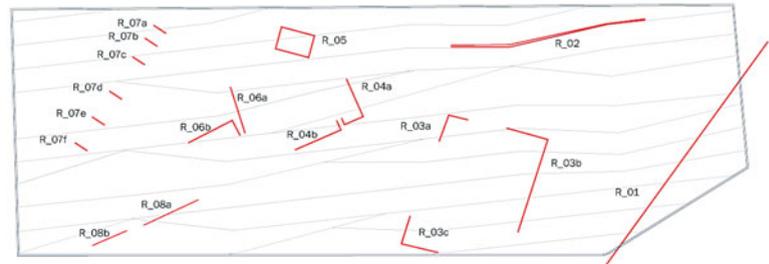
Parachutes



Pavilions



Railings



will be represented on the exhibition railings, that lie within the flood plain of the Rhine River. The designers selected the most recent historical layer to play the main part in this design, creating a monument for the Polish parachutists who landed between Schuytgraaf and Driel. Several detailed imitations of parachutes in various stages of landing will petrify (in concrete) on the location. The designers felt that the role of these Poles was being neglected in the memorials of Operation Market Garden and therefore wanted to pay tribute to them here.

Although the original KCAP master plan contained other functions for the archaeological field, the KCAP architects believe that the Chora design adds a valuable layer of stories and meanings to it.<sup>7</sup> The KCAP and Chora designers thus agree on the value of integrating local histories in the spatial design of Schuytgraaf. However, most inhabitants of Schuytgraaf, who form the main target group for this storytelling, did not have any notion of the area's history before the first houses were built, and a discourse analysis by Robert Opdorp shows that the designer's ideas about integrating histories in a development plan by referring to them in the spatial context thus did not have the expected results.

This brief discussion shows how relatively little the new inhabitants tend to 'adopt' from the stories that the planners and designers want to tell about this historical, but completely transformed area.<sup>8</sup> The designers assumed that identities can be created in the planning process by using references to local histories, but Opdorp showed how little of this came across to the inhabitants of Schuytgraaf. They do, in fact, have an interest in the Second World War, as witnessed by their organized group bus trips to the nearby commemorations of Operation Market Garden. World War Two buffs have even proved their (destructive) fascination with local history by the scale on which war remains have been illegally excavated; a security company has repeatedly informed the police about it, and several of those responsible for the digging were arrested.<sup>9</sup>

This case makes clear how differently designers, archaeologists, local citizens, and military history enthusiasts value the

Maps of "De Landing" by CHORA in Arnhem, the Netherlands (courtesy of CHORA, 2009).

past. Schuytgraaf's master plan is based on its agrarian cultural landscape; the inhabitants are mainly interested in the history of the Second World War; and at the heart of the area there lies an Iron Age archaeological monument which will be devoted mainly to telling the story of Operation Market Garden in 1944. It is fascinating to see how these groups all have their own way of valuing the past and how these opinions collide. It is a curious fact that local war buffs illegally dig up war paraphernalia in an area dedicated to research on the early Iron Age, and that this pre-historic heritage site is appreciated mainly by archaeologists, but will be shared by parachute-shaped exhibition pavilions devoted to the Second World War. This is how heritage practices work and compete on a local scale.

### The reconstruction of the Valkhof tower

The second case I want to discuss here is the Valkhof in Nijmegen. Today it is a lush, historic park overlooking the Waal River, and the site of two medieval chapels. This is the place where traces of a Roman fort and Carolingian castle are preserved *in situ*. It contains the remains of a castle built by the Emperor Barbarossa that was demolished in the late eighteenth century by the provincial government, which had earlier moved from Nijmegen to Arnhem. Soon after the demolition, a park was laid out according to a design by the famous Dutch garden architect Johan David Zocher Jr., incorporating what remained of the castle: St. Nicholas's chapel and St. Martin's chapel. The Valkhof is a place of memory that incorporates traces of many different periods, most of which are not visible at the present time.

For several decades groups have been campaigning for the reconstruction of the main tower (donjon) of Barbarossa's castle on the Valkhof. The fact that it was demolished by the regional government in Arnhem intensifies the feeling of loss among local history enthusiasts. A reconstruction would restore a part of Nijmegen's past glory as a regional power



The Valkhof park and its chapels in Nijmegen, the Netherlands (Linde Egberts, 2012).

centre, so little of which is evident today. In 2005, Nijmegen celebrated its 2000th anniversary with a full year of historical projects and festivities. One of these projects was the reconstruction in scaffolding and printed cloth of the twelfth-century Valkhof tower. This temporary reconstruction signaled a new phase in the reconstruction debate, because on that occasion the Valkhofvereniging (Valkhof society) circulated a petition among the visitors in support of the permanent reconstruction of the donjon. In 2006 an official referendum was held among Nijmegen's citizens, in which 60% of them voted for reconstructing the tower. Its reconstruction would not only be a reminder of Nijmegen's past glory; it would also be an opportunity to experience the tower and the Valkhof *as it really was*. Thus, in this reconstruction debate, we see a form of *referential* authenticity clashing with other forms of authenticity.

The results of the referendum obliged the city administration to carefully consider the feasibility of a reconstruction. This was a complicated task, since both the Zocher park and the



archaeological remains beneath it are national monuments; the Valkhof is also part of a townscape conservation area and, therefore, cannot be easily be altered. Another problem is posed by the serious lack of historical sources: no floor plans are available, leaving us with only paintings from the sixteenth century onwards, most of which picture the Valkhof as a symbol of Nijmegen, with little hesitation about conveying minor topographical and architectural inaccuracies.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, many alterations may have been made to the tower in the centuries between its construction and the time when these paintings were made.

In the meantime, the city council of Nijmegen has embraced municipal history as the basic selling point in the city's marketing campaign. Nijmegen is said to be the oldest city in the Netherlands, but hardly any visible traces exist to support that claim. Reconstructing the Valkhof tower would be a fine opportunity to partially restore the city's historical appearance. Additionally, it would generate more tourist interest and create an attractive new business area in the city – further reasons for the council to approve the reconstruction plans.

Yet the local heritage experts and the national service for cultural heritage have objections to the reconstruction, because of the potential damage to the national monuments and the townscape conservation area. Heritage professionals see it as their task to protect what is *authentic* in terms of *place* and *material*. Heritage expert Sandra Langereis adds the objection that the demolition of the Valkhof castle by the province of Gelderland, despite local protests, was an act of breaking with the past and is part of the biography of the Valkhof. The same impetus accounts for the development of the Romantic Zoicher park, in which the ruins of the castle were meant to offer strollers opportunities for the nostalgic contemplation of Nijmegen's great past.<sup>11</sup> Langereis stresses the *creative authenticity* of the Valkhof park as a monument of park design. She pleads for a biographical approach to the Valkhof, in which the current park can be read as a *palimpsest*: the result of centuries of building and demolition, of carved-

The Valkhof tower was reconstructed by using scaffolding and printed textile (courtesy of the municipality of Nijmegen, 2005).



Arnhem

John Frost Bridge

Schuytgraaf

Rhine

Park Lingezegen

Waal

Valkhof

Nijmegen

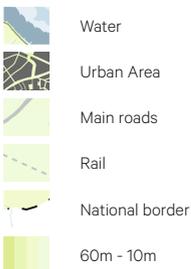


View on the temporary reconstruction of the Valkhof tower in Nijmegen, the Netherlands, 2005 (courtesy of the municipality of Nijmegen, 2005).

in histories and deliberately erased traces.<sup>12</sup> Rebuilding the long-lost tower would mean erasing a part of Nijmegen's more recent and no less valuable history. The current result of centuries of breaking down and building up again should be approached as an *authentic whole*, as well.

The ongoing debate over the reconstruction of the Valkhof tower displays the dynamics at work between a number of competing views: the inhabitants' wish for an *authentic* historic experience; the city's desire for better branding through visualizing Nijmegen's antiquity; real estate interests; and the opinion of heritage experts, who would rather preserve the authentic *place, material* and multilayered past of the Valkhof than undertake a reconstruction which, given the absence of source material, would necessarily be historically inaccurate. As of today, it is still not clear which form of authenticity will win the competition over the future of the Valkhof.

Arnhem Nijmegen  
region  
1:150,000



## Historic places and routes

Several remarks are worth making at this point about heritage routes in the Arnhem Nijmegen City Region. In the Netherlands, this region is playing a pioneering role in the development of heritage routes with a focus on experiences. Cooperation between the regional tourist office, local heritage institutions, and various governmental entities has resulted in the creation of a heritage portal on the internet which presents the region's past on demand and offers virtual access to specific locations. It concentrates on three important historical layers: the Roman period, the Middle Ages, and the liberation at the end of the Second World War. Entrepreneurs – hotels, restaurants and other service providers – offer package deals including everything needed for an historical experience of the region. The website, *Exciting History*, is available on both personal computers and smartphones and can be navigated using a map, a timeline, or a collage of pictures. It offers written stories, images, and sound recordings of eye-witnesses to events during the Second World War. *Exciting History* is not a route or trail; it is a collection of places that are presented thematically. As chapter 4 will show, the website is quite successful and will be partially developed further into an international

The John Frost Bridge was the place of fierce fighting in the Battle of Arnhem (1944), the Netherlands. Today it is a location of the heritage tourism project *Exciting History* (Linde Egberts, 2012).





The Airborne Museum in Oosterbeek is one of the locations of *Exciting History* and offers an immersive experience of Operation Market Garden, the Netherlands (Linde Egberts, 2012).

Liberation Route. *Exciting History* seeks to offer an historical experience, and it seems to be succeeding, at least partially. Yet the project's interactivity is at a rather low level, keeping the audience from contributing very much to the project and thus diminishing the possibility of its really *co-creating* this historical experience, rather than just *consuming* it. The website does offer some geographical information, but this goes little further than putting dots on a very general map. The sense of the landscape, spatial framework, and coherence among historical places is lost in the online presentation. Little attention was paid to creating a desire to travel or to conveying what it would be like to visit the region and experience its heritage at first hand. The historical information is correct, but it hardly embeds the region's history in a larger context, either spatially or temporally. While this pioneering initiative is attractive, accessible, and fairly successful, it still has not exploited a number of opportunities to turn the heritage of the region into a truly co-created experience, one with possessing a much richer content with regard to landscape, historical context, and connections with the rest of the world.<sup>13</sup>

## A battlefield of histories

The Arnhem Nijmegen City Region is divided by rivers, historical frontiers, cultural differences, and a deeply rooted sense of competition between the two cities, a competition, which, as we have seen, is reflected in the region's heritage practices. The case of Schuytgraaf showed how various groups value the elements of a local heritage differently, and how this fact could give rise to competition among the public, a design jury, and archaeologists. This competition went as far as war buffs illegally digging up Second World War paraphernalia, *rescuing* it from feared destruction, but at the same time destroying the archaeological soil archive and along with it the possibility of gaining greater insight in the recent history of Schuytgraaf. In a few years, the winning period will be the Second World War, since the new pavilions in the heart of Schuytgraaf will protect the older remains, but refer poetically to the landing of Polish Allied Forces in Operation Market Garden (1944) using parachute-like forms. It is quite remarkable that this is taking place in Arnhem; for until the present time the city has found it too painful to actively recall the Battle of Arnhem other than in traditional commemorative ceremonies and monuments.

Various forms of authenticity have come into play in the background in the case of Schuytgraaf. In the case of the Valkhof, a heated public debate centres around different ideas about what is authentic and about what should be protected and evoked. This competition between places, periods, and forms of authenticity is very characteristic of heritage practices throughout Europe. It is an important part of the framework in which a new heritage revival has to be embedded, on both the local and the regional scale.

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Part 2

## **Revival Tools**

Chapter 4 /  
**Strategies for a  
Heritage Revival in  
the Digital Age /**  
Jasper Visser

# II

## Financial Management

### 10-1. The Budgeting Process

1. **What is the budgeting process?**

2. **What are the steps in the budgeting process?**

3. **What are the types of budgets?**

4. **What are the types of budgets?**

### 10-2. Budgeting and Financial Statements

#### 10-2.1. The Income Statement

1. **What is the relationship between the budget and the income statement?**

#### 10-2.2. Cash

1. **What is the relationship between the budget and the cash flow statement?**

2. **What are the types of cash flows?**

#### 10-2.3. Inventory

1. **What is the relationship between the budget and the inventory account?**

2. **What are the types of inventory?**

#### 10-2.4. Payables

1. **What is the relationship between the budget and the payables account?**

2. **What are the types of payables?**

Account	Debit	Credit
Accounts Payable		
Accounts Receivable		
Inventory		
Prepaid Expenses		
Accrued Liabilities		
Accrued Assets		
Deferred Tax		
Other		

### 10-3. Budgeting and Financial Ratios

#### 10-3.1. Return on Assets

1. **What is the relationship between the budget and the return on assets ratio?**

2. **What are the types of return on assets ratios?**

3. **What are the types of return on assets ratios?**

#### 10-3.2. Return on Equity

1. **What is the relationship between the budget and the return on equity ratio?**

2. **What are the types of return on equity ratios?**

10-1

10-2

10-3

10-4

10-5

10-6

10-7

## Introduction

The digital revolution has, beyond a doubt, changed the world. At first, the Internet looked unthreatening, like just another mass medium with the hyperlink being its main gimmick. By 2012 it has turned into a multi-billion dollar business for some, and irrevocably destroyed old business models for others, such as publishers and the music industry. Social media, the pinnacle of the digital revolution, have become a normal topic of conversation, and its main platforms are publicly traded top brands. The internet has also entered the 'offline' domain, as smartphones, NFC, RFID, QR, and a bunch of other acronyms ensure that people are always connected. The result of all this is, in the words of Brian Solis, one of the world's foremost analysts of the digital age, "the end of business as usual."<sup>1</sup>

Cultural and heritage institutions around the world have recognized the potential of the digital age to help them overcome many of the challenges they face. During the past few years or so they have been experimenting with projects as diverse as reliving historical moments on Twitter,<sup>2</sup> connecting Wikipedia content to physical locations,<sup>3</sup> and revealing hidden histories to commuters on the location-based social network Foursquare.<sup>4</sup> New media and technology have helped institutions connect with new audiences, build deeper and more sustainable relations with their existing audiences, open up new revenue streams, and discover their relevance in a changed world.

Indeed, the internet (in the second decade of the third millennium no longer with a capital letter, like electricity and water) *has* changed the world in many ways and especially the relationship between audiences and institutions. People come *together to do stuff* at an unprecedented scale. Clay Shirky's *Here Comes Everybody*<sup>5</sup> and Don Tapscott's *Wikinomics*<sup>6</sup> describe how people nowadays like to organize themselves without organizations and work together to achieve the impossible. Chris Anderson's 'long-tail'<sup>7</sup> makes sure there is a niche for everybody to shine in and excel at.

Yet, most people do not get much further online than watching cat videos on YouTube. Deep engagement with causes has been reduced to 'liking' brands on Facebook. Social activism and real world demonstrations have turned into online petitions that require only an email address to show one's support. Morozov argues that for all its organizing powers, the internet is especially good at distracting people from real engagement and action by providing them with bogus alternatives.<sup>8</sup> Heritage online, in my experience, suffers from a similar problem. It is easy to get a thousand people to like an exhibition on Facebook, but hard to get one meaningful contribution to an online discussion about the cultural value of a recently discovered object.

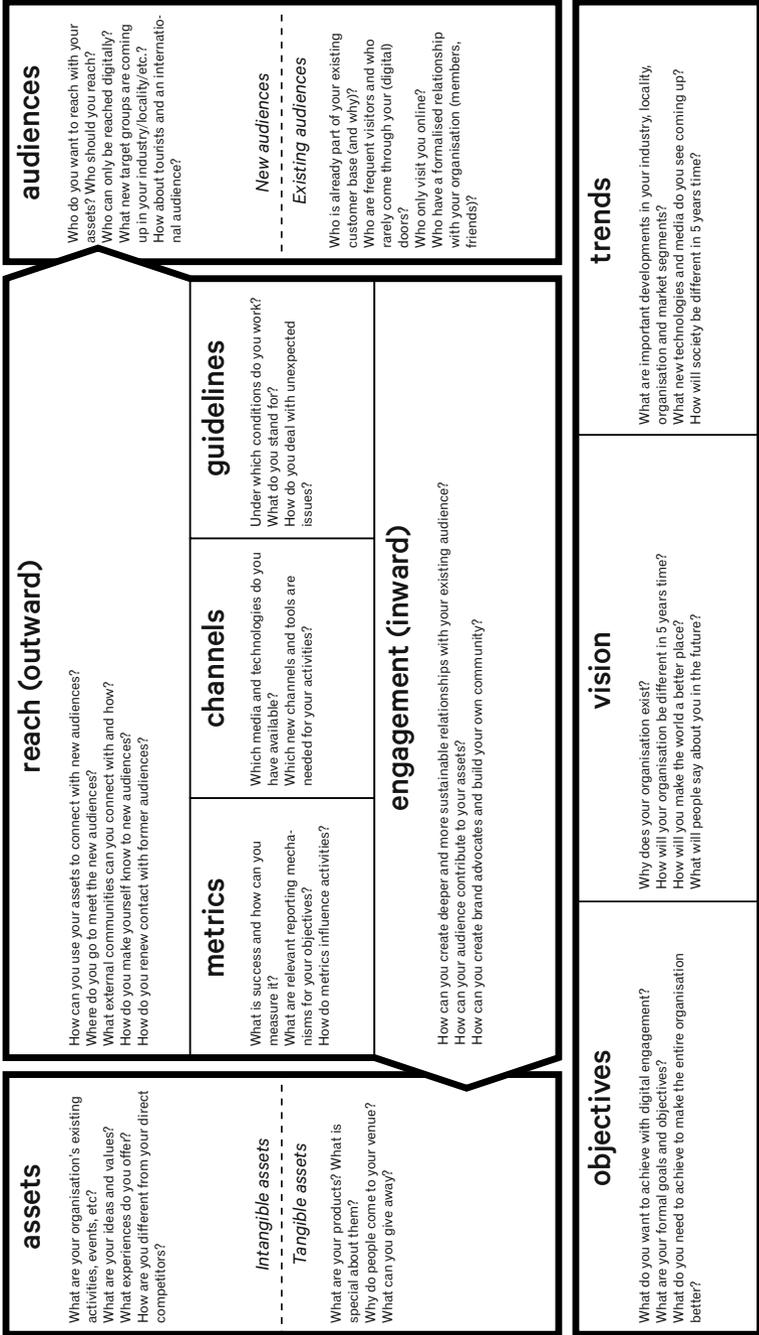
It does not have to be this way. The digital age offers great opportunities for cultural and heritage institutions to connect with and engage their audiences in a meaningful and sustainable way. It is not easy and until now the success stories are few and far between. In this article I will share some of the most powerful and promising strategies that cultural and heritage institutions could employ to trigger a heritage revival in the digital age. In this way I hope to offer tools and ideas that will help such institutions be prepared to make the most of the changes being brought about by the digital revolution.

### Connecting heritage content and audiences

All successful digital projects in cultural and heritage institutions manage to make a connection between the *content* of an institution and its *audiences*. Drawing on the framework developed by Jim Richardson and myself to facilitate digital strategy development in content-heavy organizations such as museums, historical societies, libraries and archives (see [figure 1](#)), we suggest this connection can function either by *engagement* or *outreach*. Engagement involves building a deeper and more sustainable relationship with existing audiences via digital media. Outreach requires addressing new

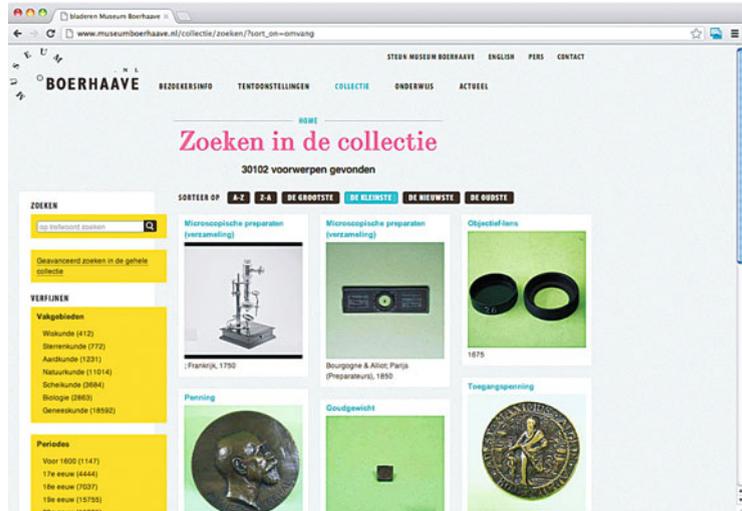
figure 1  
Digital Engagement  
Framework (Jasper  
Visser, 2013).

# digital engagement framework version 2.0



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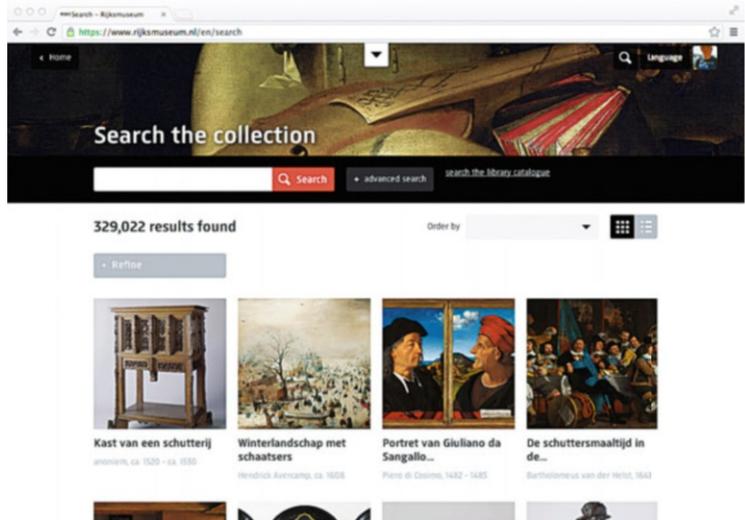
Screen capture  
(Museum Boerhaave,  
2013).



target audiences with existing content. In the organizations where we apply this model to discover their potential to connect with and engage audiences in the digital age, we have observed that good projects always combine outreach and engagement and that outreach precedes engagement. Simply put: if nobody knows about a project or piece of content, there will most certainly be no engagement.

All heritage content, in one way or other, is about stories: grand histories, personal anecdotes, and everything in between. Making a connection between heritage content and audiences, either via outreach or engagement through traditional or new media, thus involves an act of storytelling. In an exciting talk on the popular website TED in 2012, Kevin Allocca, YouTube's trend manager, explained succinctly what is needed to tell successful stories online that will reach many people: "Tastemakers, creative participating communities, complete unexpectedness; these are characteristics of a new kind of media and a new kind of culture."<sup>9</sup> To these characteristics I would like to add 'generous.' Be generous with the stories you share. Most protective or limiting strategies regarding digital content have turned out to be counter-productive, as the music

Screen capture  
(Rijksmuseum, 2013).



industry, with its million-dollar claims against individuals for file sharing, has proven beyond doubt.

Reaching tastemakers, engaging active communities, and offering generous, unexpected content are three ingredients for projects that will reach and engage people. Of these, unexpected content is the easiest for heritage institutions to manage: the heritage itself is often unexpected, although it might need to be presented differently. For instance, instead of by period and geographical location, objects may be presented by their physical size, as in the online collection of the Museum Boerhaave in Leiden, or their primary colors, as the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam does. Content and stories can also be unexpected if they have an extraordinary relation to an individual member of the audience, resonate well with contemporary discussions and themes, or for a variety of other reasons. In one project I have worked on, we turned cheap Chinese replicas of historical Dutch objects into unexpected content by accompanying them with humorous animations.<sup>10</sup>

A second ingredient, reaching tastemakers, is trickier. A tastemaker is someone who can influence online behavior, for instance because he/she has a huge following on a social

network or writes a widely read weblog. Tastemakers are not always traditional celebrities, but they are likely to have a celebrity status in the niches they influence. A tastemaker in the world of museum innovation, for instance, is museum director and former consultant Nina Simon, who writes the Museum 2.0 blog. A mention of a project on that blog is sure to lead thousands of professionals to discover it. Similarly, there are influential specialist blogs on history and heritage in most countries that can generate considerable interest in a high-quality piece of unexpected content.

A further ingredient, generosity, is a means of getting a tastemaker's attention to your story. Generosity means sharing stories without expecting anything in return, often under non-restrictive copyright licenses such as Creative Commons. For example, Open Culture ([www.openculture.com](http://www.openculture.com)) is a weblog exclusively dedicated to high-quality online content that is generously 'given away' by its owner. Wikipedia is entirely based on individuals generously sharing and editing online content. Even the software of the website can be downloaded and used free of charge by anyone wishing to do so. In the digital age, all restrictions placed on stories will restrict their ability to reach and engage people.

Finally, active communities constitute the third of Allocca's success factors for online content. An active community is a node where people consciously come together to share, discuss, rate, edit, remix, interact with, etc. online content. Most well known social networks such as YouTube, Facebook and Twitter are such communities, as are thousands of niche communities such as blogs and forums. If you are active online, it is likely you are part of a number of these communities. If you share a story in an active community, for instance on the Facebook wall of your institution, you will have to recognize the specific requirements of the community and its members. YouTube, for instance, can only be used to share video content, and content on Facebook has to be visually pleasing (see box 1).

A good example of a project following the strategy set

Screen capture  
(Twitter, 2013).



out by Allocca is the aforementioned live storytelling of the sinking of the *Titanic* on Twitter. Between March 10 and April 15, 2012, the History Press, a UK history publisher, posted 429 historically correct updates on Twitter telling the story of the sinking of the *Titanic* in real time, 100 years after the real event. They attracted almost 80,000 followers and received thousands of 'retweets,' the Twitter equivalent of sharing a story you like. Unexpectedness, of course, is in the story of the unsinkable *Titanic* itself. Twitter is an active community perfectly suited for this sort of event, and within a smart PR move they managed to have top history bloggers write about the action, encouraging a large number of people to tune in. They were also generous, sharing photos as well as telling the story from multiple viewpoints. The sinking of the *Titanic* is not the only event to be live-tweeted after the fact. The Cuban Missile Crisis, World War II, and many other historical events can be followed from minute to minute. In a variation on this theme, historical figures tweet as if they were alive: Mao Zedong, Nicola Tesla, and Charles Darwin are among the many whose accounts are followed by people all over the world.

box 1  
Typical social media  
platforms

## Typical social media platforms and their characteristics

**Facebook:** social network where friends exchange news and photos and associate themselves with organizations and brands. Focused on engagement and most successful if updates are short, visual and have a clear goal. A great example of a highly successful cultural institution on Facebook is the Saatchi Gallery in London. Every day they use beautiful images to engage their fans and maintain the relationship ([www.facebook.com/saatchigalleryofficial](http://www.facebook.com/saatchigalleryofficial)).

**Twitter:** microblogging service where people and organizations share updates of 140 characters or less. It is focused on conversation. Organizations have started using Twitter as an alternative to the traditional help desk. Occasionally, cultural and heritage institutions from all over the world work together around campaigns that engage millions of people. Recent examples include #askacurator (curators from around the world answered questions submitted by visitors) and #collectionfishing (an ongoing project where institutions pick objects from their collection based on a central theme.)

**YouTube:** video sharing website and search engine which allows everyone to upload their videos, and which is dominated by cats and music. Its social networking aspects are often neglected but can be immensely powerful if used in the right way. An example of such use a good use is the Crash Course World History channel ([www.youtube.com/user/crashcourse](http://www.youtube.com/user/crashcourse)). YouTube works especially well with some humour. The Open University channel ([www.youtube.com/user/OUlearn](http://www.youtube.com/user/OUlearn)) presents 60-second animations on a wide variety of topics, easily accessible for everyone.

**Pinterest:** social pinboard where users create and curate collections around all sorts of topics. Pinterest is relatively new but has been embraced by organizations worldwide to share their content and involve the audience in their daily operations. An organization using Pinterest well is the Chicago History Museum. Using boards for specific topics in their collection, they connect to different communities ([pinterest.com/chicagomuseum/](https://pinterest.com/chicagomuseum/)).

**Instagram:** photography app for smartphones that allows users to take and share pictures with friends, using special filters to make the photos look beautiful –Twitter for people who prefer images to text. Since collections and tangible heritage work well on Instagram, the number of institutions active on it is quite large. Good examples include the Brooklyn Museum, the Amsterdam Tattoo Museum (really!), and the Powerhouse Museum in Sydney.

**Blogs:** online diaries or magazines where individuals or organizations share longer articles, often with visuals, about any given topic. Blogs are meant to trigger engagement (comments) and have become a full-fledged alternative to traditional media outlets. There are many different blog services, such as Tumblr, Blogger, and Wordpress. A great blog to follow for cultural heritage practitioners is Nina Simon's Museum 2.0 ([museumtwo.blogspot.com](http://museumtwo.blogspot.com)).

**LinkedIn:** social network for professionals designed to help them keep a track of resumes, find jobs or colleagues, and discuss professional topics with members of one of its many dedicated groups. More focused on professional development than mass engagement, LinkedIn cannot be used by institutions to actively reach out and engage their audiences, but only by individuals.

## Reaching out to offline audiences

So far we have mostly discussed online content, but in my experience these rules apply to all digital content. Now that the boundaries between the online and the physical world are blurring, digital media can be used to reach out to people in the physical world as well. In a special forum about mobile media at the 2010 Picnic Festival in Amsterdam, David Vogt, founder and executive director of Mobile Muse, showed how changes in media change the way people are reached by and engaged with content. When people started sharing cultural stories, they probably did so around a campfire under the open air. The stories shared were highly personal, highly relevant to the community of listeners, and involved the audience. Advances in media weakened the link between story and audience. Radio, cinema, and television created distances and (technological) barriers; stories became less personal, relevant, and interactive. Social media and web 2.0 (see box 2) reversed this trend, and mobile internet and ubiquitous technology help even more to tell stories that are highly personal and relevant, immersive, interactive, and occasionally even tangible, once again. This trend, according to Vogt and many others, myself included, allows cultural and heritage institutions to use digital media and new technology to reach out to more active communities and even to enlarge the number of active communities by creating new ones through the introduction of digital content in the 'offline' realm.

A simple and successful project that shows the potential of this approach is an experiment I did in 2010–2011 for the Museum of National History of the Netherlands using the location-based gaming platform Foursquare. Foursquare is a mobile app with a small but dedicated user base whose members share their physical location in the world using their smartphones. Foursquare users will let their network on the platform know they are visiting a museum, restaurant, or shop. Users will leave tips about venues for each other, such as the best food on the menu, WiFi passwords, or interesting anecdotes.

box 2  
Web 1.0, 2.0, 3.0  
and 4.0

### **Web 1.0, 2.0, 3.0 and 4.0**

At the moment, people distinguish four different generations of the internet, which all coexist on the worldwide web. Although the numbers might suggest that these are different and improved versions of each other, in reality they are different approaches to the use of internet and can co-exist in one institution and even on one platform.

**Web 1.0** is the internet of information, where organizations publish information and audiences consume it passively. Web 1.0 is the web where a heritage institution shares its opening hours, directions, and other static information.

**Web 2.0** is the participatory internet. Internet users contribute and co-create the information on the web and come together in communities. Heritage institutions can use web 2.0 (services) to connect with their audiences, for instance through comments on a website, crowdsourcing projects, or on Facebook pages.

**Web 3.0** is the semantic web, where information is standardised so that computers can start to make sense of it and make relevant connections. Online collections should be part of web 3.0, where, if properly set up, they can be easily integrated into larger systems such as Europeana.

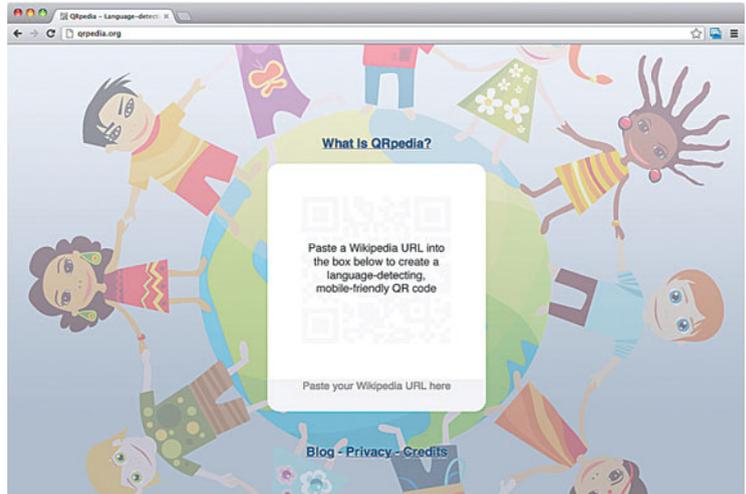
**Web 4.0** is the internet of things, where everything is connected meaningfully to the internet and information systems are all-inclusive. Although this web is still largely a thing of the future, some heritage institutions have started experimenting with web 4.0 projects to bridge the gap between the online and the physical worlds.

Managers of physical locations can connect with Foursquare users by offering rewards to people who visit their location. Foursquare is very much about the physical world and people's interaction with the physical world, while at the same time being an online service. In the experiment, I placed historical stories about physical locations as tips about nearby train stations. People often have to wait at train stations, giving them time to read about their surroundings on their mobile phones. The stories I shared were often unexpected, and because they were only sent to people who were in the vicinity of where the story happened, highly relevant to them. The experiment reached thousands of people of whom hundreds interacted with the stories told about their surroundings.

There is no need to use a gaming platform such as Foursquare to tell stories to people on location. QRpedia ([www.qrpedia.org](http://www.qrpedia.org)) is a service that allows anyone to make QR codes (2D barcodes) that link to Wikipedia articles. Printing the code and pasting it on the object it refers to makes the Wikipedia article easily accessible on location by anyone with a smartphone equipped with a QR reader. Obviously, this works well with statues and historical buildings, but it is especially promising in cases where there is no physical reminder of an historical event, for instance an old battlefield or the location of a building that no longer exists.

Another promising way to reach out to offline audiences is with emerging 3D printing technologies. A simple 3D printer is already within reach of normal households and on torrent sites such as The Pirate Bay 3D models of all sorts of objects are a fast-growing category. Soon everyone will be able to (illegally) download print instructions for all sorts of objects and print them at home. The Art Institute in Chicago embraced this new option and offers a part of its collection as 3D models online, as they described on their blog on July 31st, 2012.<sup>11</sup> That way, they can potentially bring their collection into living rooms and classrooms all over the world, reaching offline audiences in a very direct and relevant way.

Screen capture  
(QRpedia, 2013).



### Engaging audiences with heritage content

Digital media and new technology are excellent tools to reach audiences. Yet, as might be clear from the examples and ideas presented so far, the true potential of the digital age lies with engaging audiences. Not only does an engaged audience have a more meaningful and sustainable relationship with a cultural or heritage institution, engaged audiences also help reach wider audiences themselves. On a platform such as Facebook, engagement is not only actively encouraged; indeed, publishing updates that do not engage your audience is even punished by Facebook. And non-engaging institutions will disappear from the timelines of individual users. Engagement is not a luxury; it is part of the fabric of the digital age.

Digital engagement can take many forms, but it always requires action from the audience. The simplest and most accepted form of engagement is 'liking' or 'favoriting' digital content. A more complex and time-consuming form of engagement is remixing original content into new creative work, such as in the video reactions on YouTube. In between are almost unlimited actions from sharing content to posting comments. We tend to

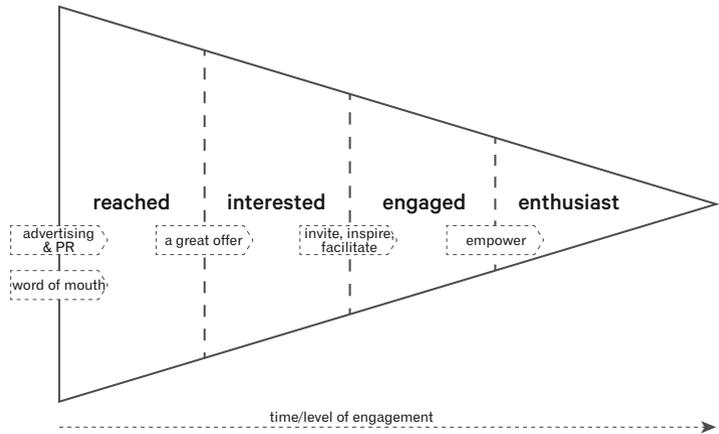
think of engagement in the form of people actively contributing to a project, as in the case of crowdsourcing or crowdfunding, but such profound levels of engagement are not always necessary to achieve one's objectives as a cultural or heritage institution.

In [figure 2](#) you can see a simple model for digital engagement. We use this model in combination with the framework in [figure 1](#) to develop activities that reach and engage audiences. The triangle shows the build-up and development of any group of people on digital media. The model starts with reaching people, a topic which has been extensively covered in the previous parts of this article. If you provide a great offering, people will likely become interested. In the case of cultural and heritage institutions such an offering usually is reliable, high-quality content, but it can also be regular discounts or (something which is popular on social media) association with a certain well-branded institution such as the British Museum. Interested people are your followers on Twitter, subscribers to your newsletter, fans on Facebook, and visitors to the institution itself. To turn these interested people into an engaged audience, the institution needs to invite, inspire, and facilitate them. If you follow up on engagement by acknowledging and rewarding it, an engaged audience might become enthusiastic and start inviting others to join the community. This is the often talked about 'viral effect' of digital media.

The engagement process can be viewed as a triangle, because not everybody who is reached will become engaged. Arthur<sup>12</sup> says that only 1% of the total audience you reach will actively contribute to and/or participate in any given project. This is an average. With projects I have been involved in, I have seen rates anywhere between close to zero and 5%.<sup>13</sup>

If one Googles "stimulating engagement" or "increasing engagement with your digital media," one will find hundreds of thousands of blogposts full of useful advice. I myself have made endless lists of the 3, 7 or 10 things to do to increase engagement on digital media. Recently – and after reading

figure 2  
Model for Digital  
Engagement  
(Jasper Visser, 2013).



Nancy Duarte's *Resonate: Present visual stories that transform audiences* (2010) – I have realized that a really engaging project is a story that resonates with the audience; and for it to do so the most important thing is that it makes the audience the 'hero' of the story. This means that the story and its content has to be about the audience (personal, relevant), since their engagement is essential to the success of the story. A straightforward example of such a story is the Facebook or Twitter question where with each set number of "likes" or replies a new hint is given, until finally the answer is apparent. The fan pages of major brands on Facebook, such as KLM and Fanta, are good places to discover powerful strategies to get people engaged by making them the heroes of the story.

A popular way to make the audience the hero of a story and engage it deeply with an institution is by outsourcing part of the primary process of the organization to the audience, in other words, crowdsourcing. Typically, a fairly standard and repetitive task such as transcribing historical records is made accessible through an online tool and the audience is invited to perform the task in exchange for small rewards or some form of recognition. The work done by the audience needs to have a clear objective that serves the public (especially the au-

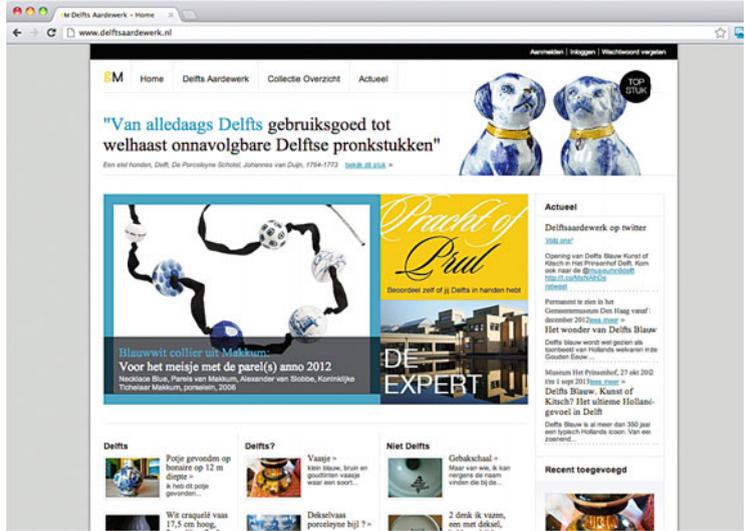
Screen capture  
(New York Public  
Library, 2013).

dience that contributed to the project). The project *What's on the Menu?* asks the audience to help transcribe the scanned historical restaurant menus in the New York Public Library in order to make them searchable by the general public.

Crowdsourcing projects acknowledge that the general audience can be more knowledgeable than the professionals within an institution, and they use this recognition to engage the audience.

A well designed engagement project recognizes that not all people will want to contribute in the same way and acknowledges different types of engagement. In order to reach and engage people with their Delftware collection, the Gemeentemuseum (Municipal Museum) in The Hague built a website ([www.delftwaardewerk.nl](http://www.delftwaardewerk.nl)) where experts, collectors, and enthusiasts of Delftware can share their own collections and discuss their value. Not only does the museum reach a niche audience in a meaningful way, but because of the different approaches to the website by different target groups it has become a marketplace for Delftware and a knowledge database for researchers.

Screen capture  
(Gemeentemuseum  
Den Haag, 2013).



## Towards a digital strategy for European heritage

When thinking about strategies for reaching and engaging people with heritage and culture in the digital age, it is often easy to focus solely on the new media and innovative technology at our disposal. Such a focus, however, often results in failure. It is more useful, as I have tried to do in this article, to focus on the way in which successful outreach and engagement works in the digital age, regardless of the technology used, while at the same time appreciating the possible applications of recent innovations in media and technology. Consequently, to foster a heritage revival on a European scale we will first have to discover the unexpected content we can use to tell relevant stories. This content can be found in collections, oral histories, old documents, and elsewhere. We then have to determine potential active communities, both online and in the real world, and transform the unexpected content to fit with these communities. After this labor-intensive undertaking we need to present the unexpected content in a way that attracts and inspires the audience and that facilitates its engagement

with the story, preferably by making the audience its hero. If we then recognize its engagement and reward it in an appropriate manner, the European heritage revival might go “viral” and reach more people than if we simply improve the real-world, physical infrastructure. Admittedly, this is not a simple and straightforward process.

To start the discussion about shaping such a heritage revival based on digital media and technology, I want to conclude this article with three roughly sketched suggestions. Firstly, I can imagine a project that adds a virtual layer to the physical locations of European heritage, much like the Foursquare experiment I described, but as part of a more dedicated platform that would allow telling stories in video, images, objects, etc. People will be engaged by a personal relationship to locations, stories and objects and interact with them using “augmented reality” technology. An example of such a project on the local scale is the London Street Museum by the Museum of London.

Second, an excellent opportunity lies in making one of the largest heritage collections of the world, Europeana ([www.europeana.eu](http://www.europeana.eu)), more tangible using 3D technology. Europeana offers over 20 million cultural and heritage objects from over 2,000 institutions and 34 countries in one central portal on the internet. The data is easily accessible in external projects, but lacks the much-needed unexpectedness that makes a digital project succeed. Offering the possibility of printing parts of this collection in 3D would allow people to bring the heritage physically into their homes, rather than only digitally. A third idea is not to have an idea at all, but instead to stimulate a discussion between people from different countries about how to present their heritage in the first place. I can imagine a project similar to the National Vending Machine, where we asked people from all over the Netherlands to share their ideas about how to present Dutch history, but in this case on a European scale. An institution, by combining a physical and a digital presence and asking as many people as possible for relevant input, and by then acting upon this input, can engage a great many people with a project even before it develops into a finished exhibition

or presentation, giving them ownership and making them the heroes of a European heritage revival.

Of course, these are just three simple ideas that could create interesting possibilities for cultural and heritage institutions in the digital age. Certainly there are many others, and I wholeheartedly believe that if cultural and heritage institutions approach their audiences and content in the right way, the digital age holds many great opportunities in store for them.

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# Chapter 5 / **Using Games to Mediate History / Connie Veugen**



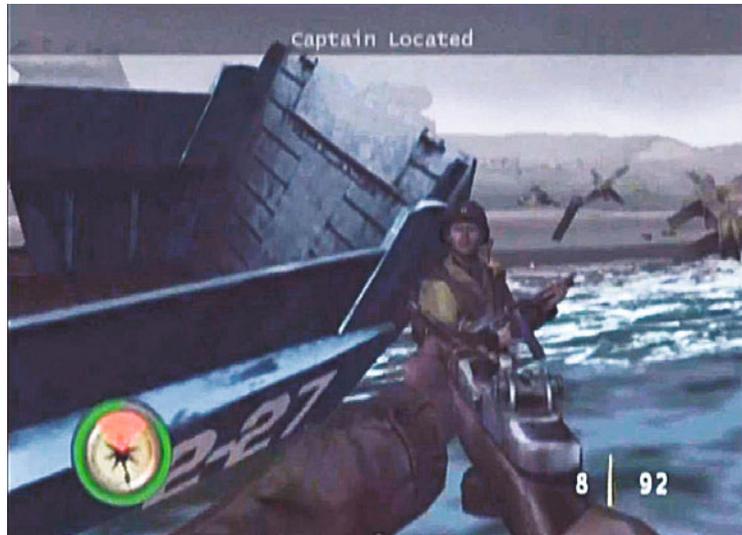
## Introduction

An old Chinese proverb says “Tell me and I’ll forget; show me and I may remember; involve me and I’ll understand.” More than any other medium, computer games have the intrinsic ability to involve their players in the world they depict; for they not only make us remember particular scenes we play, but also make us understand more of the world they involve us in. They are immersive, i.e. they make us forget the world around us, taking us away to a different place, a different life, or a different time.

At the 2003 Digital Games Research Conference “Level Up” in Utrecht (the Netherlands), one of the talks was about the game *MEDAL OF HONOR: FRONTLINE* (2002). It compared the game to the film *SAVING PRIVATE RYAN* (1998) and the TV mini-series *BAND OF BROTHERS* (2001). All three depict the landing of Allied forces in Normandy in 1944 and the subsequent events. Even though they are works of fiction, both content and *mise en scène* are based on hours of research into the real events and on many interviews with survivors. After the talk, a member of the audience stood up and said that although the film and the mini-series, as well as several documentaries about the invasion of Normandy he had seen, had been very gripping, he had never really understood the “horror” of the actual invasion itself until he played the game. His experiences as Lt. Jimmy Patterson fighting his way up Omaha Beach had an enormous impact on his understanding of the landing and left him with a lasting respect for the men who sacrificed their lives in the undertaking. As he put it himself: “When you see footage of the landing you really have no idea. But when you have to try and get up that bloody beach, being shot at, seeing your comrades die and dying yourself time and again, then it definitively starts to sink in.”<sup>1</sup>

The game *MEDAL OF HONOR: FRONTLINE* is a work of fiction. Lt. Jimmy Patterson is a fictional character, like Tom Hanks’ character Captain Miller in the film *SAVING PRIVATE RYAN*. But as the above comment indicates, in the game one is

Screen capture.  
Finding your captain is one of the first tasks in *MEDAL OF HONOR: FRONTLINE* (Electronic Arts, 2002).



Screen capture.  
Florence, Cattedrale di Santa Maria del Fiore (Duomo) in *ASSASSIN'S CREED II* (Ubisoft Montreal, 2009).



not only invited to identify with Lt. Jimmy Patterson (or, in the film, with Captain Miller); one also has to play as the character. In that way games can add something to historical fiction that other media cannot. Or as *Guardian* journalist Keith Stuart put it: “games are the perfect medium for historical fiction – through their unique interactivity, they don’t have to tell us about life in previous ages, they can show us; and we can live it.”<sup>2</sup> Of course there are other, more tactile, ways to “live” history, such as re-enactment or experimental archaeology. But these usually are not as easily accessible as games are.

### Historical games

Historical games can be roughly grouped into two categories: serious games and fictional games. Serious historical games are educational: their primary purpose is to teach history. In the past, such games were often produced by educational publishers or created by teachers themselves. Nowadays, educational games are often short, free-to-play games on the internet. Quite a few are produced by television channels as part of their services for schools, such as the game *BOW STREET RUNNER* (2008)<sup>3</sup> commissioned by Britain’s Channel 4. While these games take historical accuracy seriously, they are explicitly made for the general public and thus are not very demanding with respect to hardware or game skills. Often this leads to their using simple graphics and animations, giving them a cartoon-like appearance, a far cry from the more realistic graphics of commercial games. Consequently, they usually are visually less appealing and less immersive. The primary purpose of commercial historical games is entertainment, but this does not mean that they do not take historical accuracy into account. Because gamers who prefer this genre value truthful and realistic depiction, the historical accuracy of the presentation is especially important in games like *MEDAL OF HONOR: FRONTLINE*. The story, however, is fictional, and it depends on the writers how much factual history is included.

Consequently history is usually included when it adds to the story, but most of the time it only functions as a backdrop for the actions of the fictional characters.

One specific type of commercial historical game is the “strategy game.” These games, echoing nineteenth century tin-soldier war re-enactments, are specifically designed to “restage” battlefields. But, unlike the games previously mentioned, this type emphasizes the player’s managerial and strategic skills. In such games, restaging the invasion in Normandy, for example, is about troop movements, managing supplies, and trying to minimize losses. A historically accurate *mise en scène* is less important, since the player is more focussed on making the correct decisions needed to win the battle. Consequently, just how the battle unfolds depends on the decisions of the player, not on what actually happened. But this aspect has its own appeal, since strategy games are the ideal vehicle for “what if”-scenarios. In the BBC television program *TIME COMMANDER* (2003–2005), a strategy game was used in which two teams of players “refight” famous historical battles such as the Battle of Trebia (Carthage versus Rome). After the game, two military specialists analysed the performance of the players and explained how the actual historical battle unfolded. War is only one of the subjects presented in strategy games. Many are about discovery and settlement or about trade, again often in an historical setting. And even though they are historically perhaps less accurate than games like *MEDAL OF HONOR: FRONTLINE*, playing any of *THE PATRICIAN GAMES* (1992–2011) does teach one about the Hanseatic League and the main products that were traded in its various port cities.

The main difference between games like *MEDAL OF HONOR: FRONTLINE*, and *THE PATRICIAN GAMES*, however, is that the former is a so-called “game of progression,” that is to say, a game in which the story “drives” the actions of the player. Strategy games are games of emergence, games where, given the input of the player, the rules of the game determine what happens next, and thus the game designer can force the player

to go through certain experiences. *IN MEDAL OF HONOR: FRONTLINE* the player has to fight his way through the Omaha beach landing in order to be able to play on. For many, this means dying and retrying several times, hence the remark of the player at the Level Up conference. Because the designer ultimately determines what happens next, these games can include more accurate historical scenes, such as the invasion of Normandy.

### *ASSASSIN'S CREED*

Apart from commercial games like *MEDAL OF HONOR: FRONTLINE*, where historical accuracy is important (though not as important as the entertainment aspect), there are also commercial games that use a historical time period only as a backdrop for the story and gameplay. This does not necessarily mean that their *mise en scène* is pure fantasy. Just as some films and television series try to give as accurate a vision of a certain period as possible, so some game producers strive for a similar accuracy in their games.<sup>4</sup> One such a company is Ubisoft, which, with its *ASSASSIN'S CREED* series (2007 – present), has set a high standard in recreating historical locations. Their meticulous recreation of past eras is exactly what has made these games so successful. The periods depicted in the main games are the Third Crusade (1191), as experienced by the assassin Altaïr Ibn-La'Ahad, then Renaissance Italy (1476–1507) and Constantinople (1511–1512), as seen through the eyes of Ezio Auditore da Firenze and, finally, the American Revolutionary War (1753–1783), as experienced by Connor Kenway.

The dedication to historical accuracy is evident from the fact that the *ASSASSIN'S CREED* design teams consist not only of writers and designers; they also have a team historian who is an expert on the period and historical events being depicted. This shows Ubisoft's commitment to making the physical settings and characters as historically accurate as



From left to right,  
top to bottom:

Screen capture.  
Florence, Cattedrale  
di Santa Maria del  
Fiore (Duomo) in  
*ASSASSIN'S CREED  
II* (Ubisoft Montreal,  
2009).

Florence, Cattedrale  
di Santa Maria del  
Fiore  
(Connie Veugen,  
2013).

Screen capture.  
Florence, Basilica  
di Santa Croce in  
*ASSASSIN'S CREED II*  
(Ubisoft Montreal,  
2009).

Florence, Basilica  
di Santa Croce (Con-  
nie Veugen, 2013).

Screen capture.  
Florence, Basilica  
di San Lorenzo in  
*ASSASSIN'S CREED II*  
(Ubisoft Montreal,  
2009).

Florence, Basilica  
di San Lorenzo (Con-  
nie Veugen, 2013).

possible. In the first game, for instance, when Altaïr approaches the city of Acre, the discerning gamer will notice the siege marks left by Richard the Lionhearted (evidence of a historical event that took place in July 1191). Besides the many corpses, we see small palisade walls used by the siege army and buildings that have been damaged or were completely destroyed by the siege engines. Beyond drawing on the knowledge brought to the game by the team historian, the team also visits the actual locations involved, taking thousands of photographs and hours of video footage, which they then compare to historical records. For example, when doing research on Florence for *ASSASSIN'S CREED II* (2009), lead writer Corey May read Machiavelli's *History of Florence*. Consequently, elements such as the Vasari corridor and the Uffizi were not included in the game, as they had not been built at the time. One exception the team made concerns the Duomo. Although the building itself was completed in 1436, the exterior was not completed until 1887, but since most people know the Duomo only in its completed form, the team decided to forego historical accuracy and show the building as it looks today, to make the landmark, and thus Florence, more easily recognisable for the modern player.

While the accuracy of the historical settings in the initial game seems to be more important than the historicity of the events themselves, as the series progresses we see the game's protagonists becoming increasingly involved in the "actual history." In *ASSASSIN'S CREED II* (2009), for instance, the murder of Giuliano di Piero de' Medici, which took place in the Piazza del Duomo on 26 April 1478, is part of the gameplay. Still, the historical events in the games are made to fit around the overall *ASSASSIN'S CREED* story, not the other way round. Thus one may well view the *ASSASSIN'S CREED* games in the light of Honoré de Balzac's saying that "Il y a deux histoires: l'histoire officielle, menteuse, puis l'histoire secrète, où sont les véritables causes des événements." ("There are two histories: the official history, full of lies, and the secret history, where the true causes of events are found.") All the same, history is important to the players of *ASSASSIN'S CREED*.



When asked what inspired *ASSASSIN'S CREED*'s gamers to learn more about their historical settings, Maxime Durand, team historian for *ASSASSIN'S CREED III* replied:

“People truly experience History by being able to navigate, fight and interact with their environment, in a manner not possible in movies or books. Plus, we give players access to an in-game encyclopaedia that sums up our knowledge. In the end, a lot of people are curious to know more or even to challenge our research efforts. We find that truly inspiring for us and our audience and it makes us strive to always go a step higher.”<sup>5</sup>

And as game designer Charles Cecil argues, history itself can be engaging. Whether it appeals or not depends on what the designers make of it:

“If the history resonates with the audience then a heightened sense of drama can be built, and the immersion enhanced through authenticity. And, to be honest, wonderful, dramatic history is so exhilarating that it would often be harder to invent anything more exciting. But get it wrong, and the opposite effect is achieved and the use of history can feel irrelevant and clichéd.”<sup>6</sup>

Screen capture.  
Florence, Palazzo  
Vecchio *ASSASSIN'S  
CREED II* (Ubisoft  
Montreal, 2009).

Florence, Palazzo  
Vecchio (Connie  
Veugen, 2013).

In *ASSASSIN'S CREED* Ubisoft did succeed in creating a successful mix of historical accuracy and immersive gameplay. This success has not escaped the attention of teachers, who have found that *ASSASSIN'S CREED II*, especially, can be a valuable tool for informing their students about Renaissance history, art and architecture.<sup>7</sup> The game has also inspired many (young adult) fans to visit the cities in Italy which feature in it.<sup>8</sup>

### Alternate reality games

In the past few years a new type of game has emerged that uses the internet and social media: the "alternate reality game." Imagine yourself faced with the kinds of tasks and puzzles Professor Robert Langdon was faced with in *The Da Vinci Code* (2003). Of course, you can do that in *THE DA VINCI CODE* (2007) computer game, but wouldn't it be much more fun to be able to solve the puzzles at the actual sites, just as Langdon and Sophie Neveu did in the book? When playing an alternate reality game, you can, since it is a narrative game spread through several (social) media as well as the real world. The interesting part from a maker's point of view is that alternate reality games can be scaled up or down depending on the environment the story is set in and, of course, the budget available. For the players, such games appeal because they resemble treasure hunts and because one usually needs other players to succeed, just as Robert Langdon needed Sophie.

Of course, the success of an alternate reality game, like that of any other narrative game, depends on the appeal of the story. Here both *THE DA VINCI CODE* and *ASSASSIN'S CREED* can serve as examples. In *ASSASSIN'S CREED BROTHERHOOD THE DA VINCI DISAPPEARANCE* (2011 expansion set) the players find a set of coordinates that point to a particular area in New York State. On several of the many *ASSASSIN'S CREED* Internet forums players discussed the location of the coordinates, and those living in the vicinity volunteered to

check out what was there (as Google Maps did not provide enough detail). In *ASSASSIN'S CREED INITIATES*, a new 2012 browser-based game, the coordinates reappear as indicating a possible hiding place. And in *ASSASSIN'S CREED III* it turns out that it is the site of an ancient temple which the assassins need to explore. The *ASSASSIN'S CREED INITIATES* game itself uses many alternate reality game characteristics to involve the player community, most notably collective intelligence. Sometimes the collective intelligence puzzles are simple, requiring, for example, the decoding of Morse code or the translation of Italian newspaper articles. But in one particular instance the fans were confronted with a Latin text which turned out to be lines from a relatively obscure volume by 17<sup>th</sup> century poetess Elisabeth Jane Weston. Fortunately, one of the players had the necessary skills to ferret this out.

*THE DA VINCI CODE* shows how alternate reality games can be used to combine actually existing places with a dispersed<sup>9</sup> narrative, as when Langdon and Sophie have to travel to several historical places to finally solve the code. The initial clue could, for instance, be incorporated in a Paris tour guide. In alternate reality games these kinds of clues are called "rabbit holes," since they lead the players into the story. Such clues could, of course, also be placed in an e-mail, on a Facebook page, on the website of a museum or historical site, or in a brochure. They could even be part of the explanatory text in an exhibition or tour. As a great many people now have a smartphones, site-based clues and puzzles can easily be combined with information to be found on the internet.<sup>10</sup> In London (another important location in *THE DA VINCI CODE*), players could be directed to Temple Church to find a particular symbol on the tomb of the knight whose oath led to the signing of the Magna Carta. The symbol could then be photographed and sent to a specific e-mail address, which, in turn, leads on to the next puzzle. Contrary to the traditional treasure hunt, however, the clues should not lead to a physical award. Rather, they enable the players to piece the story's parts together, with the final piece leading to the story's conclusion. Naturally, the

actual places, buildings, and artefacts within the alternate reality games should, ideally, also tie in meaningfully with the story, as they did in *THE DA VINCI CODE* and the *ASSASSIN'S CREED* games.

Commercial alternate reality games can be very elaborate, involving thousands of players, as in the case of *THE ART OF THE HEIST* (2005), which was used to introduce the new Audi A3. Yet, as already mentioned, alternate reality games do not have to be quite as elaborate and expensive as these examples. Three years ago, for instance, students in the game design course at the Amsterdam University of Applied Sciences (Hogeschool van Amsterdam) were asked to design a game to familiarize children with the Amsterdam Public Library. One team designed a game which combined alternate and augmented reality.<sup>11</sup> They came up with the story of a cute little alien who, like ET, is stranded on earth and needs the children's help to return home. In order to play the game, the children had to go to the library building and use the library system to find cards with QR codes. These cards could be hidden at a specific place within the building, but they could also be hidden in a particular book. Once a card was found, the children could take it to one of the library's computers to scan it with a webcam. On the screen they saw the table on which they had placed the QR card, but instead of the card they saw the little alien talking to them and showing them how this card helped him repair his spacecraft (the augmented reality bit). When the final card was scanned, the alien said a tearful goodbye and flew away in his spacecraft. As all the physical elements, apart from the QR cards, were already present, the main cost of this game was programming the actual code and making the short films. In this case the QR codes were used to tell the story of the little alien, but they can also be used, for instance, to access short (historical) films at the actual places where the events occurred.

Something similar happens in the alternate reality game *LOST IN TIME* (2012) by Tempeest.<sup>12</sup> This game, which takes place in a real Dutch city, revolves around the story of a young



*LOST IN TIME*  
(courtesy of  
Tempeest).

hacker called Thijmen who has stolen a time machine (a converted iPad). Thijmen uses the tablet to travel through history. But in doing so he changes history, jeopardizing his own and other people's futures. The players, also using a tablet time machine, wander (or run, depending on the mini-game they are playing) through the streets of the city trying to find Thijmen and to restore history (when they succeed). The game takes them to historical sites where videos not only tell part of Thijmen's story, but also provide them with accurate information concerning the location. Clearly, this alternate reality game is quite similar to the previous one, relying as it does on a real setting, a computer program, and pre-recorded video fragments that play at specific locations. But *LOST IN TIME* is more interactive, because the players have to play mini-games in the city. Since the game could function as promotional material for the city it is based in, the locations and data included are determined by agreement, thus helping to assure their historical accuracy.

## History based games and violence

From the above it may seem that most history-based games are about war, battles, and killing. This does hold true for a majority of the strategy games, which are our modern day equivalent of the tin-soldier war games. However, in these new games the gamer is given an overview of the battlefield, because this is the best perspective for moving armies, building defences, etc. Although actual fighting is not shown in them, games such as *CRUSADER KINGS II* (2012) have an age rating of 13 and older as they may contain violence and minimal bloodshed.

The *ASSASSIN'S CREED* games belong to a genre that encompasses all kinds of subjects: adventure, science fiction, fantasy, etc. Most of these games do not rely on particularly violent plots (except, of course, those based on a horror story), and most of them are not set in the past. Players of the *ASSASSIN'S CREED* games do not play them because it is



Some of the *LOST IN TIME* players during a business outing (courtesy of Tempeest).

Time travel in the centre of Utrecht (courtesy of Tempeest).



“cool” to be an assassin and kill people. They play them because they love the historical setting, the great stories, and the many mysteries which the games include. Ezio is the favourite protagonist of most of them, because his motives to kill are entirely credible, especially since he starts off as a trouble-free youth of 17 who does not choose to become an assassin; his destiny is thrust upon him the day his father and brothers are hanged before his eyes. As the game proceeds, however, his thirst for revenge diminishes; he grows older and wiser and, in the end, he does not kill the man responsible for his family’s cruel fate.

The only game genre that actually is about weapons and killing is the “shooter,” of which *MEDAL OF HONOR: FRONTLINE* is an example. The natural environment for this kind of game is a war zone, and the two most popular series in this genre, *MEDAL OF HONOR* (1999 – present) and *CALL OF DUTY* (2003 – present) both started with a game set in World War II.

Of the two, the former seems to be more historically accurate. This is not surprising given that the series was originated by the well-known film producer and director Steven Spielberg. But as the years have passed their players have become less interested in historical battles. Consequently, both series have become less focused on the historical setting and more so on fighting and warfare itself. The latest games in both series are thus set in current war zones such as Afghanistan and Somalia, and the stories now revolve around counter-terrorism. Other popular series in the genre, such as *GEARS OF WAR* (2006–present) and *HALO* (2001–present), are not about history at all, but take place in the future.

### Playing with history

One of today's major pastimes is playing computer games. It is, therefore, quite understandable why games increasingly are used to interest a younger audience in history, and as the success of the *ASSASSIN'S CREED*'s games shows, "playing" with history does not have to be boring. But successful commercial games focused on history are not by themselves sufficient to reach this goal, as the accuracy of their historical data varies. Fortunately, alternatives such as alternate reality games are possible. Their appeal lies not only in the fact that they are social games which can combine present and historical time, as well as data and images; their scalability also makes it feasible to create tailor-made versions of them centred on specific heritage sites.

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Chapter 6 /  
**“This is Clearly Bullshit”**  
Some views about  
history on television /  
Mijke Pol



### Fiction or non-fiction?

June 2012. Just like every week, the mood is convivial on the *Graham Norton Show*. The atmosphere is cheerful and lots of jokes are cracked. The comedian Graham Norton is interviewing Charlize Theron, Steve Coogan, and Jon Hamm. Hamm plays the main character (an incorrigible chain smoker, drinker, and womanizer) in the American hit series *Mad Men*, which takes place in an advertising agency in the 1960s. Hamm turns out to be a very funny man, and the answers he gives Norton prompt loud laughter. For instance, he says, “One of the dangers of doing anything that takes place in a relatively recent past is that it’s all been documented. There are crazy fans who will say ‘Well it wasn’t raining on December 14<sup>th</sup>, 1968. This is clearly bullshit.’”

The terms ‘crazy fans’ and ‘bullshit’, in particular, provoked bursts of laughter. Although presumably neither Hamm nor many of the viewers realized it, the actor had broached a subject that has led to reflection and discussion in many scholarly articles and monographs. The key question in many of these discussions is: what is the actual value of history on television? Leading academic historians disagree on the answer. For instance, Dutch media historian Sonja de Leeuw argues that history on television is valuable and that it should not be dismissed as fictional nonsense, while the British sociologist and media scientist Andrew Hoskins claims that television can have a deleterious effect on our memory. With increasing technological advances, he believes, it is becoming ever more difficult to distinguish between fiction and non-fiction.

These different views on the value of presenting history on television will be discussed in this chapter on the basis of various examples. Academic historians like Hoskins often warn against the dangers of the historical drama series, among which we include *Mad Men* for the sake of simplicity. These series, they contend, form and transform collective memory. After watching *Mad Men*, people see the advertising industry of the 1960s as the director envisaged it, with women as

sex symbols and men spending the best part of their days at the office drinking and smoking. Critics are of the opinion that television is a constructed truth, which bears no relation to reality, and they portray viewers as passive consumers who do not realize they are being fooled by the television producers. Accordingly, we should not view documentaries about past events as valuable historical sources. They should be classified, instead, with drama series like *Mad Men*; for neither is more than pure fiction – fiction that is of no value, historically speaking.

Considerable criticism has also been leveled against re-enacting historical events in documentaries. Here, I will discuss re-enactment on television and look at how it is dealt with in different European countries. Starting with the British tradition of presenting history on television, which has had a great influence on Western Europe, I will then turn to the ways in which history is presented on television in France, Germany, and the Netherlands.

Although there are differences in the way history is shown on television in Western countries in Europe, in all of them historical documentaries and drama series have become enormously popular. Along with their often extensive websites, they now reach a wider audience than traditional history books, and it is precisely this reach that ensures that history programs can be monitored to a greater degree than traditional monographs and articles.

### The history of the world filmed in South Africa

One of these television producers is Andrew Marr, who has made many history programs for British television. His most recent extensive series is *Andrew Marr's History of the World* (BBC 2010), which tells the story of the past seventy thousand years, tackling such large questions as: How was the world formed? What developments has mankind undergone?



The series was filmed in South Africa, because it is a melting pot of people from Africa, the Middle East, Europe and Asia, and because this decision avoided the need to pay production crews to travel all over the world to the various locations included in the story. Marr is part of a relatively long tradition in Great Britain of producing history documentary series on television, a format that has generated a very large following, thanks to such early successes as *The Great War* (1964) and *Grand Strategy of World War II* (1972). One year after the latter, the first commercial series was shown on television. *The World at War* (1973, Thames TV), changed the existing BBC format somewhat by according a large place to ordinary people telling their own stories.

The BBC has had a major influence on the way Western Europeans have broadcast history on television, especially in the development of documentaries that feature a presenter, a form seen nowadays, for example, in the series hosted by the British historian and art historian Simon Schama. One of the

Andrew Marr's  
*History of the World*  
(BBC, 2012).



Kenneth Clark in *Civilisation* (BBC, 1969).



On the set of *Civilisation* (BBC, 1969).

first to play this role in Great Britain was the well known art historian Kenneth Clark in the series *Civilisation* (1969).<sup>1</sup> History is now a fixture in British television programming. Audiences can watch history programs on various channels, and every day the BBC broadcasts object-oriented art history shows like *Cash in the Attic*, *Bargain Hunt* and *Flog It!* In Andrew Marr's series, which was shown every week on British television, he combined various elements from the different series that had preceded his, and his voice-over gave continuity to the series, providing context and background, while the history was re-enacted by actors.

This re-enactment of history did not fail to attract criticism from academic historians, and such criticism, which continues to be voiced, is illustrative of the attitude of many academics toward this form of 'public history' - used here as an umbrella term for everything brought to large public via the media by historians or professional writers.<sup>2</sup>

### International differences

Although the British tradition of history on television has had a big impact on neighbouring countries, it is striking how many national differences exist in the way in which history has been, and still is shown on television. In the current era of television, the internet and downloads, series like *Mad Men* have gained an international audience, and American historical drama series are easily sold in Western Europe. Take, for example, the cross-border success of series like *The Tudors* (2007–2010) and *The Borgias* (2011–).

Unlike *Mad Men*, however, the success of most national television programs often stops at the border, with the exception of a few British series. In their own country, they are watched, loved or distrusted, but elsewhere they are hardly known. This is mainly because they are often about national history, but there are also differences in the way they present history. Although the formats are sometimes copied, the actual execution is different. All the same, the kind of criticism expressed about these various programs remains the same. Before outlining that criticism and explaining why I think it is unjustified, I will describe several European programs.

In France, history on television was initially intended to arouse political debate in a public television system that was very strictly controlled. Between 1953 and 1965, 47 different television dramas were broadcast, many of which were followed by studio discussions about the French past. The programs avoided certain subjects, however, and there were some historical events, such as the Dreyfus affair, which were strictly taboo.

From the 1980s onwards, history on television in France (and in the other Western European countries, too) was assigned a different role: it was to be primarily for entertainment. And the importance of regular scheduling on television receded into the background. This does not mean that history no longer plays a role in France; rather the zeal to provide the population with uplifting material has subsided. This change

is reflected in the program *Secrets d'Histoire* (France 2), presented by Stéphane Bern, which discusses famous people from French history (such as Victor Hugo) and intersperses the stories with re-enacted scenes. It is characterized by the use of rapid montage, and exciting music lends tension or drama to the story. The content is provided by a voice-over and a few experts, and it is more difficult to distinguish between fiction and non-fiction than was the case in earlier programs.

Fictional elements are seen not only in dramas and docudramas. Many German history programs about the national or international past also contain re-enactment, to which fictional elements are regularly added consciously in order to make the story more exciting. Sometimes the events are ones about which very little is known, in which case the producers give their own interpretation and have actors in costume re-enact the story.

Just after World War II, perhaps not surprisingly, people in Germany found it very difficult to film recent history. When the American miniseries *The Holocaust* (NBC) was broadcast there in 1978, it sparked a debate about how Germany should deal with its own history. The German media and film scholar Tobias Ebbrecht, who studied German drama and docudrama about World War II, concluded that German television approached the subject differently than British television did. In German films, documentary and fiction are combined “to create a special kind of tension and magical aura in order to offer the German audience a sensual and emotional space to empathize with the perpetrators.”<sup>3</sup> In America, *The Holocaust* was dismissed as fiction and sensationalist, but in Switzerland, France and Germany some praised it for leading people in those countries to confront “the process of the destruction of European Jewry in all its enormity”.<sup>4</sup>



### In Neanderthal guise

Watching *Der Neandertaler-Code* on the history website of the German broadcasting company ZDF, we see actors in Neanderthal dress (i.e. in some sort of rags),<sup>5</sup> running around in a big group and yelling loudly. Did they really run like that? Did they really look like that? Nobody knows, of course, but they offer an attractive way of illustrating a period of history for which there is no authentic footage.

The use of fictitious elements in dramatic re-enactment is also a device used by Germany's best-known teacher of national history, Guido Knopp. In December 2012, just after the announcement that he was leaving ZDF, the German magazine *Der Spiegel* looked back at his presentation of history in books and on television, which, over the years, reached an audience of millions of people. Professional historians accuse Knopp of playing to the gallery with the highly emotional settings in his

On the set of *Der Neandertaler-Code* (Sonja Scherle-Krauser, 2010).



programs and books. According to them, he produces 'historical fiction'<sup>6</sup> by creating a montage of fiction and documentary material.

Dutch television producers keep their distance from re-enactment. In popular educational programs or historical documentaries, almost nothing is re-enacted, even when the period in question is one for which no historical footage exists. To give a personal example, I worked as an editor on *De Slavernij* (NTR), a series showing the place of slavery in Dutch history. In order to tell the story visually without being able to do any re-enactment, we had to come up with many tricks. For instance, the Surinamese presenter went back in search of his own roots (through DNA research), and the camera followed him on his travels to well-known places that were linked to the history of slavery. We showed drawings and engravings of the mistreatment of slaves, while reading archival material aloud. Some of the paintings were animated, so that a

On the set of  
*De Slavernij*  
(Mijke Pol, 2011).

ship suddenly appeared to be really sailing, but it was always clear that it was actually a painting. And we did not deviate from this approach for a single moment. We flew experts to Surinam and Africa, so that they could tell the story on location, a story that was set out in a detailed script prepared ahead of time.

No one has ever studied why re-enactment is used in German, French, and British history programs but not in those produced in the Netherlands. It is probable that the Dutch never did so from the start. One of the first major historical series on Dutch television was *De Bezetting* (“The Occupation”), by historian Dr. Lou de Jong, the first director of the Netherlands State Institute for War Documentation. The series, which recounted the story of World War II, had mainly a lecture format and made use of interviews, maps, photos, and other visual material to support the story line. There was no re-enactment. Of course that was not necessary, as there was sufficient source material available.

### Criticism of history on TV

Television and other forms of public history are often unjustly criticized by academic historians. In his monograph *Past and Present in Contemporary Culture: Theatres of Memory*, Raphael Samuel discusses historians’ criticism of the popular form of heritage as presented on television, as well as in theme parks, museums, and elsewhere. “Heritage is accused of wanting to turn the country into a gigantic museum, mummifying the present as well as the past, and preserving tradition in aspic.”<sup>7</sup> According to Samuel, historians think that the only true knowledge of the past can be found in written history. Heritage that is brought into connection with consumer society is considered not historical enough. Samuel, however, argues that the same phenomenon can be found in scholarly writing on history. “We use vivid detail and thick description to offer images far clearer than any reality could be.”<sup>8</sup> Historians, he writes, also

offer stories to their readers that are far removed from reality. In their books they resort to stylistic devices to make the text legible and entertaining; therefore, Samuel contends, their criticism is unjustified.

In discussions about history on television, one of the biggest problems that academic historians in both Europe and America point to is re-enactment. Since, as a general rule, viewers are meant to take what they see at face value and not to be aware that a lot of editing has taken place beforehand, editing has, in effect, created a new reality. This is even more evident in the case of historical drama series, where actors re-enact the life of the past. In both the book *Televising History: Mediating the Past in Postwar Europe*, about historical drama series on Dutch television, and an article with the revealing title “Televising Fiction: A domain of Memory,” Sonja de Leeuw links history on television to memory. In doing so, she analyzes the four-part Dutch television series *Wilhelmina*, which was broadcast in 2001. In this conventional drama about the recent past, comparable to ones regularly made in other Western European countries, Queen Wilhelmina is shown fleeing to England during World War II, in a presentation that continued the ongoing debate on the role of the Dutch royal family during the war. De Leeuw remarks that although most of us did not experience World War II, we do have memories of it. These are constructed memories that are continually under development through various influences, one of which is television. Memories both form this medium and are formed by it, which is why a study of history on television is very important. As De Leeuw argues: “Historical film and television productions may be considered the liveliest artefacts witnessing the existence of a past. It is therefore relevant to discuss the stories that are being told about the past as these reveal what we are expected to remember, collectively.”<sup>9</sup>

### Queen Victoria’s sex life on national TV

It is worth studying historical series and drama series, therefore, as they show what our collective memories are (or are assumed to be, or even ought to be). Much has been written about the phenomenon of the interplay between recollection or memory and television. Long before film and television became the most popular media, the French philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (1877–1945) formulated a theory about the construction of memory. His ideas about collective memory were rediscovered in the 1980s when the French historian Pierre Nora published his *Les Lieux de Mémoire* (1984). The essence of his theory is the notion that in a time of globalization and ubiquitous technology, man has lost his secure place in the world and the memories associated with it. Where does he continue to belong? According to Nora, what he calls “sites of memory” (*lieux de mémoire*) help prevent people from forgetting everything. And history is one of the ways (one of the *lieux*) that ensures that we do not forget.<sup>10</sup> How, then, does television fit into this theory? One might say that history on television is a “low-caliber” means of showing us what our collective memories ought to be. In fact, this is also what Sonja de Leeuw says in the works mentioned above. However, such a standpoint has disadvantages as well, as it implies that people are passive consumers who watch television uncritically and allow themselves to be told what their memories should be or are allowed to be. The fact that this is far from the truth was shown by the commotion caused in Great Britain in 2000 by the initial reaction to a historical costume drama about Queen Victoria and Prince Albert.

When the series ‘Victoria & Albert’ was broadcast by the BBC in the spring of 2001, an article in the newspaper *The Telegraph* bore the headline “Queen Victoria is raunchy lover in BBC series”, and it opened with the line: “Queen Victoria and Prince Albert are portrayed as a ‘lustful couple’ who were obsessed with sex in a multi-million-pound BBC costume drama.”<sup>11</sup> The two-part drama showed Victoria and Albert’s

wedding night and the queen ogling Albert's tight pants, and viewers were made privy to Victoria's diary, in which she writes of her sexual desires for Albert. In the article, historian Sarah Bradford, an expert on the royal household, comments on the dubious factual character of such scenes, opining "I think it is a bit sad really. What people do in bed is never factual unless it is photographed, witnessed or whatever."<sup>12</sup> And Donald Foreman, the secretary of the Monarchist League, predicted that many monarchists would find the series distasteful. Although accepting that it is well known that Victoria enjoyed sex, he does not believe we should sit around watching it on television. For him, "It is a bit like your own grandmother's private life being revealed."<sup>13</sup> The attention given to the series and the reaction of expert viewers show that audiences do not necessarily swallow everything whole. Far too often, academic historians assume that viewers cannot think for themselves and that, for example, they believe that the sex between Victoria and Albert was precisely as shown on television.

Sociologist Andrew Hoskins argues that because of the growing number of media, we are confronted with "intensely mediated conditions"<sup>14</sup>, which are reflected in the discourse found in debates about the ways we tell and show history. He describes how individuals and the electronic media are intertwined in a continually evolving relationship. In an age when, thanks to digital technology, everything is possible, there is a growing need to connect with authentic elements of the past. And precisely because of the scope of this digital ingenuity, it is increasingly difficult to determine what is real and what is fake. According to Hoskins, individual and collective memories are literally 'mediated' by the various media, which determine what and how we remember. One consequence of this is that our understanding of the past is created, and history is reconstructed for us.<sup>15</sup>

In Hoskins' argumentation, too, we can detect the assumption of an attitude of passivity on the part of the audience. In other words, he implies that the consumer uncritically absorbs whatever reconstruction of the past the television producer chooses to show.

### Greater reach means more monitoring

Even before World War II, documentaries were already being made in Europe and shown in movie theaters. There were no agreements or fixed rules about the form of a documentary, creating a major void in the theoretical discourse about them. For instance, the terms “documentary” and “cultural film” (in German *Kulturfilm*) were used interchangeably. Max de Haas, co-founder of the Dutch film association Visie (a company which produced films) described the documentary as the “filming of actual reality, as can be verified every day by eight million citizens of the Netherlands.”<sup>16</sup>

The viewer is nowhere near as passive as many academic historians claim in their discussions about documentaries. The criticism of the work of the German television producer Guido Knopp implies that the viewer is not capable of being a critical consumer, and that he/she simply accepts fiction as truth. If viewers had recourse to no other media than television, this might be a valid assumption, but in the twenty-first century, it is just not tenable. Thanks to the internet, consumers now have access to countless forums and websites commenting on the factual accuracies and inaccuracies in television documentaries. And if viewers have questions, they can easily use that same internet to get in touch with the editors. Moreover, during the broadcasts viewers can Twitter to their heart's content, and any inaccuracies are soon brought to light in 140 characters. It may thus be argued that precisely because of the enormous reach of television, the factual content is monitored to a much greater extent than in the case of academic books, which have a much smaller audience. The larger the audience, the greater the interaction (digital or otherwise) that automatically takes place, and this interaction keeps the quality of programs high and the producers alert.

This became apparent last year from the criticism on Twitter and on a few blogs of the Dutch program *De Grote Geschiedenis Quiz* (“The Big History Quiz”), which is shown once a year. I have been involved with the program for several

years as an editor, and I kept an eye on viewers' reactions during the broadcast. It soon became clear that people did not like the name of the quiz. It suggested that the questions were about the whole of history, whereas they focused mainly on the events of the twentieth century. Although this criticism was justified, the choice was understandable from the producers' viewpoint, since, obviously, more footage is available of the twentieth century than for any other. The criticism from the viewers led to us to pay more attention to earlier history in editorial meetings and to justify our choice of topics with the help of feedback from the show's website. Critical reactions thus keep me alert in my editing.

The above example is mainly about the wider public having some say in determining the content of the questions, leading us to ask ourselves, for example, if our topics cover as broad a history as possible. Another instance where this 'verification' by the public worked extremely well is the series *In Europa* ("In Europe"), broadcast in the Netherlands in 2007 and 2008, in which the writer Geert Mak presented history for the man in the street. Two Dutch historians soon came out with strong criticisms of the historical inaccuracies in the series. They offered their arguments in various newspapers and on television.<sup>17</sup> The producer of the series was also given the opportunity to respond to the criticism.

### TV: not a dictator, but a mediator of memory

Sonja de Leeuw, on the other hand, takes a totally different view. Talking about the success of the drama series *Wilhelmina*, she attributes the secret of its popularity to its celebration of the unity of the nation in a postmodern era. If only for a moment, the series gave viewers the feeling of belonging to a united Netherlands, a single nation.<sup>18</sup> The media, and television in particular, have thus become the mediators of memory, and she, at least, does not see this as a reason for pessimism.

According to Halbwachs, memory is a reconstruction of

the past, based on information from the present.<sup>19</sup> And, thanks to modern technology, television and film can now make more creative use of history and bring it to life. Sources from the past, whether edited or not, are once again shown to the public. History is thereby transformed into a popular cultural memory, and even more so into a collective memory – “collective” because a large audience watches such presentations simultaneously and because they stimulate debate and discussion.

Images from our television archive thus become new *lieux de mémoire*. They are found on digital sites that can be visited continually and repeatedly, and they contribute to the construction of collective memories and the sense of identity and nationality. Television fiction thus functions as a bridge between past and present. In my view, this applies not only to drama series, but also to historical documentary series.<sup>20</sup> Dismissing history on television as fiction necessarily implies dismissing books and articles for the same reason. History on television – and here I include historical drama series as well as documentaries and other programs in which reality is not portrayed by actors – offers many possibilities and advantages. It rightfully occupies an important place in the television programming of Western European countries, because it is a valuable tool for research and education, and as such is not inferior to books or articles. History on television, therefore, should finally be seen as a serious and valuable form of practicing history, just as television producers in Western Europe have regarded it for years.

It is thus time to dispel the pessimistic view that history on television is not a valuable source and has nothing to do with reality. In the discipline of history, we are now sophisticated enough to acknowledge the fact that even professional historians sketch their own versions of history in their books. Yet, this does not detract from the value of these writings. So let us view documentaries and historical dramas in the same way. Moreover, we should not underestimate the viewers, seeing them as passive consumers who let themselves be told what they should remember or describing them as naive and

gullible consumers. Viewers do know when a drama series or documentary contains re-enactment, and even if the game is not given away by modern color images about times when cameras did not exist, the word 'drama' will tell them that they are not watching authentic images. Re-enactment is therefore not a contemptible imitation but simply one of the means at a director's disposal for recounting history in images. As the noted historian Simon Schama once confessed: "It's a history because it's shamelessly my own version."<sup>21</sup>

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**Chapter 7 / Lost Cities,  
Exotic Travel and  
Digging up the World /**  
Historical feature films  
as a means of enhancing  
appreciation of our  
archaeological heritage /  
Nina Schücker and  
Jan van Helt



*Motion pictures dealing with historical, legendary or mythical topics are a popular component of everyday entertainment. Makers of these feature films<sup>1</sup> create impressive pictures of past landscapes and material culture, construct detailed scenarios of historical events and develop captivating character sketches of their protagonists. Their works are lively, atmospheric, and present intensely emotional stories, and they provide an easily accessible, understandable and entertaining interpretation of the past.*

Motion pictures attract a much larger audience than, for example, exhibitions. Wolfgang Petersen's *Troy* (2004) reached an audience of 4.4 million viewers in Germany alone,<sup>2</sup> while the exhibition *Troy: Dream and Reality (Troia: Traum und Wirklichkeit)* drew about 850,000 visitors when it was presented in three German cities in 2001–2002. Historical content is attractive and, therefore, the commercial film industry invests large amounts of money in historical settings. While the curators of the exhibition *Imperium Romanum*, held in Karlsruhe and Stuttgart in 2005–2006, had a budget of 3.8 million euros at their disposal, it is estimated that Ridley Scott spent the equivalent of 128.8 million euros on *Gladiator* in 2000.<sup>3</sup> Despite their high production costs, films touching on the fields of archaeology and history can be very profitable, which explains why they are so numerous. As long as these films find an audience, archaeologists and historians will be faced with filmic interpretations of the past, regardless of whether they criticise them, ignore them, or use them to further the interests of their own disciplines. Without a doubt, the use of commercial success as a criterion to evaluate cultural activities should be critically examined for a number of reasons.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, the above comparisons illustrate the dimensions of the issue and provide a provocative starting point for this chapter, which will explore how historical feature film may contribute to a contemporary heritage revival in Europe.

Filmmakers are attracted not only to historical topics, but also to classical scholars. Thanks to its on-screen representatives their relatively small discipline is well known to the

Archaeology:  
Fiction and Reality  
presenting Wolfgang  
Peterson's *Troy*  
(2004) in October  
2012 (E. Schneider,  
Deutsches Film-  
institut (DIF e.V.) /  
Deutsches Film-  
museum).



Archaeology: Fiction  
and Reality, "Larks'  
tongues. Wrens'  
livers. Chaffinch  
brains. Jaguars'  
earlobes ..."? Roman  
cooking accompany-  
ing Monty Python's  
*Life of Brian* (1979)  
(C. Goldstein,  
Deutsches Film-  
institut (DIF e.V.) /  
Deutsches Film-  
museum).



public and regarded by it in a positive light. The film image of archaeologists – thanks, in particular, to the *Indiana Jones* sequels (1981, 1984, 1989, 2008) – is viewed critically by professionals for very understandable reasons: the adventures of Dr. Henry Walton Jones Jr. obviously do not reflect the everyday life of archaeologists, and they contradict contemporary professional ethics. In this respect, we should not forget that stereotyped thinking and cinematic exaggeration, which extends to the portrayal of all occupations, may be seen as standard procedure on the part of movie directors.<sup>5</sup>

By accepting, in a playful spirit, that there is a grain of truth in the *Indiana Jones* films, archaeologists may recognise their popular colleague as a kind of pro bono promoter, a valuable asset, which travel agencies, clothing manufacturers, and tobacco companies, among others, could only dream of having. Archaeology is a kind of brand;<sup>6</sup> that is an established fact that archaeologists simply have to deal with – but also can build on.

### Archaeology: fiction and reality

This chapter is based on our experiences with a series of evening events entitled Archäologie: Fiktion und Wirklichkeit organised by the Roman-Germanic Commission of the German Archaeological Institute and the German Film Institute in Frankfurt am Main.<sup>7</sup> Each involves the screening of a motion picture that is set in prehistory, Roman or medieval times, or one in which a main character is professionally using archaeological methods and techniques. These films – several thousand of these exist altogether – belong to various genres such as drama, comedy, adventure, cartoons and live-action.<sup>8</sup> Our events take an interdisciplinary approach: short lectures present the archaeologists' as well as the film historians' points of view. The evenings are framed by presentations of a photo exhibition on the archaeological profession in contemporary Europe, on the one hand, and attractive



Chapter 7 / Lost Cities, Exotic Travel and Digging up the World /  
 Nina Schücker and Jan van Helt

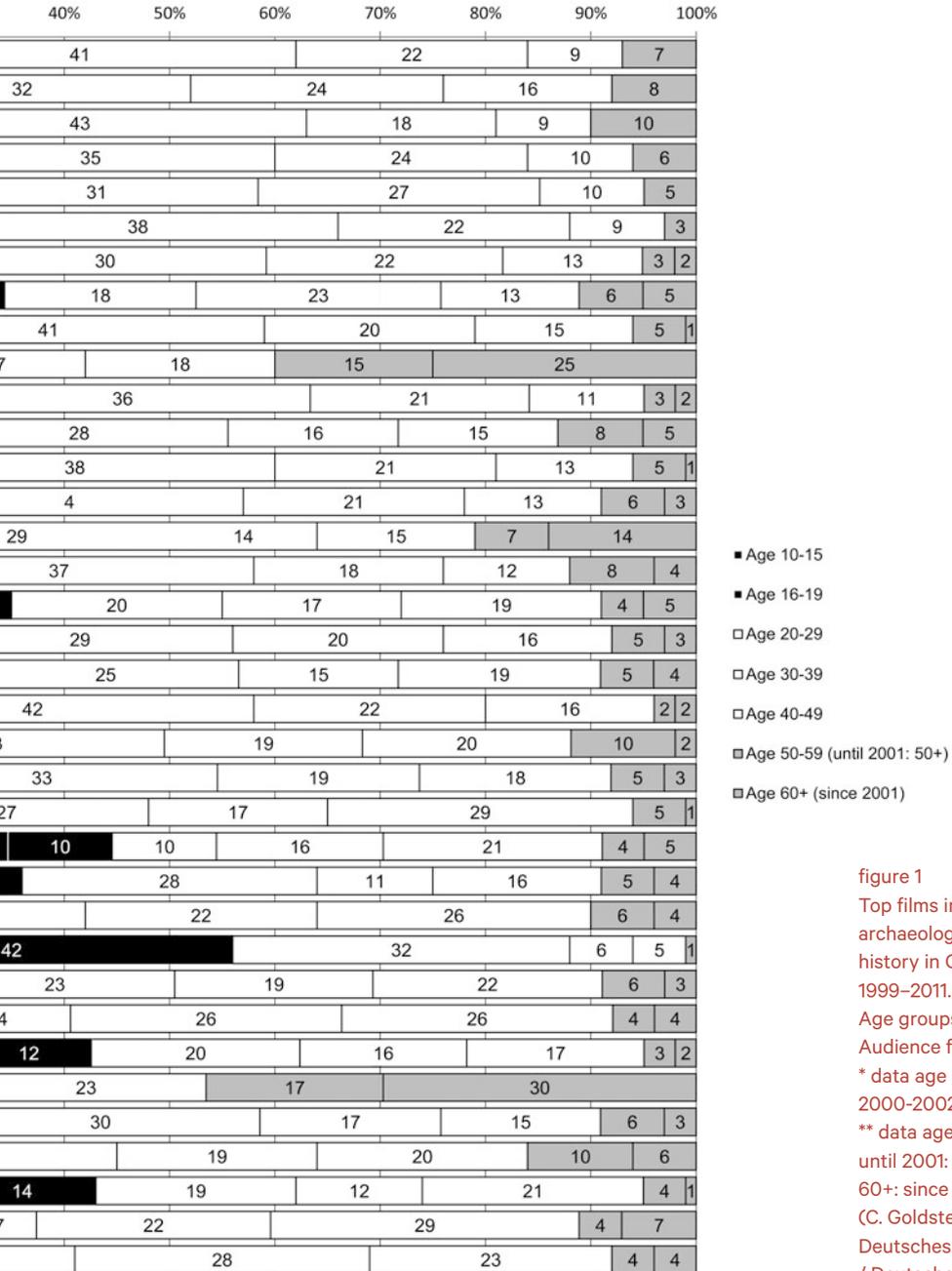


figure 1  
 Top films involving  
 archaeology and  
 history in Germany  
 1999–2011.  
 Age groups.  
 Audience figures in %.  
 \* data age 0-9:  
 2000-2002 only;  
 \*\* data age 50-59:  
 until 2001: 50+; age  
 60+: since 2001  
 (C. Goldstein,  
 Deutsches Filminstitut  
 / Deutsches  
 Filmmuseum, 2012).

special events, such as Roman cooking, presentations of original finds.

We present our own project and explore the opportunities that historical motion pictures offer to archaeologists. What is the composition of the audience for historical feature films? Do these films reach different audiences than other public outreach events traditionally organised by archaeological groups? Do they raise interest in the discipline and its research subjects or are they merely entertaining and without any longer-lasting impact? Can they be used as means to support heritage issues and, in the long term, to enhance public awareness of archaeological concerns?

### Movie audiences and archaeology audiences

Within the far-reaching and widely disseminated entertainment media, historical feature films play an important role, not only because of high movie attendance but also by virtue of their many possible distribution channels, such as Blu-Ray and DVD, internet streaming, and TV broadcasts.<sup>9</sup> Taking Germany as an example, statistics show that almost half of all movie audiences are younger than 30 years old. In 2011, the German Federal Film Board (Filmförderungsanstalt) recorded sales of 128 million movie admissions. Half of the tickets were sold for very successful blockbusters, each of them reaching at least one million visitors; and every fourth ticket was sold for a top 10 film. The 20 to 29 age group made up the largest sector of the audience (26 %), followed by young people from 10 to 19 years old (23 %). The 30 to 39 age group accounted for 16 %, and the 40 to 49 age group for 17 %. The age group from 20 to 29 must also be seen as the most active one, representing 34 % of spectators who attend more than seven film showings per year.<sup>10</sup> In contrast, “archaeological audiences” tend to be in their advanced years (this is true in general for members of historical and antiquarian associations, the readerships of popular archaeological magazines, and visitors to historical

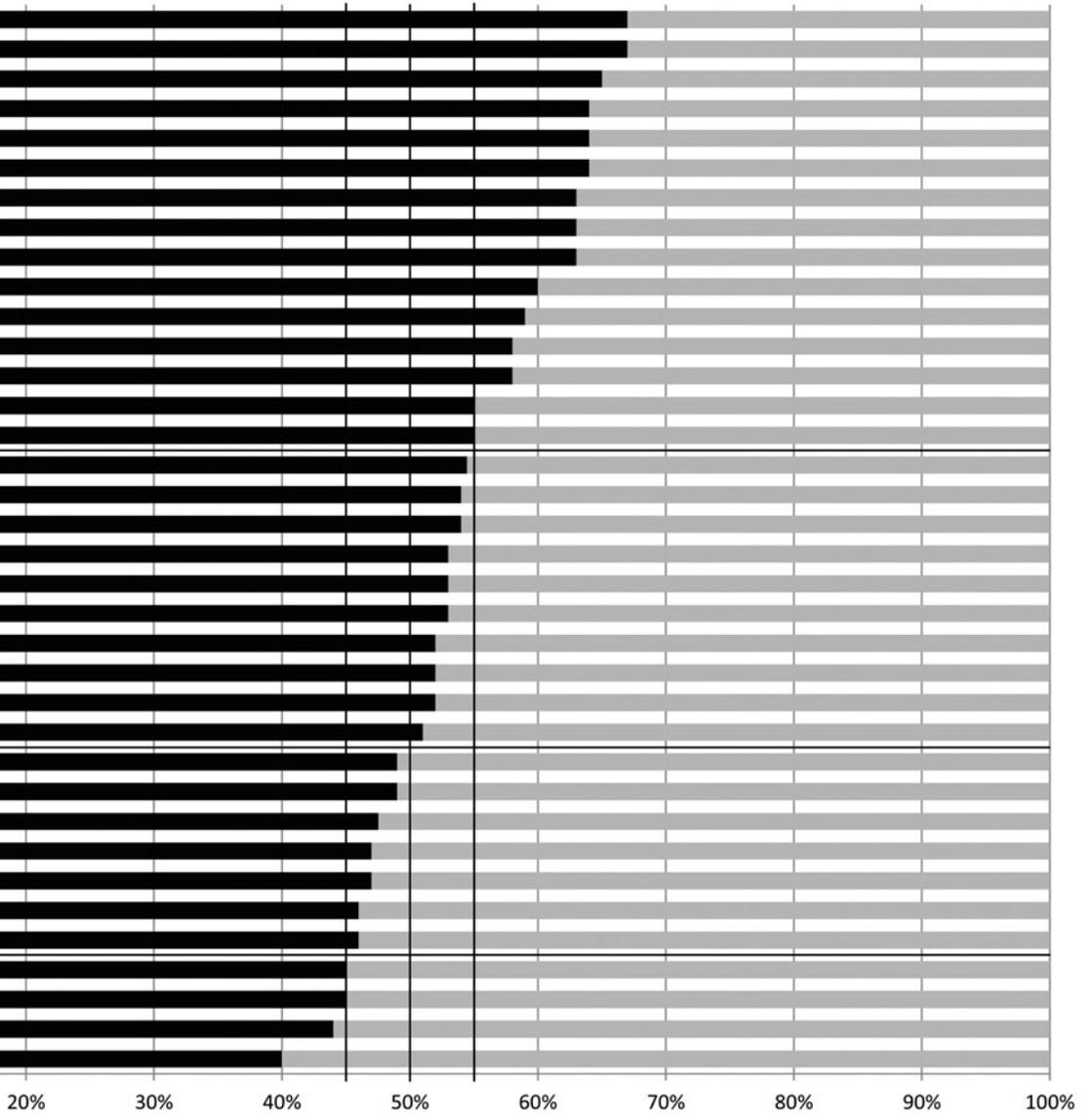
exhibitions).<sup>11</sup> We could go so far as to say that movies generally attract precisely the age group that is underrepresented at traditional archaeological public outreach events.

The younger age of movie audiences is confirmed for the subgroup of feature films dealing with archaeological and historical topics. In the years 1999–2011 that subgroup included no less than 36 top films in Germany (figure 1–3), which, altogether, reached more than 93 million spectators, and the audiences of these films consisted mainly of members of the 20 to 39 age group. A few films were aimed specifically at younger cinemagoers (e.g. *Meet the Spartans* (2008) and *Astérix aux Jeux Olympiques* (2008)), but none appealed to all ages; only the film *Luther* (2003) and *The Passion of the Christ* (2004) clearly attracted older spectators. The main audience consisted of men (up to 67%), which might be due, among other reasons, to a dominance of action-oriented films offering a large dose of computer-generated special effects. Other films were seen by men and women in equal proportions. Only a few appealed to a predominantly female audience. These included *Pope Joan* (2009, 60%) and the *Vicky* sequels (2009, 2011), with children's films obviously attracting women (55%) as accompanying adults.<sup>12</sup> We cannot say that the determining factor in attendance at these films is their connection to archaeology and history. It is more reasonable to consider them in a broader context of popular fantasy and science fiction blockbusters, for stellar casts, special effects, music, and exciting and action-packed adventures all attract people, promising enjoyable entertainment and immersion in another world. Moreover, advertising and the social factor – the wish to do something together with friends – also play key roles in determining cinema attendance.

It is, therefore, not primarily interest in history and archaeology that attracts people to historical feature films. Still, for various reasons audiences are attracted to films involving archaeological subjects. More generally speaking, films do bring archaeological and historical topics to the attention of society as a whole. These films create extensive publicity, which is



figure 2  
 Top films involving  
 archaeology and  
 history in Germany  
 1999 – 2011. Male and  
 female audiences.  
 Audience figures in %.



Companion / Part 2 / Revival Tools

	respective year	FSK	start	audience	male %	female %
The Mummy	1999	12	03.06.1999	4,900,000	53	47
Astérix et Obélix contre César	1999	6	18.03.1999	3,600,000	64	36
Gladiator	2000	12 / 16	25.05.2000	3,400,000	65	35
The Mummy returns	2001	12	17.06.2001	4,100,000	63	37
Lara Croft: Tomb Raider	2001	12	28.06.2001	2,500,000	67	33
A Knight's Tale	2001	12	06.09.2001	1,400,000	46	54
Ice Age	2002	0	21.03.2002	7,100,000	51	49
Astérix & Obélix: Mission Cléopâtre	2002	6	07.03.2002	1,600,000	49	51
The Scorpion King	2002	16	25.04.2002	0,980,000	64	36
Luther	2003	12	30.10.2003	2,300,000	48	53
Lara Croft Tomb Raider: The Cradle of Life	2003	12	14.08.2003	1,000,000	60	40
Troy	2004	12 / 16	13.05.2004	4,429,985	54	46
National Treasure	2004	12	25.11.2004	1,599,403	55	46
King Arthur	2004	12 / 16	19.08.2004	1,514,497	55	45
The Passion of the Christ	2004	16	18.03.2004	1,351,113	53	47
Kingdom of Heaven	2005	12 / 16	05.05.2005	1,950,354	54	46
Siegfried	2005	6	28.07.2005	1,321,443	49	51
Ice Age: The Meltdown	2006	0	06.04.2006	8,732,937	47	53
Night at the Museum	2006 / 2007	6	28.12.2006	3,122,678	52	48
Beowulf	2007	12	15.11.2007	572,493	59	41
Indiana Jones and the Kingdom of the Crystal Skull	2008	12	22.05.2008	2,847,930	63	37
National Treasure: Book of Secrets	2008	12	24.01.2008	1,771,200	55	45
The Mummy: Tomb of the Dragon Emperor	2008	12	07.08.2008	1,674,475	53	47
Astérix aux Jeux Olympiques	2008	6	31.01.2008	1,564,993	58	42
1 1/2 Ritter - Auf der Suche nach der hinreißenden Herzelinde	2008	6	18.12.2008	1,078,800	52	48
10,000 B.C.	2008	12	06.03.2008	876,223	67	33
Meet the Spartans	2008	12	28.02.2008	723,917	64	36
Ice Age: Dawn of the Dinosaurs	2009	0	01.07.2009	8,705,891	47	53
Vicky the Viking	2009	0	09.09.2009	4,891,161	45	55
Night at the Museum: Battle of the Smithsonian	2009	6	21.05.2009	2,369,843	52	48
Pope Joan	2009	12	22.10.2009	2,339,213	40	60
Prince of Persia: The Sands of Time	2010	12	20.05.2010	1,610,233	46	54
Robin Hood	2010	12	13.05.2010	1,484,491	63	37
Percy Jackson & the Olympians: The Lightning Thief	2010	12	11.02.2010	905,625	44	56
Vicky and the Treasure of the Gods	2011	0	29.09.2011	1,743,795	45	55
Thor	2011	12	28.04.2011	1,120,843	58	42
Total / average				93,183,536	54.4	45.6

directed not only at movie theater audiences but also to a much broader public thanks to the overall promotion strategies employed. Such publicity includes poster advertising, related Internet & TV documentaries, press background reports, etc.<sup>13</sup> The attractiveness of historical motion pictures and their significant presence in today's media naturally raises the question of their "quality". From an archaeological point of view, this question is often considered in terms of such matters as the accuracy of settings, costumes and props, but scholarly reconstructions are not primary considerations when it comes to filmmaking. Therefore the question of "quality" has to take into account both archaeological and cinematic perceptions, including historical correctness and consistency along with artistic merit, dramatic effectiveness and the requirements of film production.<sup>14</sup>

### Images of the past

Due to their success with broad audiences, historical feature films play an important role in constructing the popular image of the past, an image which is really a stand-alone picture of history, separated from and in addition to the one constructed by academic research. This is particularly true for the Roman Empire and the Middle Ages, the periods which filmmakers are most interested in and which are the best known to the audience thanks to history courses taught in school.<sup>15</sup>

Historical feature films, which are often screen adaptations of historical novels,<sup>16</sup> present fictional stories taking place in the past. History can be adapted and made to serve merely as background for the story. Filmmakers have to make sure that a motion picture will be understandable by everyone, including those without any historical knowledge, through the use of widely known elements. With respect to the use of historical references, the design of a motion picture set plays a significant part in conveying views of the past, since it determines place, time and background. The look of a film serves

figure 3  
Top films involving  
archaeology and  
history in Germany  
1999–2011. Audience  
figures.  
Data based on a Top  
50-ranking (except  
1999 / 2000 = Top 30;  
2001 = Top 40;  
2011 = Top 75).

as a frame for the story, but, of course, it can never be an exact copy of the past. Besides providing a setting for the story, production design disposes of distinct narrative qualities capable of supporting a film's content and message. Following Charles and Mirella Joana Affrons' classification of films with differing decorative and narrative characteristics, we may say that the set's function as embellishment is most important in the case of historical feature films. Flamboyant scenery with impressive royal palaces, glittering treasure rooms and hundreds of bowing servants is not meant to be an accurate reflection of history; it should be seen, rather, as a highly elaborated artistic version of the past. In *Troy* (2004), the city needed to be depicted as an ancient metropolis in accord with the expectations of a contemporary audience, meaning it had to be significantly bigger than archaeological research suggests it was. In historical motion pictures size does matter: it is a metaphor of power. The idea of magnifying the scale of what is being depicted is not new to filmmaking. One of the earliest long feature productions, David Llewelyn Wark Griffith's *Intolerance* (1916), became famous for its extensive use of highly embellished settings, costumes and props. The development of such iconographic standards has a long tradition in historical feature films, and some of them can even be traced back to historical paintings. For filmmakers, it is crucial to meet the audiences' expectations, which are a composite of familiar facts, previous knowledge and anticipated images of the past.<sup>17</sup>

Movie pictures should surely be as accurate as possible, but when evaluating historical correctness and authenticity, one must take into account whether these qualities were actually being sought, or if liberties were deliberately being taken. The film industry is an economic sector which requires financial reward (despite the high levels of film subsidies in Europe), and attendance figures are a key criterion in evaluating success. Accordingly, filmmakers have to follow guidelines different from those employed by archaeological and historical scholars, and from their point of view, historical accuracy is of secondary importance to the story's coherence and artistic

merits. Motion pictures need characters that the audience can identify and empathize with, such as the young rebel Achilles in *Troy* (2004); and the story needs to be reduced to feature-length and to use a manageable number of protagonists. Lastly, the overall impression the movie makes has to conform to modern notions of aesthetics.

Through their visual expressiveness, historical motion pictures stimulate the imagination; and their intensity may result in a presentation of events that is not supported by scientific and scholarly findings, as occurs, for example, when modern ways of thinking are directly transported into the past, or when sets are embellished in order to create astonishing, overwhelming images of the past. Transparently incorrect details, such as locating Sparta's harbour on steep cliffs in *Troy* (2004), may be accepted by the audience simply because of their impressive effect on the big screen.<sup>18</sup>

Moreover, this tendency is reinforced by the fact that filmmakers consistently employ a variety of stylistic devices which suggest a high level of accuracy, such as references to historical sources, as well as providing precise information on location and time in the opening credits. We may assume that the majority of viewers are aware that they are watching fictional accounts, but motion pictures can be so impressive that their representations are easily accepted as facts. Reliable figures on how spectators evaluate the accuracy of historical feature films do not exist – and, for all we know, may differ from film to film.<sup>19</sup>

### Archaeology and film

The relationship between archaeology and film, both of which underwent rapid development beginning in the late nineteenth century, has been widely examined. Today, several film festivals across Europe are dedicated to archaeological topics, and motion pictures are analysed as sources for studies on the popular reception of the ancient and prehistoric worlds and the

way historians and archaeologists are presented to and seen by the public.<sup>20</sup>

In principle, archaeology and film have a lot in common. In very general terms, motion pictures and archaeology both have the same goal: the presentation of the many aspects of everyday human life, including beliefs and ideas, and social, cultural and economic structures. Films and archaeology represent the accumulated knowledge and techniques of highly diverse and interdisciplinary professions with quite different dimensions. For one thing, archaeology is by far the junior partner in terms of economic power, number of employees and presence in daily life. And while both are fields composed of professionals, from the consumer's point of view they are primarily sources of entertainment and play a role in leisure activities. Each has its specific attractions, and each enables people to escape from reality and immerse themselves in another, more fascinating setting.

Both fields are influenced by a variety of factors such as social framework, financial and technical possibilities, and either artistic or academic canons of interpretation. Films and archaeology are cultural products, reflecting and affecting their respective environments. Through their visuality, film and archaeology both facilitate easy access to their respective topics. Both are powerful tools for education and the construction of identity and values – but also for constructing interpretations. Clearly, they are also vulnerable to equally powerful misuse for propaganda purposes.<sup>21</sup>

Nevertheless, there are significant differences between them: cinematic illustration techniques can reach much farther than archaeological ones, since films narrate individual actions and characters and focus on emotions, ideas and motivations. Archaeological methods, techniques and sources, however, will never be able to capture or reconstruct these. Films have to present their stories just at the point where archaeologists and historians have to give up for lack of sources. This is also true in the case of material culture, in other words, in the archaeological domain. A film has to depict it and cannot leave

it to the individual viewer's imagination. In *Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade* (1989), for example, the Holy Grail needs a visual equivalent; it must be present on the big screen – even if we have no archaeological evidence for this vessel.

While scientists keep their distance when looking at the past, filmmakers deliberately try to overcome this time gap. Film has to go beyond academically proven assessments: its stories and settings have to be coherent, complete and focused, whereas archaeologists respect the limitations of their sources, explaining them in references and notes. Films present what scholars are not able – and will never dare – to reconstruct and, consequently, what museums will never be able to show the public.<sup>22</sup>

### Some ways in which films can enhance heritage revival

Archaeological institutions consider the dissemination of information to the public to be an important part of their work. Accordingly they are interested in movie audiences since they are already aware of a specific topic, as opposed to the general audience they normally target. At best, the larger audiences question the content and raise questions which can be answered in a format familiar to archaeologists. Nevertheless, archaeology should make special provision for persons who are attending such films – taking into account that they are most likely not to possess much knowledge of archaeology and that, therefore, appropriate presentation and advertising are needed. The success of documentaries broadcast in connection with historical feature films indicates a certain willingness among audiences to absorb further information.<sup>23</sup>

There are several archaeologists and historians who are concerned with the film on an academic level, yet only a few cooperative ventures exist between cinema and archaeology.<sup>24</sup> In our own case, the conditions for co-operation were quite obviously already in place. The Frankfurt Film Museum provided a well-established art house theatre for 130 persons,

while generous initial funding was available through the cooperative project called Archaeology in Contemporary Europe, which was financed by the Culture Program of the European Commission during the period 2007–2013.

Collaborations such as ours could – and should – be established in other cities, between archaeological bodies, on the one hand, and art house or university cinemas, as well as local movie theatres, on the other. And we could also think about collaborating with commercial movie theaters on the occasion of the release of a historical blockbuster. In general, the starting point must be a positive attitude towards the other discipline and a respect for its specific characteristics: dismissing a film with complaints about wrongly reconstructed helmets, for example, is hardly constructive. As a survey among the delegates of the German Conference of Classical Philologists showed, this positive assessment does exist: 64 % thought that the film *Gladiator* (2000) was worth seeing.<sup>25</sup>

An audience of millions can be reached by motion pictures, and archaeologists should not miss this opportunity to disseminate knowledge of their discipline. Visits to exhibitions and lectures require a conscious decision; TV documentaries might be viewed on the basis of conscious choice or by chance as a result of channel-hopping. Movie-going is a choice in favor of pure entertainment, often made by young adults who might never respond to archaeology's traditional public relations efforts. Questions such as: "Was that really the case?"; "Did they already have ...?"; or even "How is history presented and why?"<sup>26</sup> may arise with the release of each historical blockbuster.

"Ideas about lost cities, exotic travel and digging up the world" – as Dr. Henry Walton Jones Jr. himself describes the popular image of the discipline in *Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade* (1989) – can help to create an awareness of historical, legendary or mythical topics. Thus, archaeologists and historians should use historical feature films as "Trojan Horses" not only to inform and enlighten but also to enhance awareness and appreciation of our archaeological heritage.

## Acknowledgements

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# Chapter 8 / **When the Past Comes to Life / Peter Van der Plaetsen**



The Romans loved to re-create their glorious deeds. It is well known that some of their famous battles were re-enacted in their arenas and amphitheatres, and some of these buildings were even designed to be able to be flooded so that re-creations of naval battles could be staged in them. During the Middle Ages, the life and death of Christ, as well as events from the lives of saints, were performed in the streets of towns and villages, and even today some of these traditional processions are still to be seen – the Procession of Holy Blood in Bruges is only one of many such examples. Perhaps our Stone Age ancestors recreated hunting scenes before an audience of their youngsters, as Bushmen still do today. Living History has quite a long tradition of bringing the past to the attention of the public.

### Look at that cool guy!

The widespread popularity of re-enactments is undeniable. Large crowds assemble for annual festivals or for the re-enactment of historical events. Tarragona, in Spain, Hastings, in the United Kingdom, and Waterloo, in Belgium – these are just a few of the many places in Europe where thousands upon thousands of visitors flock each year to see the past come to life, re-enacted by dedicated people completely engaged in their roles, either in full armor or dressed as civilians going through the daily lives of our ancestors.

A few decades ago there were only limited opportunities to see, for example, a Roman centurion or Napoleon's troops in the field, but today such appearances have become much more common, and we can witness almost any historical figures, ranging from prehistoric cavemen to young "flower power" men and women. More and more museums, as well as archaeological and historical sites, have turned to this lively way of presenting the past. If you visit Hampton Court, in the United Kingdom, it is likely you will meet Henry VIII himself, and (at least) one of his wives. You will find men and women in

the kitchen, preparing the meals for the court household. You can ask them what they are doing, and more specifically, how they are doing it. This is not only for the public's amusement, but also to spark or increase its interest.

In fact, in recent years almost all historical TV documentaries have tended to use actors to re-enact historical events or figures to explain the subject to viewers. One must admit that this way of representing the past not only looks good on screen, but also makes those documentaries much more lively, appealing, and understandable. With the correct balance of entertainment and historically-correct contents, the re-enactor is able to quite literally bring the past back to life. Spectators become involved because with Living History they live history by employing all their senses. That is why the public is so attracted to this way of presenting our heritage – people can literally see, feel, and touch the past.

This lively approach enables one to attract a different public, composed of people who otherwise might not so easily decide to enter a 'temple of culture'. Thus, re-enactment can provide a first step towards getting people interested and involved in their ancestors, their past, and their cultural heritage. It makes history attractive and understandable, which can, or should, be the main goal of historical re-enactment.

Living History can be incorporated into the normal running of historical monuments, museums, or heritage centres. Educational projects that apply the principles of hands-on archaeology and re-living the past are greatly appreciated by visitors, and thus museums or sites where the visitor is able to touch objects (or replicas), can (or try to) use tools, dress up, or play an ancient game have become much more common during the past decade. It is no longer rare to meet a guide who is dressed up as a historical figure and who can interact with the public. Who better to explain her fabulous finds than the 'fossil woman' Mary Anning (1799–1847) 'herself'?

Now I will take a closer look at the example of the Provincial Archeological Museum of Velzeke, Belgium.<sup>1</sup> For over 20 years this museum has been involved in historical re-enactment; it

'Roman army' performing in Marle, France  
(Peter Van der Plaetsen, 2008).





Peter Van der  
Plaetsen, 2007.

organizes festivals around a specific theme every year, and the public loves them. The Caesar Festival, involving about 400 re-enactors, drew more than 20,000 visitors to the small village of Velzeke, despite a dreadful rain storm. Last year's theme was 'Conflict', in which the uprising and defeat of the Batavians was staged. The battles are popular, but the public could also see a Roman fashion show, cavalry demonstrations, a slave market, taste Roman food and drink, or visit a Gallo-Roman market square. The goal is not entertainment (or income), but to attract people who otherwise might not have found their way to the museum and to inform them about history and our ancestors. More than a quarter of the total number of annual visitors come to the museum during these weekends. But this is not the whole story. From the outset, the museum was looking for ways to introduce the experience and information gained during these historical festivals into the daily programs for visitors. Hands-on archeology was a logical step, but groups can also experience and feel the past by dressing up as local Roman subjects in their traditional (pre-Roman) garments, or as the rich citizens who copied the fashions coming from Rome – that is how the process of Romanization is explained.

Replicas of prehistoric clothes are used to dress up a group of visitors and by doing so show that our ancestors were not those long-haired barbaric creatures with clubs, dragging their wives by the hair. In this way, a lesson about prehistory that otherwise might have been rather dull is now imparted visually, and thus can be better understood. In another educational project, the history of Western Europe is explained by using copies of weaponry. Where and when did the first armies rise? How did Rome conquer Gaul? Why did Rome eventually lose control? All these questions are answered, while the visitors are invited to actually put on chain mail, plate armor, and helmets, and to handle shields, spears, and swords.

Of course dressing up is great fun, too, but there is always a story behind the action, told by dedicated guides. For this purpose the staff studies the subject thoroughly to keep themselves from making errors and telling false stories. The guides

are well-informed, and their information is kept up to date by both the archaeologists who dig the site of Velzeke and external specialists. It is important to point out that these projects are not just another way to entertain the public. They impart knowledge, making a visit to the museum not only stimulating and fun, but also a way of learning the most recent scientific data about the past.

### Science or game?

Is the whole business of re-enactment a serious one? Scholars often regard living history as mere amusement for the public and of little intellectual value. Re-enactors are sometimes labeled a bunch of hobbyists. Indeed, one can question the historical relevance of certain experiments, and representing the past in the present is surely an audacious task. How is one to re-enact, for example, a battle that originally involved many thousands of combatants with only a few hundred re-enactors? Is it really possible to fully understand the way of living and coping with the problems of our ancestors by living for months as they did during the Stone Age, Iron Age, or medieval times? To what degree is our modern society and way of living infiltrating such interpretations?

One should always keep in mind that re-enactment is an evocation: an event that tries to bring an historical event or figure to the attention of the public. And one must be careful in drawing conclusions from such living historical experiments. Furthermore, scholars, organizers, and the public need to be aware (or be informed) of the fact that re-enactment is an interpretation of the past viewed from, and therefore biased by, our 21st century point of view. I am well aware of the many anachronisms and stereotypes that are involved in the any such presentation of history.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes re-enacting periods about which we know very little or are remote in time are particularly popular with certain groups or individuals. The more obscure the history gets, and the scarcer or more uncertain the



Anachronism in Marle, France (Peter Van der Plaetsen, 2008).

scientific data, the easier it becomes to ‘perform’ something. After all – who then can contradict the re-enactor?

At other times I have seen that many centuries of history are just thrown together in one big pile, so that one may encounter so-called medieval knights, equipped with replicas of 1,000-year old shields but with fourteenth century swords and helmets. Similar unhappy combinations are seen in some so-called ‘Iron Age’ re-enactments. And I am not referring just to re-enactors who are unintentionally wearing their watches or sunglasses, nor to someone’s cell phone ringing during a performance. That is not deliberate (I hope), but simply amusing.

Other anachronisms can occur in multi-period events. One might notice, for example, a knight of William the Conqueror’s army having a chat with a soldier wearing a Sten gun. While such encounters might create humorous photo opportunities, one can scarcely take offence at them. I consider these and many other such inaccuracies as *growing pains*. Some people never get beyond them, nor do they wish to. In those cases we

are dealing with 'show for the sake of show', something which is purely for amusement and of no value whatsoever for our purpose. Indeed, these 'Hollywood' and 'comic book' figures emphasize stereotypes about the past. One sees this in Rome, for example, when tourists have their picture taken next to Roman *centurions*. The fact that their armor is plastic does not show in the photo, but we obviously cannot regard these people as serious re-enactors; they do it purely for the money, not for transmitting history.

Reconstructing the past by re-enactment has evolved from being a mere pastime to become a more professional enterprise, where serious discussion about accuracy and historical authenticity is central. Although exceptions will always exist, I have noticed a growing interest in *authentic* representation of the character or period among re-enactors in recent years. More and more they immerse themselves in their roles by studying the period and discussing recent scholarly data and archaeological finds bearing on the subject. They gain knowledge about the past by thorough study, collecting as much information as possible, and digging deeply into details. They are trying not only to fine-tune their performances and thus make them as accurate as possible, but also to gain insights into historical events and facts that otherwise may never have been discovered. They approach the subject from a very practical point of view, which can differ greatly from that of the scientists.

Some re-enactors want to have the very best equipment and invest a lot of time and money to obtain it. A whole specialized industry of producing clothing and artifacts has evolved to serve them. And what they cannot find, they try to produce themselves. Trying to make weapons and artifacts in the original materials and with ancient tools can yield considerable insight into former techniques and expertise. In fact, many re-enactors have become dedicated experimental archaeologists. This experimental archaeology plays an important role in today's Living History. It has become common practice to experiment on how to produce certain elements of one's own equipment and to learn to work with metal, bone, wood,



Peter Van der  
Plaetsen, 2007.

leather, inlaying of enamel, clay, etc. In some cases, they do this work with the public present, and they may even discuss the processes with their audience.

One example is the Roman Furnace project in Velzeke, where a unique example of a wood-fired glass furnace was built. Each year experienced glassblowers from all over the world gather here to experiment with techniques of producing glass in the Roman or medieval way. Visitors can not only witness the magic of fire and glass but also see people involved in glassmaking or collecting. Both amateurs and professionals meet there annually to observe and discuss the process.

The manner in which a Roman centurion moves, how it forms the *testudo* or learns to throw *pilae* requires a lot of training and trial and errors. Why not try these maneuvers with the public present?

Sometimes experiments are undertaken on a much larger scale. A long-term project began in 1995 at Guédelon,<sup>3</sup> France, with the aim of building a chateau using local materials and only medieval building techniques. The motto of this experiment is 'Build to understand', and the project certainly has generated a lot of practical information and new insights into medieval building techniques and organisation. One valuable feature of this project is that all this hard labor is performed in the presence of the daily visitors. The organizers intend to attract a broad audience for their unique project, and hundreds of thousands of visitors have already witnessed its progress. That progress may be slow, but visitors have learned to respect the technical expertise and perseverance of our ancestors.

Over the years, historical re-enactment has also matured in another way. The current circuit includes representations of the whole historical spectrum, from the earliest periods to very recent ones, including even the less popular among them. Along with military groups, who dominated the scene for many decades, re-enactors of the everyday life of the past have gained a strong foothold. Historical festivals now feature cooks, blacksmiths, shoe salesmen, jewelers, and many other crafts persons in action. Today, even most military groups also



show the daily routines and activities of camp life to the public, confirming the growing interest in the diversification of subjects within the community of re-enactors.

I have tried to show that many re-enactors have evolved into a group impassioned by the past, who re-live and experience the past, and who can provide first-hand facts and figures. Their passion for history and knowledge of certain periods, crafts, or historical figures, as well as their involvement in experimental archaeology, can also yield important scientific data. Accordingly, I suggest that instead of ignoring the 'hobbyists', scholars and scientists should engage with them and encourage them to strive for even greater historical accuracy. They can do this by providing them with the latest historical and scientific data and discussing it with them. Re-enactors, I believe, have become heritage communicators, because they can communicate scientific information directly to the public – not in writing or by words alone, but by practical demonstration.



Peter Van der  
Plaetsen, 2007.

## Beyond the frontiers

Re-enactment has become a more serious business, and re-enactors now often move far beyond their own frontiers. Tarragona, Spain, for example, is the annual meeting point for everyone in Europe involved in Roman re-enactment. The remembrance of the Spanish Wars of Succession started on a small scale in Blenheim, Germany, in 2004, and at Ramillies, Belgium in 2006. When the ‘troops’ assembled in Almansa in April 2007 for the re-enactment of the bloody battle that was fought there, the size of the event had already blossomed to a larger scale. Just one year later, more than 400 re-enactors from all over Europe assembled to pay tribute to the men and women who fought and died during the Battle of Oudenaarde, Belgium in 1708. Groups came from Russia, Poland, Germany, Holland, France, Britain, Ireland, Belgium, Italy, Spain and Portugal. It was a truly international gathering of a rare breed of re-enactors. At first it was very hard to find people who re-enacted early eighteenth century warfare. But from 2004 on, an ever-growing number of individuals and groups have become interested in this period, and eventually they moved from Spain to Belgium to stage an impressive evocation of the Spanish Wars of Succession.

The evocation of the battle itself was only one of many activities organised around the commemoration of the Battle of Oudenaarde. All the data on the subject of the Spanish Wars of Succession and the Battle of Oudenaarde were compiled in a scholarly publication,<sup>4</sup> which accompanied an international exhibition. Specialists in battlefield archaeology came to the Flemish Ardennes to thoroughly investigate the battlefield itself using modern non-destructive methods. But what most people will remember is the roaring of the 20 cannons and the hundreds of muskets, the charging of the cavalry, and the colourful costumes of the troops. The Battle of Oudenaarde will thus not be forgotten. Without doubt the biggest Living History event in Europe is held at Waterloo, where many thousands of enthusiasts from all over the world gather before an

‘Roman military  
kitchen’ in Marle,  
France (Peter Van der  
Plaetsen, 2008).



ever-increasing crowd. The evocation of the Battle Hastings of 1066 is another example of an international gathering of re-enactors.

An example of a more peaceful nature is the big, twice-yearly international re-enactors market,<sup>5</sup> held in the United Kingdom, near Coventry, where thousands of re-enactors come to buy their clothes and fabrics, armor, weapons, cooking pots, wooden buckets, etc. And if one does not find what one is looking for at the market, one can always turn to the internet. An extensive international network dealing in equipment has developed, some of which is of top quality, and even more importantly, information can be found on how to produce equipment oneself. On the internet, there are international forums where one can discuss objects and their use in great detail. 'What man has made, man can make again' appears to be the watchword.

In short, there is an ever-growing international market that can provide artifacts and equipment, a fact museum and sites can take advantage when they are choosing replicas for educational programs or other activities. Moreover, finding a skilled craftsman able to make replicas of actual objects owned by museums has also become easier.

### Local involvement

Another aspect of historical re-enactment is the involvement of the local community. In Velzeke, for example, each historical event or Gallo-Roman market can count on the collaboration of the local merchants' association and of local volunteers who will dress up like Gauls or Romans for the occasion, and in doing so feel like a part of their own past.

Local involvement was one of the key aspects of the commemoration of the Spanish Wars of Succession. When this tercentenary began, the local councils and communities in Blenheim (Germany) and Ramillies (Belgium) took the initiative and planned the events, although their resources were quite



limited. The Spanish town of Almansa was the first organiser to contact many groups abroad, but it did not neglect to include its own community in order to provide more colour and lend more substance to the event. Local girls and women dressed up in colourful costumes to join the parade with the men in uniform. This small town also organized a local traditional market and other activities involving its inhabitants.

For the commemoration of the Battle of Oudenaarde, the town council took a further step, organizing a historical parade involving about 600 people. Many of them marched in their hometown side by side with re-enactors from all over Europe. More than sixty riders from local equestrian clubs dressed up for the occasion in eighteenth century costumes and joined the cavalry parade. For two days the market square of Oudenaarde was completely filled with people, both participants and spectators, instead of cars. In fact, one of the key figures in the organising Oudenaarde 1708, was so impressed by what he saw that he has become a dedicated re-enactor;

Evocation of the Battle of Oudenaarde from 1708, Oudenaarde, Belgium (Peter Van der Plaetsen, 2008).

he owns a cannon, and with his five gunners he is a regular guest at both local and international events. By involving the local community in such events, it is possible to create a strong awareness of its past and make people feel proud of it. As a consequence, they will also support the activities of your museum or site. People take pride in their local history.

## Conclusion

I have outlined our practical experience with re-enactment, and have sought to draw your attention to the increasingly professional and international outlook of the community of re-enactors and to the opportunities offered by the incorporation of Living History into the daily program of historical sites, heritage centres, and museums.

Living History appeals on many levels. The public loves to see people dressed up, performing daily tasks, producing objects, or fighting, and this kind of presentation allows people to experience their history and heritage in a different way. It also attracts visitors who otherwise might not come to the site. Because of the interaction between the re-enactors and the public, I regard them as heritage communicators who bring the past to life in a vivid manner via their personal experience and knowledge. This is first-hand information, and thus those re-enactors who are serious and take pride in what they do are not only good communicators; they are also potential source of important scientific data useful to archaeologists and historians. You simply have to insist on maintaining high standards among the re-enactors you work with regarding both performance and equipment, as well as screen out 'Hollywood' and comic-book figures and the like!

Finally, I want to stress that allowing the public to see and touch the past is not our principal aim. In our experience, re-enactment it is a very effective tool for making the public understand the past and appreciate the achievement of our ancestors, which is the ultimate goal of the enterprise.

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Chapter 9 /  
**Visualisation of Place  
and Landscape /**  
Joske Houtkamp,  
Arnoud de Boer and  
Henk Kramer



For several decades digital 3D models and virtual environments have been used in the domains of archaeology and cultural heritage. Over time, the advantages of these digital visualisations of historical places and landscapes have become widely recognized and appreciated. Much knowhow is now available regarding their usability and effectiveness in meeting specific goals, for instance in education.

Here, in an overview of 3D visualisation addressed to professionals in the cultural heritage domain seeking the most effective means for telling their stories to their audiences, we will discuss the stages involved in the development of a large-scale interactive 3D visualization. The focus will be on some practical and theoretical questions which often arise during the process. We pay particular attention to three important topics: user-centred design methods; the challenges of using historical sources and modern techniques to build large-scale virtual environments; and visualisation styles and presentation modes, such as those used, for example, to represent temporal changes or to create ambience.

### Introduction: 3D visualisation

Physical models of historic buildings and archaeological sites are valued elements in cultural heritage exhibitions. These miniature but otherwise lifelike representations draw the attention of visitors and keep them visually engaged by showing many details and, at the same time, offering a comprehensible overview. They provide a picture of past environments, in which visitors, with minimal mental effort, can imagine themselves walking around. Creating a mental image of a building or environment using only maps and elevations, however, requires spatial visualisation ability and experience in interpreting technical drawings, which not all individuals possess. It also requires some knowledge of the structures represented, about materials and colors, for instance, in order to fill in information lacking in the drawings.

Computer-based 3D visualisations are increasingly replacing such models; for they present spatial information in a more engaging manner, one that nonprofessionals can quickly recognize and understand. Moreover, they can also visualize changes over time, and they allow one to actually move through a building, or to interact with objects in an environment and through time. With 3D visualisations or virtual environments we can reconstruct, for example, castles of which only ruins remain, cities that have disappeared completely, and landscapes changed by human interventions, and we can represent them in visually attractive, interactive, and user-friendly applications. Objects that were removed from sites can be shown in their original context, revealing the functions and use of both the objects and their immediate environment. New methods for cityscape and landscape modeling, together with advanced data collection techniques, now support the semi-automatic creation of large-scale virtual environments of vast regions. In these environments, detailed models of settlements, of other man-made constructions, and of landscape features can be included. These may support viewers' awareness of the impact of the natural environment on the development of a settlement, on the daily life of its inhabitants, and on their relations with surrounding landscape and people living there.

3D visualisations can also convey the so-called "affective" qualities of places; these are characteristics that make viewers experience emotions towards the environment, such as excitement, fear, attraction, etc.<sup>1</sup> Virtual environments are able to induce a sense of presence in the user, which involves him or her even more fully in the depicted environment. Recent technological developments in computer graphics (manifest in films and games) and in hardware such as smartphones and tablets have raised expectations of users about the experiential quality and functionality of 3D applications, and about the ubiquitous availability of these applications on different platforms. Aesthetically pleasing and engaging experiences are becoming increasingly important in efforts to involve the general public, who are now used to the high quality graphics

and audio offered by the entertainment industry in films and computer games.

3D visualisations are flexible and effective media for conveying complex spatial or geographically-based information to a varied audience. For research purposes, 3D models have proven to be of particular value in reconstructing buildings or sites that have a long and complex history, and in comparing alternative solutions. In practice, projects for developing 3D models of historical sites often emerge from a desire on the part of domain experts and IT professionals to present large quantities of spatial data to a broad (unspecified) audience, and for a range of objectives that are not well specified. As a result, the effort is directed towards accuracy in modeling rather than towards achieving a specific user experience. Developing 3D visualisations as an “experience tool” for laypersons, however, requires a user-oriented approach, and different modeling techniques.

### The start: “why and for whom?”

The prospect of recreating a historic environment with virtual reality techniques is so enticing that heritage professionals may embark on projects with great enthusiasm – with ambitious but not precisely defined goals. Just as in other IT projects, however, it is crucial to adhere to well established methodologies for software development that support design decisions, and ensure that users will be satisfied with the product. The first step consists of analyzing the requirements for the intended product. User-centred design (UCD) methodologies offer a range of techniques to establish the user requirements of an application before actual design and development take place. The first questions in every visualisation or virtual reality project should be: for whom are we developing this visualization? What do we want them to experience when they interact with the virtual environment; and what should they learn, and still remember a week later? Should the user be surprised,

engaged, or impressed? Is the goal to enhance understanding of, for example, the impact of settlement patterns on the modern landscape? Or, perhaps, to create the sensation of being present in another era?

Understanding of and consensus on these issues between all the parties involved in the visualisation project can reduce the risk of miscommunication and, ultimately, even of failure. *Personas* and *scenarios* are examples of techniques that are useful in this context. As Pruitt and Gruding explain, teams which do not utilize *Personas* routinely make decisions about features and implementation without recognizing or communicating their underlying assumptions about who will use the product and how it will be used.<sup>2</sup> *Personas* help to focus attention on a selected audience and prevent developing an application for a vague concept – for ‘everyone’. *Personas* are descriptions of persons who are representative of a typical (desired) user group. The description, often complemented with visual materials, includes, for instance, gender, age, education, interests, goals, activities, computer skills, and attitudes towards technology. Members of a design team write the *Personas*, using the results of, say, market surveys, interviews, and the study of visitors’ behavior on location, such as at an archaeological site or an exhibition. Once created and made believable and appealing with photos, *Personas* facilitate communication in the development process.

Once *Personas* are established, *scenarios* can be created which represent the desired activities of the potential users of the application. A *scenario* is a story, a description of a typical activity of a specific user of the application, including intentional but also unintentional actions, as well as the context of use, such as location, time, and the presence of other people. *Scenarios* help us to imagine how the application will be used, and how contextual factors may influence this use. They focus attention on the intended user experience rather than on the display of technical novelties. From an analysis of the *Personas* and *scenarios*, one can derive the requirements for the appropriate 3D visualisation; these describe the functionalities of

the application and visual features of the 3D models, etc. Other stakeholders add requirements to the list, which may concern similar issues, but also the availability of the application on different platforms, its usability, and so on. Proper analysis of all these factors results in the right list of requirements for the designers and developers of the 3D environment.

The design and development of an application is a cyclical process. After the requirements analysis, a team will start on design, development, and evaluation. In every phase, however, new questions will arise, ideas will change, and, thus, earlier results may have to be revisited.

### Elaboration: “what and how?”

In the design phase, the development team explores different solutions and variations, and arrives at a conceptual design of the final application which meets all the requirements. At this point, detailed decisions will be made about the content of a virtual environment (for instance, what will be modelled, and what left out), on the presentation (quality and style of rendering, the design of the interface), on the functionality (which actions the user can perform), and on software, the hardware platform, etc. Obviously, this requires the input of extensive knowledge from cultural heritage experts concerning the available historic materials, as well advice from experts in the field of GIS<sup>3</sup> and 3D computer graphics on techniques and implementation. Although, ideally, the functional design is independent of the implementation choices, in reality, features of the historical data will have a strong influence on the design choices. For example, how can designers deal with incomplete, dubious, or contradictory data? This problem occurs in all types of reconstructions, but in virtual reconstructions different visualisation techniques, such as transparency or overlays, can be applied to reveal alternatives.<sup>4</sup>

## Scale and level of detail

Important issues in the design and development of cultural heritage visualisations are the *scale* and *level of detail* used in showing the viewer the environment and its elements, which may range from detailed objects to vast, even global, landscapes. Today's technology offers different techniques appropriate to the required scale and level of detail: *feature-based modelling* and *procedural modelling*. *Feature-based modelling* refers to the modelling of individual objects (*features*), usually small in scale and with a high level of detail. *Procedural modelling* concerns the large-scale augmentation of a digital terrain or landscape model containing individual virtual objects, such as buildings and trees, based on rules and conditions (*procedures*). The choice of type is determined by the requirements of scale and level of detail suited to the intended use.

### **Feature-based modelling**

Individual objects can be captured with a high level of detail using *close-range photography* or *laser scanning*. From their output, detailed and textured 3D models can be produced semi-automatically. For large objects (e.g. buildings), the challenge is to completely capture the object from all sides to create a full 3D model. If buildings and landscape elements are no longer visible in the landscape and no similar objects remain elsewhere in the world, they must be modelled using historical sources such as historical floor plans and building maps. Using 3D modelling software, the object is then created through a largely manual process.

### **Procedural landscape modelling**

Data-capturing methods used for objects are also suitable for large sites or vast landscapes, but require different equipment.

Photography and scanning can still be used, but in that case, from the air or mobile platforms. They produce a lower level of detail but a larger amount of data as a result of the larger area covered. The data are processed by a *digital terrain model* (DTM) representing the size and shape of the actual landscape terrain. If a landscape has changed significantly and no traces of older periods are visible in the field, *the digital terrain model* is created from historical sources like maps, paintings, and drawings. However, these sources generally provide limited or inconsistent information, leaving us with many uncertainties concerning the exact historical situation. Cartographers, for example, created their maps employing deliberate abstractions from the real world, leading to geometric, chronometric, and topographic inaccuracies.<sup>5</sup> Fortunately, tools are available to detect such inaccuracies in historical maps.<sup>6</sup> In a 3D visualisation one needs to communicate the remaining uncertainties in some way or another using uncertainty visualisation techniques such as *transparency* or *non-photorealistic rendering*.<sup>7</sup> Next, 3D procedural modelling software is used to add landscape features, such as buildings and trees, to the *digital terrain model*, based on rules and constraints (*procedures*). An example of procedural modelling is described by Dylla et al.<sup>8</sup> for the Rome Reborn project, which is presented later in this chapter.

### Representational quality and user experience

The clash between scale and level of detail, on the one hand, and the project's budget, on the other, necessitates design choices about image quality and representation style, choices which influence the perceived credibility of the reconstructed area, and the experience of the viewer. When choosing a strategy, it is again the objectives of the project that must be considered, since accuracy and appeal of 3D environments may be conflicting desiderata. There is, for example, evidence that 3D visualisations are perceived as more trustworthy and more

convincing than other, traditional representations,<sup>9</sup> so that an attractive, high quality visualisation might easily be considered to be a truthful representation of an historic environment. Style also influences the user experience of the environment. The emotional response to a virtual environment is influenced by sounds, the presence of virtual humans, animals, vegetation, atmospheric circumstances, and dynamic elements and details such as dirt and litter. Although game engines allow one to represent these elements in detail, with a photorealistic effect, using them is laborious and demands a great deal of skill, as well as thorough research; and if the relevant research is not available, their use becomes heavily dependent on assumptions and interpretations. Again, the objectives of the virtual environment are paramount in deciding on the style of the end product. Is the goal to engage young people with a compelling visual experience, or to provide an objective overview of the layout of an archaeological site?

### Exploring the environment

Another question that has to be considered in this phase is how users can be guided through the virtual environment in a way that leads them to discover and understand the message the designers want to convey. Their experience needs to make sense and to meet the objectives as originally defined.

One of the major advantages of interactive 3D environments is the freedom of navigating them. The ability to choose routes, viewpoints, and pace creates a unique and individual experience. However, when viewers are located in an environment without clear directions they may feel lost, overlook important features, and lose interest. Fencott et al.<sup>10</sup> have developed the *Perceptual Opportunities model* (PO-model) to encourage users to follow a predesigned route through an environment, using attractors and perceptual rewards. From the entry point in the virtual environment, the viewer's attention is drawn by, for example, an animated object or a mysterious feature. When

the viewer reaches this location, a visual or auditory effect is triggered, after which another event or feature draws his or her attention. The effect may contain information on the object or environment, so the “reward” consists of discovery and learning about the environment. This technique helps designers to focus on the intended user experience, and to consider the different roles and meanings of features in the environment.

### Implementation and evaluation

When the conceptual design is completed and approved by stakeholders, and the techniques that might be used have been explored, then the implementation stage begins. We will now discuss four projects to illustrate different techniques and objectives.

#### ‘Things have changed’

The project *‘Things have changed’* aims to facilitate visual assessment of landscape changes between 1900 and 2006 in a region in the southern part of the Netherlands.<sup>11</sup> This was the landscape that Vincent van Gogh drew and wandered through. The visualisation offers the audience the chance to explore its transformation from a landscape with small-scale urbanisation and natural habitats to a modern landscape characterized by extensive, large-scale man-made interventions. Navigating through the environment, viewers recognize the effects of landscape features on sightlines, and how the landscape influences the experience of a visitor to the area. This supports, for example, studies on Vincent van Gogh’s writings and drawings in that specific area and period. The 3D visualisation is created using topographic maps made in 1900 and 2006. We verified the visualisation of the historical landscape with the aid of paintings from that period, and of the current land-

Screen capture. *Things have changed* user-interface showing the 1900 landscape in the Southern part of the Netherlands at the top left, the 2006 landscape on the top right, and the route and current location at the bottom picture (Henk Kramer, 2006).



scape using present-day views. Both the historical and current landscapes are portrayed in the same way.

Only the most distinctive landscape elements (e.g. roads and land-coverings) and 3D objects (e.g. trees and buildings) are modelled. In this manner, we produced two virtual landscapes in a similar visual style. Finally, animations are rendered<sup>12</sup> along a flight path through the virtual landscapes. The animations of the historical and current landscape are juxtaposed and, together with a 2D route map for navigation purposes, presented to the user (see Screen Capture *Things have changed*).

The evaluation of the project showed that viewers appreciated this technique as an instrument for visually comparing landscapes. However, they indicated that it was difficult to simultaneously perceive and understand the changes presented at different locations on their screen. Other evaluations included remarks on the modern look and feel of the 3D environment, which did not convey an historical ambience. One reviewer suggested including period artifacts such as an old wagon and a small cottage. These comments show that viewers expect, and look for, cues that help them to vividly imagine the historic environment.

## Rome Reborn

For the *Rome Reborn* project, a virtual reconstruction was created of the entire city of ancient Rome at the height of its urban development, in 320 AD. The primary objective was to spatialise and present information and theories on how the city looked at that moment in time; and the secondary aim was to make available the sources of archaeological information and the speculative reasoning supporting the digital reconstructions.<sup>13</sup> Projects such as these are often initiated as showcases and are intended to explore the application of new technology in new domains. Goals and audiences are only broadly defined, and the knowledge acquired during the development process is seen as one of the main motives for these projects. 3D environments like these offer a wealth of visual information but leave it up to the user to interpret and give meaning to what he or she perceives.

An initial version of the digital model was created by laser scanning the existing scale model of ancient Rome known as *Plastico di Roma antica*.<sup>14</sup> Only well documented buildings and structures were modeled in detail using specialized software; others were kept schematic. In a second version, rules were defined in consultation with archaeological experts and applied to refine the representation of the schematic models. Using procedural modeling, an entire virtual city of highly detailed 3D building models was generated.<sup>15</sup> The digital model is completed with human figures, atmospheric conditions, and certain details such as vegetation and appropriate small objects, such as statues.

Rome Reborn provides a good illustration of the effects design choices can have in a visualisation project. Although in recent versions humans and some details such as vegetation and small objects are included, the model still creates a static impression, with a clean, bright ambiance. This is in keeping with the project's "aim of presenting visually current knowledge of the city's buildings and layout."<sup>16</sup> However, this style, also familiar from architectural visualisations, does not convey

Screen capture.  
*Rome Reborn:*  
*A Digital Model of*  
*Ancient Rome 1*  
(Rome Reborn, 2007).



Screen capture.  
*Rome Reborn:*  
*A Digital Model of*  
*Ancient Rome 2.0*  
(Rome Reborn, 2012).



the experience of this huge, crowded, noisy, dusty, and probably very dirty city in the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. To simulate these ambient conditions one can use modern game engines, which provide high quality graphics, including detailed textures as well as environmental elements (animated bodies of water, fog, clouds), to create more engaging, immersive experiences.<sup>17</sup> Increasing the level of detail, on the other hand, also requires deliberate choices, for which historical evidence is often absent and that must, therefore, be considered as speculative.<sup>18</sup>

### Crowds in Pompeii

The Rome Reborn model is well suited for studying architecture and town planning in the Roman era, but it does not convey an impression of daily life in the city, nor of the life of its citizens. Several recent cultural heritage projects involving virtual reconstructions include crowd simulation to convey



the feel of ancient life in real time, based on evidence such as ancient frescoes. One example is a 3D model of Pompeii, which is populated by several types of Roman citizens, including male and female nobles, plebeians, and patricians. They move and behave in ways appropriate to their position in life, and are, for instance, restricted to certain areas of the city, in accord with their social status. The numbers of these virtual humans and their movement result in a varied and, according to the authors, realistic simulation.<sup>19</sup> Other projects add music or flora and fauna to virtual cities in an attempt to further enhance the user experience.

For the most part, the focus of these projects is still on implementing new techniques, and the objective is described in general terms, as creating a 'realistic' experience. The next step is for cultural heritage experts to assess the effects of these additions on the viewers, and to further specify the intended user experience. Do these embellishments help immerse viewers in the historical environment and create an engaging and memorable experience?<sup>20</sup>

Screen capture.  
A crowd of Virtual  
Romans simulated in  
a reconstructed part  
of Pompeii (Jonathan  
Maïm et al., 2007).



## Virtual Honselaarsdijck

Honselaarsdijck Palace<sup>21</sup> was a fortified building acquired, rebuilt and extended by the Dutch governor Frederick Henry in the early seventeenth century. In 1815, King William I decided to demolish it because it had fallen into ruin after the French Revolution. All that remains is a small outbuilding, The Nederhof; its location is now the site of the De Honsel industrial park (see “Screen capture Honselaarsdijck Palace and De Honsel industrial park”).

Although there exists a large number of historical maps, prints, and paintings of the palace buildings and its surrounding landscape, these static images can offer only a limited degree of interactivity and perspective. To revive and relive the grandeur of the historic estate and the vastness of the surrounding landscape, we created a virtual reconstruction of Honselaarsdijck Palace for a museum exhibition.<sup>22</sup> The reconstruction is capable of giving the modern observer a historical sensation, in the sense that the Dutch cultural historian Johan Huizinga<sup>23</sup> meant by this term: the impression of stepping back into a specific time for a short moment. Thus, even if only briefly, a visitor imagines him or herself back in the 17th century, experiencing the glory of the palace and its setting amidst the royal gardens and the historical landscape.

Historical maps and paintings, as we have seen, can be upgraded<sup>24</sup> to a 3D virtual environment and made available via an interactive computer interface. In this process, visitors, enjoying a bird's eye perspective, can “fly” to the different locations on the estate which appear in a historical source. A demonstration is available at <http://honselaarsdijck.geomultimedia.nl>.

Three key factors contributed to the success of the virtual historic landscape at ‘Virtual Honselaarsdijck’: the ability of users to understand the relationship between the historical sources and the virtual environment, the scale of the reconstruction and the landscape elements themselves, and the quality and completeness of the virtual landscape.

Screen capture.  
Honselaarsdijck  
Palace, The Hague,  
around 1683 (above)  
and the De Honsel  
industrial park in 2009  
(below) (Arnoud de  
Boer, 2009).



## Discussion and future outlook

In the previous sections, we underscored the importance of designing with *the user experience* in mind. Too often 3D visualisations are created with a focus on available data and techniques. In order to determine what the goal of the visualisation is and define the desired user experience, one can now take advantage of methods such as *Personas* and *scenarios*. During the development stage, representatives of the intended user groups should be consulted regularly to make sure the visualisation meets their requirements and expectations. This will help developers to keep the user in mind and not get distracted by the technical challenges to be solved.

In this chapter, we have focused on 3D visualisations displayed on a desktop monitor. Of course, there are other possibilities for presenting 3D visualisations, for instance on interactive and location-aware platforms such as smartphones.<sup>25</sup> Augmented or mixed reality techniques allow users to view reconstructions at the actual location, as an overlay or a superimposed image. Because of the rapid developments in software and hardware, it is now even possible to walk through an excavated site such as Pompeii and watch animated characters, virtual humans, as it were, acting out a story in real time in the mixed reality world.<sup>26</sup> These new techniques will undoubtedly lead to a completely new stream of virtual heritage applications.

One concern we want to express here is whether the currently existing virtual reconstructions will continue to be available in the future. Archaeologists and historical experts make beautiful and detailed 3D virtual models after long and extensive research of a particular place or landscape. Yet, due to the lack of a standard method for the realisation, storage, and exchange of these models, there is a risk that in the course of time they may no longer be compatible, and thus not be able to be integrated into new virtual reconstructions. Fortunately, there are initiatives<sup>27</sup> to design and create a central infrastructure for sharing and storing such models, and this

Screen capture.  
Virtual reconstruction  
of Honselaarsdijck  
Palace and its  
gardening landscape  
(Arnoud de Boer,  
2009).

may eventually lead to virtual reconstructions on a pan-European scale.

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Chapter 10 /  
**From Preservation to  
Managing Change /**  
Using spatial develop-  
ment as a heritage  
revival tool / Felix van  
Veldhoven



“Let us by all means cleanse, then mend,  
then adapt frankly to our own modern uses;  
and though in this process a shock may be  
given to the merely romantic spirit, a better  
and truer artistic result is reached, at any  
rate when with time and use the new ele-  
ments again harmonise into the old.”<sup>1</sup>

### Recapitulating history

The idea of integrating cultural heritage in spatial planning was already envisaged by pioneering town planner Patrick Geddes in 1905, as the above quotation illustrates. During urban development projects in Edinburgh, Dublin, and colonial India, he pleaded for preservation of the built heritage by adapting it to “the requirement of the present.”<sup>2</sup> He put his ideas into practice in, for example, the re-construction of Crosby Hall, the medieval mansion of a London wool merchant, in 1908. When a local bank decided to demolish this fifteenth century structure, Geddes carefully numbered each stone and incorporated the historic building in a block of buildings belonging to the University of London. According to Geddes, the only way a city can achieve proper new growth is for it to develop a form of design which keeps history in mind and which starts from the existing urban fabric: future-oriented urban design is impossible without looking back. The participation of the inhabitants is essential, because it is they who will recapitulate the history of their city.

Old buildings were reused in new spatial projects long before Geddes’s time. Design with history in mind can already be found in ancient Rome, where Augustus, in all probability, incorporated the alleged remains of Romulus’ and Remus’ birthplace (the so-called Lupercal) into his palace on the Palatine Hill.<sup>3</sup> These examples show that the use, and even re-use, of heritage in spatial development has been occurring for centuries. The Roman philosopher and statesman Marcus

Tullius Cicero once described the connection between a place and a memory as the scratching of a stylus on a wax tablet: mental images and place (or, for that matter, spatial heritage) together create memory, just like the scribble and the wax tablet together form a message.

Place and memory are yoked to each other: a memory or story will last if it is connected to a place. This phenomenon can actually be demonstrated, as has been pointed out by historians Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan.<sup>4</sup> A group of students who took a test achieved better results when it was held in the same place where they had learned the subject matter. Apparently, a place can call up memories of events that occurred at the same location. One can scarcely underestimate the consequences of this process for spatial heritage: it may function to evoke strong, personal stories and memories, or it can yield a lasting historical experience. In this regard, one may turn to the work of the historian Pierre Nora, whose notion of *lieux de mémoire* has had a major influence on our understanding of how familiar places act as carriers of stories and memories.<sup>5</sup>

There is as yet no overview of the different ways in which heritage can be approached in spatial transformations. There are, however, many extensively described examples of successful and less successful strategies. In this chapter, I try to offer some insight into the developing perspectives on spatial heritage and their consequences for the integration of heritage in spatial design. With the help of several examples, I will show the ways in which (re)development of spatial heritage can strengthen the ties between a place, its people, and their past. I begin with the situation in the Netherlands, where the strategy known as 'preservation through development,' which was elaborated in the late 1990s by an interdisciplinary team of specialists, proved to be innovative and relevant, and has placed Dutch thinking about heritage policy in the European vanguard.

### From a culture of loss towards a culture of gain

After the Second World War, spatial heritage received little recognition in the Netherlands.<sup>6</sup> The Germans had fostered an interest in local customs and folklore during the years of occupation, and thus after the war concern for heritage became a questionable topic. This trend went even further in the heyday of the reconstruction period, when urban planners regarded traces of the past as obstacles,<sup>7</sup> but the publication in 1972 of the study *Limits to Growth*, commissioned by the Club of Rome, had a positive effect on thinking about landscape and monuments, and in time these subjects appeared on the policy agenda of national governments. A modern discourse emerged, dominated by a rational perspective on heritage. Most importantly, historic buildings were now considered 'irreplaceable'; an old building merited attention because of its rarity and because of the soundness of its building material. Heritage was regarded as 'stock', a collection of relics telling us about the past. It was something in 'limited supply' that was being threatened, and henceforth it was conceived of primarily in terms of its scarcity.<sup>8</sup>

This thinking in terms of scarcity has led people to speak nowadays of a 'culture of loss'. Attention to heritage arose from a fear of losing the archaeological soil archive, cultural landscapes, and valuable buildings. Traces of the past were at risk because of urban modernisation, the rationalisation of agriculture, and the urbanisation of the countryside. Remnants were, so speak, placed outside of time and thereby isolated from their surroundings. This approach to heritage can be found in international heritage treaties such as the *Charter of Venice* (1964), the *European Charter of the Architectural Heritage* (1975), and the selection criteria for the World Heritage List. The pursuit of an objectifying, quantitative approach to heritage by governments is not difficult to understand: it simplifies their task. By unambiguously defining what should be protected and what should not, long discussions about conflicting histories are avoided.<sup>9</sup>

In the 1990's, the situation started to change. The meaning of heritage broadened; the term began to refer not only to integral landscapes and structures, but also to personal stories and memories. From that time on, heritage not only denoted the value of a physical object as estimated by experts; in what can be seen as the result of a gradual process of democratisation, it could also describe an integrated environment as uniquely experienced by an individual. This conceptual expansion would lead to new ways of considering space, observable in the reuse of historic buildings and landscapes. The Netherlands was among the first countries to transform these ideas into a national spatial policy.<sup>10</sup> This policy, described in the so-called Belvedere Memorandum (1999) under the paradoxical motto 'preservation through development', states that the past should be used as much as possible as a source of inspiration by architects, urban planners, and landscape designers, among others.<sup>11</sup>

"If we want things to stay as they are, things will have to change", to quote Tancredi, a pivotal character in the 1958 literary classic *Il Gattopardo* (The Leopard) by Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa. In my view, it is impossible to foster landscape preservation using only the techniques of preservation and conservation, because the essence of landscape is change. The new strategy of 'preservation through development' has taken fully into account the inevitable transformation of heritage and incorporated it into the dynamics of spatial change. For the first time, we have adopted a national approach regarding reuse and redevelopment, in which, for example, factories or former industrial landscapes that have fallen into disuse are fitted into plans for spatial development. A gradual transformation has taken place from the aforementioned 'culture of loss', in which limiting damage was the primary goal, towards a 'culture of gain' that creates designs for the future from a historically aware and self-conscious perspective. Heritage care is no longer the exclusive domain of a small group of experts. Heritage consultant Ned Kaufman describes this change as follows: "while preservationists debate problems of authentic-



ity, integrity, architectural quality, stylistic purity, and significance, citizens seem to worry more about the loss of character, pleasure, or usefulness in the place they inhabit and love, of the ability to recall the past in them, of being forced to leave them. Many worry about the loss of cultural identity associated with them.”<sup>12</sup>

The policy set forth in the Belvedere Memorandum displays an optimistic outlook in its approach to heritage, which is no longer regarded as a constraint on spatial transformations but viewed instead as a driving force and source of inspiration for development. Successful large-scale, international redevelopment projects have inspired policy makers, researchers and designers, as well as the public, to take a greater interest in, for example, the industrial past. An informative example is provided by the South Wales mining town of Blaenavon. From a run-down, post-industrial mining landscape, it was transformed into an integrally preserved heritage site, and was declared a World Heritage site by UNESCO in 2000. Local residents and former miners were involved in the development of the plans, and nowadays they tell visitors stories about their life in a mining community.<sup>13</sup>

The Big Pit in  
Bleanavon, Wales  
(Felix van Veldhoven,  
2011).



### History of the future

During the decade dominated by the policy outlined in the Belvedere Memorandum (1999–2009), views about heritage changed considerably, and the idea of heritage as a contemporary creation gained momentum. According to this view, heritage can be said to truly exist only if it is regarded as such by the people who use it or live within it. The idea that heritage value lies in the intrinsic qualities of an object, that the value of a building can be defined by its bricks, has thus been rejected. In the 21st century, it is memories and stories that are considered to determine the character of a place or building. Heritage has thereby become a construction of reality which is born out of the interaction between people. Heritage can never be a completed process: it is constantly evolving through the actions of man.<sup>14</sup> The application of the term 'landscape' has broadened greatly. It encompasses us all. We dwell within it, inhabit it, and travel across it – leading geographer David Lowenthal to see it as our most basic form of heritage.<sup>15</sup> Landscapes are now

Rhondda Heritage  
Park in Trehafod,  
Wales (Felix van  
Veldhoven, 2011).



viewed not just as ecosystems, but also as living spaces that become transformed through time and which link stories, identities, and memories. With this awareness came recognition of the need to involve local communities in heritage practices. Politicians, planners, and designers are more and more developing and deepening their dialogue with inhabitants and users, who thereby act as co-producers of spatial transformation. Beyond this, self-organisation by citizens has become more important as a way to compensate for diminishing government involvement. In addition to the participation of the inhabitants, who are 'invited' to voice their opinions about spatial developments, we observe a growing number of local initiatives, in which the (organised) citizens take action and force governments to reconsider their role.

A former miner functions as a tour guide underground, Rhondda Heritage Park, Trehafod, Wales (Wiecher Mandemaker, 2012).

Our present concept of heritage not only recognises that stories, people, or objects are being remembered, but also that some elements are consciously forgotten or ignored.<sup>16</sup> A painful, traumatic experience, or period in someone's life, can be both forgotten and remembered. The Dutch philoso-

pher Frank Ankersmit describes forgetting as a paradox: “by relegating the traumatic experience to the domain of the unconscious, we can, indeed, forget it. But precisely by storing it there, we will also retain it as an unconscious memory. As an unconscious memory it is a constant reminder that there is something that we should or wish to forget.” To be able to terminate a traumatic period, to forget,<sup>17</sup> one first needs to remember. This is a notion that has been employed internationally in the domain of mining heritage and the difficult problems associated with the closing down of coal mines. In the heyday of the coal industry, many mining regions were blessed with economic growth, employment, and prosperity. With the transition to the post-industrial period, however, those same regions faced merciless unemployment, social deprivation, and poverty. Coping with such a loss, and leaving behind the traumatic mine closures, requires a period of “hyper-remembering”.<sup>18</sup> It requires admitting into one’s own identity that which has been forgotten. In German there is a word for coming to terms with (or mastering) the past: *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*. In her book *The New Berlin, Memory, Politics, Place* (2005), geographer Karen Till speaks of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* in an analysis of the confrontation with and overcoming of the National Socialist past in Germany.<sup>19</sup> Landscape can be seen as the objectified result of the daily struggle about what is to be remembered and what forgotten. This functioning of landscape as a mnemonic device means that erasure, for example the complete destruction of a mining landscape, will more readily block a successful forgetting than promote it. It is because of this that some heritage experts plead for a culture of slowness: material remnants should not be quickly demolished or put into new use, but should be allowed a period of repose.<sup>20</sup>

Our approach to heritage should be in accord with the developing ‘will’ to preserve it. This can clearly be demonstrated with some specific examples, such as Blaenavon, or the design for the Munich Documentation and Education Centre for the

History of National Socialism described later on in this chapter. While previously the basic concern was the 'future of history', i.e. the traditional, protection-oriented approach, there has been a shift towards the notion of the 'history of the future'. This approach allows for co-production of policy and more self-organisation by citizens, and it works best when supplemented with the immaterial dimension of oral history, myths, legends, and historical events. In this way, spatial heritage gains in both physical-spatial and socio-cultural meaning.

### The biographical approach

In daily heritage practices, one can discern a conflict between the earlier, preservation-minded approach and the new notion of the 'history of the future'. In the course of the frequent attempts made to overcome this dichotomy, a type of academic writing called cultural biography has gained considerable attention. The biographical approach connects landscape and heritage research with the practical aspects of spatial design. The point of departure here is the story, in other words, a communicative instrument. Landscape is viewed as the historically evolving, living environment of people and not simply as an ecosystem or functional space. Particular attention is paid to authorship – to the individuals who have left their mark on the landscape, even if their names have been forgotten, even if it concerns 'nobody in particular'. Shared stories can bind people together; anonymous processes cannot. Biography can act as a powerful instrument in linking memories, stories, and events to a particular place, thereby providing reader access to historical experiences. The Dutch use of biography can be characterized by the following five key features:<sup>21</sup>

- The approach is 'historicising', meaning that attention is focused on the continuously changing patterns in the use and meaning of landscape.
- It assumes that the development of landscape cannot be

explained in terms of the separate phases of a chronological history, but rather by a succession of transformations, some of them gradual and some sudden.

- It is a multi- and interdisciplinary approach, combining and interweaving different disciplinary sources and methods.
- Primary consideration is given to the living environment, the habitat of local communities, with a focus on long-term developments of their landscape use.
- Historical research is undertaken with an eye to current heritage issues.

The living environment calls out for an overlapping of design, historical research, policy initiatives, and social interaction. Within a given spatial concept, biography can act as a kind of cultural-historical cement. Its binding force lies in its capacity to overcome the fixed boundaries of the idea-world and the tangible landscape. Biography can provide the seedbed of new, totally unexpected ideas for development, since its flexible, multiform character makes it especially suited to deal with issues at the interface of spatial design and heritage.

### Biography in practice

How does biography, as a spatial tool, work in practice?

My first example is the project called *Boerenverstand* (Horse Sense, 2009), a Dutch expression that refers to the inventiveness of farmers. Designers Krijn Christiaansen and Cathelijne Montens<sup>22</sup> were asked to produce a design informed by research that they would, in the first stage, conduct on the wooden field gates to be found in the region around the river Vecht: a peat meadow area where such gates used to be characteristic elements of the landscape in the central part of the Netherlands. During the past decades the gates have increasingly been replaced by standardised, generic metal ones, thereby impoverishing the character of the landscape.

The designer duo employed a biographical approach,

which gave them elbow-room to merge creative design with spatial interventions and personal interpretation. How did they manage to achieve this? Christiaansen and Montens immersed themselves in the history of the Vecht region and asked local farmers to tell them their own stories about and memories of field gates on their land. They also collected wood from different farms in the area and carefully photographed and documented the planks. In the end, they had assembled a large number of personal anecdotes, stories, and memories about the farmers' way of living. The 'biographies' of gates and planks became visible, and the most 'story-rich' wooden remains were reused in building a series of new gates, constructed in the old manner. As a result, thanks to the biographical approach, the region's specific landscape was treated in a way that acknowledged the daily work of the farmers.

A second example of this approach can be found in a design that was submitted as an entry in an international competition for a historical documentation center in Munich.<sup>23</sup> The context was emotionally charged, since the task was the design of a place that would embed the memories of the Nazi era topographically in the city, in the form of a documentation centre for the history of National Socialism, to be built on the site of the former Nazi party headquarters. Because of the unusually heavy burden of history carried by this example, it clearly shows the powerful convergence of spatial design, history, and heritage that can result from the biographical approach. The description of the competition ran to as many as 164 pages, the entry only 8. The location where the building was to be erected was marked by a somewhat unedifying past. In the nineteenth century, King Ludwig I of Bavaria (r. 1825–1848) ordered his court architect Leo von Klenze to design an urban extension for the city of Munich, of which the area around the Königsplatz would be the highlight. Museums in the neo-classical style flank the monumental square, which represents the ideal of a German Athens. After 1933, Hitler chose Munich as the administrative centre of his National Socialist Party and declared the Bavarian city *Kunststadt des Deutschen Reiches*.

Former location of the *Braunes Haus* that remained fallow until 2011 (Chris Helmkamp, 2011).

Architect Paul Troost redesigned the Königsplatz with his neo-classical architecture, in keeping with the Nazi's employment of classical architecture as their architectural style of choice. A nineteenth-century villa, east of the Königsplatz, was designated as the seat of the NSDAP. When the Allies bombed the area in 1943, they completely destroyed the villa, which had been called *Braunes Haus*. Those of Troost's buildings which survived the bombs and fires were demolished in 1946 on order of the Allied troops, leaving only the plinths as elevations above the ground level. The plinths were planted with greenery and left to deteriorate, symbolising the collective will to forget the Nazi period.

Competition entry for the Munich Documentation and Education Centre for the History of National Socialism, Germany, not executed (courtesy of Abbink De Haas Architects).

The empty surface where the *Braunes Haus* once stood, and where the new documentation centre is to rise, is complex and burdened by history. In recognition of this, one of the entrants of the competition put together a multidisciplinary team that took the stratified city as a starting point. The team included two architects, a landscape architect and two historians. Designer and historian worked together, approaching the idea of place in different ways but sharing a common sensitivity to space, image, and texture.<sup>24</sup> The specific, biographical method emerges from the interdisciplinary approach and the recognition of the National Socialist taint as being only one of the many layers involved. The surroundings of the *Braunes Haus* cannot simply be reduced to just a 'place of the perpetrator', but must also be seen as living space of the people of Munich. This understanding of the layered past, of evolving memory, was translated into design in the form of a building from which a slice appears to have been cut out, suggesting a longitudinal section, so that visitors and passers-by would sense the 'layeredness', the continuously changing meaning and use of the place – in short, its evolving heritage. The collaboration of designers and historians resulted in a biography of the area around the *Braunes Haus*, and its translation into a captivating spatial design.



## The democratisation of heritage

It has not become any easier for the heritage sector to secure a fixed position for itself within the spatial planning system. Yet, it is precisely such a position, as an established link within the chain of spatial plan preparation, decision, and adoption, which can clear the way for the inconceivable, for unexpected quality, and for meaning. Its relevance lies not only in the improvements it can make to spatial quality, but also in its contribution to better social interaction.<sup>25</sup>

With the broadening of the concept of heritage and the acknowledgement that heritage is never 'completed', increasing attention is being paid to the stratification or 'layeredness' of places, in other words, to the continuously changing way people identify with places and the values they thereby ascribe to heritage. It is this 'layeredness' and its recognition in spatial plans that lead to the production of cultural value. As a result of this recognition, the traditional hierarchy of experts and non-experts has faded away: attractive and strong plans now emerge pre-eminently from the stories and memories of local inhabitants in combination with the knowledge of experts. Successful contemporary heritage practices can no longer be characterised solely as public or private; they are plural, containing a mix of several approaches. Inhabitants and users now have a bigger role in spatial questions, which have become smaller in scale, are more specific, and of shorter duration. The 'overall approach', used in projects commissioned by a single client or authority, no longer fits our current idea of heritage. Again, the early twentieth century Patrick Geddes was ahead of us: "[T]he planner who is anything of a geographer and anthropologist .... sees the peoples of different climates and environments as adapted through past ages to these. Thus he comes to their ways, their habits, their customs, their institutions, their laws, their morals, their manners, with the ordinary naturalistic attitude of observant and interpretive interest, and not that of superiority."<sup>26</sup>

The challenge that lies before us is how to achieve a much

stronger integration of design and historical research. To what extent and in what manner does an innovative design add to the dynamic historical process? More than ever before, there is a need for an approach that transcends the premises and perspectives of the different heritage disciplines and is conducive to a search for common ground. If this could be created, it could lead to a permanent union of cultural preservation and renewal, thereby increasing the ability of cultural-historical arguments to resist the pressures exerted by commerce and politics. Although it would seem that the distinction between original and copy is steadily fading away, there will always be a material origin and a primordial story.<sup>27</sup> To end with the words of Patrick Geddes: “The existing roads and lanes are the past product of practical life, its movement and experience; and observation and common sense alike show them to be in the right directions, and therefore needing only improvements.”<sup>28</sup>

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Chapter 11 /  
**‘Europe is a Journey’ /**  
The European cultural  
route as an instrument  
for heritage revival /  
Minke Walda



'I can't say; but one's emotions are more strongly aroused by seeing the places that tradition records to have been the favourite resort of men of note in former days, than by hearing about their deeds or reading their writings'

Cicero<sup>1</sup>

Spread throughout the landscape of the southern and the eastern parts of the Netherlands are a number of large boulders, loosely placed in the rural landscape, in city squares or, in one case, close to the John Frost Bridge in the city of Arnhem, which was bridge central in the Battle of Arnhem in 1944. The alien boulders, placed mostly in the countryside, are part of the Liberation Route – a still expanding cultural route centred on events in the southern and eastern regions of the Netherlands during the final stages of the Second World War. The regions played an important role in the march of the Allies from Normandy to Berlin. In September 1944 the Allies reached the Belgian-Dutch border, and, in an attempt to end the war before Christmas, started 'Operation Market Garden' to invade Germany through the Netherlands. They undertook large-scale airborne-landings and an infantry advance from Belgium through Northern Brabant to the bridges over the Maas, Waal and Rhine Rivers in order to cut off the Germans in the west of the Netherlands and then to push on to the Ruhr Valley and, finally, to Berlin. Nijmegen and most parts of Northern Brabant were liberated, but the conquest of Arnhem failed, bringing millions of Dutch citizens above the Rhine to the edge of starvation that winter. The John Frost Bridge still carries symbolic meanings as the place where the liberation of Europe was temporarily halted.

Each large boulder is placed in the landscape of one of the former battlefields and represents a particular, often personal story from that period of the war. These stories have been recorded and can be downloaded as MP3 files or on a smartphone. They have proved to be very popular since the public

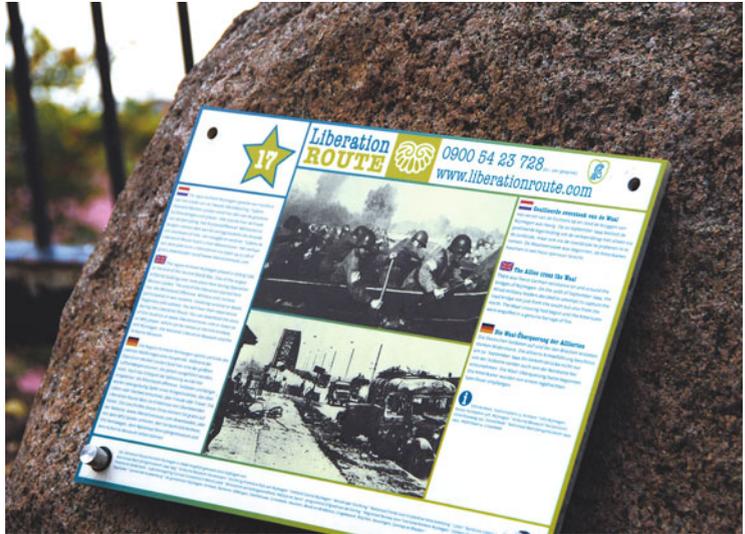
Visitors listen to the story marked by a boulder of the Liberation Route, located on the Veluwe, the Netherlands (DeVeluwe Flickr Channel, 2011).



opening of the route in 2008. The stories, which can be listened to individually, have been downloaded a total of more than 60,000 times. The experiences of the soldiers and inhabitants bring the listener close to the events of the war, allowing him or her to hear about the bombings of the city around him or about the joy and relief when the food transports finally arrived. Visitors are invited to plan their own trail and means of transport between the boulders, based on their interests and other travel plans. Only small-scale, ready-made tours and package deals are offered on the Liberation Route website. The 'route' is not a guided tour, but a network of small sites, linking the locations to a larger history and creating cohesion in the liberation story, as well as enticing the visitors to explore the whole story of the region.

With the development of the Liberation Route the well known battle sites of the final stages of World War II are transformed into an attractive network of places of memory which serve to stimulate cultural tourism and generate public awareness. The Route, a partnership of several Dutch Second World War museums and the regional tourist organisation RBT KAN, is now planning to expand on European level. In conjunction

Liberation Route  
boulder, Gennep, the  
Netherlands (Linde  
Egberts, 2011).



with the commemoration of the 70th anniversary of D-Day in 2014, the regional route will be extended to 3,000-kilometers and offer the visitor a variety of experiences, guided with the help of his/her smartphone from Southern England to Normandy, Paris, the Ardennes, Brabant, Arnhem-Nijmegen, and Berlin, following the path taken by the Allies during the liberation in 1944–1945. More than sixty European regions, museums, tourist organisations, and other bodies have joined the initiative and will work together to develop an overarching European Liberation Route.<sup>2</sup>

The method of presenting a region's or country's heritage to the public used by the Liberation Route is not new. In the last few decades the development of heritage or cultural routes or networks has become a popular tool in conservation, in education and in promoting tourism at the local, national and international levels. In the literature on cultural tourism, the heritage route has been defined "as a means of organising the visitor's experience by providing a purposeful, interpreted route" that can be followed by car, bicycle, foot or other forms of transport and that "draws on the natural or cultural heritage of an area to provide an educational experience that will enhance visitor

enjoyment. It is marked on the ground or on maps, and interpretative material is normally available to guide the visitor”.<sup>3</sup> In practice, the scale, organisation, and content of these routes and networks is highly diverse, ranging from local urban tours that take only half an hour to international networks like the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela, a walk that can take weeks or months. In essence, every heritage route connects several sites under a common theme. Its essential goal is to encourage a desire to travel and to cross borders, and to expand the visitor's grasp of local, national, or international histories.

An important aspect of this kind of travel is the physical experience of the journey. Unlike the planned itinerary leading to one's holiday destination, the journey across the landscape as one follows a cultural route is as important as the destination itself. For the pilgrimage tourist, the journey to reach the religious site in question is in itself a 'spiritual odyssey' – a search for something deeper: a chance to meditate, to make contact with nature and other people, and to reaffirm and strengthen one's faith during the sequence of religiously significant stops. The hardship and meditation en route culminate in a peak religious experience upon one's reaching the final destination. The non-religious journey of the cultural tourist is more focused on submersion in the landscape, the encounter with beautiful nature or culture, and meeting other people, or the physical challenge of walking or cycling (long) distances. In both cases, however, the traversal of the landscape is a central aspect of the total experience of the route.

This chapter evaluates the potential of the development of cultural routes as a method for the revival of interest in and the presentation of heritage at a European level. Based on an analysis of 35 existing European cultural or heritage routes, it describes some of the factors that have contributed to the successful development of such routes, as well as some of the obstacles that have been encountered, and it offers suggestions for the development of cultural routes on a supra-national scale (see matrix).<sup>4</sup> For all 35 case studies, I have researched the route's organisation, form, goal, and presentation using its

Signpost of the Saint  
James Way, Issoire,  
France (Minke Walda,  
2012).



website or a brochure (if available). The results of this research are discussed after an introduction on the history of the heritage route.

### History of the heritage route

The predecessors of the cultural route can be traced back to ancient pilgrim routes and trade networks. Many of the current European routes, like the Amber Route of the Sultan's Trail, are inspired by these ancient roads between trade centres and religious sites. The Grand Tour of scholars and young aristocrats among the monuments and artefacts of European history, which had its origins in the sixteenth century and culminated in the late eighteenth century, may be seen as the start of a more specific type of heritage tourism (image).<sup>5</sup> With the advent of rail and steamship networks and Thomas Cook's package tours in the middle of the nineteenth century, a European journey became accessible for a newly-interested middle-class public keen to develop its cultural taste. Modern guidebook publishers such as John Murray and Karl Baedeker realised that if the European tours were to become marketable, they had to include a series of itineraries linking the heritage sites that were the primary objectives of the travel.<sup>6</sup>

In the 1970s conservation bodies created a new phenomenon in route-development in the form of self-guided heritage trails. Nature trails, which first began appearing in the United Kingdom in the 1960s and 1970s, were quickly developed to encompass a range of heritage routes. France pioneered the use of historic routes by the end of the 1970's, and in 1989 it introduced the official classification of 'route historique' by the Caisse des Monuments Historiques et des Sites.<sup>7</sup>

In the same period, the potential of route development was recognised at the European level. The 1964 report "Raising collective awareness of Europe's main cultural sites and their incorporation into the leisure civilization," prepared by a study group of the Council of Europe, is considered to have



introduced the idea of fostering awareness of a shared European heritage through travel and tourism.<sup>8</sup> The idea resurfaced in 1987 with the launching of the European Cultural Routes Project by the Council of Europe, the aim of which was to demonstrate the common identity of Europe in an accessible way at a time when the ideological divide of the Continent was crumbling. The theme-based routes and networks, considered representative of European culture as a whole, were meant to encourage Europeans to discover their common roots and heritage through cultural tourism.<sup>9</sup> In conjunction with the establishment of the European Cultural Routes Project, the Santiago de Compostela pilgrim routes were recognized as a European Cultural Route (1987), making it the first to win that designation.<sup>10</sup>

In 1997 the Cultural Routes Project was placed in a more formal co-operative framework. The European Institute of Cultural Routes (EICR) was established as a public service and technical body in Luxembourg to co-ordinate, monitor, and document the Cultural Routes program. The routes and networks that have been granted the status of 'Cultural Route

Grand Tour: Bernardo Bellotto: Ruins of the Forum, Rome. Ca. 1743 (National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne / Felton Bequest).

of the Council of Europe' all commemorate a shared European history, centred around themes like religious pilgrimage (Via Francigena), European cultural figures (European Mozart Ways), migration (The Vikings Route), and art and architecture (European Route of Cistercian Abbeys).<sup>11</sup>

Along with the European Cultural Routes (which require certification), a variety of other European cultural routes are financially supported by supra-national European organisations. Most of them are developed by partnerships of public-sector organisations, using the route as a tool for a variety of cultural, social, economic, or political aims. Examples are the Art Nouveau European Route, developed by a non-profit association aiming at the international promotion and protection of Art Nouveau heritage, or the European Route of Brick Gothic, in connection with the European project AGORA 2.0, whose goal is to develop a common regional identity for the Baltic Sea Region by exploring its natural and cultural treasures.<sup>12</sup> The development of cultural routes by commercial tourist organisations turns out to be a relatively minor factor at the European level. The Liberation Route is one of the few examples of a heritage route created explicitly with the goal of a significant financial return.<sup>13</sup> Another is the 'Oranjeroute' (Orange Route), a touristic network of the many sites associated with The Netherland's royal Orange-Nassau family; it has been developed by the German National Tourist Board.<sup>14</sup>

My research on existing European routes indicates that their development at the Continental level is strongly rooted in political-ideological agendas. Lofty ambitions are proclaimed for these subsidised cultural routes, and they are seen by their creators as multifaceted and flexible tools for promoting three goals: cultural tourism, sustainable territorial development, and European collaboration.<sup>15</sup> The important question is: how is this institutional language translated into practice? Let me offer a few observations in this regard.



### Opportunities for route development

In the Introduction, fostering the desire to travel was mentioned as the essential element of route-development, distinguishing it from other methods of heritage revival and promotion. Routes serve to connect, by combining heritage sites in a larger context, but also because of the co-operation they necessitate between participants and stakeholders. In this way, a route can draw attention to heritage sites that would not have attracted the public as destinations in their own right. Embedding heritage sites in a larger geographical and cultural context also makes the cultural route an attractive tool for focusing on broader histories, such as those of pilgrimages, battlefields (Liberation Route), or the spread of artistic and architectural styles. The combined experience of sites makes it possible for the traveller to understand places in the context of time and space.

“Anchor point” of  
the Liberation Route:  
Hoorn-Medemblik  
Steam Tram Museum,  
the Netherlands  
(Minke Walda, 2012).

A route has the great advantage of making it possible for a person to experience a monument or site on the spot. The experience of the authentic site and its location in the landscape is potentially much more powerful than any that could be offered by the presentation of heritage on a website or in a museum. As Cicero stated in the quotation at the start of this chapter, seeing a place for oneself, can arouse a stronger emotion than a 'second-hand' image can. He appeals to the idea of a historic sensation: the feeling of direct contact with history or the location of action (e.g. battlefield tourism) through the tangibility of the site or the feeling of walking in the footsteps of, say, the medieval pilgrim or the Allied soldier. This quality of the heritage site or trail, this connection with a location and its history, is well suited to take advantage of the current demand of consumers for authentic experiences and products.<sup>16</sup>

In their influential publication on economic management, *The Experience Economy: Work is Theatre and Every Business a Stage* (1999), economists Pine and Gilmore introduced the term 'experience economy' as the fourth economic stage in mankind's history, after the extraction of commodities from the earth, the production of goods, and the delivery of services. Not goods and services, but experiences are the central economic offering in this experience economy. As the authors observe, consumers are increasingly demanding experiences, and more and more companies are responding to this demand. Well-known examples are Disneyland, or, at a much smaller scale, the luxurious coffee bar, where serving a cup of coffee is staged as a total experience by offering a range of different tastes, design interiors and subtle 'scent machines', spreading the aroma of freshly-brewed coffee and just-baked bread. This staging of experiences, they assert, creates a closer link between the consumer and the company, leading to a stronger engagement and identification with the product.

Although staged experiences like Disneyland have a somewhat dubious status in the heritage world because of their lack of authenticity, the developer of cultural routes could learn a great deal from the principles of the experience economy as

described by Pine and Gilmore. The sense of history visitors gain by walking in the footsteps of the past, following a historic route or visiting historic locations, offers organizers of heritage routes a good incentive to develop an experience-based tourism likely to stimulate an involvement and identification with European heritage. In addition, the possibility of combining several heritage sites and routes offers organizers a chance to adjust to the individual needs and expectations of a variety of user groups.

### Obstacles to route development in Europe

Deborah Hayes and Nicola MacLeod were the first to make a connection between the design of heritage trails and the opportunities of the 'experience economy'. Drawing on the content analysis of trail brochures in Great Britain that they presented in their article 'Packaging places: designing heritage trails using an experience economy perspective to maximize visitor engagement' (2007), Hayes and MacLeod concluded that most British route-developers do not take full advantage of the potential offered by the principles of experience-based design suggested by Pine and Gilmore. Their analysis of heritage trails in Great Britain holds lessons for Continental route planners, as well. Keeping their findings in mind, I analyzed the websites of the European cultural routes and observed two major problems that need to be addressed.

#### **1. The trail and network routes: the two main types of European cultural routes**

In many cases, the term 'route' is used to indicate the joint presentation of heritage at several locations, connected by (digital) infrastructural means. The term 'route' suggests a fixed trail marked on the ground or on maps, leading travellers from one destination to the next, like the many pilgrimage routes crossing Europe. The 'route' exists in space: it makes use of existing, sometimes historical roads or trails, marked by signposts that

can be followed on foot, on a bike or by car. A cultural route, however, does not have to be a physical path. At the Continental scale, more than half of the so-called 'cultural routes' take the form of network organisations, lacking an actual spatial itinerary on the ground. A good example is the European Route of Historic Thermal Towns, developed by the European Historic Thermal Towns Association, a network of towns in Western and Eastern European countries that boast a recognised spa tradition and spa or thermal heritage.<sup>17</sup> The 'route' is actually a network of heritage sites, collaborating on an institutional level and linked by the central theme of the spa. The individual thermal sites and towns can be visited separately: the website offers the contact information of a municipality and the tourist information bureau, combined with a short description of the town and its spa heritage. There is, however, no fixed trail on the ground, to guide the visitor from site to site.

Some other 'route-networks' take the form of knowledge networks supported by European scholars. An example is the Parks and Gardens route. The term 'route' is a symbolic one in this case, a metaphor for a multidisciplinary scientific network. Centred around historic parks and gardens in both Western and Eastern European countries, it was founded to stimulate European collaboration between East and West, especially the international exchange of knowledge in this area.<sup>18</sup>

The different types of 'network routes' all lack a physical itinerary marked out in space, and in most European-wide cases a physical trail is non-existent; potential visitors are free to determine the course and number of sites they would like to visit, the route to be followed, and their means of transportation. Although a touristic, signposted trail between the sites is missing, the individual sites of the network route are sometimes marked with a signpost, showing that they are part of a larger 'route' or network. This is the case, for example, with the anchor points of the Route of European Industrial Heritage, a cultural tourism network of historic European industrial sites.<sup>19</sup>

In terms of presentation, most of the websites of the network routes offer only a very schematic map of the 'route' at

the European level, concentrating instead on an overview of the various locations. Their websites – for example, that of the Parks and Gardens route – often fail to make it clear if there exists a tangible route on the ground. In these cases, the question then arises of whether the label 'route' is really applicable, as it might give rise to false expectations on the part of potential visitors. More important, the message of a shared European heritage and identity might be difficult to convey when a route consists only of nodes, separated by (sometimes) considerable distances. One needs to ask which target groups may have the time, endurance and means to invest in following these routes.

## **2. A visitor's perspective**

A second shortcoming in European route-development is a dearth of information. Despite the high level of institutionalization of European heritage routes, most academic researchers on heritage trails have observed a lack of monitoring and evaluation of heritage routes on the local, national and European levels.<sup>20</sup> In the case of the Liberation Route, the number of 60,000 downloaded stories mentioned above is the result of a one-time monitoring of only one year.<sup>21</sup> And, for most of the European routes that have been analysed it is unclear if specific information is available on even the number of people actually visiting the route or network, let alone on their experiences and opinions. This lack of visitor information may be an indication of the low priority accorded to thinking about the needs of potential user groups. Most routes are now targeted at the generic European visitor or visitors from abroad. Clearly, the potential for adjusting a route to the more individual needs and expectations of a variety of user groups cannot be fully exploited in the absence of visitor information. This lack of monitoring is especially surprising considering the high ambitions stated by many routes with respect to promoting cultural tourism, sustainable territorial development, and identity-construction.

It should be noted that it is not only the providers, but also the visitors who lack adequate information. For Europeans

interested in following a particular cultural route, practical information is often hard to find on the Internet. In the case of the Parks and Gardens route, the establishment of a “series of tourist circuits in a number of European regions” is mentioned on the website of the European Institute of Cultural Routes.<sup>22</sup> However, no information on these “tourist circuits” is available, leaving it unclear just what these circuits consist of. The Parks and Gardens route might be an extreme example (even to the point of lacking its own website), but many of the routes that claim to promote cultural tourism offer only minimal online tourist information concerning itinerary, actual road markings, service facilities, or the best means of transportation available. Happily, there are a few counter-examples to this tendency, including the pilgrim route called The Route of Saint Olav Ways, the Prehistoric Rock Art Trail, and the Route of European Industrial Heritage.

Lack of adequate information is the most important obstacle to route-development at the European level at this moment. The high ambitions will not be achieved if visitors are not prompted to follow a well-defined route. Many of the European-wide named cultural routes appear to be predominantly institutional networks or symbolic routes, without a carefully thought out and accessible itinerary or a tourist network on the ground. The idea of a route as a user product, with an active visitor component, remains underdeveloped. It is not known how many Europeans or visitors from abroad are reached, besides the professional partners of the project. The organizers of the heritage routes are thus failing to exploit their potential to become an active, experience-based form of heritage tourism.

Moulin and Boniface point out that making the optimum use of such routes will require more collaboration between the tourism industry and the heritage industry.<sup>23</sup> In attempting to develop heritage routes one could learn much from the promotional methods and user-group approach employed by the tourist industry to attract visitors. Such knowledge could be used to maximize the potential of these routes to generate a revival of interest in heritage on a European scale.

## Experiences are the key

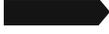
To revive and promote interest in Europe's common heritage, we should create routes that take advantage of the current widely felt need to experience the past. Because such routes require one to travel in order to visit historic heritage sites 'in situ', they have a high potential to deliver such an experience. However, the evaluation of existing European routes has clearly shown that this potential is not being fully exploited.

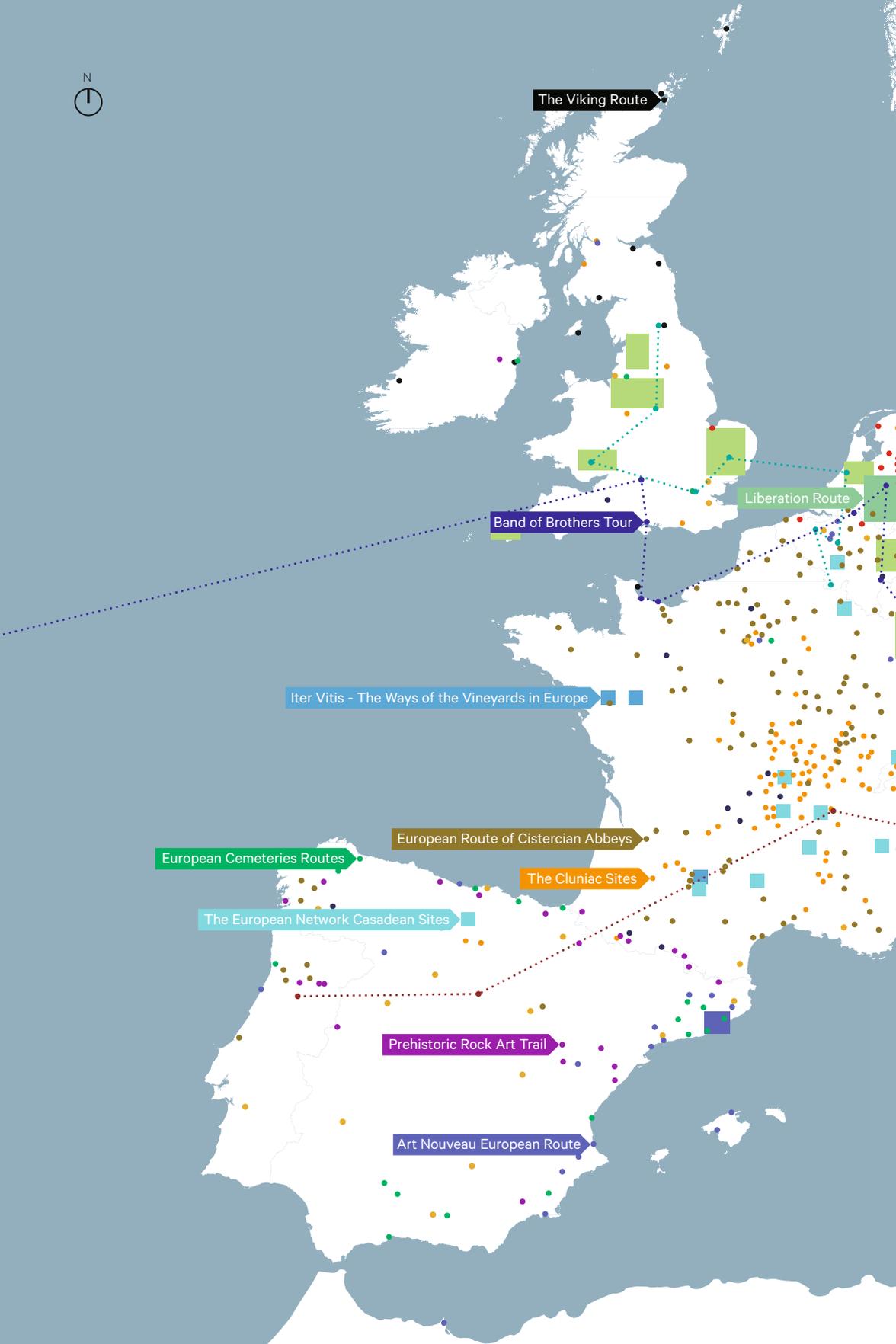
The diversity in trails and network route-systems makes it possible to adjust a route to the visitor's personal tastes and available time. European routes, however, are handicapped by their scale, which might be too large for some of the target groups of European citizens to grasp and to traverse completely. Only some target groups, for example wealthy seniors from Europe and abroad, may have the time and means to participate in these routes. In addition, the message of a shared European heritage and identity can be difficult to convey when a route consists only of nodes, separated, in some instances, by sizeable distances. Considering this fact, it is remarkable how little attention is currently devoted to the trails and landscapes that connect the nodes – a central aspect of the experience of any route – and to the transport available in the routes that have been studied. The development of sub-routes that cover a representative part of the route could offer a more accessible experience, the Route of European Industrial Heritage being a good example of this practice.

The successful development of heritage routes requires an intensive involvement on the part of the visiting public. Visitors need help in following a long route or one that includes several heritage sites spread over long distances. Yet, lack of information is an often occurring shortcoming of the current European routes. Therefore, it is crucial to provide visitors more information, and to do so in a form that takes into account their desire to experience things and places directly for themselves. Many of the co-called European heritage routes are networks of individual sites created by institutions interested mainly in

promoting shared heritage and establishing cross-border partnerships to foster the exchange of knowledge and experience. In accord with this emphasis, they have provided markedly little information geared to the individual visitor interested in actually traversing one of these routes. The widespread lack of monitoring and evaluation of these heritage routes is also striking. We must gather more data regarding visitor numbers and tourist reactions to routes, if we hope to maximize the potential of the heritage route as an instrument to revive European heritage.

## An overview of heritage routes in Europe

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The Viking Route

Liberation Route

Band of Brothers Tour

Iter Vitis - The Ways of the Vineyards in Europe

European Cemeteries Routes

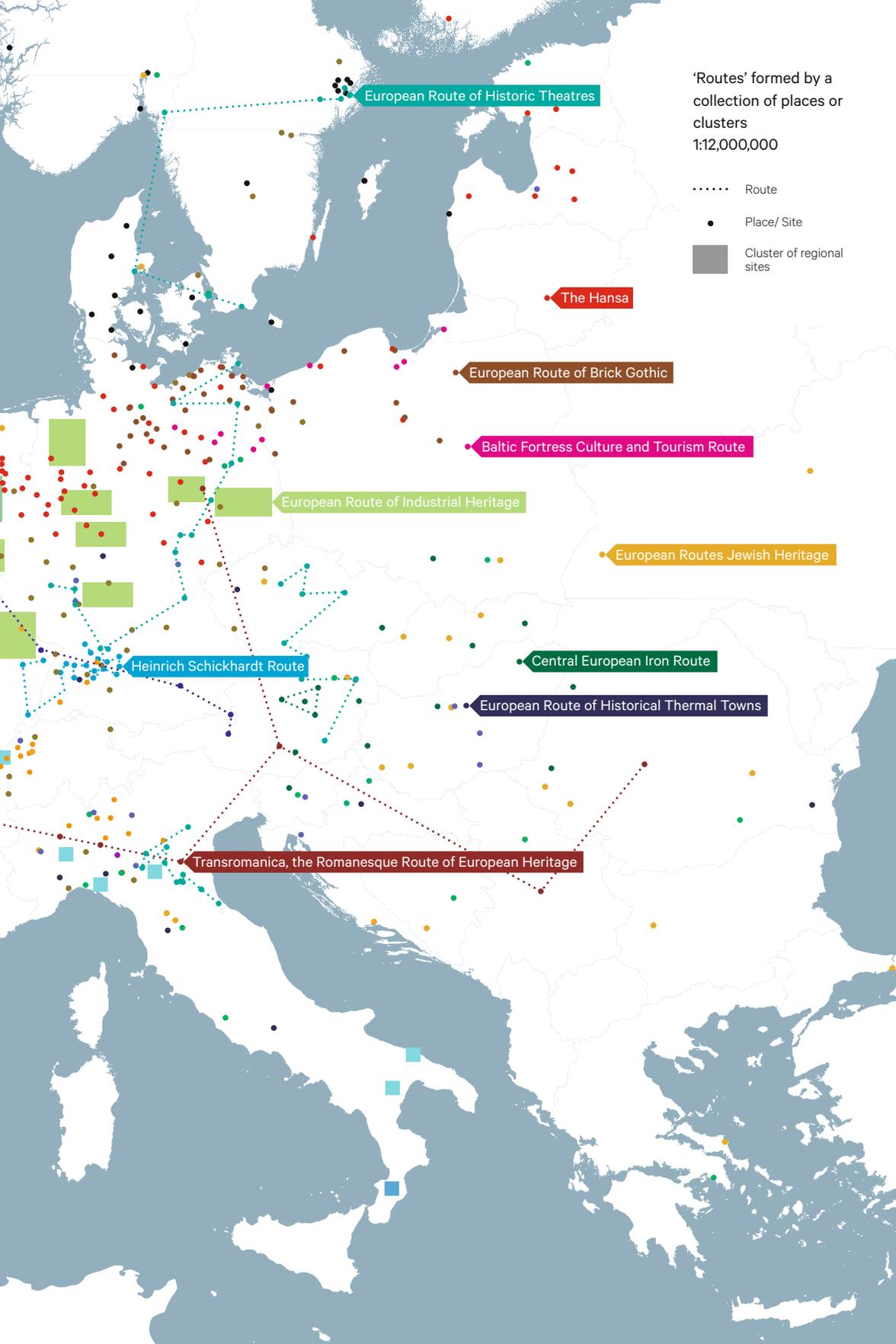
European Route of Cistercian Abbeys

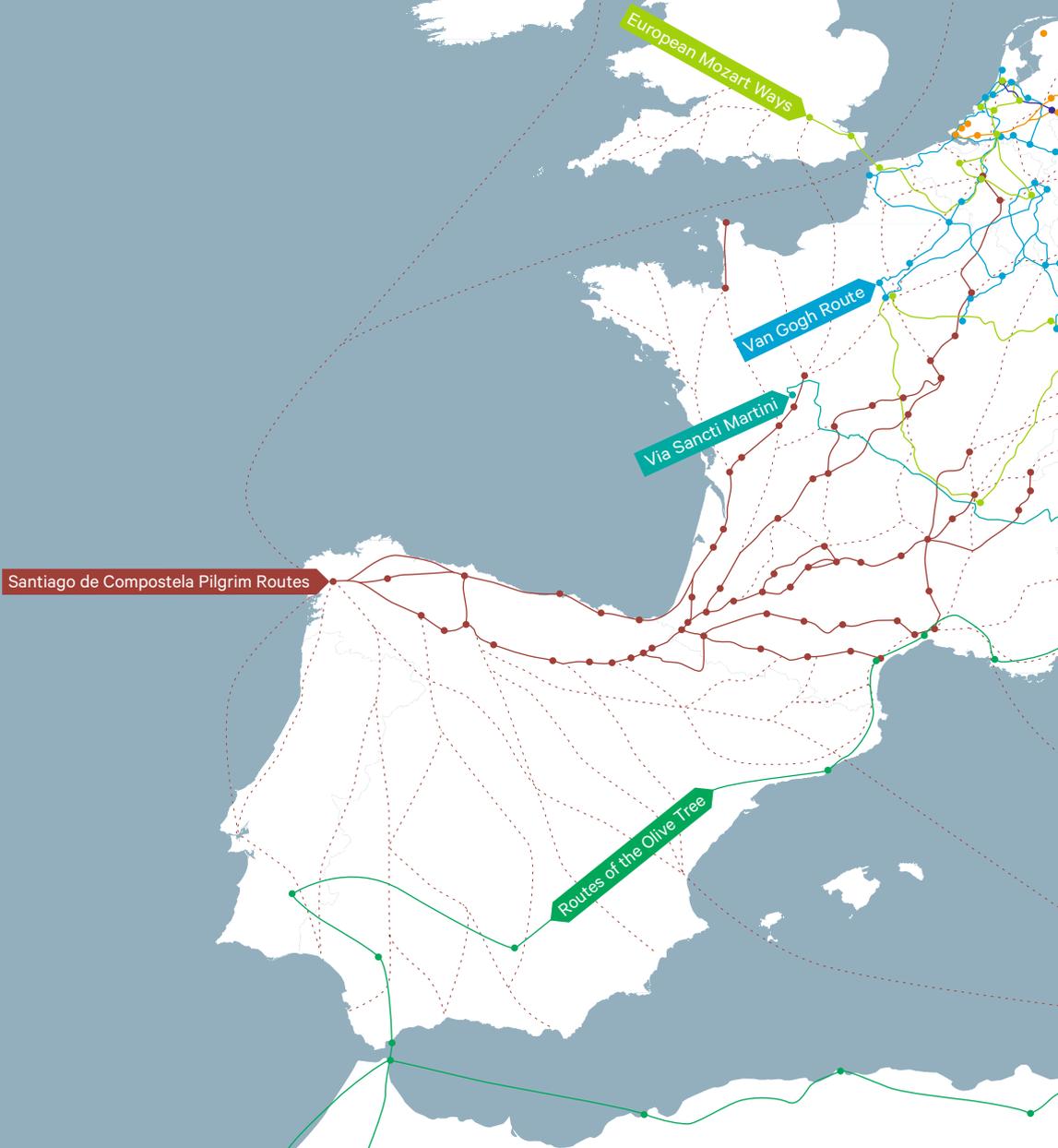
The Cluniac Sites

The European Network Casadean Sites

Prehistoric Rock Art Trail

Art Nouveau European Route





Routes and trails that connect sites and places  
1:12,000,000

- Route
- Place/ Site
- - - Santiago de Compostela Pilgrim Route recognised by historians



<b>Route</b>	<b>Santiago de Compostela Pilgrim Routes</b>
<b>Organisation</b>	Association de Coopération Interrégionale ‘Les Chemins de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle’
<b>Since</b>	1987
<b>Qualification</b>	Cultural Route of the Council of Europe, 1987 UNESCO Cultural Itinerary 1998
<b>Countries</b>	Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland
<b>Type of route</b>	Revival of former pilgrimage routes to Santiago the Compostela. The current pilgrim route is a combination of various long-distance routes across Europe. Starting-off places and choice of route are various – all trails lead to the shared terminus: the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela in Northern Spain.
<b>Main aim</b>	To foster awareness that Europe civilisation as a whole has one of its common roots in the pilgrimage route, which is an historical example of encounter and sharing among European cultures.
<b>Target group</b>	European citizens
<b>Form of transport</b>	Most pilgrims walk, but one can also ride along the routes.
<b>Services on route</b>	Because of their popularity the pilgrimage routes have a relatively dense service network supported by governments, commercial tourism and volunteer organisations providing help and hospitality for pilgrims before the departure and along the route.
<b>Communication</b>	Since its adoption as a European cultural route, it employs a common European graphic identification system in the promotion and marking of the routes. The route and tourist information is scattered and offered by a large number of commercial tourist and non-profit organisations and forums of (experienced) pilgrims. The European Institute of Cultural Routes host no central website with route or tourist information.
<b>Website</b>	<a href="http://www.chemins-compostelle.com">www.chemins-compostelle.com</a> (FR)

**Route**

**The Hansa**

**Organisation**

City League The Hanse / The Hanse Tourism

**Since**

1980

**Qualification**

Cultural Route of the Council of Europe, 1991

**Countries**

Belgium, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Latvia, Lithuania, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Russian Federation, Sweden, United Kingdom

**Type of route**

A non-linear network of 181 towns and cities (city league), connected through their historic connection to the Hanseatic League. The existence of infrastructural means (itineraries, signposting) that connect these cities and towns on the ground is not specified.

**Main aim**

To make a contribution to economic, cultural, social and civic unity in Europe on the basis of the cross-border concept of the Hanseatic League and its historical experience, through the promotion of cooperation between the towns and cities of the league and the enhancement of their historic consciousness.

**Target group**

Main target group are the inhabitants of the Hanseatic cities and towns themselves.

**Form of transport**

Not specified

**Services on route**

Services available in the cities and towns or during the organised events are not specified on the website. For travellers a Hanse Pass is available, making it possible to document one's visit to member cities of the Hansa League with a stamp.

**Communication**

The website offers an interactive map of the member cities linking to a short description of each city and contact information of the municipality/local Tourist Information Centre.

**Website**

[www.hanse.org](http://www.hanse.org) (DE, EN)

<b>Route</b>	<b>Heinrich Schickhardt Route</b>
<b>Organisation</b>	Association 'Cultural Route of the Council of Europe Heinrich Schickhardt'
<b>Since</b>	1989
<b>Qualification</b>	Cultural Route of the Council of Europe, 1992
<b>Countries</b>	France, Germany (the former duchy of Württemberg)
<b>Type of route</b>	A non-linear network of 21 cities, connected by the figure of Heinrich Schickhardt. The existence of infrastructural means (itineraries, signposting) that connect these cities on the ground is not specified.
<b>Main aim</b>	Protection, research and promotion of the work of Renaissance architect Heinrich Schickhardt, with the aim of strengthening the cultural ties between the French and German regions on both sides of the Rhine River.
<b>Target group</b>	Not specified
<b>Form of transport</b>	Not specified
<b>Services on route</b>	Services available in the cities are not specified on the website. For travellers a Schickhardt guest card is available for sale in the town halls and tourist offices of the member cities; it provides discounts on hotel rooms, museum visits and guided tours etc.
<b>Communication</b>	The website offers an interactive map of the member cities, with links to a short description of each city, and a hyperlink to the municipality/local Tourist Information Centre.
<b>Website</b>	<a href="http://www.heinrich-schickhardt-kulturstrasse.de">www.heinrich-schickhardt-kulturstrasse.de</a> (DE, FR)

**Route**

**The Vikings Route**

**Organisation**

Destination Viking Association

**Since**

1993

**Qualification**

Cultural Route of the Council of Europe, 1993.

**Countries**

Belarus, Belgium, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Latvia, Lithuania, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Russian Federation, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, Ukraine, United Kingdom

**Type of route**

A non-linear network of Viking Age attractions in Northern Europe, including forts, towns, farms, quarries, ships, objects, museums, archaeological remains and reconstructed longhouses. The existence of infrastructural means (itineraries, signposting) that connect these sites on the ground is not specified.

**Main aim**

European cooperation in linking Viking Age attractions; development and marketing of these attractions for tourists throughout Europe.

**Target group**

The casual tourist and reenactment enthusiasts

**Form of transport**

Not specified

**Services on route**

Services available on the several sites are not specified on the website

**Communication**

The website of the Destination Viking Associations links to the website on Viking heritage of associate professor Dan Carlsson, presenting a map of Northern Europe with the sites of the Viking route. Practical route information (further tourist information, contact information, guide-books, GPS, etcetera) is not available.

**Website**

[www.destinationviking.com](http://www.destinationviking.com) (EN)

<b>Route</b>	<b>Via Francigena</b>
<b>Organisation</b>	European Association of the Via Francigena ways
<b>Since</b>	Not specified
<b>Qualification</b>	Cultural Route of the Council of Europe, 1994
<b>Countries</b>	France, Italy, Switzerland, United Kingdom
<b>Type of route</b>	Revival of the historic route followed by the Archbishop of Canterbury Sigeric in A.D. 990 from Canterbury to Rome and an important pilgrim route in Europe. The current route is designed as a guided itinerary linking a network of historic routes leading to the terminus: Rome.
<b>Main aim</b>	To promote tourism and enhance the cultural heritage of the Via Francigena.
<b>Target group</b>	Not specified
<b>Form of transport</b>	On foot, by bike or car.
<b>Services on route</b>	Travellers can make use of the existing services en route: bodies of water, hostels, etc. Only overall information is given regarding services along the route.
<b>Communication</b>	The Via Francigena website offers detailed route information. For each day-trip a detailed guide book can be downloaded, with a map and route description. The trail itself is marked with several road signs, and the informative signage, recognisable by the Via Francigena logo. Further, every signpost is scheduled to have a QR code, offering more in-depth information. Information is focused on the physical action of following a route, tourist information about places of interest on the route is scarce.
<b>Website</b>	<a href="http://www.viefrancigene.org">www.viefrancigene.org</a> (IT)

**Route**

**European Mozart Ways**

**Organisation**

Association European Mozart Ways

**Since**

1991

**Qualification**

Cultural Route of the Council of Europe, 2002

**Countries**

Austria, Belgium, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Slovakia, Switzerland, Great Britain

**Type of route**

A network of cities, regions and institutions in the 10 European countries visited by Mozart. The cities or activities associated with Mozart can be visited individually or by following one of the routes Mozart travelled himself. The association presents ten local itineraries that follow a portion of Mozart's journeys.

**Main aim**

To promote a new approach to the discovery of Mozart through the theme of his travels; encouraging artistic, cultural, educational and academic activities with particular regard to his life and works, in order to increase cooperation between the network's members.

**Target group**

Not specified

**Form of transport**

Not specified

**Services on route**

Services available on route and on the several sites are not specified on the website.

**Communication**

The website offers an interactive map on which the 10 itineraries are marked. The cities with Mozart heritage are highlighted, linking to a short description of each city, the present Mozart sites and events, and contact information of the municipality and tourist information centre. No practical route information (route descriptions, accommodation, GPS etc) are available.

**Website**

[www.mozartways.com](http://www.mozartways.com) (EN, IT, FR, DE)

**Route****Phoenicians' Routes****Organisation**

Association The Phoenicians Route

**Since**

1994

**Qualification**

Cultural Route of the Council of Europe, 2003

**Countries**

Lebanon, Syria, Cyprus, Greece, Malta, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Spain, Portugal, France, United Kingdom, Italy, Sardinia, Egypt

**Type of route**

An intercultural network of countries and sites around the Mediterranean Sea, based on the cross-border network of the nautical routes Phoenicians used since the XII century B.C. as their main trade and cultural lines of communication in the Mediterranean. The existence of infrastructural means (itineraries, signposting) that connect the sites on the ground is not specified.

**Main aim**

The promotion of Mediterranean culture and the strengthening of the historical bonds between the Mediterranean countries.

**Target group**

Not specified

**Form of transport**

Not specified

**Services on route**

Services available are not specified on the website

**Communication**

The information about the route is very unclear. Although the website mentions the existence of several themed routes and cultural routes connecting excavations and Phoenicians sites and cities, it is not clear if these routes exist as such on the ground or, if so, whether interested visitors can follow them. No maps, overview of sites and cities or guide books – the elements used on other route websites – are available. The rubric 'Travelling on the route' gives only a textual description of the Phoenician history and heritage of each member country.

**Website**

[www.rottadeifenici.it](http://www.rottadeifenici.it) (IT, FR, EN)

**Route**

**Saint Martin of Tours Route**

**Organisation**

Centre Culturel Européen Saint Martin de Tours

**Since**

Not specified

**Qualification**

Cultural Route of the Council of Europe, 2005

**Countries**

Albania, Andorra, Austria, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Moldova, Monaco, Montenegro, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, "The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia", Ukraine, United Kingdom

**Type of route**

The cultural route consists of four linear long-distance itineraries related to episodes in the life of Saint Martin: the itineraries connect both the towns which were part of the life of Saint Martin, as well as those with a significant architectural heritage linked to his veneration. The itineraries are not meant as a pilgrimage, but as a historic path, allowing travellers to select a part of the route, either a country or region.

**Main aim**

To protect and enhance the shared European heritage, tangible and intangible, of Saint Martin of Tours and to raise awareness of this shared heritage to strengthen the ties between the member countries. Development and promotion of a cultural, sustainable and committed form of tourism.

**Target group**

Not specified

**Form of transport**

Not specified. The examples presented on the website are walkers.

**Services on route**

Services available on route are not specified on the website.

**Communication**

The website promises visitors can find cultural, tourist and practical information, as well as route maps on the webpage. The four itineraries, however, seem to still be in development. Only for the Via Sancti Martini can a route map be downloaded in Google Earth. Next to a short description of the route and a number of the sites on the way (in development), no (practical) route information is available. It is unclear if the itineraries are signposted: travelogues on the website contain a few pictures

Website

of route signage with the logo of the Via Sancti Martini but no further information is available.

[www.saintmartindetours.eu](http://www.saintmartindetours.eu) (FR)

**Route**

**The Cluniac Sites in Europe**

**Organisation**

Federation of Cluniac sites

**Since**

1994

**Qualification**

Cultural Route of the Council of Europe, 2005

**Countries**

France, Italy, Switzerland, Spain, Germany, United Kingdom

**Type of route**

A network of Cluniac sites. The sites can be visited individually. The 'route' also offers a number of regional routes that connect several sites thematically. The existence of physical infrastructural means (signposting) that connect the sites on the ground is not specified.

**Main aim**

To create awareness of the history and heritage of Cluny and to unite people, knowledge and sites.

**Target group**

All people, regardless of their horizon, interested in the history and heritage of Cluny.

**Form of transport**

Not specified

**Services on route**

Services available on the sites are not specified on the website.

**Communication**

The website offers an interactive map of the member sites, with links to the short description of each site, which also offers its history, route information and contact information of the local Tourist Information Centre. For every regional itinerary a brochure is published. On location each site is marked with signposts of the Federation.

**Website**

[www.sitesclunisiens.org](http://www.sitesclunisiens.org) (FR, DE, EN, IT)

<b>Route</b>	<b>Routes of the Olive Tree</b>
<b>Organisation</b>	The Cultural Foundation Routes of the olive tree
<b>Since</b>	1998
<b>Qualification</b>	International Cultural Itinerary by UNESCO, 2003; Cultural Route of the Council of Europe, 2006; Great European Cultural Itinerary, 2006
<b>Countries</b>	Greece, Spain, Portugal, Cyprus, France, Italy, Malta, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, Albania, Turkey, Syria, Libanon, Jordania, Egypt, Libia, Tunesia, Algeria, Morocco
<b>Type of route</b>	The 'route' offers four types of routes based on the theme of the olive tree: two circular routes around the Mediterranean Sea, three local trails, a sea route and 'Elodromia': an olive tree relay race through non- olive producing countries to make them aware of the gastronomy and hospitality of the Mediterranean. Stocktaking and safeguarding of the olive tree heritage; to create a dialogue among olive-oil-producing regions and the enhancement and international promotion of the olive tree on behalf of local economies.
<b>Main aim</b>	Not specified
<b>Target group</b>	By sailing ship or motor bike
<b>Form of transport</b>	Services available on route are not specified on the website.
<b>Services on route</b>	Notwithstanding the existence of four types of routes, specific information about them on the website is limited. The website contains schematic route maps on a European scale for the two circular itineraries and Elodromia and on the regional level for the local itineraries. More detailed route information (such as signposting, distances or a guide book or detailed map) is not available.
<b>Communication</b>	
<b>Website</b>	<a href="http://www.olivetreeroute.gr">www.olivetreeroute.gr</a> (GR, EN, FR, Arab)

**Route**

**Transromanica,  
the Romanesque Route of European Heritage**

**Organisation**

Transromanica Association

**Since**

2003–2006

**Qualification**

Cultural Route of the Council of Europe, 2007

**Countries**

Germany, Italy, Portugal, Austria, Slovenia, Serbia, Spain

**Type of route**

The route is combination of non-linear network of Romanesque sites and organised itineraries. These itineraries are developed as tourist packages: organised trips of a day or a few days that offer a (guided) visit of several Romanesque heritage sites in a selected region, including accommodation and meals.

**Main aim**

The promotion and appreciation of Romanesque heritage; to develop the heritage sites for cultural and tourism purposes, thus supporting regional and economic development.

**Target group**

Not specified

**Form of transport**

Depends on the itinerary chosen. Among others: bike and bus.

**Services on route**

Services available at the sites are not specified on the website.

**Communication**

The website offers an interactive map of the member sites linking to a short description of the building and its architecture, opening hours and contact information of the site. Under the heading 'tourist offers' one finds an overview of the available itineraries, including prices and services offered. Visitors are referred to the regional tourist boards to obtain bookings, general regional information, brochures and maps.

**Website**

[www.transromanica.com](http://www.transromanica.com) (EN, DE, FR, ESP)

<b>Route</b>	<b>Iter Vitis - The Ways of the Vineyards in Europe</b>
<b>Organisation</b>	International Association Iter Vitis
<b>Since</b>	Not specified
<b>Qualification</b>	Cultural Route of the Council of Europe, 2009
<b>Countries</b>	Armenia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Croatia, France, Georgia, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Malta, Republic of Moldova, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Spain, "The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia"
<b>Type of route</b>	A European network of local wine tourism destinations. On the .com website five wine regions are highlighted, and the .eu website mentions many more wine regions and cities in the 18 countries on the route. The existence of infrastructural aids (itineraries, signposting) that connect the sites on the ground is not specified.
<b>Main aim</b>	To promote, enhance and safeguard the tangible and intangible heritage and culture of the vine and wine and the landscape linked to wine production, which are considered symbols of European identity, and to establish a tool of sustainable development for the people who live and make their living there.
<b>Target group</b>	Not specified
<b>Form of transport</b>	Not specified
<b>Services on route</b>	Services available en route or at the local sites are not specified on the website. Visitors may acquire a Vitipassport: a wine "passport" that allows one to plan a trip and validate a passport at each stage (no further information is provided). The passport is meant as a souvenir of the wine trip.
<b>Communication</b>	For interested visitors route information is limited. The .com website presents a map with five selected wine regions linking to a short introduction on the region, its heritage, wine production and wine label. No further tourist information is available. Nor is further tourist information available on the .eu website.
<b>Website</b>	<a href="http://www.itervitis.eu">www.itervitis.eu</a> (IT, FR) <a href="http://www.itervitis.com">www.itervitis.com</a> (EN, FR, ESP, IT, P)

**Route**

**European Route of Cistercian Abbeys**

**Organisation**

Abbey Escaladieu / European Charter of the Cisterian Abbeys and Sites

**Since**

2010

**Qualification**

Cultural Route of the Council of Europe, 2010

**Countries**

Belgium, Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland

**Type of route**

A non-linear network of individual Cisterian sites open to the public and member of the European Charter of Cisterian Abbeys and Sites. The existence of infrastructural means (itineraries, signposting) connecting the sites on the ground is not specified.

**Main aim**

To promote cultural tourism illustrating the evidence of a common European Cisterian heritage; to promote intercultural dialogue and joint cultural and educational events; to illustrate, based on the knowledge and expertise of the Cistercians, the establishment of a European model of 'ecology culture' in the development of rural areas.

**Target group**

Not specified

**Form of transport**

Not specified

**Services on route**

Services available on the sites are not specified on the website.

**Communication**

The website of the Charter offers an interactive map of the member sites and a list of the abbeys giving a short description of each with a link to its website. Cross-references to nearby abbeys and their distance are mentioned. The existence of the guidebook 'Cistercian Abbeys in Europe' is mentioned. Additionally, an audio tour app has been developed that guides one, on location or at home, through the Abbey Escaladieu in the Hautes-Pyrénées in France.

**Website**

[www.cister.net](http://www.cister.net) (FR, EN, DE)

**Route****European Cemeteries Route****Organisation**

Association of Significant Cemeteries in Europe (ASCE). DMC Destination Management, a company with expertise in promoting and managing themed tourism routes, is responsible for the development.

**Since**

2009

**Qualification**

Cultural Route of the Council of Europe, 2010

**Countries**

Austria, Croatia, Estonia, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Russian Federation, Serbia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom

**Type of route**

A non-linear network of individual cemetery sites open to the public. The sites can be visited individually. The existence of infrastructural means (itineraries, signposting) that connect the sites on the ground is not specified.

**Main aim**

To maintain and preserve cemeteries of special historic and artistic importance in Europe and to promote and increase the awareness of the importance of cemeteries as part of the heritage of humanity.

**Target group**

Not specified

**Form of transport**

Not specified

**Services on route**

Services available at the sites are not specified on the website.

**Communication**

Based on the website, the route seems to still be in development. At the moment, route information is very limited. The website only presents a map on a European scale with the locations of the member cemeteries. No further information on the cemetery sites (history, contact information, opening hours etc.) or possible itineraries inbetween the sites is (yet) available. The website indicates interactive boots, to be placed in each cemetery along the route, and tourism guides are still in development.

**Website**

[www.cemeteriesroute.eu](http://www.cemeteriesroute.eu) (EN)

**Route**

**Prehistoric Rock Art Trail**

**Organisation**

International Association "Prehistoric Rock Art Trails"

**Since**

2007

**Qualification**

Cultural Route of the Council of Europe, 2010

**Countries**

France, Ireland, Italy, Norway, Portugal, Spain

**Type of route**

A non-linear network of archaeological sites belonging to European prehistory which contain prehistoric rock art. The network also includes museums and similar centres devoted to prehistory and rock art in Europe. Within the network six thematic routes are offered as tourist packages, including tickets and guide books of the sites visited, accomodation and meals.

**Main aim**

Reflection on the roots of a shared European identity as the foundation for a shared citizenship. Preservation and promotion of rupestral art and the prehistory of Europe as a cultural resource and for tourism.

**Target group**

Not specified

**Form of transport**

Not specified

**Services on route**

The services available on each site are specified on the website (car park, toilets, gift shop, internet access etcetera).

**Communication**

The website offers a virtual guidebook, including all the sites that are part of the network. For each site contact information, services, a route description, visitor information (tours & tickets) and tourist information (accomodation, restaurants) are given, making it easy to plan a trip. For the thematic trails a short description of the program and prices are available.

**Website**

[www.prehistour.eu](http://www.prehistour.eu) (EN, FR, ESP)

**Route**

**European Route of Historical Thermal Towns**

**Organisation**

European Historical Thermal Towns Association

**Since**

2009

**Qualification**

Cultural Route of the Council of Europe, 2010

**Countries**

Belgium, Croatia, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Romania, Spain, United Kingdom

**Type of route**

An umbrella network of individual sites connected by a shared spa tradition and a rich thermal heritage. The existence of infrastructure (itineraries, signposting) connecting the sites on the ground is not indicated.

**Main aim**

“The promotion and safeguard of thermal cultural heritage in all its variety; the development of a “spa culture” based both on traditional health treatments and on wellness; and finding a new strategy to increase cultural tourism in spa towns.”

**Target group**

The cultural and health tourist

**Form of transport**

Not specified

**Services on route**

Services available in the spas and spa towns are not specified on the website.

**Communication**

The route is still in development. At the moment the website offers a map on a European scale with the member sites and a list of each of the thermal towns, presenting a short description of their history, the quality of the water, and the available treatments and contact information.

**Website**

[www.ehtta.eu](http://www.ehtta.eu) (EN)

**Route**

**The Route of Saint Olav Ways**

**Organisation**

The National Pilgrim Center

**Since**

1990

**Qualification**

Cultural Route of the Council of Europe, 2010

**Countries**

Denmark, Norway, Sweden

**Type of route**

A network of linear pilgrimage routes through Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, many of them the remnants of historic routes which connect with several places related to Saint Olav. Terminus is Nidaros Cathedral in Trondheim where Saint Olav lies buried. The pilgrimage can be followed individually or as a organised group tour which includes accomodation, meais, luggage transfer, and a guide.

**Main aim**

The development and promotion of cultural tourism.

**Target group**

The pilgrim tourist

**Form of transport**

On foot

**Services on route**

The pilgrim routes have a relatively dense service network of lodgings and guesthouses. In the description of each day-trip on the pilgrim ways, the available services (lodgings) are specified on the website.

**Communication**

The website offers all the basic cultural, tourist and practical information, including an interactive walking planner, the walking program of the existing routes (including day trip maps and services), accomodations en route, a list of package tours, guide book titles and an overview of the several types of walks (group walks, suggested walks). With some exceptions, the pilgrim routes are documented and physically marked.

**Website**

[www.pilgrim.info](http://www.pilgrim.info) (SW, NO, DEN, EN, DE, ESP)

<b>Route</b>	<b>European Routes of Jewish Heritage</b>
<b>Organisation</b>	European Association for the Preservation and Promotion of Jewish Culture and Heritage (AEJP)
<b>Since</b>	2005
<b>Qualification</b>	Major Cultural Route of the Council of Europe, 2005 Cultural Route of the Council of Europe, 2010–2011
<b>Countries</b>	Belgium, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Lithuania, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Ukraine, United Kingdom
<b>Type of route</b>	A network of historic buildings and memorials, archeological sites, archives, libraries and museums left by Jewish communities or that are occupied with the study and protection of Jewish life and its heritage. The existence of infrastructural means (itineraries, signposting) that connect the sites on the ground is not specified.
<b>Main aim</b>	To preserve, promote and keep alive Jewish heritage, to develop tourism around these sites, and to make Europeans aware of the cultural riches Jews have contributed to the Continent, in an effort to lead them to adopt a more positive approach to its Jewish history.
<b>Target group</b>	The European Routes of Jewish Heritage focuses on the pedagogic aspects of discovering Jewish heritage and is particularly targeted to young people.
<b>Form of transport</b>	Not specified
<b>Services on route</b>	Services available at the sites are not specified on the website.
<b>Communication</b>	The main focus of the website is the communication of the goals and ambitions of the route. For potential visitors the website offers only a schematic map on a European scale with dots marking the cities and places to visit (not specified by name). Next to the map one route description is offered, concentrated on Jewish heritage in the Alsatian region of France. No further route or tourist information about other itineraries or heritage sites is available.
<b>Website</b>	<a href="http://www.jewishheritage.org">www.jewishheritage.org</a> (EN)

**Route**

**The European Network of Casadean Sites**

**Organisation**

The European Network of Casadean Sites, Association  
2001

**Since**

**Qualification**

Cultural Route of the Council of Europe, 2012

**Countries**

France, Spain, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland

**Type of route**

A network of nearly nine hundred Casadean sites. Along with the Cluniac and Cistercian networks, the Casadean congregation, born in La Chaise-Dieu, in the Middle Ages, was one of the three most important monastic congregations. Some of the sites feature elements of architecture (abbey, priory, barn) or elements of landscape attached to the Benedictine congregation of La Chaise-Dieu. The sites can be visited individually. The route also offers five regional itineraries that connect several sites of the network.

**Main aim**

To create awareness on the part of the local population and the general public of the Casadean heritage, and to stimulate historical research, the development of cultural and touristic sites, and exchange and cooperation in the economic development of the sites.

**Target group**

Casadean communities, private owners of (former) Casadean sites, cultural and tourist associations, private members.

**Form of transport**

Not specified

**Services on route**

Services available on the sites are not specified on the website.

**Communication**

The website offers a map with the present member sites in each country, each with a link to a list of the religious sites and their contact information. For travellers interested in following the route, the website gives an overview of the five regional itineraries, presented in a booklet, which is for sale at the local Tourist Information Centres.

**Website**

[www.reseaucasadeen.eu](http://www.reseaucasadeen.eu) (FR)

<b>Route</b>	<b>The European Route of Ceramics</b>
<b>Organisation</b>	Association UNIC – Urban Network for Innovation in Ceramics
<b>Since</b>	2011
<b>Qualification</b>	Cultural Route of the Council of Europe, 2012
<b>Countries</b>	France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom
<b>Type of route</b>	The route is still in development. The website states that the route “aims at creating a European network of local tourist circuits, linking cultural and industrial sites focusing on ceramics.” The itinerary will be based “on the definition of a tourism offer which includes real physical circuits and at the same time a virtual route, promoting imaginary and sensorial approaches linked to ceramics.”
<b>Main aim</b>	To make ceramic heritage more visible and accessible to European citizens; collaboration and revitalization of the territories linked with the route to strengthen their touristic, economic and cultural attractiveness; linking ceramic sites, museums, businesses and schools active in the field of ceramics.
<b>Target group</b>	Visitors and tourists
<b>Form of transport</b>	Not specified
<b>Services on route</b>	Services available on route or at the sites are not specified.
<b>Communication</b>	Does not yet have its own website. As of February 2013 the only information available is a short description of the route on the website of the Council of Europe. The Council announces the aim of creating a European network of local circuits. More information (such as a map or overview of the physical circuits) is not (yet) available
<b>Website</b>	<a href="http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/culture/routes/ceramics_en.asp">http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/culture/routes/ceramics_en.asp</a> (EN)

**Route**

**Parks and Gardens, Landscape**

**Organisation**

European Institute of Cultural Routes

**Since**

1992

**Qualification**

European Cultural Route, 1992

**Countries**

Belgium, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, France, Ireland, Italy, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Portugal, Romania, Spain, Switzerland, United Kingdom

**Type of route**

A multidisciplinary knowledge network of European scholars, centred around historical gardens and landscapes. The 'establishment of a series of tourist circuits' is mentioned as one of the aims of the network, but it is not clear if these tourist circuits have been realised.

**Main aim**

Multidisciplinary co-operation and transfer of knowledge about historical gardens and landscapes, especially with Central and Eastern European countries, and rediscovering gardens left untended for decades; a practical tool for the application of the European Landscape Convention; establishment of a series of tourist circuits.

**Target group**

Multidisciplinary experts committed to historical gardens and landscapes (landscape architects, historians, anthropologists, sociologists, heritage conservation specialists, et al).

**Form of transport**

Not specified

**Services on route**

Services available are not specified.

**Communication**

The 'route' does not have its own website. The only information available is a short description of it on the website of the European Institute of Cultural Routes (EICR). The website mentions the 'establishment of a series of tourist circuits' as one of the aims of the network, but no further information is available regarding the existence of these routes or even the parks and landscape sites that are part of the 'route': no map or route descriptions are presented.

**Website**

European Institute of Cultural Routes:

<http://www.culture-routes.ro/en/itineraries/parks-and-gardens-landscape.html> and [http://www.culture-routes.lu/php/fo\\_index.php?lng=en&dest=bd\\_pa\\_det&rub=48](http://www.culture-routes.lu/php/fo_index.php?lng=en&dest=bd_pa_det&rub=48) (EN)

**Route**

**Central European Iron Trail**

**Organisation**

Association Mitteleuropäische Eisenstraße

**Since**

1978

**Qualification**

Cultural Route of the Council of Europe, 2007

**Countries**

Austria, Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, Romania, Slovenia, Germany

**Type of route**

A overarching network that combines local iron routes, institutions and (individual) heritage sites, all linked to the history of iron.

**Main aim**

To create understanding of the history, culture and traditions of the Central European iron areas.

**Target group**

Tourists

**Form of transport**

Different for each region: by car, bike or foot.

**Services on route**

Services available on route or on the sites are not specified.

**Communication**

No umbrella site with further information on the several local routes and sites exists. The only information available is a short description of the route on the website of the EICR and on Wikipedia. Tourists who would like to visit one of the iron regions or follow one of the routes mentioned should search for themselves on the websites of the individual regional tourist board or on those of the local trails, for example: [www.eisenstrasse.co.at](http://www.eisenstrasse.co.at) or [www.bayerische-eisenstrasse.de](http://www.bayerische-eisenstrasse.de).

**Website**

<http://www.culture-routes.ro/en/itineraries/the-iron-road-in-central-europe.html> (EN)

**Route**

**Art Nouveau European Route**

**Organisation**

The Art Nouveau European Route

**Since**

2000

**Qualification**

None

**Countries**

Europe, Middle East, Africa and South America. Headquarters: Barcelona, Spain

**Type of route**

An institutional network of cities and institutions connected to Art Nouveau heritage. The existence of infrastructural means (itineraries, signposting) that connect the sites on the ground is not specified.

**Main aim**

The international promotion and protection of Art Nouveau heritage; to foster communication and exchange between the network members, sharing experiences in the restoration of monuments, public awareness programmes, fundraising strategies and the development of sustainable tourism. Cultural tourism is not a priority.

**Target group**

Cities and institutions connected to Art Nouveau heritage.

**Form of transport**

Not specified

**Services on route**

Services available are not specified.

**Communication**

Cultural tourism is not a priority of the Art Nouveau Route. The website offers interested visitors a map of the member cities and institutions in Europe and a vast list of all the members, offering a short description of the present Art Nouveau heritage at each site and a link to the relevant institutue or tourist information website.

**Website**

[www.artnouveau.eu](http://www.artnouveau.eu) (EN, ESP, FR, Catala)

<b>Route</b>	<b>Amber Road</b>
<b>Organisation</b>	Austrian Amber Road Association/Roman Amber Road Preservation Association/Baltic Amber Road
<b>Since</b>	2001
<b>Qualification</b>	None
<b>Countries</b>	North-South route between the Baltic and the Mediterranean Sea running through 11 countries.
<b>Type of route</b>	A route between Northern and South Central Europe, modeled upon the ancient Amber trade route. The route, which passes several heritage sites and traverses various landscapes, focuses on the ancient trade route itself; the heritage sites are not specifically connected to 'amber heritage', but are presented as general heritage highlights along the route. At the moment, the route seems to be mainly conceptual: the existence of infrastructural means (itineraries, signposting) that connect the sites on the ground is not specified on the website.
<b>Main aim</b>	The reactivation of the ancient Amber trade route between the Baltic Sea and the Mediterranean, and establishing closer ties between the countries on it; essentially a touristic corridor between St. Petersburg and Venice.
<b>Target group</b>	Not specified
<b>Form of transport</b>	Not specified
<b>Services on route</b>	Services available along the route are not specified.
<b>Communication</b>	For visitors interested in following the ancient route on the European level, the website offers an overall map and an overview of all the linked heritage sites in the countries along the route, with a short description of each site and the contact information of the local tourist board.
<b>Website</b>	<a href="http://www.bernsteinstrasse.net">www.bernsteinstrasse.net</a> (DE, EN)

**Route**

**Baltic Fortress Culture and Tourism Route**

**Organisation**

Municipality of Kostrzyn nad Odr (Project lead partner)

**Since**

Not specified

**Qualification**

None

**Countries**

The Baltic countries, Germany, Poland, Czech Republic, Denmark

**Type of route**

A network of individual fortress sites centred around the Baltic Sea. The sites can be visited individually. Within the network four regional themed fortress trails have been created. The existence of infrastructural means (itineraries, signposting) that connect these sites on the ground is, however, not specified on the website.

**Main aim**

European cooperation and integration; to develop the fortresses as places of cultural and artistic interest, as well as destinations for leisure activities and those interested in nature

**Target group**

Not specified

**Form of transport**

Not specified

**Services on route**

Services available on the sites and along the route are not specified.

**Communication**

The website offers an overall map on the European scale with the fortress sites and the four itineraries. An overview of the individual fortress sites is also presented, offering a description of the fort and its history, contact information and tourist information on opening hours, guided tours and events. Further information on the selection, route and signposting of the four themed trails is missing.

**Website**

[www.balticfortroute.eu](http://www.balticfortroute.eu) (EN)

<b>Route</b>	<b>European Route of Brick Gothic</b>
<b>Organisation</b>	European Route of Brick Gothic Association
<b>Since</b>	2007
<b>Qualification</b>	None
<b>Countries</b>	Denmark, Germany, Estonia, Poland
<b>Type of route</b>	A cross-border network of individual brick Gothic heritage sites, cities and regions connected by the theme of Brick Gothic Architecture. The sites and regions can be visited individually. Within the framework of the route, there also exist several smaller tourist itineraries and guided tours (one day and multiple days)
<b>Main aim</b>	To highlight the Baltic region's cultural history in order to promote a common regional identity and to increase the visibility of the region as a whole; this is considered an important precondition to marketing the region as a single overall tourist destination.
<b>Target group</b>	Not specified
<b>Form of transport</b>	On foot, by bike, car or bus: visitors are free to select a preferred tour and means of transport.
<b>Services on route</b>	Services available on the sites and along the route are not specified.
<b>Communication</b>	The website functions as a platform for tourists interested in traveling along the Brick Gothic Route. Each country, city, and individual Brick Gothic heritage site is presented in an overview: each has a short description, with contact information and information on opening hours and guided tours. Along with the overview, several smaller package deals and tour suggestions are offered and a number of flyers of selected regions and cities and cycling routes can be downloaded.
<b>Website</b>	<a href="http://www.eurob.org">www.eurob.org</a> (DE, EN, PL)

**Route**

**European Route of Historic Theatres**

**Organisation**

Perspectiv: the Association of Historic Theatres in Europe

**Since**

2006

**Qualification**

None

**Countries**

German Route (Germany), Nordic Route (Norway, Sweden, Denmark), Channel Route (England, Belgium, Netherlands), Italian Route (Italy), Emperor Route (Czech Republic, Austria)

**Type of route**

A network of individual theater sites. The European Route consists of multiple partial routes of about 10 theaters each that can be traveled comfortably in one week. The routes have to be organised individually: no package deals are offered.

**Main aim**

To open historic European theaters to the public and increase the awareness of this heritage.

**Target group**

Not specified

**Form of transport**

Not specified

**Services on route**

Services available on the theater sites are not (yet) specified.

**Communication**

The website presents an interactive map of each route, with links to a short description of each theater on the route, contact information, and information on opening hours and guided tours.

**Website**

[www.perspectiv-online.org](http://www.perspectiv-online.org) (DE, EN, FR)

**Route****European Route of Industrial Heritage****Organisation**

ERIH - European Route of Industrial Heritage e.V

**Since**

2003

**Qualification**

None

**Countries**

The route includes 1000 sites in 42 countries (number still in development). The backbone of the route is concentrated in the former heartlands of the Industrial Revolution: Great Britain, Belgium, The Netherlands, Luxembourg and Germany.

**Type of route**

The route is a combination of a trans-national (virtual) network and regional routes. Key element is the establishment of a network of individual anchor points: industrial heritage sites possessing a well developed tourism infrastructure. From these anchor points regional routes are developed linking smaller industrial heritage sites to stimulate local tourism. Along with these two projects, virtual trans-national theme routes have been developed, targeted at the exchange of information between experts and special interest groups.

**Main aim**

To protect Europe's industrial heritage sites and use their preservation as a motor for the development of industrial regions that are now suffering from economic decline. To encourage the international exchange of knowledge and the development of joint marketing strategies and cross-border initiatives.

**Target group**

(Local) tourists, authorities, academic institutions, non-profit industrial heritage organisations and tourism bodies.

**Form of transport**

Not specified

**Services on route**

Service facilities available at the anchor points are specified on the website: catering, admission, accessibility for persons with disabilities, infrastructure for children etcetera.

**Communication**

The project's main instrument of communication is the ERIH website, which acts both as a forum for experts to share knowledge and experience and a promotional tool to market industrial heritage to the public. Information is provided for each anchor point, including opening hours, contacts, and available services. Links to the regional routes give description, services available, and a map. In addition to the website the project will also publish a leaflet in four languages and

Website

promotional brochures for the regional routes. On the ground the anchor points can be distinguished by common external and internal signage. The regional routes are signposted. [www.erih.net](http://www.erih.net) (EN, DE, FR, NL)

**Route****Liberation Route****Organisation**

Liberation Route Europe

**Since**

2008

**Qualification**

None

**Countries**

Netherlands. The opening of the Liberation Route on European level is planned for 2014, in conjunction with the 70th anniversary of D-Day.

**Type of route**

“A regional network of individual “audio spots” in the southern and eastern parts of the Netherlands, each presenting a story of the wartime events at the selected location during the liberation of the area in 1944–45. Visitors are invited to plan their own trail using a map with site information on the website. A selection of ready-made tours is offered on the website.”

**Main aim**

The visualisation and coherent presentation of the story of the final stages of World War II, with the goal of keeping alive the memory of World War II and the liberation. Promotion of cultural tourism as motor for economic development in the eastern region of the Netherlands, which is currently experiencing an economic decline.

**Target group**

Cultural tourists

**Form of transport**

On foot, by bike, car or bus; visitors are free to selected a preferred means of transportation

**Services on route**

Service facilities are available on the network, but their locations are not specified on the website.

**Communication**

“The Dutch route’s main tools of communication are the website and the regional tourism boards. The website offers an overview of the “audio spots”, marked on a map, with a short description of the selected tours and package deals. For more information visitors are given links to the Tourist Information Centres or selected accomodations and sites. On the ground, the audio spots, the core of the Dutch route, are marked with large boulders. The audio stories can be downloaded beforehand in MP3 format from the website or, in one region, using a QR codes and Layar. The European trail will not be marked with boulders but with another, not yet specified, form of signposting. Route information will be made available for smartphone,

Website

on an interactive website, and by the development of guide books.”

[www.liberationroute.nl](http://www.liberationroute.nl) (NL, DE, EN)

**Route****Van Gogh Route****Organisation**

Europafietsers

**Since**

Not specified

**Qualification**

None

**Countries**

Netherlands, Belgium, France

**Type of route**

An itinerary along several sites linked to Vincent van Gogh (places of residence, landscapes painted, museums showing paintings by Van Gogh).

**Main aim**

Promotion of recreational cycling through Europe

**Target group**

Recreational cyclists. The track is not suitable for young children.

**Form of transport**

By bike

**Services on route**

The trail follows existing roads. No signposts available, the route is (occasionally) marked with stickers. GPS track available.

**Communication**

Route navigation and tourist information are presented in a book for sale on the the website (detailed maps and historical background; suggestions for accomodations and restaurants). The website itself offers more general route information (map, description of the route, target group, later changes in the track, reports by travellers).

**Website**

<http://europafietsers.nl/routes/gogh/route.htm#act> (NL)

**Route**

**Limes Route**

**Organisation**

Europafietsers

**Since**

Not specified

**Qualification**

None

**Countries**

From the North Sea to the Black Sea

**Type of route**

An itinerary along the heritage of the Limes, the northern border of the Roman Empire from the North Sea, along the Rhine and Donau as far as the Black Sea.

**Main aim**

Promotion of recreational cycling through Europe

**Target group**

Recreational cyclists.

**Form of transport**

By bike

**Services on route**

The trail follows existing roads. No signposts available, the route is (OCCASIONALLY) marked with stickers. GPS track available for a part of the track.

**Communication**

Route navigation and tourist information are presented in a book for sale on the the website (detailed maps, suggestions for accomodations and restaurants, as well as historical background). The website itsself offers more general route information (map, description of the route, target group, later changes in the track, reports by travellers).

**Website**

<http://europafietsers.nl/routes/limes/route.htm> (NL)

**Route****Orange Route (Oranjeroute)****Organisation**

German National Tourist Board

**Since**

Not specified

**Qualification**

None

**Countries**

Netherlands, Germany

**Type of route**

A network of individual sites connected to the House of Orange-Nassau. Along with the individual sites a cycling trail of seven day-trips is available running along several royal sites in Germany. Co-operating tour operators offer package tours based on the Orange Route.

**Main aim**

The promotion of Germany as a travel destination

**Target group**

Cultural tourists

**Form of transport**

By car or bike

**Services on route**

The route makes use of the existing service facilities at the royal heritage sites, but these facilities are not presented on the website. The interactive map on the website, however, presents – as an example of one of the few routes researched – the service facilities in area of the royal heritage sites: restaurants, hotels, rentals cars, tourist info etc.

**Communication**

For the bicycle route, detailed route navigation, maps and tourist information are presented in a 'bike-line brochure'. The website offers more general route information by means of an interactive map, with links to Tourist Information Centres, restaurants, accommodation, events etc. in the route area and a description of each of the royal sites. On the ground the bicycle itinerary follows existing roads. The use of signposts is not mentioned on the website.

**Website**

[www.germany.travel/nl/ms/oranjeroute/home-page.html](http://www.germany.travel/nl/ms/oranjeroute/home-page.html) (NL)

**Route**

**Band of Brothers Tour**

**Organisation**

Band of Brothers Tours: a commercial tour operator

**Since**

Not specified

**Qualification**

None

**Countries**

Depends on the tour one chooses to book: United States, England, France, Belgium, Netherlands and Germany.

**Type of route**

The tour follows the path of the Easy Company from their training bases in the United States and England into the battlegrounds of Europe, including the exact locations where the Company fought. The route takes the form of a guided tour from site to site.

**Main aim**

(Cultural) tourism

**Target group**

Everyone interested

**Form of transport**

Group transport by airplane and motor coaches.

**Services on route**

The Band of Brothers tour is offered as a package deal: accommodation, transport, meals and entry fees are included in the offer.

**Communication**

The route is only available as a guided tour. Route information and historic information on the Easy Company are presented in a guide book, available for all group members on tour. The tours are joined by Easy Company veterans.

**Website**

[www.bandofbrothertours.com](http://www.bandofbrothertours.com) (EN)

<b>Route</b>	<b>Sultan's Trail</b>
<b>Organisation</b>	Association Sultans Trail – A European Cultural Route Foundation
<b>Since</b>	Not specified
<b>Qualification</b>	None
<b>Countries</b>	From Vienna to Istanbul: Austria, Slovakia, Hungary, Croatia, Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey.
<b>Type of route</b>	A linear trail following the ancient Roman-Ottoman road from Vienna to Istanbul, based on the journeys of Sultan Süleyman Kanuni of the Ottoman Empire who travelled this route during his attempts to conquer Vienna in 1529 and 1532, and who died on the road in 1566. Terminus is the mosque of Süleyman in Istanbul.
<b>Main aim</b>	To be a path of peace, a meeting place for and connection between people of all faiths and cultures. To boost the development of sustainable tourism in the often secluded, rural areas of the host countries.
<b>Target group</b>	Cultural tourists
<b>Form of transport</b>	On foot
<b>Services on route</b>	The service facilities in the sparsely populated areas the route crosses are minimal. On the website a few possibilities for accommodations are presented. On the ground the trail partly follows existing long-distance hiking trails. Parts of the route are signposted, other parts not yet.
<b>Communication</b>	The first sections of the Sultan's Trail are opened for travellers. Route navigation and tourist information are presented in a guide book for sale on the the website (detailed maps, suggestions for accommodations and restaurants, and historical background). The website offers a section with practical information on maps and guides, a list of package tours and accommodations.
<b>Website</b>	<a href="http://www.sultanstrail.nl">www.sultanstrail.nl</a> (NL, EN, DE, TR)

**Route**

**Iron Curtain Trail**

**Organisation**

Michael Cramer, member of the European Parliament (initiator); EuroVelo, the European Cycle Route Network

**Since**

2005

**Qualification**

None

**Countries**

The route follows the former border of the Iron Curtain through: Norway, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Germany, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Austria, Hungary, Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Romania, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Greece and Turkey.

**Type of route**

A 6,800 km bicycle route along the length of the former border that was the Iron Curtain. The route, which is still in the development stage, is part of the European Cycle Network (Eurovelo 13). Since 2010 the European Parliament has funded projects related to the Iron Curtain Trail that promote the route as a 'tourist trail that would preserve the memory of the division of the continent, show how it has been overcome through peaceful European reunification, and promote a European identity.'

**Main aim**

To preserve the memory of the division of Europe, to invite people to experience this division and to show how it has been overcome by European reunification; the promotion of a European identity; the creation of sustainable (cycling) tourism; to develop underdeveloped rural areas with the help of cycle tourism.

**Target group**

Cycle tourists

**Form of transport**

By bike

**Services on route**

Service facilities available en route are not specified on the website.

**Communication**

The website offers a general description of the areas the route passes and the main heritage sites that can be visited; a map of the route (on the European scale) can be downloaded. The detailed guide of the route, a three-volume book, can be ordered via the website. On the ground the route is signposted with the EuroVelo signage.

**Website**

[www.ironcurtaintrail.eu](http://www.ironcurtaintrail.eu) (EN, DE)

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Part 3  
**Concepts**

Chapter 12 /  
**Conceptual Fuel for  
Reviving the Past /**  
Creating a heritage  
revival in today's Europe /  
Linde Egberts



### Interest in history has moved to centre stage in Western culture.

Its popularity extends to television, films, books, video games, theatre, and even to the street. The past is omnipresent in popular culture and daily life and its role is complex. Historical films, adventure games, war commemorations, vintage cars, retro fashion, and music performances on authentic instruments are just a few of the many ways in which the old, the past, and the original are ceaselessly brought back to life.

The various ways of engaging with the past discussed in this companion can serve as tools for conceptualizing revivals of specific heritage themes on an international scale. Here, we will draw on some of the central notions from previous chapters in an effort to provide the means for such conceptualisations, as well as try to offer some further general, yet well-defined guidelines.

The term *revival* is used in this companion to stress the necessity of bringing a part of our past *back to life* in order to become part of a shared identity. This is particularly the case with early medieval heritage, conceived on a European-wide scale. This book itself is rooted in the European project Francia Media, which aims at finding a place for the heritage of early medieval Europe in the hearts and minds of today's Europeans. Francia Media, the Middle Frankish empire of the ninth century, can be seen as a cradle for today's European culture, as many aspects of the latter are rooted in this early period. Its potential value as a basis for understanding Europe and its cultures justifies a *revival* of this little known phase of European history.

### Experience!

Heritage projects should be concerned, above anything else, with the creation of meaningful experiences. The chapters in this book discuss many fascinating examples of co-created experience, ranging from international heritage routes to alternate reality games and re-enacted historical battles. In line with the ideas of the "experience economy", I have empha-

sised the importance, when creating a concept for a heritage revival, of taking the needs and interests of the audience as one's starting point. A desire for experiences determines the way our economy works nowadays; consumers want – and are prepared to pay for – meaningful experiences that they can share with others. Here, I would like to focus again, though somewhat more concretely, on the process of making a heritage revival more effective by taking experience as the point of departure. Therefore, I will start by repeating the characteristics of a meaningful experience.<sup>1</sup> In a meaningful experience, all an individual's senses are involved and focused upon with heightened concentration. His or her sense of time changes during the experience, because he or she is immersed in it, and he or she feels emotionally connected to what is happening and is in contact with the environment through active participation. Therefore, each meaningful experience is a unique one for every individual.

These meaningful experiences are the ones that people remember best. Some of the cases included in this companion show how these characteristics can be incorporated into a heritage revival. One example, the construction of a new castle based on thirteenth-century ideals, in Guédelon, France (begun in 1997), is mentioned in Chapter 8. The progress there is slow – the construction will take an estimated 25 years – but it has already given hundreds of thousands of visitors the chance to observe this experimental undertaking. Through its website, the organisation recruits volunteers, with or without technical skills and/or basic knowledge of French, to help build this *new yet old* castle complex. About 700 volunteers join the professional team annually to learn through experience; they dive into this challenging adventure and get the chance to develop many different kinds of traditional craft skills. At the same time, they acquire historical knowledge and a deep understanding of how our ancestors lived and built.<sup>2</sup> Visiting the site or joining the construction workers means that all the senses – sight, smell, sound, touch, taste – are involved. Every

Professional and volunteer masons place the keystone in a vault of Guédelon castle in 2011, France (Thibault Martin, 2011).



individual can contribute and learn at the same time, and, of course, one's sense of time also changes when visiting the site or contributing to the project.

Guédelon is a true heritage revival – one that is sustainable and fits in well with our ideas of co-creating meaningful experiences, but it is not very international in character. Many foreigners come to the quarry, workshops, and construction site, but the heritage theme is typically French, and the activities are very local, by design. A classic example of a truly international heritage experience is walking the pilgrim routes from anywhere in Western Europe to Santiago de Compostela in Spain, a topic discussed in Chapter 11. This experience is meaningful in historical terms, and also spiritually, to most pilgrims, as well as being an occasion for outdoor activity. Yet, it is not overseen by one particular organisation or project, but rather is primarily created by the pilgrims themselves, relying on international travel information, online pilgrim communities, and local hosts and facilities.

Along the routes an entire specialised industry has grown up catering to the needs and interests of the pilgrims, who range from sports fanatics and students to firm believers and retirees with a special interest in history and heritage. This is a typically demand-driven enterprise which enhances the experience of the pilgrimage as much as possible.

In assessing the Santiago pilgrimage routes, it is worth shifting our focus from supply to demand. There we find that leisure, mobility, health, personal development, and relaxation are the dominant themes.<sup>3</sup> This is because they are what consumers or audiences care most about. It does not need much imagination to foresee that a heritage revival can easily encompass multiple interests, as in the case of the castle of Guédelon or walking to Santiago. A heritage revival is, thus, a suitable way of creating the context in which members of the audience can live, accumulate worthwhile experiences, and give meaning to their lives.<sup>4</sup> This is not the same thing as offering an environment full of entertainment for all the senses, as is done at annual fairs. Rather, it is a true dialogue between an

View on the building site of the castle of Guédelon, France, from the south-west (Guédelon, 2012).



organisation and its audience. Many initiatives in the fields of archaeology and heritage, as well as at museums, are already experimenting with an experience-oriented approach, through personalised interactive applications, serious gaming, and mobile technologies.<sup>5</sup> The challenge is now to make them truly co-creative and international, as well. Conceiving a project from a demand-perspective can be quite a challenge, since it requires one to relinquish a certain degree of control. One has to trust the projected audience to be capable of co-creating meaningful experiences.

### Place, time, and travel

While taking co-created experiences as a point of departure, I also want to underline the importance of *placemaking*. Some readers may know this concept from heritage studies, but Pine and Gilmore use it to make clear how organisations can and should move away from advertising and focus, instead, on

creating places – physical or virtual – where the audience has the opportunity to experience their offerings.<sup>6</sup> For heritage revivals, this might be much less difficult than for commercial companies offering services or goods, since historical sites can easily serve as the projects' *flagship locations*. Some organisations choose to have mobile *flagships*, moving from one place to the next to reach as many people as possible. Traveling exhibitions do the same, as do replicas of historic boats (literally *flagships*), which sail the same routes as the original ships. One example is an Australian replica of James Cook's *Endeavour*, which sailed around Australia, to Europe and to the East and West coasts of America.<sup>7</sup>

Thus, historical places are a very important feature in a heritage revival, as is the experience of travelling from one historical place to another. As has been said before, connecting historical places in multiple countries is what makes a heritage revival truly international. By connecting modern hubs, networks, and landscapes with those of the past, such projects offer travellers the chance to create their own experience, physically establishing connections between places, and between the past and today. Heritage routes and trails are well suited to providing experiences that are authentic in many different ways. The goal is to establish a balance between, on the one hand, inviting an audience to have a certain kind of experience by offering (practical) information and, on the other, leaving enough space for the audience to create its own experience.

As the analysis of existing heritage routes in this companion shows, most European heritage routes do not take full advantage of the potential offered by the principles of experience-based design. Setting the creation of satisfying experiences as a main goal for heritage routes or trails can help realize its potential to become a successful *revival tool*.

Pine and Gilmore recommend connecting a revival to existing *experience hubs*, i.e., the places where people already are.<sup>8</sup> The famous Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam did this quite successfully by opening a new branch inside the nearby



Schiphol International Airport. This *airport city* also includes a large shopping mall, restaurants, and new lounges where typical Dutch foods and products can be enjoyed.

An earlier discussion showed how online strategies offer opportunities for a heritage revival to expand its audience, but here I would like to stress again how *virtual placemaking* can enhance the experience of physical places when the two types are thoroughly integrated. Just like an actual place, a website should be an “experience venue worth visiting,” instead of just presenting the brochure-like format of most websites, which only states who we are, what we do, and how we do it.<sup>9</sup> The website *is* who we are. If experience is important to a heritage revival, then it should also be important for its website, its online *flagship*. Social networks, forums, and platforms serve as online experience domains which, if properly used, can enhance the experience of a heritage revival.

A replica of the *Endeavour* and ocean liner *Queen Mary II* both circumnavigated Australia in the same period; the latter did it in 20 days, the former in 19 months (James Morgan/Getty Images, 2012).

## Authenticity

If *experiences* are our point of departure, *authenticity* is the crucial signpost along the path towards a workable concept for a heritage revival. In Chapter 1, I discussed how important authenticity is in our Western society and what kinds of authenticity exist – whether alone or in combination with other types of authenticity. Authenticity is “what consumers really want,” and it has become the main factor in the economic success of products, services, and experiences. While a heritage revival does not always primarily need to be economically successful, it can benefit immensely from the understanding of how authenticity works for consumers and audiences. In many chapters in this book, authenticity is either present in the background or is explicitly discussed as a key notion, as in the case of the representation of history on television or of the re-enactment of historical events.

In discussing the many different types of authenticity, I illustrated how they can sometimes compete with each other. It often happens that heritage experts, spatial designers, governments, and citizens have different interpretations of what is authentic, as well as different notions about how a particular aspect of history should be conserved, changed, or represented. In practice, authenticity is an extremely complex and sensitive topic, and it should be handled with care. For example: what is an authentic representation of a war?<sup>10</sup> Is it one offered in a museum setting, in a computer game, in a film, or in a *live* re-enactment? Such re-enactments, discussed in Chapters 5 to 8, have aroused considerable criticism and debate among scholars. According to one of them, Jerome de Groot, re-enactors “present an ‘authentic’ inclusive or participatory history which lacks the messy ‘edge’ of events. Public reconstruction is interested in presenting a sanitised, closed version of warfare, of avoiding the unrepresentability of war.”<sup>11</sup> At the same time, the drive for an authentic representation is great when it comes to the local and the specific. Re-enactors tend to shy away from historical controversy and present them-

selves as non-political, even in groups specialised in re-enacting, say, the actions of Nazi soldiers. Of course, in such cases a compromise has to be reached with respect to authenticity: re-enactment is recognised as a game or a role in which some important authentic parts are to be left out and which, in some instances, can create distance rather than understanding of the past.<sup>12</sup>

But is there a *good* way of representing war? Or any controverted past? What if several parties in a former conflict contribute to the revival? What does that mean for interpretation of this event and their current relationship?

Is it all right to strive for rendering memorable experiences when you want to convey knowledge about the past? History encompasses many historical sensations, but all representations of the past, whether in writing, in images, or in a play, are a contemporary interpretation of the past. The element of play and gaming obviously complicates things further, but where exactly does one draw the line between what is acceptable and what isn't in any given revival? And whose task is it to decide on these matters? How does one communicate the dilemmas of historical interpretation and representation when history is presented in the form of a *game*?

### True to oneself

The answers to these questions are different for every project, but a general response lies in the following considerations. Our aim is always to have people perceive our revival as authentic, whatever the elements we choose to incorporate – say historical cooking or violent computer games. To achieve this requires careful steering through many options as we seek to reach audiences and gain attention. New approaches and a more tolerant attitude towards various forms of authenticity in creating heritage experiences are crucial. The most important thing of all, however, is to stay true to the core values of your revival. Don't make dubious concessions in the effort to attract more attention. Define what you are aiming for in your revival,

but also make it very clear what you will not do. This companion suggests many ways of reviving the past in present-day Europe. Some of them, perhaps, are just at the limit of what you may find acceptable. I certainly do not want to suggest that all the core values concerning how we should treat history should be thrown overboard. This would not only result in violating our own respect for the past and our own standards of how to represent it; it would also result in low credibility, since no one will perceive a revival as authentic if it does not maintain its own values and essential features. This is the fine balance that you need to maintain as you seek to offer meaningful experiences and to welcome the many forms in which authenticity can be expressed, without, at the same time, “selling yourself out” by adopting strategies that go against the very essence of your particular heritage revival. Finding this balance is, of course, not done easily or quickly. Finally, remember that a heritage revival should be a co-creation and that your audience’s opinion is, therefore, your most valuable source of information.

### Building bridges

The main task for a heritage revival is bridging the gap between professionals and the public regarding the most appropriate ways to experience, interpret, and represent heritage and histories. Part 2 of this companion presents many *tools* for creating meaningful experiences in cooperation with the audience. Building bridges should be one of the main concerns of a strong heritage revival movement; for we need these bridges to be able to engage others in our projects and experience heritage together.

But in order to build bridges to our audiences, we need to establish solid connections between the relevant professions as well. Those who are oriented towards the past (historians, archaeologists, and art historians for example) will have to work together with professionals who have a very different

focus, such as communication through images or making a profit from a new initiative. One serious challenge is to develop new strategies for engaging audiences. As mentioned in Chapter 4, it may take a new attitude, a different way of thinking to engage an audience effectively, particularly in the realm of digital strategies. Chapter 9 focuses on the development of appropriate 3D visualisations, but it also discusses how difficult it can be to rethink visualisations and shift away from showing off the newest techniques and producing visualisations simply because experts feel the need to re-arrange the data they have on a certain historical object or place. It truly takes a new, experience and user-oriented attitude to create digital strategies capable of engaging the audience that a revival needs. In short, the crucial element here is not techniques – it is attitude.<sup>13</sup>

Building a bridge to an audience requires building bridges between disciplines. Connecting the virtual world (websites, digital strategies, games, 3D visualisations and even film and television) to the physical world of exhibitions, spatial design and heritage routes is a great challenge, but it also offers many opportunities for creating meaningful experiences for a wide audience. Minke Walda mentions the case of the Liberation Route, which offers an extensive on-the-ground visitor information system (making use of large boulders), combined with a website packed with audio files, pictures and written information. The website also offers special events and package deals to make visiting the route easier.

The Liberation Route will not face the challenge of building another bridge, as some other international heritage routes are. I am referring here to the differences in conceptions of what constitutes a meaningful experience to be found in the various cultural regions within Europe, for example between the eastern and western parts of Europe. Large, international bodies of heritage that are very suitable for international heritage revivals are, for example, the Struve Geodetic Arch, a series of points established by a survey undertaken to measure a part of the earth's meridian and covering a distance of 2,820 km,

which was discussed in Chapter 2. It has been listed by UNESCO World Heritage since 2005 and crosses ten different countries, from Norway in the north to the Ukraine in the south. It would therefore pose major challenges in bridging the differences between the varying notions of a meaningful experience across these large distances. Another example of an international heritage that offers opportunities for a revival is the Atlantic Wall, a large coastal defence system built by the Nazi's between northern Norway and southern France during the Second World War. A third example of an international heritage project with broad potential opportunities is provided by the remains of the Iron Curtain, the border that divided Europe in two blocs until only two decades ago. All of these examples would face the challenge of overcoming cultural differences and varying ideas of what a meaningful experience is.

### Connecting with allies

One cannot build bridges working all alone. The *tools* described in Part 2 show how existing media, platforms, and initiatives can be used to stage a new heritage revival. It is noted there, as well, that the line between privately and publicly funded initiatives is becoming ever more blurred. Here, I want to urge you to find allies – organisations which would be valuable additions to your undertakings and could help you reach the audience you need. Embed your project in existing infrastructure; you don't have to reinvent the wheel and start from scratch. Create your own website, but link it to social media and platforms – online and in the real world – through which you can reach their communities. And, whenever possible, enlist the help of noted personalities in these communities. Find allies that suit your core values, but don't be too hesitant to involve local, regional, and national businesses involved in tourism, or even in other fields. Why not work together with a hitch-hiking or couch-surfing club and a television station to connect all the historic places in your project in a televised

hitchhiking contest? Why not open your revival with a travelling re-enactment festival connecting all your important sites and involving many local and regional re-enactment clubs and networks in order to give your project a photogenic start? Why not cooperate with a Rhine River tourist company to design a special historic cruise for seniors along your heritage route? Why not become a *puppet master* in an alternate reality game that involves many media and businesses and centres around the unique and yet undiscovered treasures of the heritage you have on offer? Let others help you to create new and valuable heritage experiences!

Chapter 11 discussed the need for partnerships for European heritage trails from a different angle. As the analysis of existing routes showed, many of them remain abstract, existing mainly as a partnership between cultural institutions, rather than as marked routes, suitable for tourist use. Partnerships with companies, local governments and other organisations could provide opportunities for translating the concept of a heritage route into a concrete route, literally brought down to earth and furnished with sufficient information to enable tourists to find their way.

Another argument for connecting with allies concerns the sustainability of a route or trail. The routes analysed by Minke Walda in Chapter 11 illustrate how difficult it is to keep a route alive after European funding for the initial years has run out. To secure a life for a route after collective funding ceases it is essential to find allies, quite possibly among the business sector, who will share an interest in maintaining the route for a longer period of time. Commercial consciousness is essential to keep a route alive when public funds have run out. The Oranjeroute illustrates how commercially rewarding a heritage route can be and how cooperation between public and commercial organisations can result in a sustainable, long-term, international heritage route, with a rich offering of package deals and visitor information. Developing a financially viable earnings model for a heritage route is essential to guaranteeing that it will be a long-term, self-sustaining initiative.

## The case of Cradles of European Culture

Let us now apply some of the recommendations in this companion to a specific case. Our example is *Francia Media*, which is not only an actual heritage revival, but is also the context in which this companion was developed. *Cradles of European Culture: Francia Media*, to give the project its full title, is funded by the European Commission and is managed by a network of twelve institutions in nine European countries. Its aim is the revival of early medieval heritage, which, culminating in Charlemagne's reign, offers a fruitful basis for understanding many aspects of present-day Europe. Among the significant elements of modern Europe whose origins lie in early medieval times we may mention: infrastructure, religion, languages, learning, music, architecture, art, and our knowledge of antiquity, as transmitted to us through scholars and copyists. Project members assume primary responsibility for an early medieval heritage site such as a church, a castle complex, or a valuable museum collection (or more than one). These locations, which are scattered all over Western and Central Europe, sometimes with large distances in between, include: Prague, Ravenna, Arles, Nijmegen, and Ingelheim, among many others. Each partner has a specific story to tell, and taken all together the stories constitute a valuable window onto the processes of unification and diversity in early medieval Europe – and right up until today. The story which emerges from this whole network of heritage sites and museum collections is, therefore, certainly a highly interesting one. Of course, the question which arises is: how does this collective project, with its rather limited budget, capture the attention of a large audience? Assessing *Francia Media* in the light of the key issues discussed in the companion, there are several recommendations we can make in this regard.

A great asset of the project is the *Francia Media Heritage Route*, which is now in development. Because the route has not yet been launched, it is impossible to analyse any results regarding cooperation, sustainability, user experiences or num-

bers and type of users. It is possible, however, to offer some recommendations based on the analysis in this companion.

The route offers great opportunities for engaging large audiences and creating new experiences by working in cooperation with them. We need to consider what the audience needs, namely meaningful experiences, and conceptualize the route from that perspective. An answer must be found to the question of what kind of approach would make the audience feel the urge to travel. In the case of *Francia Media*, one could consider organizing a series of related events (a travelling re-enactment festival, experimental archaeology, craft courses, sports tournaments, etc.).

In any case, the route should be easily usable for people who do not have the means to travel large distances, and it should offer the opportunities to create experiences of the early medieval past on a relatively smaller scale. It should also be adapted to various modes of transport and take into account the experience travellers are likely to have while going from one site to the next. One option would be to conceive the way people travel from one place to the next. Why not use the Rhine and Rhone Rivers, vital avenues of travel and trade in the Early Middle Ages, as portals to the historic experience? And why not offer travel on modern Rhine barges, primitive rafts, or historic vessels, scheduled so as to connect historic places, landscapes, and ancient infrastructures? One could also explore the possibility of re-tracing the medieval land roads, some of which are still used, in their new forms, as highways (like the Hellweg in the German Ruhr region), or are still functioning as pilgrim routes, for example, to Santiago de Compostela or Rome. This way, the audience is not obliged to travel from one point to the next to create a set of experiences: simply being underway becomes the experience itself.

There are many other historically significant places which are not as yet part of the Francia Media Heritage route but which represent a part of the Carolingian heritage in Europe. The city of Aachen for example, or the monasteries of St. Gall (Switzerland), Prüm (Germany), and Murbach (France), the



Velzeke  
Ename

Het Valkhof

Ingelheim

Prague Castle

Kostoľany pod Tribečom

Gradišče above Bašelj

Ravenna

Montmajour abbey

Biskupija-Crkvina

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## Francia Media and all partners of Cradles of European Culture (CEC)

1:12,000,000



Francia Media (843-1033): Middle Frankish Realm



### CEC Project partners

- 1 Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia, Ljubljana
- 2 Ename Center for Public Archaeology and Heritage Presentation (EEC)
- 3 Provincial Archaeological Museum of Ename (pam Ename)
- 4 Provincial Archaeological Museum of Velzeke (pam Velzeke)
- 5 Culture Lab, Brussels
- 6 University of Rijeka
- 7 Institute for Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Prague
- 8 Aix-Marseille Université - CNRS - LA3m (UMR 7298)
- 9 Römisch-Germanische Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (RGK), Frankfurt
- 10 Istituto per i Beni Artistici Culturali e Naturali della Regione Emilia-Romagna (IBC), Bologna
- 11 VU Research Institute for the Heritage and History of Cultural Landscape and Urban Environment (CLUE), Amsterdam
- 12 Gemeente Nijmegen Bureau Archeologie & Monumenten G280
- 13 The Monuments Board of the Slovak Republic, Bratislava



### Heritage sites from the Heritage route



### Associated partners

- a Service Publique de Wallonie, Jambesthe Slovak Republic, Bratislava
- b Vrije Universiteit Brussel/ Université Libre de Bruxelles
- c vtbKultuur, Antwerp
- d Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, Split
- e Národní Muzeum, Prague
- f CERHIC EA 2616: Université de Reims - Champagne - Ardenne
- g Université de Lorraine - CLSH Nancy 2
- h Museum bei der Kaiserpfalz, Ingelheim
- i Mittelalterliches Kriminalmuseum, Rothenburg
- j Università degli Studi di Padova
- k Institut Européen des Itinéraires Culturels, Luxemburg
- l Narodni Muzej Slovenije (National Museum of Slovenia), Ljubljana
- m Heritage Solutions, Oudenbosch
- n Leiden University
- o Museum Het Valkhof, Nijmegen

Carolingian heartlands (Belgium), and battlefields in the border areas are only a few examples of places which could enrich the currently existing network and thereby offer the audience the opportunity to see more while travelling less.

### The final shortlist

I want to conclude this companion with a final list of tips for building a strong heritage revival concept:

- Make the co-creation of meaningful experiences a primary goal;
- Embrace many kinds of authenticity;
- Stay true to your ideals and maintain your standards;
- Mix and match *tools* and media that reinforce each other;
- Remember that connecting places by offering the means of travelling between them makes a heritage revival truly international;
- Seek out discussion and exchange between professional historians and non-professional audiences;
- Find allies – both commercial and public organisations – to carry out the project together;
- Secure the life of your project by foreseeing sources of income which will be available after the initial funding runs out!

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# Notes / Bibliographies / Illustrations / About the Contributors



# Notes

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## 6 / "This Is Clearly Bullshit"

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## 7 / Lost Cities, Exotic Travel and Digging up the World

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7 We are aware of the problems connected with this handy title. First, it might imply that we focus on presentations of the discipline of archaeology, but we concentrate rather on feature films dealing with archaeologically researched periods. Second, the contrast between fiction and reality might imply that the historical motion picture presents fiction, whereas archaeology and history describe the true past, offering the best contemporary interpretation of sources currently available; on this issue, cf. Margot Berghaus, “Geschichtsbilder – Der ‘iconic turn’ als ‘re-turn’ zu archaischen visuellen Erlebnisweisen,” in *Drehbuch Geschichte: Die antike Welt im Film*, Antike Kultur und Geschichte 7 (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2005), 10–12; Martin Lindner, “Zwischen Anspruch

und Wahrscheinlichkeit: Legitimationsstrategien des Antikfilms," in *Drehbuch Geschichte: Die antike Welt im Film*, Antike Kultur und Geschichte 7 (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2005), 85; Lindner, *Rom und seine Kaiser*, 30 and 48 f.; Mischa Meier, "Sich am Mythos abarbeiten: Troia im Film," *Das Altertum* 51, no. 4 (2006): 281; Patricia Rahemipour, "8 mm Vergangenheit: Über Konstruktion im archäologischen Film: Das Beispiel Kelten," in *Kelten-Einfälle an der Donau. Akten des Vierten Symposiums deutschsprachiger Keltologinnen und Keltologen. Philologische – historische – archäologische Evidenzen. Konrad Spindler (1939–2005) zum Gedenken*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften 345, ed. Helmut Birkhan (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007), 406.

- 8 Following early examples in the late nineteenth century, historical motion pictures, have, ever since 1905, been produced in a significant number (Patricia Rahemipour, "'It's Like Writing History with Lightning:' Die Anfänge von Antike im Film," *Das Altertum* 54, no. 1 (2009): 55). For phrasing, definition and numbers, see Junkelmann, *Hollywoods Traum von Rom*, 18–20; Hall, "Romancing the Stones," 161 (at least one horror film dealing with Egyptian archaeology in ten years); Meier, "Sich am Mythos abarbeiten," 281; Tanya Cherneva, *Antike Welten auf moderner Leinwand: Das Altertum neu aufleben lassen* (München: GRIN Verlag, 2007), 3 and 8–10 (more than 400); Lindner, *Rom und seine Kaiser*, 15–9 (several thousand in total, a few hundred just on the Roman Empire); Hedwig Röckelein, "Mittelalter-Projektionen. In Antike und Mittelalter im Film. Konstruktion – Dokumentation – Projektion," in *Antike und Mittelalter im Film. Konstruktion – Dokumentation – Projektion*, Beiträge zur Geschichtskultur 20, eds. Mischa Meier and Simona Slanička (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2007), 41–52; Thomas Scharff, „Wann wird es richtig mittelalterlich? Zur Rekonstruktion des Mittelalters im Film." In *Antike und Mittelalter im Film. Konstruktion – Dokumentation – Projektion*, Beiträge zur Geschichtskultur 20, eds. Mischa Meier and Simona Slanička (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2007), 67–70 (600 films on the middle ages); Anja Wieber, „Antike am laufenden Meter: Mehr als ein Jahrhundert Filmgeschichte. Antikfilme im neuen Jahrtausend: Zur Aktualität des Alten," in *Antike und Mittelalter im Film. Konstruktion – Dokumentation – Projektion*, Beiträge zur Geschichtskultur 20,

- eds. Mischa Meier and Simona Slanička (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2007), 26–30; Tomas Lochman, „Antike im Kino: Eine Einleitung,” in *Antike im Kino. Auf dem Weg zu einer Kulturgeschichte des Antikenfilms*, eds. Tomas Lochman, Thomas Späth and Adrian Stähli (Basel: Verlag der Skulpturhalle Basel, 2008), 13 f.; Patricia Rahempour, *Archäologie im Scheinwerferlicht. Die Visualisierung der Prähistorie im Film 1895–1930* (Berlin: Freie Universität 2008), 88 note 228; Rahempour, „It’s Like Writing History,” 53 f.; Therese Wollmann, „Filmographie (Auswahl),” in *Antike im Kino. Auf dem Weg zu einer Kulturgeschichte des Antikenfilms*, eds. Tomas Lochman, Thomas Späth and Adrian Stähli (Basel: Verlag der Skulpturhalle Basel, 2008), 248–56 (404 films mainly on Classical Antiquity); Britta Almut Wehen, „Heute gucken wir einen Film“. *Eine Studie zum Einsatz von historischen Spielfilmen im Geschichtsunterricht*, Oldenburger Schriften zur Geschichtswissenschaft 12 (Oldenburg: BIS Verlag, 2012), 16 and 19–21. Cf. note 1.
- 9 Tom Stern, “Zwischen Glotze und Lehrfilm: eine Bestandsaufnahme archäologischer Filme für Kinder und Jugendliche,” *Archäologische Informationen* 20, no. 2 (1997): 243 f. emphasises the huge audiences reached via TV broadcasting. The German TV premier of *Gladiator* (2000), for example, was seen by eight million viewers, representing a market share of more than 30 % (Lindner, *Rom und seine Kaiser*, 31 note 31). Cf. note 22.
- 10 Between 2002 and 2011, ticketing in the 50 to 59 age group increased by 21 %, and in the 60+ age group by 80 %. However, the 50+ age group represents only 19 % of the total movie audience, while it makes up 40.6 % of Germany’s current population. Going to the movies is becoming increasingly popular among women: the share of female audience rose from 49 % in 2002 to 56 %; see *Der Kinobesucher 2011. Strukturen und Entwicklungen auf Basis des GfK Panels* (Berlin: FFA-Filmförderungsanstalt, 2012), 7 f.; 16; 20; 27; 50 f.; Britta Nörenberg, *Auswertung der Top 75-Filmtitel des Jahres 2011 nach soziodemographischen sowie kino- u. filmspezifischen Informationen auf Basis des GfK Panels* (Berlin: FFA-Filmförderungsanstalt 2012), 9; *Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit. Bevölkerungsfortschreibung*, Statistisches Bundesamt Fachserie 1 Reihe 1.3 (Wiesbaden: Statistisches Bundesamt, 2012), 19,; Elizabeth Prommer, “Das Kinopublikum im Wandel: Forschungsstand, historischer Rückblick und Ausblick,” in *Das Kulturpublikum. Fragestellungen und Befunde der empirischen Forschung*,

- 2nd ed., eds. Patrick Glogner-Pilz and Patrick S. Föhl (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften. Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden, 2011), 225 f. and 239–42.
- 11 Cf. Raimund Karl, “The Public? Which Public?” in *Integrating Archaeology: Science – Wish – Reality. International Conference on the Social Role, Possibilities and Perspectives of Classical Studies*, ed. Nina Schücker (Frankfurt a. M.: Römisch-Germanische Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, 2012), 24. Regarding readership, we note that the readers are mainly men (71 %), the majority of whom belong to the age group 35+ (93 % Antike Welt) (see Archäologie in Deutschland, “Die Vergangenheit entdecken: Mediadaten 2013,” [http://www.aid-magazin.de/uploads/media/Mediadaten\\_Theiss\\_Juli\\_2013.pdf](http://www.aid-magazin.de/uploads/media/Mediadaten_Theiss_Juli_2013.pdf) (accessed July 11, 2013); and Antike Welt. Zeitschrift für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte, “Mediadaten 2013,” <http://www.zabern.de/media/2/ANTIKE%20WELT%20Mediadaten%202013-aktualisiert.pdf> (accessed July 11, 2013)). Regarding exhibition audiences, we observe that in 2010 archaeological and historical exhibitions attracted 25.1 million visitors. The total number consists of visitors of historical and archaeological museums, museums with complex inventories and museum complexes (*Statistische Gesamterhebung an den Museen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland für das Jahr 2010. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz*, Institut für Museumsforschung Heft 65 (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz Institut für Museumsforschung, 2011), 18 and 20 Tab. 6). Further analyses of these audiences unfortunately remain unpublished (cf. e.g. Arbeitsgruppe für empirische Bildungsforschung e. V., <http://www.arbeitsgruppe-heidelberg.de/evaluationsprojekte-der-afeb-in-museen/> accessed September 9, 2013,). See also Nora Wegner, “Besucherforschung und Evaluation in Museen: Forschungsstand, Befunde und Perspektiven,” in *Das Kulturpublikum. Fragestellungen und Befunde der empirischen Forschung*, 2nd eds. Patrick Glogner-Pilz and Patrick S. Föhl (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften. Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden, 2011), 143–6 and 150.
- 12 Analysis of target audiences with regard to film genres is complex and difficult. As the feature films discussed here belong to various genres (see note 7), the study of the genre in the film, such as in Britta Nörenberg, *Filmgenres 2007 bis 2009. Eine Auswertung zum Genreangebot in deutschen Kinos und zur*

*Genrevielfalt deutscher Filme* (Berlin: FFA-Filmförderungsanstalt, 2010), cannot be used here; cf. Prommer, "Das Kinopublikum im Wandel," 244; Dirk Blothner, *Filminhalte und Zielgruppen 2. Fortführung der Wirkungspsychologischen Untersuchung zur Zielgruppenbestimmung von Kinofilmen des Jahres 2000 auf der Basis des GfK-Panels* (Berlin: Filmförderungsanstalt, 2001); Dirk Blothner, *Filminhalte und Zielgruppen. Wirkungspsychologische Untersuchung zur Zielgruppenbestimmung von Kinofilmen der Jahre 1998 und 1999 auf der Basis des GfK-Panels* (Berlin: Filmförderungsanstalt, 2000). Admission to the majority of films discussed here is restricted by the national motion picture rating system, *Freiwillige Selbstkontrolle der Filmwirtschaft* (FSK), to a minimum age of either 12 or 16, on the basis of legislation for the protection of youth. Prommer, "Das Kinopublikum im Wandel," 243 classifies movies as men's or women's films when they attract at least 66 % of one or another of these audiences, cf. *ibid.*, 256.

- 13 Matthias Pausch, "Gladiator. Würdigung eines neuen "Sandalenfilms,"" *Antike Welt* 4 (2000): 427; Gerhard Neckermann and Dirk Blothner, *Das Kinobesucherpotential 2010 nach sozio-demographischen und psychologischen Merkmalen* (Berlin: FFA-Filmförderungsanstalt, 2001), 18 and 23–5; Junkelmann, "Rezension," 175; Christine Föbmeier and Ulrike Fröbel, "Albus Dumbledore, Gandalf und Saruman. Mögliche antike Bezüge der Zauberer in "Harry Potter" und der "Herr der Ringe","" *Antike Welt* 34, no. 2 (2003): 171–6; Berghaus, "Geschichtsbilder," 16–8; Lindner, *Rom und seine Kaiser*, 19 f.; Scharff, "Wann wird es richtig mittelalterlich?" 81–3; Simona Slanička and Mischa Meier, "Einleitung," in *Antike und Mittelalter im Film. Konstruktion – Dokumentation – Projektion*, Beiträge zur Geschichtskultur 29, eds. , Simona Slanička and Mischa Meier (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2007), 10 and 13 f.; Röckelein, "Mittelalter-Projektionen," 52–8; Wieber, "Antike am laufenden Meter," 36; Tomas Lochman, "Der Antikenfilm und seine Phasen" in *Antike im Kino. Auf dem Weg zu einer Kulturgeschichte des Antikenfilms*, eds. Tomas Lochman, Thomas Späth and Adrian Stähli (Basel: Verlag der Skulpturhalle Basel, 2008), 28 f.; Prommer, "Das Kinopublikum im Wandel," 245–52; Kircher, *Wa(h)re Archäologie*, 166. Thomas Stern, "Archäologie im Film," in *Macht der Vergangenheit – Wer macht Vergangenheit: Archäologie und Politik*, Beiträge zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Mitteleuropas 3, eds. Sabine Wolfram and Ulrike Sommer (Wilkau-Hasslau:

- Beier&Beran, 1993), 66-74 considers archaeological films as part of a history boom. Cf. Rahemipour, "8 mm Vergangenheit," 406 for arguments for looking to the past. For archaeological reports in popular magazines in connection with feature films, see, among others, Schulz, "Botschaft des Barden," 152–8 on Troy (2004) in the German weekly news magazine *Der Spiegel*. Cf. Steinhardt, "Mythos Troja," for the TV documentary *Troja. Die wahre Geschichte (Troy. The true story)*.
- 14 Pausch, "Gladiator," 429 f.; Junkelmann, *Hollywoods Traum von Rom*, esp. 29 f. And 47–59 (very critical); Cherneva, *Antike Welten auf moderner Leinwand*, 10 f.; 13; Lindner, *Rom und seine Kaiser*, 41–8; 50; Röckelein, "Mittelalter-Projektionen," 58–62; Scharff, "Wann wird es richtig mittelalterlich?" 67, 71–81; Martin Julius Auernheimer, "Antiker Mythos in neuen Medien – Der troianische Krieg in Film & Videospiel," (Master's thesis, University of Vienna, 2012), 23–6. Furthermore we have to remember that even in closing following ancient or medieval sources, we do not provide a true picture of the past but rather the one intended by one or another contemporary author (Lindner, *Rom und seine Kaiser*, 49; 67).
- 15 Simon James, "The Roman Galley Slave. *Ben-Hur* and the Firth of a Factoid," *Public Archaeology* 2, no. 1 (2001): 35–49; Junkelmann, *Hollywoods Traum von Rom*, 1 f.; Berghaus, "Geschichtsbilder," 12–6; Meier, "Sich am Mythos abarbeiten," 281–3; Cherneva, *Antike Welten auf moderner Leinwand*, 5 f.; Lindner, *Rom und seine Kaiser*, 33-40; Simona Slanička, "Der Historienfilm als große Erzählung," In *Antike und Mittelalter im Film. Konstruktion – Dokumentation – Projektion*, Beiträge zur Geschichtskultur 29, eds. Simona Slanička and Mischa Meier (Köln: Böhlau Verlag; 2007), 436 f.; Slanička, "Der Historienfilm," 405; Slanička and Meier, "Einleitung," 7; 15; Rahemipour, "8 mm Vergangenheit," 405; Rahemipour, *Archäologie im Scheinwerferlicht*, 95 f.; 352; Rahemipour, "It's Like Writing History with Lightning'," 53; Lochman, "Antike im Kino," 12; Kircher, *Wa(h)re Archäologie*, 165–7; Wehen, "Heute gucken wir einen Film", 12 f.; 22–33. For the prevalence of the Roman Empire and High and Late Middle Ages, see Meier, "Sich am Mythos abarbeiten," 282; Lindner, *Rom und seine Kaiser*, 14 f.; Tomas Lochman, "Der Antikenfilm und seine Themen," in *Antike im Kino. Auf dem Weg zu einer Kulturgeschichte des Antikenfilms*, eds. Tomas

Lochman, Thomas Späth and Adrian Stähli (Basel: Verlag der Skulpturhalle Basel, 2008), 34–54. Kircher, *Wa(h)re Archäologie*, 165 f. argues that the history of the ancient Near East (except biblical topics) is unknown to the public and therefore not commonly used as a setting for films.

- 16 Compared to films, novels are often regarded less critically (Lindner, *Rom und seine Kaiser*, 39). One possible explanation might be that written descriptions of material culture cannot be elaborated in as much detail as in a filmic presentation. Cf. Stern, "Archäologie im Film," 66; Hall, "Romancing the Stones," 160; James, "The Roman Galley Slave;" Junkelmann, "Rezension," 174; Meier, "Sich am Mythos abarbeiten," 282; Cherneva, *Antike Welten auf moderner Leinwand*, 4–6; Röckelein, "Mittelalter-Projektionen," 48–50; Lochman, "Der Antikenfilm und seine Themen," 50–2; Rahemipour, *Archäologie im Scheinwerferlicht*, 58–64; 100–3; Rahemipour, "'It's Like Writing History with Lightning'," 55 f.; Birgit Jaeckel, "Archaeological Story-Telling. Facts in Fiction," in *Integrating Archaeology: Science – Wish – Reality. International Conference on the Social Role, Possibilities and Perspectives of Classical Studies*, ed. Nina Schücker (Frankfurt a. M.: Römisch-Germanische Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, 2012), 81–5.
- 17 Helmut Weihsmann, *Gebaute Illusionen: Architektur im Film* (Wien: Promedia, 1988), 11; Stern, "Archäologie im Film," 67; Charles Affron and Mirella Jona Affron, *Sets in Motion: Art Direction and Film Narrative* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1995); Ruth Lindner, "'Sandalenfilme' und der archäologische Blick: Protokoll eines Versuchs," *Thetis* 5/6 (1999): 520; 4 f.; James, "The Roman Galley Slave;" Junkelmann, "Rezension," 174; 179 f.; Junkelmann, *Hollywoods Traum von Rom*, 28 f.; 36–8; 61–89; 195–213; Hall, "Romancing the Stones," 160; Lindner, "Zwischen Anspruch und Wahrscheinlichkeit"; Anja Wieber, "Vor Troja nichts Neues? Moderne Kinogeschichten zu Homers Ilias," in *Drehbuch Geschichte. Die antike Welt im Film*. Antike Kultur und Geschichte 7 (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2005), 137–62; Wieber, "Antike am laufenden Meter," 31 f.; Meier, "Sich am Mythos abarbeiten," 281 f.; Cherneva, *Antike Welten auf moderner Leinwand*, 13; Röckelein, "Mittelalter-Projektionen," 58; Scharff, "Wann wird es richtig mittelalterlich?" 71–81; Slanička, and Meier, "Einleitung," 11–3; Lochman, "Antike im Kino," 13; Lochman,

- “Der Antikenfilm und seine Themen,” 54–82; Tomas Lochman, “‘Versteinerte Akteure’ und ‘lebende Statuen:’ Antike Skulpturen als Bedeutungsträger im Film,” in *Antike im Kino. Auf dem Weg zu einer Kulturgeschichte des Antikenfilms*, eds. Tomas Lochman, Thomas Späth and Adrian Stähli (Basel: Verlag der Skulpturhalle Basel, 2008), 128–39; Rahemipour, *Archäologie im Scheinwerferlicht*, 7 f.; 51–7; 112–7; 353–63; Rahemipour, “‘It’s Like Writing History with Lightning,’” 56; 58 f.; Patricia Rahemipour, “Ganze Lebenswelten auf nur 35 mm?” In *Geschichte, Archäologie, Öffentlichkeit. Für einen neuen Dialog zwischen Wissenschaft und Medien. Standpunkte aus Forschung und Praxis*, Historische Lebenswelten in populären Wissenskulturen. History in Popular Cultures 4, eds. Hans-Joachim Gehrke and Miriam Sénécheau (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2010), 63–78, esp. 64; Auernheimer, “Antiker Mythos in neuen Medien, 30–4. Slanička, “Der Historienfilm als große Erzählung,” 434 observes that recognition contributes to the audience’s enjoyment through confirmation of already familiar knowledge.
- 18 Hall, “Romancing the Stones,” 172 f.; Junkelmann, *Hollywoods Traum von Rom*, 32 f.; Wieber, “Vor Troja nichts Neues?” 157–62; Wieber, “Antike am laufenden Meter,” 33; 35; 37–40; Lindner, *Rom und seine Kaiser*, 54; Slanička, “Der Historienfilm als große Erzählung,” 427 f.; Lochman, “Antike im Kino,” 12 f.; Prommer, “Das Kinopublikum im Wandel,” 225 f.; Auernheimer, “Antiker Mythos in neuen Medien, 37–42; 65 f.; 111–4; Kircher, *Wa(h)re Archäologie*, 166. For problems concerning the mediation between the fields of science and entertainment, see Jaeckel, “Story-telling”.
- 19 Cf. Junkelmann, *Hollywoods Traum von Rom*, 15 f.; Berghaus, “Geschichtsbilder,” 20–4. A survey among history teachers revealed that 35.1 % believe that historical feature films (including those dealing with the modern period) established misconceptions; 92.4 % agree that films can provide an idea of the past (Wehen, “*Heute gucken wir einen Film*”, 62 f.; 65 f.). For information in the opening credits, see Junkelmann, “Rezension,” 176; Junkelmann, *Hollywoods Traum von Rom*, 33 f.; 167–76; Lindner, “Zwischen Anspruch und Wahrscheinlichkeit”; Lindner, *Rom und seine Kaiser im Historienfilm*, 56–61; 67–9; Berghaus, “Geschichtsbilder,” 18; Wieber, “Vor Troja nichts Neues?,” 146–8; Kircher, *Wa(h)re Archäologie*, 167.

- 20 Fédération Européenne des Festivals du Film d'Archéologie et du Patrimoine (<http://www.fedarcine.com>). For motion pictures as sources for history of reception, see Lindner, *Rom und seine Kaiser*, 11; 29; Rahemipour, "'It's Like Writing History with Lightning'," 7 f.
- 21 Junkelmann, "Rezension," 174 f.; Junkelmann, *Hollywoods Traum von Rom*, 91–115; Rahemipour, "8 mm Vergangenheit," 398–406; Rahemipour, *Archäologie im Scheinwerferlicht*, esp. 82–6; Rahemipour, "'It's Like Writing History with Lightning'"; Wieber, "Antike am laufenden Meter," 37–40; Lochman, "Der Antikenfilm und seine Phasen"; Tom Stern, "Von der Denkmalpflege zum Propagandastachel – Archäologiefilme im Nationalsozialismus," *Das Altertum* 55, no. 2 (2010): 143–60.
- 22 Hall, "Romancing the Stones," 160; Slanička, "Der Historienfilm als große Erzählung," 428 f.; 434–6; Rahemipour, "8 mm Vergangenheit," 406; Röckelein, "Mittelalter-Projektionen," 62; Cherneva, *Antike Welten auf moderner Leinwand*, 12 f.
- 23 Lindner, "'Sandalenfilme' und der archäologische Blick," 519; Lindner, *Rom und seine Kaiser*, 31; 34; 36. The German television premier of *Troy* (2004), for example, was accompanied by the successful documentary *Troja – Die wahre Geschichte (Troy – The true story)* (ZDF, 1.4.2007): cf. note 8; Steinhardt, "Mythos Troja," and Pausch, "Gladiator," 430. The German Federal Agency for Civic Education (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung) is at the forefront in advocating the (critical) use of films in schools. They argue that historical motion pictures satisfy the fundamental requirement of history lessons in schools, i.e. the construction and promotion of narrative competence, which involves the ability to tell and comprehend stories. Wehen, "*Heute gucken wir einen Film*"; Britta Wehen, "Historische Spielfilme – ein Instrument zur Geschichtsvermittlung?", last modified September 11, 2012, <http://www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/kultur/kulturelle-bildung/143799/historische-spielfilme?p=all> (accessed September 4, 2013); Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 2013, <http://bpb.de/shop/lernen/filmhefte> (accessed September 9).
- 24 Existing co-operative ventures include the film festivals *Cinarchea* (<http://www.uni-kiel.de/cinarchea/>) and *35 mm Persien* (Barbara Helwing and Patricia Rahemipour, "35 mm Persien – Ein archäologisches Filmfest mit Kolloquium" vom 17. bis 19. Oktober 2005 in Berlin. *Archäologisches Nachrichtenblatt* 12, no. 1 (2007):

89–92), as well as screenings offered in a parallel program to special exhibitions such as *Franken – Wegbereiter Europas* (Mannheim, 1996–1997), *Agatha Christie und der Orient. Kriminalistik und Archäologie* (Essen, 1999 / 2000), *Das große Spiel. Archäologie und Politik zur Zeit des Kolonialismus* (Essen, 2010), and *Graben für Germanien. Archäologie unterm Hakenkreuz* (Bremen, 2013), as well as special events, such as a screening in the reconstructed Roman fort of Saalburg in 2010; cf. Martin Große Burlage, *Große historische Ausstellungen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1960–2000* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2005), 107 and webpages of the museums.

- 25 Junkelmann, *Hollywoods Traum von Rom*, 9 f. (155 answers out of 243).
- 26 Röcklein, "Mittelalter-Projektionen," 62.

## 8 / When the Past Comes to Life

- 1 "Provinciaal Archeologisch Museum," Provincie Oost-Vlaanderen, [www.pam-ov.be](http://www.pam-ov.be) (accessed April 11, 2013).
- 2 Graham A. Appleby, "Crossing the Rubicon: Facts or Fiction in Roman Re-enactment," *Public Archaeology*, 4 (2005): 257–65.
- 3 "Guedelon: a Castle in the Making," <http://www.guedelon.fr/en> (accessed April 11, 2013).
- 4 Pieter-Jan Lachaert, *Oudenaarde 1708: een Stad, een Koning, een Veldheer* (Leuven: Davidsfonds, 2008).
- 5 "The Original Reenactors Market," <http://www.reenactorsmarket.co.uk/> (accessed April 11, 2013).

## 9 / Visualisation of Place and Landscape

- 1 Joske M. Houtkamp, *Affective Appraisal of Virtual Environments* (PhD diss, Utrecht University, 2012).
- 2 John Pruitt and Jonathan Grudin, "Personas: Practice and Theory," in *Proceedings of the 2003 Conference on Designing for User Experiences (San Francisco, California, June 06–07, 2003)* (New York : ACM Press, 2003), 1–15.
- 3 Geographical Information System (GIS) is a computer-based system to capture, store, maintain, analyse and visualize information with a geographical component.

- 4 Torre Zuk, Sheelagh Carpendale and William D. Glanzman, "Visualizing Temporal Uncertainty in 3D Virtual Reconstructions," in *Proceedings of the 6th International Symposium on Virtual Reality, Archaeology and Cultural Heritage (VAST 2005)*, (Location and publisher unknown, 2005), 99–106.
- 5 Michael Blakemore and John B. Harley, "The Search for Accuracy," *Concepts in the History of Cartography, Cartographica Monograph 26* (1980): 55.
- 6 Bernhard Jenny, "MapAnalyst: A Digital Tool for the Analysis of the Planimetric Accuracy of Historical Maps." *e-Perimtron* 1, 3 (2006): 239–245.
- 7 Zuk, Carpendale and Glanzman, "Visualizing Temporal Uncertainty."
- 8 Kimberly Dylla and Bernard Frischer et al., "Rome Reborn 2.0: A Case Study of Virtual City Reconstruction Using Procedural Modeling Techniques," in *CAA 2009. Making History Interactive: 37th Proceedings of the CAA Conference March 22–26, 2009, Williamsburg, Virginia* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2010), 62–66.
- 9 Stephen R.J. Sheppard, "Guidance for Crystal Ball Gazers: Developing a Code of Ethics for Landscape Visualization," *Landscape and Urban Planning* 54, 1 (2001): 183–199.
- 10 Clive Fencott et al., "The Effects of Movement of Attractors and Pictorial Content of Rewards on Users' Behaviour in Virtual Environments: an Empirical Study in the Framework of Perceptual Opportunities," *Interacting with Computers* 15, 1 (2003): 121–140.
- 11 Henk Kramer, Joske Houtkamp and Matthijs Danes, "Things Have Changed: a Visual Assessment of a Virtual Landscape from 1900 and 2006," in *Peer Reviewed Proceedings of Digital Landscape Architecture 2012 at Anhalt University of Applied Sciences 2012*, eds. Buhmann, Ervin and Pietsch, (Herbert Wichmann Verlag, 2012), 263–272.
- 12 Rendering generates two-dimensional images from a virtual 3D model using computer graphics software.
- 13 "Rome Reborn: A Digital Model of Ancient Rome," <http://www.romereborn.virginia.edu/about.php> (accessed February 5, 2013).
- 14 Gabriele Guidi et al., "Virtualizing Ancient Rome: 3D Acquisition and Modeling of a Large Plaster-of-Paris Model of Imperial Rome," *Videometrics VIII*, 5665 (2005): 119-133.
- 15 Dylla and Frischer et al., "Rome Reborn 2.0", 62–66.
- 16 "Rome Reborn: A Digital Model of Ancient Rome."

- 17 Helena Rua and Pedro Alvito, "Living the Past: 3D Models, Virtual Reality and Game Engines as Tools for Supporting Archaeology and the Reconstruction of Cultural Heritage—the Case-Study of the Roman Villa of Casal de Freiria," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 38, 12 (2011): 3296–3308.
- 18 "Rome Reborn: A Digital Model of Ancient Rome."
- 19 Jonathan Maïm et al., "Populating Ancient Pompeii with Crowds of Virtual Romans." In *Proceedings of the 8th International Conference on Virtual Reality, Archaeology and Intelligent Cultural Heritage* (location unknown: Eurographics Association, 2007), 109–116.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Near Naaldwijk, the Netherlands.
- 22 Exhibition "Royal Gardening" in Teylers Museum (Haarlem, the Netherlands), January 30 till May 9, 2010.
- 23 Frank Ankersmit, *Sublime Historical Experience* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 119–28.
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# Illustrations

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Figures 1, 2 and 3 in chapter 7 are based on annual analyses by the Filmförderungsanstalt, the “Filmhitlisten” (<http://www.ffa.de/index.php?page=filmhitlisten>) as well as the online database of the Freiwillige Selbstkontrolle der Filmwirtschaft (<http://www.fsk.de>). All websites accessed March 25, 2013.

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## About the Contributors

**Arnoud de Boer** MSc is an information engineer the IT company CGI Group, and he has conducted research on virtual historic landscapes at Utrecht University, Netherlands.

Professor dr. **Koos Bosma** is VU University Amsterdam, chair Architectural History and Heritage Studies and advisor of CLUE. He researched 20th century architecture and city planning, like the planning and design of the Dutch IJsselmeerpolders and the reconstruction of the Netherlands and Europe after World War II. He mainly publishes on housing, city planning and infrastructural management subjects, such as the Channel Tunnel, High Speed Train programs in Europe, large European airfields, theory of architecture and urban history. More recently he started studying heritage topics like the Atlantic Wall and Cold War relics.

**Linde Egberts** MA has a background in heritage studies and works as a researcher on projects a publications regarding European and regional heritage, identities and memories. Parallel to the development of this Companion she is preparing a dissertation at CLUE research Institute of the VU University Amsterdam.

Dipl.-Komm.-Wirt **Jan van Helt** is a coordinator for special events at the German Film Museum of the German Film Institute in Frankfurt am Main. He is involved in the development of the cinematic experience and concentrates on the history and architecture of the movie theatre as a public venue.

Dr. **Joske Houtkamp** is a researcher at Alterra, Wageningen UR, Netherlands; her focus is on affective responses to, and the cognitive effects of, interactive visualisations and virtual environments.

**Henk Kramer** is a researcher at Alterra, Wageningen UR, focusing on 3D geo-visualisation and 3D data modelling.

**Peter Van der Plaetsen** is an art historian and archaeologist who has been involved in living history for over 20 years. He is responsible for the educational projects of the Provincial

Archaeological Museum of Velzeke, where he has worked for 26 years and is currently curator.

**Mijke Pol** MA is a cultural historian, writer and journalist. She works as an editor for the Dutch television program 'De Grote Geschiedenis Quiz' ("The Big History Quiz") and has also worked on the program 'Andere Tijden' ("Other Times") and the series 'De Slavernij' ("Slavery").

**Nina Schücker** M.A. is a researcher at the Roman-Germanic Commission of the German Archaeological Institute in Frankfurt am Main. She is a member of the team working on the project Cradles of European Culture (CEC): Francia Media and specialises in public archaeology and the Roman Provinces.

**Felix van Veldhoven** MA specialised in the fields of cultural landscape and spatial heritage during his studies. After two internships at the Dutch Cultural Heritage Agency (RCE) and an urban planning consultancy firm, he applied for the Master's program in Heritage Studies at VU University. He currently works as a GIS specialist in Amsterdam.

Dr. **Connie Veugen** has been a senior lecturer in the Department of Arts and Culture, a subdivision of the Comparative Arts and Media Studies, a part of the Faculty of Arts of VU University Amsterdam (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam) since 1998. She began her academic career in 1988, teaching applied computer science and programming. Her doctoral dissertation is devoted to research on computer games as a narrative medium, and her main fields of research are story-structured computer games in relation to other narrative media such as books and films. This includes comparative game research, the interaction of media, trans-media storytelling, and story adaptation.

**Jasper Visser** BSc helps organisations worldwide rethink and redesign their relationship with their audience.

**Minke Walda** MA has a background in cultural heritage and holds a master's degree in architectural history. Currently she works as a cultural history advisor on the processes involved in developing spatial heritage projects.