

Heritage Reinvents Europe



**Edited by Dirk Callebaut, Jan Mařík and
Jana Maříková-Kubková**

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Edited by Dirk Callebaut, Jan Mařík and Jana Maříková-Kubková

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Cover image:

The Provincial Heritage Centre in the archaeological park of Ename (Belgium), where the local past and the future Europe meet.

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Foreword and acknowledgement

This publication is an excellent example of how the *Europae Archaeologiae Consilium* by selecting the theme of the 12th EAC Heritage Management Symposium – “Heritage Reinvents Europe. A critical approach to values in archaeology, the built environment and cultural landscape” – made significant progress in the implementation of its revised strategy. In our vision we formulated, that the management of archaeology is an integrated part of successful heritage management throughout Europe, therefore adequate protection should be given to the archaeological heritage not only as an instrument for historical and scientific study, but also as a source of European collective memory and a wide range of social values.

When preparing this symposium we first planned to discuss the topic of archaeology and education, but during the arrangement of the program the focus of interest expanded significantly and, as a consequence, we began to consider whether archaeological, architectural and landscape heritage really has sufficient instrumental leverage to promote the integration process of Europe. Finally different sessions were formed which followed our concept in which we wanted to examine: (i) the function, meaning and significance of certain turning-point events in European history in relation to major events in World history, (ii) the role of local heritage, its capacity to transfer knowledge towards larger geo-cultural contexts, (iii) the relationship between European and national visions (how can we use time-space dimensions for a common understanding of shared values in research, management, presentation and education), (iv) the integration of desired and undesired heritage (the relics, places and spaces of the past European man-made disasters), and (v) the issue of heritage presentation in terms of who the real owner is: the policy-makers, professionals, site-owners/managers or the general public.

The host town of Ename served as eminent space for such a conference. This settlement belonged to the territory of the Roman Empire, which we can consider as the first attempt at a European integration. In the early Medieval period Ename was part of *Francia Media*, and in the 20th century it played an important role in Europe's political and military history. Recently the European Commission awarded the archaeological park of Ename with the ‘European Heritage Label’. This award was established to designate sites which have played a key role in the history of the European Union, but also to find sites on the basis of their European symbolic value (rather than for their beauty or architectural value), with the aim to stress their educational dimension, especially for young people.

From the perspective of the European Union, the role of cultural heritage has changed radically in the last decades. Although researchers dealing with the history of the Union highly dispute the authenticity of this statement: “If I had to do it again, I would begin with culture”, which is attributed to Jean Monnet, one of the founding fathers of the EU, it is a matter of fact that since the Maastricht Treaty, cultural heritage has become a real cohesive force for European countries in the integration process, based on the perception that elements of cultural heritage and the results of scientific research can help local communities to better understand their own environment. Ján Figel, the former European commissioner for Education, Training, Culture and Youth expressed a similar opinion: “cultural heritage is widely recognised across Europe as a vehicle of cultural identity,...the preservation, appreciation and promotion of our cultural heritage is one of the best ways we have to promote a sense of belonging to Europe”.

Heritage objectives were included amongst the EU regional and research programs and the Culture 2007–13 programs promote projects which contribute to the enhancement of our shared cultural heritage and Europe's cultural diversity through cross-border co-operation between cultural operators and institutions. The recent Joint programming initiative “Cultural Heritage and Global Change: a new challenge for Europe” has also been developed to ensure a better coordination between the member states regarding calls for cultural heritage research. The European Heritage Label aims at a better understanding and appreciation, especially among young people, of their shared yet diverse heritage. Through this idea the EU wants to strengthen a sense of belonging to the Union and to reinforce an intercultural dialogue as well as to promote greater access to cultural heritage.

The EAC symposium at Ename offered the opportunity to the professionals of fifteen countries to present the scientific and practical aspects of heritage of their own countries and the European/transnational dimension of the theme. From the twenty-eight presentations we can find in this volume, representing various approaches towards the topic including sensitive fields: the function and role of national identity in an integration process, the harmonisation and contradictions of national/European history, and the issue of heritagization. Several authors emphasized the growing importance of the better communication with the local and wider environment and the professional's duty to tell the story of the past to the present population and the future generations. In the last session the speakers referred to the challenge caused by the digital shift, which implies that more attention should be paid to the interest and expectations of the different social strata. There was an impressive example during the Danish EU presidency in 2012 of managing this new challenge, when the Heritage Agency of Denmark first set up a website, where 1001 cultural heritage sights are featured representing Danish history and culture in such a way that the locations are made alive through the stories of contemporary people. The website is open for everyone to add their comments (including debates) photos, videos and other items. Inspired by this pattern the European Stories site was created, where visitors can find more than forty stories of how Danish cultural heritage has been influenced by European culture – and vice versa.

Finally I would like to express our gratitude to the Provincial Government of East Flanders, the Provincial Heritage Centre in Ename and especially to Dirk Callebaut the main organiser of the conference and the spirit of this volume. The venue of the conference in Ename provided an inspiring space for the meeting. We are also grateful to prof. dr. Bruno De Wever and his colleague prof. dr. Gita Deneckere (both working at the Institute for Public History – University of Ghent) whose ideas provided great help in accomplishing the concept of the symposium. Mr Daniel Thérond (Council of Europe, Strasbourg) gave valuable advices to disentangle this diverse theme. In the frame of the EU project “Cradles of European Culture” the Francia Media project supported the publication of the proceedings as well as the Flemish Heritage Agency. Without the supporting co-operation of Martin Kuna, the careful and precise editorial work of Jan Mařík and Jana Maříková-Kubková and the tight labour of our publishing house the Archaeolingua, the volume could not have been published on time. We offer our warm congratulations to all the contributors of the papers and to Derek Hall who checked the English of the European authors.

We believe this volume highlights the changing roles of archaeological heritage management, and convincingly presents the idea that heritage is our common value. Professionals and heritage managers have to transfer the value of heritage beyond their own circles to the wider public of the European countries.

Katalin Wollák
President of Europae Archaeologiae Consilium

Budapest, 20th February 2013

Opening address

A European heritage for Europeans

How can we bring Europe's heritage closer to Europe's citizens? And if we succeed in doing so, will a French, Latvian, Greek, Finnish, Slovenian, Hungarian and East Flemish citizen really feel more European? The 12th colloquium of the *Europae Archaeologiae Consilium* will try and answer these crucial questions.

This international concern fits in perfectly with the location for the colloquium: the Provincial Heritage Centre in Ename. This new complex intends to be a dynamic centre that brings heritage closer to both young and old. It will let people experience what heritage is all about, how it is dealt with and how you can give it a place in your own life. The point is: a better understanding of heritage through a better heritage experience. That is why, as deputy for culture of the province of East Flanders, I particularly appreciate the fact that the colloquium takes place here. There is also a second reason that personally appeals to me. In the Provincial Heritage Centre, skilful hands have created a big colourful carpet representing early medieval Europe. It introduces people to the fascinating EU project "Cradles of European Culture", which was recently selected within the Culture 2007–2013 programme and which I, as deputy of the provincial government of East Flanders, fully support. The history of the Carolingian Middle Realm is the central theme of the project. The carpet shows Europe as it was at the time of the Treaty of Verdun in 843. The imposing realm of Charlemagne was then divided into three parts: West Francia – Francia Occidentalis, (the future France), East Francia – Francia Orientalis, (the future Germany), and between them Middle Francia, Francia Media, which is coloured red. This was the transit zone that linked the Mediterranean to the North Sea and caused the region's culture, communication, technology and economy to flourish highly in the early Middle Ages.

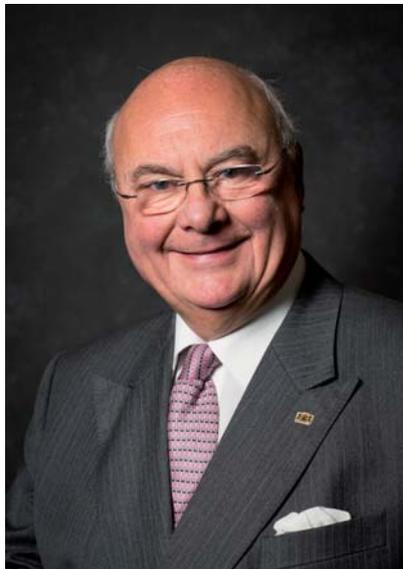
This intense life will be shown to the public at ten heritage sites in nine European countries, linked up by the Francia Media heritage route. This route will not only focus on the early Middle Ages, but will also connect with the present and prove that Francia Media is still important culturally-strategically today. Indeed, the 'old' territory is still characterized by urbanisation, a high population density, a great cultural diversity and an intense business life. I am proud to know that the Provincial Heritage Centre can pull its weight to highlight the idea of Europe by supporting this fascinating project.

The archaeologists, architectural historians, environmental experts and other specialists who will be speaking at the colloquium do not solely consider their own field of research. They have broadened their horizons and have a critical eye for the wider European context in which 'their heritage' is situated. They dare to ask the question if it is all that evident that heritage brings us, Europeans, closer together. Are these Great European Stories really so unique? What can we learn from local heritage? How do we combine European visions with national visions and vice versa? What do we do with the 'unwelcome' war heritage and how do we truly tell the European story to the broad public? They are all essential questions that require correct answers, if we indeed want to make sure that heritage brings Europe closer to us.

I am convinced that the Provincial Heritage Centre Ename, just as it has done now for the 12th EAC colloquium, will further help to provide a forum for inspiring discussions about future developments in the European heritage sector.

Jozef Dauwe

Deputy for Culture of the Province of East Flanders
Chairman of the Provincial Heritage Center Ename



Introduction

Heritage Reinvents Europe

Unity in Diversity, the motto of the European Union, has, since World War II, seldom been as relevant as it is today. In these difficult economic times Europe is more and more confronted with the phenomenon that citizens openly stand up for the defence of their national and regional interests. This puts pressure on the process of European integration. This integration process was started in the 1950s as a "Nie wieder Krieg" project and had the pragmatic idea of a common economic destiny as a starting point. It evolved into a large-scale operation of which one of the particular objectives is to look for a European identity based on the individual culture of the various member states.

The recognition of culture as a binding agent for European society worked as an inspiration. This cry for a sense of shared cultural values initiated the search for new opportunities to bolster the 'Europe-feeling' and to create an affective link between citizens and the Union. All kinds of EU programmes exhibit this thrust toward mutual understanding, such as the *Culture 2007–2013 Programme* which supports projects "to celebrate Europe's cultural diversity and enhance our shared cultural heritage through the development of cross-border co-operation between cultural operators and institutions". Also, the *European Heritage Label* aims to "enhance the value and the profile of sites which have played a key role in the history and the building of the European Union, and seek to increase European citizens' understanding of the building of Europe". Concrete projects as Lancewad and LancewadPlan try to elaborate trans-border concepts and mediation strategies.

To make it possible to understand Europe via the diversity of its cultural heritage is a very important mission, which is particularly fascinating because it can be approached from the most diverse points of view based on different 'truths'. The board of the *Europae Archaeologiae Consilium* also wants to make a contribution to this by choosing "Heritage reinvents Europe" as the theme for its 12th EAC colloquium.

As the EAC is a forum for discussion the theme of Heritage and Europe is considered from a less customary line of approach, asking the critical question: to what extent can a cultural-historical heritage indeed foster European Unity? And even more: what place does the archaeological heritage have in all this? Indeed, archaeology does not really concentrate on the highlights of culture, but rather focuses on daily life in olden times. And then: to what extent can this knowledge contribute to the formation of the European idea?

These questions are dealt with in three sessions: 1 Europe or the power of a collective idea; 2 The use of heritage in economic, social and political action and 3 Heritage identification and presentation.

Every historical story is and remains a construction with all its inherent advantages and disadvantages, even if it is based on the best scientific research data. This is certainly true for the unity-diversity story of Europe. It is crucial to be extremely conscious of the element of *construction* in the development of this history and to keep a watchful eye on the interpretative dangers lurking from political, ideological, sociological and so many other lines of approach.

There are examples aplenty and the first part of the proceedings, ***Europe or the power of a collective idea***, discusses some of them.

Heritage sites that are open to the public may be used /misused for identity constructions of any size, on a local, regional, national or European level. The specific "Europeanisation" of sites must be considered just as critically as the targeted use of archaeological/historical data for national identity formation. Hence the plea to not to reduce the complexity of these public sites and to develop a community-based approach that is open, in the broadest sense possible, to the long-term history of sites and the narratives of actors related to it. This approach offers adequate possibilities to involve different interest groups in creating multifaceted narratives about and approaches to sites with a sense of place (*Alexander Gramsch*).

Of course, there is also the position of the archaeologist who, as a scientist, ought to be quite conscious of the fact that his work is not merely academic, but also has social relevance with identity and mentality formation as possible effects. Keywords are invented traditions or political religion. To investigate this social impact of archaeology by, for instance, defining scientific and ethical standard qualities is already a major step forwards in improving the development of the knowledge of the past for the benefit of the present (*Ulf Ickerodt*).

Europe has attempted to provide some answers to the problem of presenting the past to the present on a European level. The Council of Europe developed the Faro Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (Faro) and the European Landscape Convention, while the European Science Foundation published the document "Landscape in a Changing World – Bridging Divides, Integrating Disciplines, Serving Society". These complementary visions reflect the essence of heritage thinking on a pan-European and a supra-national regional scale: their cosmopolitan multicultural mission tries to encompass both local and global by providing a way of valuing and interpreting diversity (*Sarah Wolferstan and Graham Fairclough*).

However, if we consider, for instance, the landscapes, uncertainty remains about what is really meant by European. Of the many definitions that have already been formulated in this context the basic assumption that "Europe is a specific political practice in the present based on ethic values of historic experience" offers acceptable possibilities. But then these values such as "human rights, democracy, rule of law and peacefulness" need to be converted into landscapes also in reality. This is an enormous task for the future (*Thomas Meier*)

Diversity is in greatest opposition to Unity in the Europe of the regions. The EU-funded programme framework INTERREG strives for a broad regional collaboration and hopes to build a European identity with strongly profiled regional identities as building blocks. However, experience shows that INTERREG projects especially benefit the regional valorisation of heritage to the detriment of European identification. It becomes more and more necessary to develop new concepts for identity constructions that acknowledge and incorporate value pluralism inherent in the Europe of Regions (*Roel During*).

The first part of this proceedings sketched the general framework of thoughts and activities in which heritage, with its possibilities and limitations, can “position” itself on a European level. The second part, ***The use of heritage in economic, social and political action***, contains contributions focusing on the concrete interpretation of the actual archaeological, proto-historic and mediaeval heritage and contributions analysing the use of monuments for the creation of contemporary cultural identity or studying the creation of contemporary European symbolic values. A canon of national history that leaves only limited room for archaeology and, moreover, does not approach the discipline from present-day insights is unfinished and asks for new proposals that will develop the archaeological part of the principle from “a trans-national, de-centred” perspective (*Jos Bazelmans*).

What the Vikings mean to Northern Europe is what the Slavs mean to Central Europe (Søren M. Sindbæk and Jana Maříková-Kubková). In the early Middle Ages both territories entered the cultural history of the continent. Both had to get along with the heritage of the Roman Empire in their own way, as this heritage was only mediated and the early mediaeval monuments represented a prevailing political issue.

To be more specific: it is not only by creating symbolic values that monuments on the World Heritage List or within other heritage networks enter the everyday life of current Europe. We have to deal with a somewhat contradictory fact. While such a classification may be the source of local or national pride, may contribute profoundly to the recognitions of the sites, improve their state, inspire activities in view of expanding our knowledge of the past and open them up to the broader public, at the same time it represents a great danger for the monuments themselves. The process of “heritagization” (coined by Thomas Coomans) will have to be subjected to a deeper reflection.

Mainly in the last twenty years a discussion on new symbolic values has taken place in Europe questioning what connects Europe on the level of collective memory. In this respect the experiences of two 20th century World Wars and the Holocaust constitute a generally accepted feeling of communality. However, this does not mean that there is a consensus as far as interpretation and remembrance strategy are concerned. There is, for instance, a great difference of opinion between West and East Europeans about the impact of the aforementioned violent experiences. This should induce a fundamental rethinking and re-interpretation of what really happened at the time and the later dynamics of memory (*Rob van der Laarse*).

Another controversial part of European collective memory is the Spanish Civil War (1936–39) and the subsequent dictatorship of Franco (1939–75). Archaeological exhumations of mass graves have put the victims of Francoism on the political agenda since 2000. The exhumations and the forensic investigations not only gather scientific evidence of the atrocities, but also pursue public acknowledgement, break taboos and lead to fierce public debates and the legacy of the Civil War, dictatorship and democratisation process of Spain (*Lore Colaert*).

The problematic relationship between remembrance and identity is highlighted in the townscape of Sarajevo. Here, the recent conflict experienced by Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1992 and 1995 is commemorated in various places, but none of these sites is recognized as a national monument. By comparing the Vraca Memorial Park for World War II to the Kovaci Memorial Cemetery for the war of 1992–95 the complex role of heritage in processes of post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation is made very clear (*Maja Musić*).

Movable and immovable heritage, discovered, interpreted and presented to the broader public by archaeologists, yields the common and often very difficult problem of how to preserve and present the cultural heritage in a permanently sustainable way while maintaining its authenticity and integrity. Contributions to this issue are contained in the last chapter ***Heritage identification and presentation***.

The extent to which the tangible and intangible heritage are significant in the construction of a cultural identity is dealt with on a national level referring to two Scottish examples: on the one hand the Polish heritage that is linked to a long history of emigration from Poland to Scotland and, on the other hand, the Gaelic language, which is more than 2000 years old. It turns out that this specific cultural heritage limits itself to providing building blocks for an identity only and is not at all a determining factor (*Noel Fojut*).

The discovery of a richly laden wrecked ship crossed borders. The *Vrouw Maria*, a Dutch merchant ship, sank on its way from Amsterdam to Saint Petersburg off the Finnish coast in 1771. The excavations and the historical investigation proved the rich possibilities of underwater heritage to foster the idea of a common European culture in which the history of different countries is interwoven (*Riika Alvik*).

The case of Rijeka makes clear that the immovable heritage is becoming part of modern urbanism and thus offers new opportunities for, for instance, public archaeology and holds challenges for a greater community involvement (*Ana Bezić and Marina Vicelja*).

The remembrance project that the Flemish authorities are developing for the hundredth anniversary of World War I proves that commemorations of international historic moments can lead to an innovative heritage policy. The focus is on the historic landscape of the front zone in the Westhoek, ‘Flanders’ Fields’. Within a total concept, the landscape will be scientifically investigated, it will be preserved while paying attention to local development, it will be managed in a sustainable way and, finally, the case will strengthen the heritage community on a national as well as an international level (*Luc Vandael*).

Moreover, these Flanders' Fields form a war landscape that takes up an exceptional position as an anthropological concept of human behaviour. Remembrance and commemoration from the most diverse points of view are central in the perception of this landscape as a last witness. The 'In Flanders Fields Museum' in Ypres helps to give the undesired heritage of World War I a universal meaning in a contemporary way (*Piet Chielens*).

At present a large number of techniques are available to visualise monuments and the process of their discovery by the way of new media. Virtual museums are being created, archaeologists have various forms of spatial reconstruction at hand, but we have to ask whether this digital media revolution will contribute in a sustainable way to a deeper understanding of the monuments and facilitate their presentation (*Soňa Pescarin*).

In any case, Europeana clearly emphasizes sustainability in the project CARARE. The Europeana portal gives access to online data-bases which provides general access to high-quality 3D visual material of European cultural objects. Through these easy-to-use 3D assets in many languages, everyone can enter the world of European cultural heritage in an innovative way (*Daniel Pletinckx*).

Finally there is the EU project "Cradles of European Culture" which was selected within the framework of the Culture 2007-2013 programme in 2010. This pilot project has taken on the challenge to find out to what extent the immovable and movable heritage are indeed capable of bringing Europe closer to its citizens via exhibitions, heritage routes, publications, social media et cetera. The point of departure is a part of European history that is largely forgotten by the broad public, namely the story of the Carolingian Middle Realm, Francia Media (843–1033). The ultimate objectives are public debates on "Europe" involving young and old (*Dirk Callebaut*).

Dirk Callebaut and Jana Maříková-Kubková

Europe or the power of a collective idea



Roman buildings adjacent to the Via Tiburtina in Rome's 21st suburbs:
a European story embedded in a street scene.

© *Graham Fairclough*

1 | Archaeology, cavemen, megaliths, and the formation of European identities

Ulf Ickerodt

Abstract: Archaeologists as scientists and as associates of archaeological heritage protection agencies are as far as their routine work is concerned, torn between the demands of academic research and their mandate as administrative bodies. Nevertheless, normally they perceive their field of operation as pure and value free science. Despite this, archaeological sites and artefacts have a function as social inspiration (*Leitbild*) and contribute therefore to (our) social identity. In this paper written with special reference to the German situation, we shall examine the case of the “identity”-value of archaeology and how its image is used to promote social values and the effect that this has on the perception of the past. When tackling these questions we must keep one important aspect in mind: What responsibilities result from this.

In the mid 20th century the British archaeologist Stuart Piggott (1937) characterized the birth of archaeology and its filiation archaeological heritage management, as natural outcomes of the social and industrial development of the 19th century. Indeed, the relatively young European national states needed new kinds of social inspiration and modes of self-legitimation for the simple reason that old traditions had to be abandoned and replaced by new ones in order to create social cohesion. More than half a century later, the British historian Eric Hobsbawm characterized this process as “invention of traditions” (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1992; cf. Ickerodt 2005a).

At its core, this process can be understood as “iconoclasm” (Latour & Weibel 2002). Older ideas, that draw their cohesive forces from the past and that help to organize social behaviour and the related pictures to communicate them were substituted by new symbols like amongst others the archaeologist as Indiana Jones or Lara Croft, modern self-made-man, the caveman as ancestor or retarded predecessor (fig. 1.1), and megaliths as symbols of national unity and scientific progress. More abstractly spoken, this iconoclasm can be interpreted as competition between pictures in our science-based society that

are related to the metaphysical level of science and religion. Here, following the Kantian tradition that defines enlightenment as freedom from superstition, religion is, equally to legends, myth, and superstition, reduced to a pre-scientific tool which explains the world in its being and is perceived and communicated as a primitive form of thinking which belongs to the dawn of mankind. In addition, religion, legends, myths and superstition appear at the same time to be suppressed from our seemingly logos-based daily life offering possibilities for contemplation and escapism in a secular environment (Ickerodt 2004a, 2004b, 2012). If we reduce this complex social process that enabled the development of modern archaeology alone to this aspect, we have only got half of the picture. A further factor was the rapidly changing economic structures and their influence on the overall social framework, which in turn is based on it. Apart from the mentioned religious disguised form, archaeological knowledge became a new form of secularized space-time perception, part of political and economical ideologies that develops their influence via a new form of historic understanding: the “science based” exploration of the past. Archaeological research, and at the same time geology, biology, palaeontology and other sciences, were able to define the natural processes that brought the world into being and that gained quickly a rather socially attached than scientific provable quality of “*lex naturae*”. This process is characterised by development

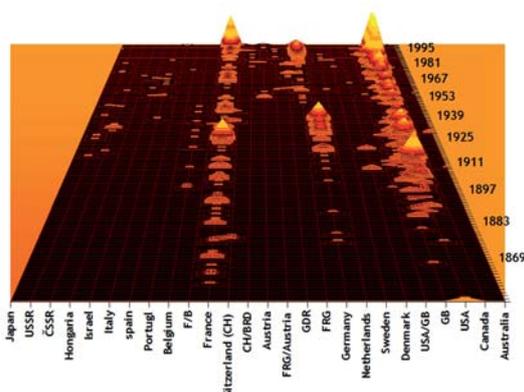


Fig. 1.1: Prehistoric man developed since its scientific acceptance rapidly into a powerful icon symbolizing both, the own origin and the backwardness of the “other”. The self-legitimizing function of this icon within the developing national states of France, Germany, United Kingdom, and further the United States can be demonstrated by the development of novels, short stories or science fiction stories dealing with primitive man. These publications are plotted against country of origin and year of release between 1900 and 2000 after Ickerodt (2004a, cat. 10:2).

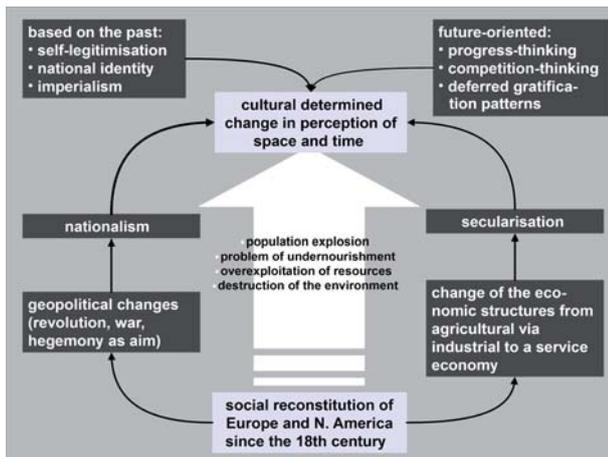
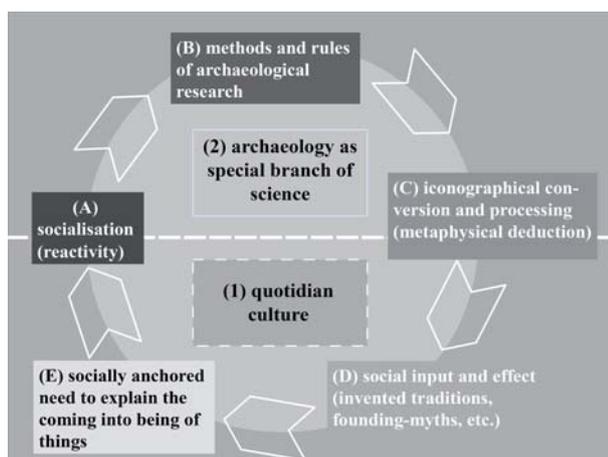


Fig. 1.2: Changing social values are back grounding the development of archaeology and, later, of archaeological heritage management.

thinking based on evolutionary premises in a society that is undergoing since than an accelerated processes of permanent economic reorganisation. In consequence, this permanent change requires a completely new approach to historic knowledge, which promotes individualism (fig. 1.2). This mentioned change in economic structures leads away from the traditional agricultural society towards industrial, service, and information societies and has caused, since its beginning in the 19th century, an increasingly strong separation of much of European and North American society from its natural roots and from the environmental feedback effect, which in the past determined man's relationship with his environment. This decoupling process affected the different social levels in completely different ways. Since the 1980s we have observed another decoupling effect. The increasingly rapid change to a service and information society accompanying the advance of globalisation coincides with a process of decoupling of the economy from its social and geographical environment. It comes along with an increasing horizontal and vertical social dynamic that in return needs icons as e.g. "cave man/prehistoric man" (fig. 1.1) or "megaliths" (fig. 1.3) to help organize social behaviour. A reaction to this rapid change was aside from the development of



megalith/neo-megalith (dolmen, menhirs, etc.)	(1) tangible level	(2) symbolic level
historic qualities	monument	place of individual or collective commemoration
	archaeological site	historic source
ahistoric qualities	place of the ancestors	place of origins, commemoration and identity assurance
	retreat of superstition	"Ersatzverzauberung" based on metaphysical-transcendental superelevation
	„timeless place of the past“	place beyond the past (lost world)
	place beyond natural laws	rationalism/enlightenment based on natural laws (= functioning of scientific methods)
mediation level	place of collective efficiency	symbol of social-technological progress
	personal experience of objects and/or landscape	aesthetical-emotional contemplation
		mythological-mystifying self-location
		historic self-location

Fig. 1.3: The communicational qualities and levels of megaliths and neomegaliths after Ickerodt (2010c).

national archaeologies the call for protection of the archaeological heritage and cultural/archaeological heritage landscapes. This leads us to formulate three theses as starting points to research the social relevance of archaeology on contemporary societies since the 19th centuries (esp. Ickerodt 2004a, 2004b, 2010a, 2010b, 2012): (1) archaeological monuments and sites are per se symbols of cultural and environmental change. (2) a future oriented society intensifies its debate of the past because of the need to understand how things come to happen and to understand space-time interrelations. (3) the scientific based understanding of the past is a typical western phenomenon that might be but must not be shared with other historic or contemporaneous societies. This leads to a primary conclusion that might be taken as a further starting point: Archaeology is embedded in our overall social system (fig. 1.4, 1), which in opposite gives it its scientific framework (fig. 1.4, 2). These two systems, science and society, are interdependent and interact in different ways and on different levels. Both, the scientific discipline of "archaeology" and its social environment are like all living systems, historic ones and therefore are evolving in an adaptive process in environments with multi-rebounding active factors. This means, that environmental changes including social changes are causing changes in the historically grown environmental understanding that effects in a further step historical causalities that are related to social behaviour. On a more concrete level this means also that changes within society are causing changes in science (Ickerodt 2006, 13–4; fig. 1, 2), a phenomenon well known in archaeology as "Zeitgeist". In sociology one uses for this issue the term "reactivity" to describe the interference of society and science (Ickerodt 2004a, 114–5, table 12b, 27) (fig. 1.4: A and fig. 1.5). This in fact opened up a new field of research for archaeology: the sociology of science. This step in the direction

Fig. 1.4: The embedding of archaeology in a surrounding social system can be understood as a self-referential evolving system.

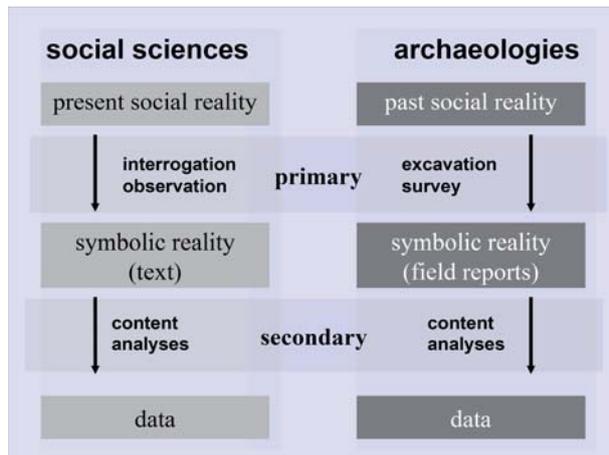


Fig. 1.5: Archaeology and the problem of reactivity in relation to the social sciences after Ickerodt (2004a, Tab. 27)

of a discipline dealing with the sociology of science opens up not only completely new perspectives for archaeological interpretation, since it permits a distinction to be made between social and scientific interpretation patterns or modes.

It also represents the first step in a new form of enquiry about the content of our own discipline, which also of course bears on the influence of archaeological research work on the contemporary social environment (fig. 1.4: D). In this sense the contemplation of the social dimension of archaeology permits a completely new view of the evolution of archaeology itself. This now involves not only aspects of research history, but also its effect on mentality development and co-related problems of the ethics of science.

Archaeology and founding-myths

This leads us to the core problem. Contemporary archaeological research and archaeological heritage management are seen by archaeologists despite all their social bondages as pure and strict sciences. In this concern, the German philosopher and sociologist Jürgen Habermas (1976) pointed out that archaeological research (fig. 1.4: B) and the mediation of its results (fig. 1.4: C) are related to different systems of understanding and therefore have to obey totally different social constraints. This can be shown in relation to archaeological sites: worthwhile archaeologists and cultural heritage specialists are dealing with historical sources, the non-archaeological world experiences archaeological sites as places of remembrance, where past social experiences are memorized (Pollak 2010). This aspect is closely related to a thesis that the American historian William H. McNeill (1986, 164) developed in relation to the social impact of the historical sciences: „(I)f historical interpretation is a form of myth-making, the myths help to guide public action and are a human substitute for instinct.“

In consequence, both, myths (incl. scientific myths) and historical narratives based on archaeological insights, can be identified by content as form of reflection of origins with the aim, to pass on experience of the past to forthcoming generations. Both, mythologically and historically legitimated forms of social behaviour have, in different ways, a self-constituting and legitimating function (fig. 1.4: E). They explain as mentioned earlier,

how our world has become the place that it is today. In this way, both may legitimate social institutions and social behaviour. They help to stabilize man's existence and provide legal social security (Angehrn 1996, 307). There are several examples for the (ab)use of excavated findings to legitimate the present:

In Babylonia, the kings Assurbanipal (668–626 B.C.), Nebukardnezar II (605–562 B.C.) and Nabonidus (556–539 B.C.) undertook excavations and showed the findings in a museum like chamber in order to demonstrate their noble and long-lasting descendancy (Schnapp 1996, 30–32).

In ancient Greece and Rome various paleontological findings were used as evidence to prove the existence of mythological creatures and characters (Mayor 2000, 260–81).

In medieval times excavated reliquaries were utilised to demonstrate the factuality of the bible and therefore of salvation history (Schnapp 1996, 86–7).

Later on, Christian Archaeology developed in mid 16th century in response to reformation. The instrumentalization of archaeology becomes obvious, when the catholic Giovanni Severanos characterises in 1632 catacombs as arsenals, from which to take weapons against the heretics (Wisskirchen 1991, 3; cf. Dethlefs 2010). The popular science publication of Werner Keller (1955) *„Und die Bibel hat doch recht. Forscher beweisen die historische Wahrheit“* (The Bible is right. Scientists prove its historic truth) became a very popular output of this debate and was filmed as a documentary in Germany in 1977.

Another example is the well known political abuse of archaeology in the Third Reich. The back ground was an increasing interest of a broad public in Europe in its own pre-history. In Germany the concept of prehistoric archaeology as *„hervorragend nationale Wissenschaft“* (distinguished national science; cf. Steuer 2001) was developed by the German archaeologist Gustav Kossina (1851–1931) (cf. Gramsch 2003, Badou 2005) channelized this growing interest because of its ability to symbolize the common past and present and therefore the social unity of all Germans by stressing the common roots and the joint destiny. Especially in Germany megalith sites were used to symbolize a new social order, that did not yet exist, but that was aimed to be established as a folk unity (Ickerodt 2010c). Later on, it was denominated as *„common destiny“* (Schicksalgemeinschaft).

As early as shortly after the first world war, the notion of *„political religion“* (politische Religion) was developed to characterize the regimes established by Hitler or Stalin (Hering 2009; cf. Barth 1959, Burleigh 2005). It emphasises the messianic nature of early nationalist, socialist and Marxist doctrines that offered alternatives to the up to then dominant and increasingly as obsolete perceived religious Christian view of the world. At the same time the loss of the capacity of creating social cohesion of the Christian religions is attended by overemphasising a rationalistic-scientific view of the world or by means of creating a new form of religion as in the case of the Third Reich. Within this process, religious legitimated power is repressed



Fig.1.6: The so called "Himmelsscheibe von Nebra" (sky disc from Nebra or "Nebra disc") quickly developed to an important symbol for early astronomy, astrology, mathematical skills of man but although for magic, spirituality. Here, the original ca. 32cm in diameter measuring is displayed at the Hamburgian airport as a more than 2m in diameter tall replica (seen before the meeting in Ename).

by political power exaggerating the notions of race, state and nation in a sacral manner or by introducing a secular cult of the leader. An active factor with-in this is the political instrumentalization of the archaeologies. Her social cohesion providing power results from her status as science based creation myths. Against this background the German archaeologist Ernst Wahle (1950, 503) referred to this development in his commentary on the history of archaeological research to characterize the social influence of archaeology as "a weapon in the arsenal of nationalist states". A comparable example within a different political environment is the political instrumentalization of archaeology in communism. The chosen strategy can be exemplified with the publication „Weltall, Erde, Mensch" (Space, earth, Mankind; Buschendorf, Wolffgramm & Radandt 1957). It was developed in the German Democratic Republic and was given till 1975 as a gift at the youth dedication "Jugendweihe", a more or less East German phenomenon in our days. It was adopted in 1954 as an obligatory pledge to socialism, aiming to displace the Christian rite of confirmation by a secular one (Morche 2006). Even in our days, the influence of the archaeological paradigm on contemporary society can be illustrated in a simple manner by analysing the political magazine "Der SPIEGEL" (Ickerodt 2004a, 93). Here, the expressions

Fig. 1.7a–d: In Oudenarde the brewery "Liefmans" located close to the river Schelde at the pathway "Voor Eine" contains an adjoining building whose backside is decorated with four murals (a). Three of them show prehistoric man to demonstrate the long tradition of brewing and drinking beer and the related gender roles. The first one shows a kneeling cave man, who looks forward drinking beer and a one side topless woman (b). The third one shows the women preparing food. At the fourth one man the hunter drinks beer and the woman has to keep the kid. Of course, the acceptance of this lies in the eye of the beholder.



"national treasure", "national relics", "greatest national shrine", "symbol of national dimensions", "national monument" and "monument of national dimensions" are commonly used to describe the significance of archaeological findings and sites. In these terms archaeological finds need superlatives "the oldest, the most expensive etc." to receive the attention of the media. Accordingly the press characterizes the sky disc from Nebra as "Weltsensation" (worldwide sensation) (fig. 1.6)¹, "Fund der Superlative" (superlative find; Der SPIEGEL 48/2002, 193), "Jahrhundertfund" (find of the century; BILD 17/04/2002), "Schlüsselfund" (key find; Ostfriesen-Zeitung 31/07/2004, 11) or "ältestes Rätsel der Menschheit" (oldest riddle of man-kind, BILD 25/11/2002, 5), "wertvollste archäologische Fund des Jahrhunderts" (most precious archaeological find of the century; BILD 02/03/2002, 3) or a "Millionen-Ding" (million-thing; BILD 10/09/2002, 3) that turns the Archaeological National Museum of Halle/Saale "zu einem großen Ort der Historie in Europa" (major place of history).²

All these examples show that there is an instrumentalization of "history" beside the scientific approach and that the so called scientific facts are dependant on a string, knitting them together. The American historian Hayden White (1973; 1996) named these string connecting historical events meta-narratives which are the vehicles to organize the historical understanding. In doing so, it makes no difference if such a meta-narrative is mythologically, genealogically or scientifically legitimated because obviously it is always a socially legitimated construction which refers to historically evolved and socially accepted cognitions. These meta-narratives are part of broader or specific social groupings and help each individual person to generate his social and individual behaviour (fig. 1.7). Further, this process must be understood as being based on past experience and oriented on future goals. Within this, socially inherited modes of perception are combined with individual experiences. This complex relation of inherited and therefore pre-existing social "guidelines" shapes the individual perception of historical facts: "It steers (1) our selection of historical facts, (2) the evaluation process with respect to their plausibility, and (3) it enables us to crosslink historical events, episodes etc. into an overall system." (Ickerodt 2008a)

Archaeology, archaeological heritage management, and the problem of handling evolving environments

As stated previously, archaeology and archaeological heritage management must be understood as parts of an overall historical system whose different levels and interaction spheres mentioned previously are

inter-dependent and inter-reacting. This affiliation of the "scientific worlds" and the "social worlds" allows one to correlate historical evidence and relics into a meaningful and reasonable overall system or, in contrast and as an extreme example, it precludes the understanding of archaeological/historical facts.

This bias between scientific facts, i. e. methodologically assured knowledge, and popular perception of these facts as parts of self-universe building is well known as a split of perceptions and understandings of history into different modes of perception, even if there are socially anchored modes of perception which are scientifically seen as being nonsense (Ickerodt 2012, 314–5).

These different modes of perception of the past (or the interpretation of evidences illustrating the past) are related to society's construction of reality and are learned consciously or unconsciously during one's life. Therefore these modes are the product of a historical process, which is normally unaffected by active social control, even if sometimes it can be consciously steered. The second mode of perception is a more distinct, one could say an analytical, form dealing with place-time relations. Both modes of perception are individually and socially anchored, are interactive, and can only be separated from each other analytically. Such an overall perception forms an essential component of one's own local, regional and national identity (cf. Ickerodt 2004a, 2010a, 2012).

An important step that enabled this kind of self-reflexiveness was that archaeological research and cultural heritage management began to become aware of the social effects of their work. Towards the end of the 1980s, one became increasingly concerned with the political misuse of archaeology in general or focussing the abuse of archaeology through nationalism or in the Third Reich. A subsequent development was, after the German re-unification, the clearing of the political involvement of archaeology in the GDR. This issue made both academic and administrative archaeological circles conscious of the problem of reactivity (fig. 1.5), i.e. the mixing up of denotative and connotative aspects of archaeological sites and finds (Ickerodt 2005b, 17). In sociology one uses this term to describe the interference of society and science. This in fact opened up a new field of research for archaeology that started asked for the influence of archaeology on social identity (Ickerodt 2004a, cat. 2). This aspect of identity creation was equally taken into consideration in the frame of the historical cultural heritage landscape-debate as part of a transdisciplinary debate (c.f. Gramsch 2003; Ickerodt 2012).

Other fields of research were amongst others the iconic potential of prehistoric man (Roebroeks 1993; Ickerodt 2004a, 2012, 316–8), archaeologists (Membury 2002; Holtorf 2003a; Ickerodt 2004a, 2012), megaliths (Holtorf 1993, 2003b, 2009; Ickerodt 2010c, 2010d, 2012) or bog-bodies (Burmeister 2007; Eisenbeiß 2007; Ickerodt 2008a), living history (Horsler 2003; Andraschko 2008; Maluck 2010), open-air museums/leisure parks (Ickerodt 2008b) or the different media used to mediate archaeological topics as there were in school-/youth-books (Sénécheau 2003a, 2003b, 2005, 2006, 2007), comic books (Ickerodt 2004a, cat. 11:1 and 11:2), movies (Ickerodt 2004a, cat. 12:1–12:6) or novels (Ickerodt 2004a, cat. 9:1 and 9:2).

¹ BILD 20/03/2002, 5; Mitteldeutsche Zeitung 15/04/2002, 1, 7; BILD 10/09/2002, 3; Mitteldeutsche Zeitung 11/09/2002, 6; BILD 26/11/2002, 5.

² Minister of culture Gerd Harms in the Mitteldeutsche Zeitung 15/04/2002, 7; in a comparable manner Harald Meller in SUPER SONNTAG 6. Jahrgang, Nr. 30, Sonntag, den 21/07/2002, 12; s.a. P.M. HISTORY 07/2004, 8. An other aspect is tourism Mitteldeutsche Zeitung 11/09/2002, 6; Der SPIEGEL 48/2002, 193; National Geographic Deutschland 1/2004, 60–61.



In return archaeological research had to face the conclusion that insights and knowledge as well as analyses and interpretations are not that robust and are frequently the product of delimited knowledge, pattern matching or simply fantasy.

Against this background, the claimed step in the direction of a discipline dealing with the sociology of science opens up not only completely new perspectives for archaeological interpretation, since it permits a distinction to be made between social and scientific interpretation patterns or modes. It also represents the first step in a new form of enquiry about the content of our own discipline, which also of course bears on the influence of archaeological research work on the contemporary social environment. In this sense the contemplation of the social dimension of archaeology permits a completely new view of the evolution of archaeology itself and its theoretical/communicative foundation as well as at the level of archaeological heritage protection-practise.

Aside the concrete influence on archaeological research in terms of reactivity and metaphysical deduction (Ickerodt 2012, 315) (fig. 1.5), archaeological heritage management must deal as argued elsewhere (Ickerodt 2010b) with the consequences of increasingly dynamic nature of world economics and the accelerating horizontal and vertical (re-)structuring of social unities. This incorporates for example, that in some growth areas the infrastructure can no longer cope and is collapsing and that in shrinking areas infrastructure cannot be sustained.

This requires from archaeological heritage management the ability to cooperate much more extensively in long-term planning procedures and in addition, it seems necessary to take the public and its perceptions of the past in consideration. Here too, particularly in connection with local development concepts, archaeological heritage management must take into consideration that decisions taken have a long-term selective effect on the archaeological heritage landscape in form of special historical narration, which exists in form of the archaeological remains and thus can be experienced.

This leads to the facet of the identity- and mentality-forming effect of archeology. It is, as seen above, commonly used in the political field and it is just this facet which involves new scientific challenges. Archeology has to develop new fields of research and accordingly new research methods to overcome the resulting problems.

Fig. 1.8: The most important contribution of archaeology is evolutionary thinking that is closely related to descendency thinking and incorporates in a competition society the aspect of futurity. In this case the message is an icon for technological progress understood as technologically better. In other cases it can be combined with the warning of the possibility of devolution or socio-political decline.

Research target: The “big” narrative and founding-myth “archaeology” and its implications

This paper tackles from a German perspective the questions (a) Who is archaeology/archaeological heritage management carried out for? and (b) What purpose does archaeology/archaeological heritage management serve or could it serve? As stated elsewhere, the answer is seemingly self-evident (Ickerodt 2010b). It concerns archaeological research and the protection of archaeological heritage.

But things are not that easy and we have to take into account that archaeological research/heritage management is not a value free science and on the other hand, the popularisation of scientific work/archaeological heritage results obeys social criteria, i.e. it is part of identity creation, and will continue to do so. Western rationalism is after all part of the society's attempt to make a reality construction and obeys aside to what is scientifically provable (= methodological knowledge), to socially bended scientific knowledge (= problem of reactivity) to beliefs gained throughout metaphysical deduction (= scientifically not provable). All in all, the archaeological interpretations of the past are not only “pure science” but are influencing social environments that in return is interfering with archaeology at all levels.

Thus, archaeology and archaeological heritage management as an overall system of thought had in the past and has still direct influence on the many political concepts (liberalism, conservatism, communism etc.) and ideologies (fascism, social Darwinism etc.). This is neither good nor bad. But it would, however, be an error to believe that this interaction which has the power to generate and steer social behaviour became obsolete after the political abuse in the Third Reich or in Marxism, because political concepts from the past may be still active (neoliberalism, neofascism etc.), or they may reappear in new, apparently apolitical clothing.

The development of this process, in the centre of which is the change of the Western space-time perception, can be characterised as a process of self-organisation within the framework of an expanding society. We must recognise that this process is connected with the loss of formerly mutually shared values and the social faculty to form a broad social consensus. Further we must recognize that this process of accelerating social self-differentiation comes along with a pluralisation of the past. Against this background, the character of the social influence of archaeology/archaeological heritage management can be interpreted to be a strategy of society to overcome the increasing entropy of social coherence by generating a superimposed, apparently new symbolic field, whose strength results from its status as “scientific fact”.

Against this background the answers to (a) Who is archaeology/archaeological heritage management carried out for? and (b) What purpose does archaeology/archaeological heritage management serve or could it serve? are considerably more difficult since the answers themselves are not unambiguous.

On the research level, archaeology “works” perfectly within the realm of method oriented knowledge. Above that, archaeology has to struggle with the problems of reactivity and metaphysical deduction.

Within the realm of archaeological heritage management the situation is much more complicated. On the theoretical level things seems to be clear, but above that things are turning out to be highly problematic, since the interrelation and interference of archaeology/archaeological heritage management have not been sufficiently studied nor have they been basically understood. This is even truer since archaeological heritage management needs, because of its capability of creating historical narratives in defined areas, a clear concept and clearly specified (ethical) standards, according to identifiable criteria if it is going to engage in long- and medium-term planning procedures or in projects with touristic aims. Moreover these aims must be achieved in cooperation with the public in a sustainable way. In this context it is not only essential to develop quality standards but also scientific and the mentioned ethical standards. This step in the direction of sociology of science opens up completely new perspectives for archaeological interpretation since it permits a distinction to be drawn between social and scientific interpretation patterns and understanding systems. In addition it turns out that this is an important tool for ensuring the quality of work by archaeological heritage management and archaeological research.

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2 | Archaeology, the public, and Europeanism. Caught falling between two chairs?

Alexander Gramsch

Abstract: Can heritage be used to create a 'Europe-feeling'? Should it be used that way? There are no straightforward answers, and we have to consider not only heritage sites, but also their presentation to the public, the actors involved and their agendas, and heritage's political and cultural meaning. A decade ago I criticised attempts to create a European identity on cultural and historical grounds as being exclusive and separative. Europeanism, however, obviously is a topic not only of the 1990s when political changes and the expansion of the European Union required a cultural and historical backing. Today, 'Europe' is a brand, but relating historical narratives to this brand all too easily stereotypes what we want to say. How do we cope with the complexity of sites and their long-term history, of identities and of different actors and their narratives? Archaeological heritage management is sitting between different chairs: it is itself part of 'the public', competing with others who produce and circulate knowledge, trying to convey its view of the past – stories which are relevant to the present but which at the same time have to cope with criticisms of identity constructions, nationalism and Europeanism. A community-based approach is presented that may offer alternative routes to narratives of identity and sense of place.

Introduction

What makes people stand in a forest, looking at stones in boxes (fig. 2.1)?

The last two decades have seen a number of conferences and publications dealing with archaeology's social context, political history and ideological background, with reference to nationalism in particular (e.g. Díaz-Andreu & Champion 1996, Biehl, Gramsch & Marciniak 2000, Leube 2002). Following its epistemological 'loss of innocence' it also lost its political innocence. Some have argued that the social and historical context affects archaeology not only at the level of interpretation but also at that of basic practice – data gathering and analysis (Tomášková 2003). However, not only have archaeology's links to nationalism and National Socialism been deconstructed, but its role in attempts to create a new European identity has also been challenged (e.g. Dietler 1994; Pluciennik 1998; Kristiansen 2008a). Now the 12th EAC Symposium in Ename has been set up as a critical approach to values

in archaeology and in heritage management in relation to national and European identities.

Krzysztof Pomian, in his history of museums, stated that collections displayed in national museums not only present national identity, but also reveal the ambition of the nation, competing with other nations. Even objects collected from foreign countries or from nature contribute to the fame of the nation that accumulated them, because it was the scholars, artists and explorers of that nation who were able to evaluate the value of these objects and to collect them, treat them properly, store and display them, etc. (Pomian 1998, 70). Is this observation also true for heritage management? Do the tasks and achievements of heritage managers today contribute to the reputation of the nation, displaying its ability to record and register, preserve and present heritage? In other words, is heritage management an inherently national and dividing endeavour? Are today's 'heritage organizations [...] the ideological successors to the national museums' (Kristiansen 2008b, 58)? 'Does archaeological, architectural and landscape heritage really have sufficient instrumental leverage to promote the integration process of Europe?' the programme to the 12th EAC Symposium asks; it thus highlights the attempt of today's heritage managers to shift from the national to the European level, making heritage management applicable to current social issues. However, does this mean replacing a national identity construction with a supra-national, a Europeanist one? Can heritage be used to create a 'Europe-feeling'? *Should* it be used that way?



Fig. 2.1: Visitors at a guided tour across the excavations of the Donnersberg oppidum walls (Direktion Landesarchäologie Speyer, A. Gramsch).

Between too many chairs

Many of us may have felt at some time in their professional life that they got caught falling between two chairs: being trained as academics but facing the sometimes contradictory demands of archaeological state services, public interests and academic standards. Archaeological heritage management is also caught between two (or more) chairs: it is part of regional politics, part of the academic discourse, and it is itself part of 'the public'. It has to compete with other public agents who produce and circulate knowledge, and has to try to convey its own view of the past. Since heritage management is not only about registering and preserving sites – buildings, excavation sites, monuments, cities, routes, bridges, battle fields, landscapes, etc. – but also about presenting them, and therefore about producing knowledge, it has to reflect on the narratives heritage can or should tell. It has to reflect which stories are relevant to the present, i.e. to different actors, different interest groups, including politicians, tourism boards, local citizens, tourists, etc. However, at the same time, these narratives have to cope with academic demands. Here, the constructivist discourse of the last decades analysed the social and historical background of knowledge production, using the history of science, discourse analysis, post-colonial critique, and so on, to show that historical and archaeological narratives are also socially constructed and part of the politics of their age. Thus, while archaeology and heritage management tried to develop narratives relevant for their time, they were criticised for narratives driven by their time, for serving identity constructions, both nationalist and Europeanist (e.g. Arnold 2006; Dietler 1994; Gramsch 2009; Gramsch & Sommer 2011; Härke 2000; Kaeser 2004; Leube 2002; Rucker 1998; Veit 1989).

Europeanism

A decade ago, I looked at a few campaigns and exhibitions presenting aspects of the history and archaeology of Europe (Gramsch 2000). I criticised these attempts to create a European identity on cultural and historical grounds as being exclusive and separative. Let me briefly summarise my arguments. In the 1990s, European societies faced a growing uncertainty about regional, national or supra-national identities, be they cultural or ethnic. The former Soviet countries felt the need to create new national identities, other states witnessed increasing migration. The European Union faced the task of integrating new member states. In Western Europe, this challenge led to a 'new nationalism' (Delanty 1996), being less national than cultural, because it is no longer directed against the state's neighbours but against the 'others' inside, i.e. immigrants and minorities. The 'new nationalism' therefore stresses the cultural difference between 'others' and the 'occidental', 'Western-Christian' culture.

Fig. 2.2: Both the exhibition on the 'early Franks' and its catalogue markedly referred to the politically initiated French-German friendship as the 'motor' of the post-war European unification (Wieczorek *et al.* 2000, 814).

As a result of these developments, as well as of a political will to develop the European Union both politically and culturally, scholars observed an increasing Europeanism. Under the heading 'unity in diversity', typically European features in history and prehistory were stressed, postulating a common set of values, a common heritage, i.e. a European cultural identity. Graeco-Roman civilisation, Christianity, Enlightenment, progress, and democracy became elements in replacing national identity myths by a European identity myth. History and archaeology played their part in exhibitions such as "The Franks – Precursors of Europe" (Mannheim, Berlin and Paris 1996–1997; Wieczorek *et al.* 2000) or the Bronze Age Campaign launched by the European Council, "The Bronze Age – The first golden age of Europe", including the exhibition "Gods and heroes of the Bronze Age: Europe at the time of Ulysses" (Copenhagen, Bonn, Paris and Athens 1999–2000).

The former aimed at presenting the origins of the European community in the baptism of Clovis and in the 'multicultural' Merovingian empire, and paralleling the development of the Frankish empire to modern Europe under the heading 'from diversity to unity'. The early medieval development became associated straightforwardly to the post-war French-German politics as the 'motor' of European unification (fig. 2.2). However, by emphasising the Romano-German mixed culture of the Merovingian empire and the Latin-Christian tradition, the exhibition excluded other cultural, ethnic and religious identities even within Europe, neglecting not only Latinised as well as Orthodox Eastern Europeans, but also the European Jewish cultures, the Celtic culture of Western Europe, Byzantium as a continuing cultural centre, and the handing down of classical knowledge by the Arab world (Gramsch 2000, 12). Migrant groups of the 20th century obviously were also excluded. The Franks, or the Celts, another victim of Europeanism (Dietler 1994),



cannot serve as identity myths for all of Central and Eastern Europe. The Celts not only pose geographical problems, traces being found in today's Turkey but not in today's Russia, but they are also claimed by New Age movements, neopaganism, and pseudoarchaeology (Arnold 2006, 169ff.). The Bronze Age Campaign instead referred to a seemingly borderless Europe characterised by a free flow of goods. These characteristics seemed to be better suited to represent Europe as it is politically desired today.

However, the inclusion of new Central European member states into the EU required further cultural backing. The 27th Exhibition of the European Council in 2000–2002, "The Centre of Europe Around 1000 A.D." (Budapest, Berlin, Mannheim, Prague, Bratislava), was explicitly designed to support the extension of the European Union into the east, integrating former Eastern Bloc countries. This exhibition was frankly politically motivated, aiming at displaying the integration of western Slavs and Hungarians into the 'Latin-Christian occident' in the Middle Ages (Wieczorek *et al.* 2000, 1ff.), again following a cultural-religious definition of European identity (Gramsch 2005, 188).

There may have been good reasons for these attempts to create a unifying European myth that is replacing the tale of a Phoenician princess abducted by a bull-shaped god. However, they not only produced an idealised version of the past that blurs differences and ignores other, cross-cutting trajectories. Artefacts, sites, and events were selected and displayed to establish the new community vis-à-vis growing numbers of immigrants, thus marking boundaries and differences to the 'others'. Such a supra-national search for identity is as conservative in character as the nationalist one, where it favours a closed and uniform value-system and a self-contained and homogenised culture in emphasising a certain cultural heritage and an imagined continuity. This way of creating a common European identity is partial and exclusive and creates teleological narratives, where history justifies current politics.

While this conclusion was reached a decade ago, today cultural and historical reasons are still used to exclude some groups within the western nation-states. In February 2011, several politicians in Germany emphasised that Islam is not a part of today's Germany, since culturally and historically it had never contributed to Germany.

European myths have also been challenged elsewhere. In a recent review of literature on the Classical Greeks and the 'Greek miracle', supposedly lying at the heart of Europe's uniqueness, the historian Suzanne Marchand discusses how Classicists have perceived the relation between Greek culture and the Near East (Marchand 2010). She points at their tradition of viewing the Greeks in isolation, emphasising their cultural autonomy. Very few of them openly acknowledge 'what the Greeks owe to the Orient', despite the fact that they belonged to the Eastern Mediterranean koiné. Marchand reminds us of the long tradition of veiling or even annihilating this koiné (or *Kulturgemeinschaft*, as Walter Burkert

(2003) calls it). This was possible and necessary because ancient Greece is part of the exclusive and partial Europeanist constructions discussed above. This attitude may be part of a tradition of constructing the Near East or the Orient as 'the other', the antithesis to Europe, rather than acknowledging its share in European history. But I don't want to drift off into a discussion of Edward Said's Orientalism critique (Said 1978), and rather will turn to the usage of the term 'Europe' as a brand.

Europe as a brand

Meanwhile, presentations of new excavations or exhibitions are frequently located in some generalised 'Europe' rather than in their particular region. See, for example, the 'Lost cannibals of Europe': you may have heard of the LBK settlement at Herxheim in south-western Germany, located in the Palatinate close to the French border, home of supposed cannibals (Boulestin *et al.* 2009). However, when National Geographic Channel decided to produce and broadcast a documentary about the strange ritual body treatments at the site (fig. 2.3), the caption of the film 'Lost cannibals of Europe' located it neither in the Palatinate nor the Rhine valley, neither in the LBK nor the Neolithic, but in 'Europe'.

In October 2010, an exhibition on the Balkan and Black Sea Neolithic was opened to the public in Athens. Organised by the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World at New York University in collaboration with the National History Museum of Romania in Bucharest, the Varna Regional Museum of History in Bulgaria, the National Museum of Archaeology and History of Moldova in Chisinau in Bucharest, Varna and Chisinau, it was entitled "The Lost World of Old Europe: The Danube Valley, 5000–3500 B.C.". Previously it had been shown in New York (11th Nov. 2009 – 25th April 2010, New York University), and we may wonder if Europeans managed to establish the term 'Europe' as a brand (at least in the US), a brand that serves as a short-hand and an easily accessible reference to a world that claims a unifying identity – although we ourselves may perceive this world as far less easily accessible, far less uniform and unified, and thus far less justified to be summarised under this single header 'Europe'.

A series of caricature maps of Europe may help to illustrate that very different perceptions of what Europe is made of are possible (fig. 2.4). These maps ironically

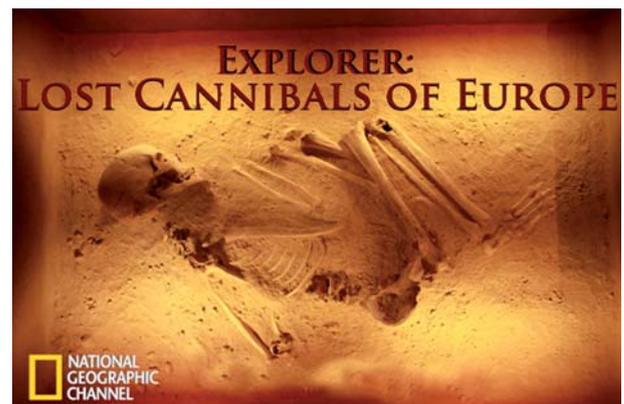


Fig. 2.3: Advert for the US broadcast of the film "Lost Cannibals of Europe" by National Geographic Channel, presenting the LBK ritual site at Herxheim, Germany.



Fig. 2.4: "Mapping Stereotypes: Europe according to the USA" – one of a series of caricature maps by Yanko Tsvetkov, presenting satirical "national" views on Europe, e.g. according to Italy, Germany etc., also available as "The Calendar of Prejudice 2011".

stereotype notions and views of Europe (see <http://alphadesigner.com/project-mapping-stereotypes.html> accessed 22/03/2011) – notions and views that you usually won't find in Europeanist exhibitions, but which refer to recent economic-political and cultural problems or phenomena such as subsidised farming or gas and oil transfers from Russia. Europe, in fact, is a brand that can be used to promote your critique, your ideas – not necessarily ideas of unity in diversity. The point I would like to make here is that relating our archaeological or historical narratives to the brand 'Europe' as a seemingly obvious entity all too easily stereotypes what we want to say. The branding works in relation to the outside, but it runs the danger of enhancing borders and exclusiveness within.

Lieux de mémoire

If, however, we think of heritage sites as lieux de mémoire, as symbolic places where memory or identity crystallises, we think of them as unique, yet complex places or landscapes that summarise a unique, yet complex, story. This complexity causes ambiguity and constant negotiation of identity constructions. Therefore sites and landscapes sometimes are highly contested, being used in claims over territory and thus in sustaining conflict. A recent example is the Preah

Vihear temple, dated to the 11th century. Both Cambodia and Thailand have claimed the temple ever since their independence. Thailand took control of the temple in 1954, causing Cambodia to appeal to the United Nations. In 1962 the International Court of Justice in The Hague ruled that the site was in Cambodia. The tension increased when Cambodia secured the World Heritage listing of the temple in 2008. In February 2011, it was again used in a border clash between both countries, leading to military conflict. Let me also remind you of the Babri mosque in Ayodhya (Uttar Pradesh, India) that played an unfortunate role in religious and ethnic conflicts between Hindus and Moslems, the former claiming the mosque was built on the foundations of an earlier Hindu temple (cf. Bernbeck & Pollock 1996). The mosque was destroyed and 2000 people were killed in the fights of 1992.

While not all heritage sites are as highly contested and in fact not all of them are lieux de mémoire, all are ambiguous, with different narratives and different values attached to them, different qualities that are evaluated differently at different times. European heritage managers have started discussing the fact that the traditional European idea of cultural heritage as part of a specific national identity does not work, because most nation states in fact never were as ethnically or culturally or religiously homogenous as this traditional concept assumed (Paludan-Müller

2008). They also acknowledge that today we are observing an increasing recognition of the diversity of the identities in the populations within many European nation-states. Cultural heritage thus is supposed to play a less confrontational and more dialogical role (Faro Convention, Article 7). It is hoped that it can be used as a tool for understanding other people's values and a vehicle for dialogue and communication. This, however, requires, first, learning about the different values of the different interest groups. Secondly, it requires understanding that the 'Europeanisation' of sites is as homogenising and exclusive as was their nationalising. Sites cannot be turned into straightforward 'European' sites, as the *European Heritage Label* does, by characterising chosen sites as having "played a key role in the history and the building of the European Union". Sites have the potential to transport the past into our everyday lives. However, if they are deliberately chosen to represent ideas, values and narratives deriving from present discourses or openly supporting political demands, we again are constructing genealogies and projecting ideologies back into the past, rather than transporting the past into the present. We then run the risk that a constructed history obstructs different views and diverse interests of different actors.

Multiple narratives

You may object, saying that we never simply transport the past into the present, and, of course, you are right. The histories we write cannot be objective but are necessarily constructed. We always have to select information and shape it into a narrative that makes sense to us. However, research questions, interpretations and narratives may lose their credibility, sometimes after one or two generations (Schadla-Hall 2004, 256), and narratives driven by current political demands will lose their credibility as soon as political or social attitudes shift. To understand these processes requires constant reflection within our practice. Thus, and in line with the Faro Convention, we have to ask ourselves: how much are new narratives driven by new data or by demands from certain social actors (or 'stakeholders', cf. the contribution by Meier)? How is it possible to take a wide range of actors' demands into account? How can we exhibit the multitude of narratives that may be attached to heritage sites? How do we represent the multitude of cultural, social, ethnic, religious sources, etc. that contributed to them, rather than constructing exclusive identities? How do we not only write long-term histories of buildings, monuments, roads, and landscapes, but present these long-term histories on site – despite the fact that such a history, such a narrative, may be puzzling and contradictory? Is it possible to simultaneously present the local, regional and supra-regional history of a monument? While the academic archaeologist in me argues for complex and multiple narratives, the museum manager in me wants to break them down to make them accessible for visitors of all kinds.

Fig. 2.5: The Donnersberg in the Palatinate, Germany, seen from the east (Zeeb-Lanz 2008, fig. 2).

That said, it becomes clear that we have to reflect on both the contents of these narratives as well as on the process of producing them. That is, we have to reflect not only on what we want to achieve – e.g. the creation of a European 'unity in diversity' ideology and its anchoring in heritage – but also on what results from this, e.g. the exclusion of others.

Site and community: an example

While the Faro Convention defines the "common heritage of Europe", emphasising the connection of tangible heritage to intangible common European ideas and values, the majority of heritage sites are more regional and community-based than national or European. Let me give you an example.

In the Palatinate in southwest Germany, on top of the Donnersberg, the highest mountain of the region, a heritage site is located that is constantly referred to as 'Celtic' (fig. 2.5). The remains of a Latène oppidum have been known to a wider public as the "Keltischer Ringwall" for more than a century. Already in 1893 Chr. Mehlis conducted the first excavations on the mountain (Zeeb-Lanz 2008, 27); K. Schumacher did a survey in 1910, comparing the Latène site to other oppida (Bittel 1981; excavations were also conducted by F. Sprater in 1924, F. Sprater and K. Bittel in 1930, and H.-J. Engels in the 1970s–1980s [Engels 1985; s.a. Zeeb-Lanz 2008]). As such, for the regional community, the earthworks in the forest were as much part of the landscape, of the hiking trails, of the places for gathering mushrooms, etc. as they were remnants of the distant past. While the excavations conducted in various decades established the time depth of the oppidum and older sites on the mountain (Zeeb-Lanz 2008), the public still simply refers to the site as the Celtic wall. For example, recent excavations and reconstruction work raised the interest of the media, who named the research itself as "Keltenausgrabung". (Terms such as "Keltenausgrabung" or "Keltendorf" are not easy to translate, since they contain an ambiguity that sometimes is deliberately played upon: they may mean "Celtic excavation" or "excavation of Celts" and "Celtic village" or "village of Celts" etc.) At the foot of the mountain, an Iron Age village has been reconstructed that bears the name "Keltendorf" and is presented as the home of "Ureinwohner" (natives, aboriginal people), a term normally used for so-called primitive natives (fig. 2.6). For the public, the term 'Celtic' here





Fig. 2.6: The reconstructed 'Celtic Village' at Steinbach and the Donnersberg in the background (Keltendorf Steinbach).



Fig. 2.7: Volunteers cleaning the ditch in front of the reconstructed 'Celtic Wall' on the Donnersberg ("Donnersberger Kelten", K. Mages, P. Gerstle).



Fig. 2.8: A segment of the oppidum wall on the Donnersberg, rebuilt in 2010, during a radio broadcast (Südwestrundfunk).

serves as a short-hand for something ancient and somewhat strange, for remoteness and difference, rather than sameness or likeness, something that has to be mastered just like the steep mountain trails of which they are a part.

It is highly interesting to note that what is under-represented in this discourse is a reference to something

like 'Celtic Europe'. There is a lack of the "our ancestors, ourselves" rhetoric that sometimes dominates public discourses on "the Celts" (Arnold 2006, 177). The site and the excavations are not used to link local heritage and local identity to the European 'unity in diversity'. Nevertheless, the site attracts numerous visitors, invited by the remains of the oppidum, the reconstructed oppidum wall, and the Iron Age village "Keltendorf" (figs 2.6, 2.7). Voluntary groups are also attracted to and take care of the site, tidying footpaths and clearances, e.g. inside the Viereckschanze that is located in the oppidum or along the reconstructed wall (fig. 2.7). The "Donnersberger Kelten", the local "Keltenverein" (i.e. "The Celts Association" or "The Association for the Celts") organises such voluntary work as well as 'Celtic feasts' – feasts comprising guided tours along the oppidum walls, different handicrafts (weaving, metalwork etc.), slide shows, and, of course, food.

These groups produce their own versions of historic knowledge. They indeed try to bridge the gap between the familiar present and the strange past, both intellectually, through paper presentations, and emotionally, through re-enactment. However, they operate only in their own area and at their own pace. They are interested in exchange with professionals, but don't want to be patronised.

In addition, there are the tourism association for the Donnersberg region and the Archaeological State Service in Speyer, and together with local politicians, they assured financial support from the EU LEADER programme for the 'archaeo-touristic' development of the region (see www.donnensberger-lauterland.de/user/pdf/ProjekteTourismusKelten.pdf). The oppidum features prominently in this economic and cultural programme, being part of a newly promoted walking trail. This trail, known as "Keltenweg," is combining the remoteness of 'the Celts' with the remoteness of the mountain. It is utilised to narrate stories of a tremendous but short-lived architectural monument, the dry masonry wall, as well as the Viereckschanze and other sites, employing reconstructions (figs 2.7, 2.8) and text plates.

For these interest groups – tourists, local associations, volunteers – the attraction of the monument obviously derives not from its assignment to some Celtic or European identity. The attraction derives from the fact that it is located in one's own native ground, being part of the own native landscape and, thus, part of the history of the region where they grew up, i.e. that it reveals a sense of place. The narratives are built on the topics of the uniqueness of the site – the unusual size of the oppidum (240 ha), the height of the walls, its technical aspects, the capability of its builders, etc. – as well as the different life-style it represents, its pre-modernity, being part of a pre-Roman 'Celtic koiné', allowing for creativity and recreation (e.g. the 'Celtic feast').

These are community demands and community interests that heritage management has to take into account. Beyond the construction of identities, there are other attitudes towards heritage sites – emotional, escapist, challenging the own life-ways, presenting alternatives – attitudes that can be part of a less top-down knowledge production. These bottom-up narratives can add to the touristic value of the site and the region, thus meeting the demands of politics and

tourist boards. For each case, we should reflect how to integrate these demands and attitudes into the narratives that are connected to the site.

Conclusion

The point I would like to make is that whenever we refer to a single epoch or archaeological culture as role model for today's European identity, we exclude others and we impose views and values top-down. That's why neither the Vikings (contribution by Sindbæk this volume) nor the Cistercians (contribution by Coomans this volume) function as an unambiguous and non-exclusive reference or founding myth for Europe.

Presenting heritage as 'European heritage' thus generates problematic issues akin to nationalism, such as teleological narratives, the exclusion of others, the invention of traditions, the flattening of ambivalences and the homogenisation of identities and histories. When aiming at creating a European identity we may be spawning an exclusive Europeanism. Rather, the presentation of heritage should be community-focused and community-based. It should be participatory and interactive, opening space for different attitudes towards the past and its remains beyond the invention of traditions – emotive attitudes, reflecting about alternative life-ways, enabling the creative engagement with the present. The narratives attached to heritage sites are relevant not because they represent 'our history' or 'our past', but because they represent history that happened here, they represent sense of place – no matter whether you have lived here for two generations or two hundred.

Heritage, though it is understood as something old and inherited, is actually something new, something created, something sought after. Despite the fact that sites are tagged as 'heritage', we have to doubt their authenticity – many of them for a long time have had little particular value for either the local or regional community, let alone for Europe, nor for scholars who paid little attention. Their origins may be ancient, but their value is not. We thus have to reflect for each particular case on the relationship between different values promoted by different interest groups: archaeology, heritage management, politics, local community, tourists.

As academics on the one hand, and as heritage managers on the other, we look out from between the two chairs between which we have fallen: we are facing demands from regional and supra-regional politics, tourist offices, media, history aficionados, citizens, etc. This is no disadvantage; these interest groups can be involved in creating the necessarily multifaceted narratives. Knowledge production is no one-way activity. The development of cross-border cooperation should include crossing borders between knowledge producers and knowledge consumers – or better: between different knowledge producers. We are only part of a dynamic that generates heritage by selecting sites, scrutinising their history, sustaining and managing them, processing and presenting them and thus commodifying them for public consumption, for constant renegotiation of meaning and values.

To come back to my initial question: What makes people stand in a forest, looking at stones in boxes? Frequently it is not about European identity, but about a sense of place, an emotional as well as an intellectual window into a different way of life that was carried out on the same grounds they live in and thrive on today, that shaped the landscape they may perceive as home.

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3 | Show me the cultural heritage that symbolizes Europe!

Roel During

Abstract: The concept of a Europe of Regions entails that the various regions strengthen their own cultural and regional identity within a unified Europe. 'Unity in Diversity' is the motto and cultural heritage and regional identity are important pillars. But what does really happen in the many projects that Europe subsidizes and in which regions are challenged to make their heritage subservient to 'Europeanisation' in general and the strengthening of their own identity in particular? Does the heritage in these projects mainly contribute to the unity or to the diversity? This question is pursued with an analysis of ideological, strategic and territorial claims on heritage.

1. Cultural heritage at the cross roads of unity and diversity

The concept of Europe has been delineated by the history of the Celtic and Greek civilizations, the spread of the Roman Empire and of Christianity (Unwin 1998). Today there are different concepts of Europe, defined along territorial, cultural, symbolic, political and ethnic lines. Unifying concepts of Europe are grounded in a common view of a continent of great cultural diversity. This inherent dualism has been chosen as a motto for the European Union by the European Commission: "united in diversity". The concept of Europe of the Regions explicitly addresses this dualism. The discourse of Europe of the Regions provides an interesting environment in which to discuss claims on cultural heritage addressing the need for unification or alternatively emphasise diversity.

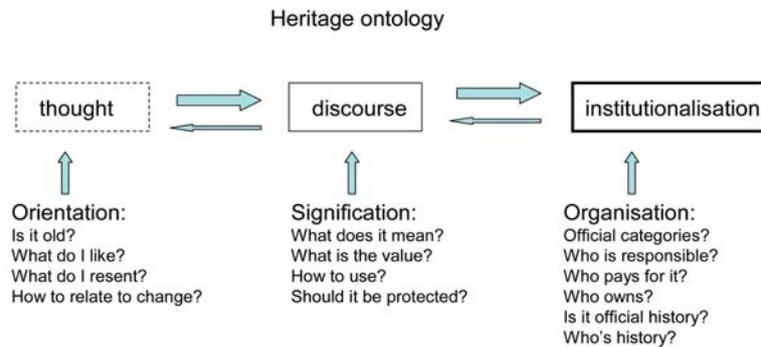
Different policy imperatives on cultural heritage stressing either unity or diversity may conflict. Claims on cultural heritage can serve a goal of uniting European society, or even the whole world (like UNESCO World Heritage). Other claims on cultural heritage may serve the goal of distinguishing a certain community from other groups. The example of European investments in restoring Byzantine monasteries in the Greek peninsula of Athos shows the incompatibility that can exist between these views. This example shows a tension between democracy (universal human rights) and culturally defined autonomy. Byzantine culture prescribes the exclusion of all traces of female life from the territory of the monks. This collides with the democratic view on cultural heritage as an object of tourism, held by the European Parliament. This small example raises the fundamental question "Does cultural heritage belong to the culture of its heredity or does it belong to all people?" In fact this question is related to the political issue whether Europe needs a common universal culture or should it just unite its mosaic of regional cultures? We will explore this question below by putting it in a theoretical perspective that provides the tools to find out how the ideological opposition influences INTERREG practices. After the theoretical account a description of INTERREG and its cultural heritage projects is provided that

will be further analysed to highlight universalist and pluralist dispositions. Some examples will be discussed in greater detail to reveal their effect on heritage signification. Theory, INTERREG practice and these examples provides the substance for conclusions.

2. Theoretical backgrounds of heritage signification

Signification of heritage is the process by which meaning is attached to objects, traditions and ritual behaviour. A rather fundamental theoretical account is provided to discuss signification and how it invokes new categories of heritage or changes existing ones. This requires an ontological perspective beyond what's already codified as heritage, and which is grounded in social constructivism. This paradigm presupposes meaning of cultural heritage to become constructed in social interaction within interest groups, professional disciplines, political communities, ethnic communities and many more. Within and between such entities certain conversations and discussions on cultural heritage are constructed in which signification is exchanged and established. Analysing this signification can be grounded in *discourse* and *system theory*. Discourse theory presupposes that communication processes actually shape reality; system theory provides a set of tools to study the dynamics of discourses. A *discourse* consists of a coherent complex of ideas, concepts, categorisations and distinctions. This social construction of reality can be analysed by means of *discourse analysis*. Analysis of discourses can reveal the hegemony of certain concepts or perspectives. Systematic analysis of discursive interaction can reveal why some are marginalised and others are gaining power. This analysis of discursive interaction has been grounded in *system theory*. Discursive practices on cultural heritage are theorised to be structured within *social systems*. Niklas Luhmann (1995) developed a *social system theory* in which the elements of the system are communications. This theory departs from a basic

Fig. 3.1: A graphic representation of heritage ontology through the processes of thinking, discussing and institutionalisation (Andersen 2003).



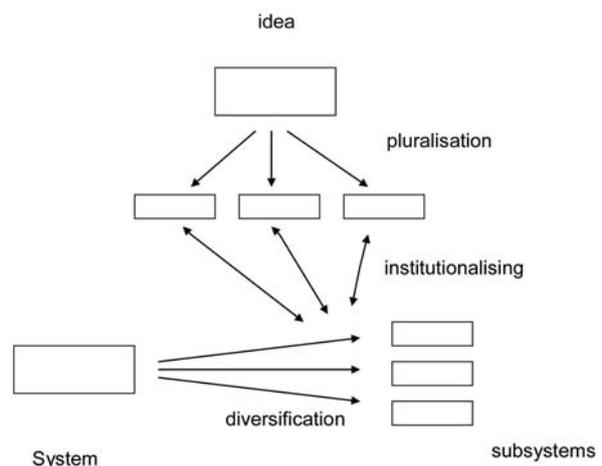
distinction between a system of communications and its *environment*. It is theorised that during a process of communication actors start with exchanging rather simple clichés embedded in their culture (e.g. the weather is fine today) and gradually establish a complex conversation in which concepts are exchanged and agreed upon. Every communication (operation in terms of Luhmann) builds on the previous one in a self-referential process called *autopoiesis*¹ and this is how complexity emerges. Information from outside the system of communication, its environment, is reformulated by means of the vocabulary and thesaurus that has been established in previous conversations. This process is called *operational closure*. Luhmann sees interior complexity as a necessary operational condition to observe and understand complexity in the environment of the system.

Based on Luhmann's social system theory, this operational closure has been theorised to occur in cultural heritage discursive dynamics. In this way cultural heritage signification can be understood as a product of autopoiesis. Thoughts on cultural heritage (e.g. this is important for me and my generation because of...) are vocalised and exchanged in discourse (e.g. we should save it for future generations because it shows ...) and then institutionalised (this is agreed upon as this special category of cultural heritage of this group/entity) as a result of autopoiesis. This recursive process is called *institutionalisation* (fig. 3.1).

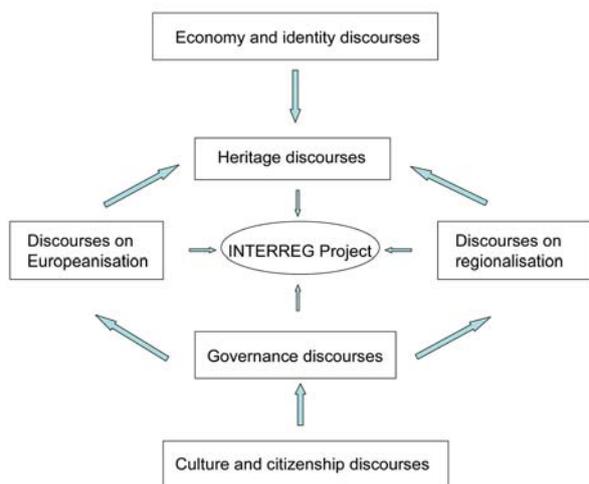
This ontological perspective on cultural heritage allows a further distinction on *discursive* and *legal ownership*. Ownership can be fully institutionalised by law, convention or governmental regulation. But it can also be in between the idea and the institution, as a product of discourse. Discursive ownership may result from ascription to a certain societal entity (e.g. the EU) of claiming by a group (e.g. an ethnic group or a political community). Ownership reflects power relations (in case of exclusiveness) and an attitude to share it's cultural heritage with others (in case of inclusiveness). Power relations define the rise and fall of cultural heritage discourses. The whole of discourses on cultural

heritage can be designated as a *repertoire* (Even-Zohar 1990). Most successful discourses are observed by project partnerships and information from them is imported and reframed into their own discourses in order to gain power. Key concepts in this process are *canonisation* and *codification*. Canonisation takes place in the power centre of a poly-system and involves the selection of most appropriate and successful practices as enlightening examples. They form the so-called canon. Codification takes place in the periphery of the system and involves the description of practices as a system of good working rules (Vettoretto 2009). Codification can be understood as institutionalisation of a practical account and aims at acquiring a higher status. If a certain part of the repertoire becomes marginalised, this can be seen as the way back from institutionalisation to a discourse, producing new meaning (e.g. disputes about communist statues). If a certain heritage discourse is gaining importance, it can be institutionalised (e.g. Soviet heritage). Combining social system theory and poly-system theory shows that there are two pathways of innovation (fig. 3.2). One is called *pluralisation*, and it involves a conceptual innovation because new concepts are invented and discussed in a newly established discourse. The second is called *diversification* because already existing institutionalised concepts are split into more specific categories.

Fig. 3.2: Operational closure in systems of communications invoking pluralisation and diversification of cultural heritage concepts and discourses.



¹ Poiesis is a Greek term that means production and autopoiesis means auto-production. This concept was introduced by Varela, Maturana *et al.* (1974). "Autopoiesis: The organization of living systems who saw living beings as systems that reproduce themselves in a ceaseless way. Thus, an autopoietic system is simultaneously the producer and the product. Living systems need to obtain resources from the environment in which they live. In other words, they are simultaneously autonomous and dependent systems.



Both pathways of innovation can lead to European or regional signification of cultural heritage. These pathways are embedded in a complex discursive environment on governance, identity, economy, culture, citizenship and human rights (among others). The most relevant discourses are put together in an analytical framework (fig. 3.3) that seeks to reduce complexity by distinguishing between discourses on *regionalisation* and *Europeanisation*. This framework provides a focus on signification towards European heritage and towards the identity of a region. The scale of the two discourses makes them fundamentally different: discourses on Europeanisation can be considered to be composed by a multitude of individuals and experts, working inside and outside the institutions of the European Community, meeting in press activities, symposia and writing articles etc. The discourse is fuzzy, full of hidden transcripts concerning autonomy-dependency relations and lacks a clear nucleus (During 2010, 151). The regionalisation discourse can be seen as having a focus on cultural autonomy, on inside-outside relationships, on strategy and identity, and on political issues that the electorate can easily observe. The distinction between Europeanisation and regionalisation discourses is made under the assumption that, in practice, they are connected by other discourses that produce the realities of identity, citizenship, tourism, economy, planning and other activities. As there are well over 15 thousand interregional projects of which at least one third deals with regional and cultural identity profiling, a closer look into the INTERREG structures (fig. 3.3).

3. INTERREG and its cultural heritage projects

INTERREG is an EU-funded programme framework that helps Europe's regions to form partnerships to work together on common projects. In European regional policy is assumed that regions have a regional identity and that this identity can be strengthened as a result of INTERREG participation. INTERREG as a Community Initiative operates within the framework of the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), which has been installed in 1974. Three programming periods have been defined for INTERREG during which the initiative grew in budget and significance. INTERREG III ran during the third programming period from 1999 to

Fig. 3.3: Framework of a simplified projection of an EU project and its discursive environment of culture, economy, heritage, regionalisation, Europeanisation and governance.

2008. INTERREG was designed to strengthen economic and social cohesion throughout the EU, by fostering the balanced development of the continent through cross-border, transnational and interregional cooperation. The INTERREG Community Initiative also intends to prepare border areas for a Community without internal frontiers.

INTERREG III is divided into three strands: A, B and C. Strand A aims at the local development of social facilities, the economy and the environment through cross-border cooperation, strand B is focused on spatial development strategies, linking cities and resource management through transnational cooperation and strand C aims at the development of networks and joint structures in interregional cooperation. Each of the strands has a distinct programme structure and regional actors are invited to submit projects. Acceptance criteria include willingness to cooperate with other regions and to co-fund the project. The process of choosing partners and the contents of the project is a bottom up process, to be filled in primarily by regional and local actors. Partnerships should address both the European policy agenda's and their local or regional needs.

Strand A contains the most localized programme structures. Cooperation on both sides of a border is sought after, aiming to reduce the effects of internal borders within the EU. There are more than 70 programmes hosting an array of political and planning cultures. Cultural heritage projects aims at synergetic regional identity management, in which the tourist offer is improved as a result of cross border cooperation. Historic oppositions are reshaped in unifying cultural concepts.

Strand B of INTERREG III aims at establishing broad regional groupings that adopt a common approach to their development. The INTERREG IIIB programmes try to establish regions that transcend national boundaries and occupy a space somewhere between the level of Europe and the nation state. This was done by defining an eligible territory for each programme covering a so called macro European region. Most of the European macro-regions are anchored in history. While this seems relatively simple it means that strand B of INTERREG contains two concepts of region: one that exists below the level of the nation state and another that is above it. The projects in Strand B consequently are hybrid in their identity concepts in use. As an example the Baltic identity simultaneously refers to the common features of the countries along the Baltic Sea and to the peasant life in Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia in historic periods before and between Russian suppressions. Both perspectives can be found in a single project, as the one is appealing from a cultural perspective and the other serves geopolitical aims.

Strand C aims at establishing new networks of regional actors. Being attached to these networks is perceived as a privileged position to acquire new projects. Cultural heritage discussions in the projects in Strand C are dominated by commodification, management

and valorisation. Regarding this focus, networks are perceived as coordination bodies that facilitate democratic decision making. The networks aim at describing good and best practices setting the norm for every European region valorising its cultural heritage.

These INTERREG strands reflect different ideas on decision making: focusing on cross border harmonization, strategy development and on coordination methods. Below the contrast between the so called open method of coordination (OMC) and the application of subsidiarity as a basic democratic principle will be discussed before exploring the implications for signification practices of cultural heritage.

4. Localized or harmonized ideologies of democracy and their impacts on heritage signification

In the previous paragraph a relatively simple picture is given of distinct Europeanisation discourses. The discursive practice in Europeanisation however is more complex, due to the influence of related discourses on governance, regions, culture and on cultural heritage itself. The governance discourse is wrapped around two competing models of democracy. One that gives primacy to local decision making and another departing from concepts of collaborative planning between policy layers, research institutes, NGO's and private stakeholders. The first is indicated as the principle of subsidiarity (Commission of the European Communities 2001) and the last is called the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) or multi-level governance (Pochette 2001; Richardson & Jensen 2003; Bache & Flinders 2004; Leonardi 2006). Heritage subsidiarity would imply a fundamental right of communities to decide on their own cultural heritage. In the OMC decisions are taken as a result of negotiation between governmental and non-governmental actors (like UNESCO, ICOMOS and Europa Nostra) that are held responsible for justified cultural heritage management. Subsidiarity and the OMC influence the European discourse on regions, focusing both on identities (being different) and on reducing disparities (being uniform). The EU sees its regions as uniform building blocks that vary in their identities. Regions themselves claim to be far from uniform. The discourse on regions however takes an ambiguous position towards this issue of subsidiarity or OMC. This ambiguity is caused by tensions between ideology and strategy. Subsidiarity is preferred as democratic principle because it implies autonomy on regional level. The OMC on the other

hand gives more opportunities to lobby with regional interests. For regions disputing uniformity, cultural heritage can make the difference.

The basic idea of INTERREG, that regions should profile their identity, is problematic in view of the diversity of well and poorly established regions. Europe may frame its regions as uniform building blocks (Eurostat 1993), but disregards the fact that some regions have a strong regional culture and others have not. Regions can be defined in different ways, creating ambiguities in the different societal and political ideas that they represent (tab. 3.1). Taking these differences into account, the OMC governance can be expected to harmonize them while as subsidiarity would lead to an increase of disparities. Besides on governance, a related frame dispute emerged in cultural discourses on Europeanisation. Different viewpoints are embedded in a so called institutional asymmetry of the EU, caused by the institutionalised distinction of culture and economy (Scharpf 2002). Economists plead for an open and unified culture as this gives minimal constraints for the Single European Market idea. Within and between cultural organisations a discourse is produced on cultural variety. Both economic and cultural dispositions claim cultural heritage reciprocally. Within the cultural diversity discourse, cultural heritage is portrayed as a unifying concept for European society. The economic discourse frames culture itself as this unifying concept and cultural heritage as an asset for planning, showing the diversity of European regions. In this economic discourse the OMC is preferred, allowing a federalist approach that support forms of democracy based on universal values. In the cultural discourse although federalist are omnipresent, emphasis is put on subsidiarity.

This cultural discourse displays models of society that are contested. The "one culture model of Europe" presupposes a society with only one core. The people share the same values and norms instilled in a European citizenship (Ashworth, Graham *et al.* 2007). This single core image refers to the understanding of society based on social cohesion by the French sociologist Durkheim (1893). Pluralist models depart from a multi core image of society, allowing for value and identity pluralism. A view that considers regional diversity and autonomy as key characteristic of Europe, could be interpreted as multi core. This difference between single and multi core models of society has implications for signification of cultural heritage. A single core model presupposes cultural heritage to represent its value consensus that binds all people. A pluralist model presupposes value pluralism and cultural heritage functions to mark differences. The Europe of the Regions discourse takes an intermediate position, as society is perceived as a layer cake and different layers refer to the policy layers of European society.

European heritage discourses are influenced by this discursive mixture of arguments, visions and ideologies on culture, on governance and on regional diversity. They differ in their appeals towards cultural heritage and interact in European heritage networks. Moreover they

Type of region	Rationale
administrative	assignment/control
political	autonomy/dependency
historical	anchored in history and social memory
macro	defined by culture or history beyond nations
cultural	defined by cultural markers, like language
geographical	based on landscape

Tab. 3.1: Regions defined by societal and political ideas that they represent.

Open Method of Coordination	Subsidiarity
1. Strategic	Ideological
2. Territorial	Territorial
3. Ideological	Strategic

Tab. 3.2: Discursive embedding of cultural heritage in Europeanisation with the relative weights of ideological, strategic and territorial claims.

interact with the European policy development on cultural heritage, primarily organised by the Council of Europe. In developing cultural heritage policy the emphasis has been redirected from a monumental approach to one based on societal values. This latter has been described in the Faro Convention (Council of Europe 2005). Ratification of this convention by member states is slow, showing national reluctances towards sharing cultural heritage with Europe and moving away from the traditional approach that prescribes the obligatory care of the monuments that are highly valued by experts.

INTERREG III, inspired most by the Lisbon Agenda, primarily addresses cultural heritage from an economic, rather than a cultural, perspective. The very idea of cultural heritage as asset is embedded in economic ideas of 'Unique Selling Points'. Based on the discourses on Europeanisation and its consequences for governance, culture, regional diversity and cultural heritage, distinct ideological, strategic and territorial claims on cultural heritage can be derived as illustrated in tab. 3.2.

Federalists practicing the Open Method of Coordination are primarily strategic when addressing cultural heritage. Their ideas of heritage as a unique selling point for a region, can be interpreted as a territorial claim. On the contrary, ideological claims on cultural heritage are expressed when subsidiarity principle is accepted for decision making. Cultural heritage provides arguments for autonomy and uniqueness. Below a closer look on some cases of INTERREG practice will be given to account for the different governance models (based on OMC and subsidiarity) and their implications for universalist and pluralist heritage orientations.

5. Some cases of heritage signification

Three cultural heritage projects that have been analysed will be discussed below to achieve a better understanding of universalist and pluralist orientations in cultural heritage signification². Their embedding in coordinative and bottom up models of democracy will be evaluated by reviewing this glimpse of INTERREG practice.

The selected cultural heritage projects have been seen as social systems, as outlined before on theoretical considerations. Their cultural heritage discourses have been related to the networks and organisations in their environment. This environment supplies the information for the partnership to exchange ideas about opportunities, good practices, guidelines and about improving their competitiveness. Within partnerships, regions, networks and disciplinary discourses there is autopoiesis, giving rise to organisational cultures

defining the strategy to acquire European funding. Below a short impression will be given on the ways how cultural heritage in these projects was valorised in a regional approach and signified towards a European relevance.

The projects ran in the Mediterranean, the Baltic and the Western European macro-regions and are chosen because of their macro-regional spread, indicating a wide range in cultural heritage practices. They are called Baltic Fort Route (BFR), RESTAURONET and Crossing the Lines (CtL). The general objective of the Baltic Fort Route project was to construct a network to develop and economically valorise a line of fortifications that lie in Germany, Poland, Lithuania and Russia. The idea for the Baltic Fort Route (BFR) project was a response to a widespread concern that this extensive line of military fortresses in northern and eastern Europe might disappear forever into ruins. The project aimed at developing thematic routes which offered cultural and recreational opportunities and built up tourist infrastructure. Restauronet aimed at running a long term network working on management and restoration of historical monuments of the Mediterranean area. The main objective of the project was to reinforce the economic, social and cultural role and centrality of historical sites. The focus was mainly on urban and metropolitan areas, promoting sustainable development, securing the overall inheritance of cities as living organisms while offering quality housing and services for residents. The partnership, comprising a great number of Mediterranean cities and regions, expressed their wish to improve the competitiveness of cities and strengthening local assets by limiting weaknesses. The "Crossing the Lines" (CtL) project involved the communities of Utrecht (the Netherlands), Mortsel (Belgium) and the County of Essex (Great Britain) who jointly set out to protect and redevelop the defence lines of the "Nieuwe Hollandse Waterlinie" (Utrecht), the east coast of the UK (Essex) and "Vesting Antwerpen" (Fort 4). The partnership was led by the Municipality of Utrecht. The overall objectives were to develop and implement knowledge on restoration techniques, to make investments for opening the fortified sites to the public and jointly develop new presentation techniques that would provide new visiting opportunities and reveal the history and current use of these post-Napoleonic fortifications.

5.1 Regional identity

According to the INTERREG rationale the projects should promote the regional identities of the partners that are involved. The partner from BFR in Kaunas sees the city as the capital of Lithuanian people, and Lithuania as occupying a central place in the middle of the Baltic area. This view is based on a particular phase in history when the Great Duchy of Lithuania was encompassing the countries that lie on the borders between Europe

² See During (2010) for a broader description and analysis.

and Russia. By the Cretan partner in RESTAURONET, identity is based on archaeological heritage and is framed as the core of Greek identity, which in turn is put in the middle of Mediterranean identity. The Thracian partners use historic evidence to tie their identity in with Macedonian history and consequently to the idea of greater Greece. This is a variant of the same reasoning: the region in the middle of Greece and Greece in the middle of the Mediterranean area. Utrecht limited its claims primarily to strategic ones and did not make any claims on city or regional identity with its project. They employed cultural heritage as an asset for small scale tourism development. These examples show identity reasoning to be self-centred. They show a problematic side of the discourse of Europe of the Regions: basically it is a pluralist discourse, but it lacks a multi core model of society.

5.2 Territorial, strategic and ideological claims on cultural heritage

Kaunas city claimed the military heritage of Russian origin to be part of its history and identity. The Kaunas partner denied any relevance of its heritage for the geographic region Kaunas is located in. On the contrary they said that they had evidence that Kaunas culturally and historically belongs to another region (opposite the Nemunas River). This dispute reflects their self-image: to be more important and more central than any region of Lithuania. It can be interpreted as an ideological and territorial claim. Strategically the focus was put on scientific cooperation and harmonisation of fort management, being activities that ensure their attachment to European networks. A firm ideological claim put Kaunas in the position of the capital of the Lithuanian people. This claim was based on arguments of history (the city was capital in the Interbellum) and of ethnic purity (less minorities when compared to Vilnius).

Ideological claims in Restauronet were present in Xanthi, Thrace. Their cultural heritage claims to give proof of Macedonian decent and lack of significance of Muslim influences. Like in Crete the city and its regions are supposed to belong to the core of Greek society, but on different, primarily historic, arguments. Strategic claims were produced tying Thracian culture to the Mediterranean, and away from the Balkans and the Muslim culture in Turkey. In Crete a similar discourse on autonomy and identity was constructed. European projects as such were considered as a threat to Cretan identity and autonomy. This reflects a territorial claim on cultural heritage that opposes overexploitation by foreigners not respecting Cretan culture. Strategically, cultural heritage is claimed to ascertain the heroic nature of Cretan people. Rethymnon participated in the Restauronet project with an ideological claim of Cretan people being the best Greek and Greek to be the core of Mediterranean identity.

Utrecht's participation in the Crossing the Lines project produced mainly strategic claims on its "Fort aan de Klop". This partner strived for planning autonomy to establish a economically sustainable maintenance of the fort with limited public investments. Initially the fort was claimed as a "park" belonging to the surrounding residential areas. At the end of the project it acquired the status of a good practice of the national project on development and restoration of sites of the

New Dutch Water Defence Line. This can be interpreted as a strategic move to acquire more recognition and a better negotiate position for their other forts.

In none of these case studies was a specific interest put on expressing or strengthening regional identity, which is one of the major rationales of INTERREG. Only the Restauronet partner in Crete made some reference to regional identity, because European projects tend to enlarge already existing problems of overexploitation in the tourist industry. In Xanthi regional identity discussions in the environment of the project were exclusionary towards Muslim identities or Slav (Balkan). The project itself was not considered relevant for these identity discussions, especially because of its focus on monuments that were commonly ascribed to the central Greek government. In Kaunas and Utrecht regional identity remained totally untouched in the project discourse. Crete shows regional identity to be a natural focus for a region that already has a strong identity, due to autopoiesis in identity discourse. In Kaunas identity discussions in fact were important, but they were wrapped around the idea of being the former capital city of Lithuanian and claims of being the present capital of Lithuanian people. In Utrecht the idea of a city identity was less pronounced. The Utrecht partner localised the identity discussion to the concept of genius loci.

This overview of territorial, strategic and ideological claims refer to society as being like a layered cake. The idea of territorial cohesion is considered achievable by connecting the layers of the cake. Citizenship ideas of shared norms and values are more easily adopted than the notion of identity pluralism. The Open Method of Coordination, omnipresent in the economically profiled INTERREG discourse, allies with universalist orientation grounding ideas of European citizenship.

5.3 Regional and European heritage signification

All three projects initially stated a significant European relevance of their cultural heritage. Institutionalisation however has been devoted to local or regional valorisation, based on the idea of commodification of cultural heritage. Between ending one project and starting the next one, partners use information gathered from their environment to develop new ideas of European relevance, to improve their status and situation within the INTERREG network. This practice does not contribute to the institutionalisation of European heritage. It only reproduces this idea for the sake of acquiring new projects.

Understanding this fallacy requires more insight in qualifications of success. As theorized before, qualifications of success are produced bottom up (codifying) and top down (canonising). Projects are codified and canonised in a governance environment. If a partnership codifies a project as good practice and this is adopted at a higher level as part of the canon of success stories, then the partnership reaches a position closer to the centre of power and influence, making it easier to access European money. The most important bottom up success indicator is "the next project". To achieve this, partners stay attached to European networks and discuss practices of commodification both within this network and their local environment. The top down most important argument is "a project without trouble" and being coordinative as a field



Fig. 3.4: A graphic presentation of the discourse coalition, based on polysystem theory.

of result. For this INTERREG programmes support strategic partners and proven partnerships that thrive on the Open Method of Coordination. Both views on success endorse one another in a discourse coalition, see below. This discourse coalition produces strong ideas on success that became detached from the overarching INTERREG ideology and rationale (fig. 3.4).

5.4 Institutionalisation of cultural heritage

The OMC based mechanism of valorisation that's being produced in the discourse coalition has consequences for institutionalisation of cultural heritage. Partnerships use already existing cultural heritage categories and refine, reframe or rename them. The amount of cultural heritage categories is increasing. More than 80 categories are acknowledged by Europa Nostra, but in practice they are numerous. Russian heritage as a category for example has been split into technical and imperialist heritage. Military heritage has been split by referring to the war period of its origin, to its geopolitical origin (Soviet or Western European) or to the sort of military activities. Monumental heritage has been split in refined categories depending on the need for management (private or state owned), their location (polycentric heritage), or their origin (religious heritage). These categories are carefully chosen in a way that allow comparison, connect localities and require coordination and cooperation. The Faro Convention designates a new category "intellectual heritage" which is just aiming at social cohesion and mutual understanding. This category seems definitively neglected by INTERREG practice, as it is not mentioned in the cultural heritage, regional or INTERREG discourse. Institutionalisation is based on diversification of already existing heritage categories and conceptions. Referring to the two pathways of institutionalisation that has been discussed on theoretical considerations, this would mean that diversification prevails above pluralisation that would lead to new cultural heritage concepts. Conceptual innovation does take place in the environment of INTERREG projects, but is not taken up. They are the result of cultural policies and do not fit into the economic reasoning of INTERREG partnerships. As a result INTERREG practice does not produce new images of regional identity or new concepts for European cultural heritage.

6. Conclusions

The interpretive account on cultural heritage signification and the conclusions provide the substance for a

conclusive evaluation on how cultural heritage is dealt with at the cross roads of unity and diversity. In the discourse of Europe of the Regions, territorial, strategic and ideological claims on cultural heritage are often in competition. Our analysis of INTERREG projects' environments showed how they are embedded in pluralist and universalist orientations and subsequently can affect signification.

In the case of a pluralist heritage orientation, identification occurs primarily at the community level, based on participative and semiotic practices that signify particular heritage categories that display uniqueness, with an emphasis on segregation, exclusion and cultural content. The management of cultural heritage aims at protecting or even concealing heritage from outside influences. The conceptualisation of its constitutive culture is based on self-definition in we-they oppositions, or even more influential, on path dependency reasoning, making use of ethnic markers such as language, religion or specific images of the past.

A universalist heritage orientation is primarily based on considerations of affiliation with a wider community. The emphasis is on exposure of cultural heritage, inclusion of others in society and incorporating procedures that can accomplish this. Identity construction is based on shared values. Ownership of cultural heritage is neither legalised or privatised, but merely reflects discursive ascription to broader community levels. The management of cultural heritage is based on democratic values and aims at cultural exchange. The conceptualisation of its constitutive culture is based on inclusive unifying reasoning, stressing the similarities between people rather than differences.

These different signification routines have been observed in INTERREG practices, although mixed up due to the cultural economic ambiguity in the way actors portray unification of European society (a single market based on one culture, versus Europe as a continent of cultural diversity). Territorial claims on cultural heritage result in practices of privatisation, which sometimes even actively exclude tourists. Such claims are constructed outside of the INTERREG projects. They mainly emphasise living heritage and place less emphasis on monuments. Strategic claims focus on the potential added value of monumental heritage in terms of social economic development. They are mostly constructed by institutions participating in federalist discourses and are exchanged in European cultural heritage networks. They are based more on arguments of affiliations rather than of uniqueness, but both arguments are used within an understanding of ownership that combines legal claim and discursive ascription. The idea of monumental heritage as an asset and an object of commodification is widespread and, as a consequence, the institutionalisation, professionalisation and harmonisation of management are considered to be of vital importance. Archaeological heritage frequently grounds ideological claims expressing the uniqueness or the affiliations of a community referring to descent and cultural continuity.

	Universalist value orientation	Pluralist value orientation
Democratic norm	Open Method of Coordination, favouring signification through multilevel governance	subsidiarity, supporting ways of local identity construction
conceptualisation	semiotic territory-based branding approach	participative/semiotic community-based path dependency
ownership	inclusion: discursive ascription as the mechanism of sharing signification	exclusion: (legal) claiming as the mechanism of privatised signification
planning culture	harmonisation of semantics and planning approach	strategic discourse for exploiting a unique position; competition
repertoire	focus on procedures	focus on content
institutionalisation	institutional diversification	conceptual innovation

Tab. 3.3: Overview of universalist and pluralist tendencies in cultural heritage: INTERREG practices.

Strategic claims are the most widespread and apparent type of claim made in INTERREG projects. Ideological claims are hardly visible in INTERREG practice, although very influential in the INTERREG environment. They are related to identity claims and to identity competition and are based on static identity models (such as the layer cake and single core Durkheimian image of society). They can be recognised in attempts to reframe images of history and identity and in disputes over cultural or administrative regions. The cases showed neither of these two types of claims on cultural heritage contributed to the institutionalisation of European heritage or to regional identity, both of which are explicit aims of INTERREG policy. The most important universalist and pluralist tendencies are summarised in a tab. 3.3.

Claims on cultural heritage are generated in universalist and pluralist discourses and may seek to appeal to the motto 'united in diversity'. Yet there are two competing ideas about this motto, which influence the discourse of Europe of the Regions: one is of a universal culture aligned with a diverse cultural heritage that serves as a developmental asset, the other is of a diverse culture and a universal heritage that can attract mass tourism and intercultural understanding. Both views were present in INTERREG practice, within networks, projects and sometimes even as dialogism in a single interview. Analysis of the environment of INTERREG projects shows how heritage cultures are pluralised through local autopoietic practices of identification which are supported by local and regional cultural policies. INTERREG projects fail to address and reinforce pluralism because of the universalist focus on management and commodification. Both these perspectives find the commodification of cultural heritage to be acceptable, an outcome which can be interpreted as a discourse coalition. This focus on commodification inhibits conceptual innovations which in the end could lead to new ways of institutionalising European cultural heritage. Commodification enhances the diversification of already existing and accepted cultural heritage concepts.

The two competing ideological concepts of culture and heritage are reproduced in the European heritage discourse, contributing to a diversification of arguments. This fuzzy discourse is used as a rhetorical resource by partnerships seeking new INTERREG projects focused on cultural heritage. As a consequence, strategic claims often reflect a mixture of different ideologies that are negotiated through multi-level governance. The ability to pursue a strategy of negotiation is a key competence in INTERREG discourse. However such a strategy only relates to the Open Method of Coordination in multilevel governance and not to European society as a whole. As a result of this self-referential concept of strategy, taken up in canonisation and codification of so-called good practices, projects are confined to regional valorisation and do not serve the public goals of European society, such as the European signification of cultural heritage. European heritage, therefore, is supported as an idea, but little progress is made in institutionalising this idea. The allopoietic perpetuum mobile of European projects only notionally produces European heritage. In INTERREG's programmes and projects the ideological dialogism, the self-referentiality of codification and canonisation, together with the Open Method of Coordination, restrict the focus of projects on regional valorisation and the commodification of cultural heritage.

The motto *united in diversity* requires more heritage subsidiarity accompanied by distinct and selective European claims. Ownership can be shared by combining legal claims and discursive ascription: some categories of cultural heritage may be privatised and others may be shared. Military heritage for example, reflects a Europe at war in historic times and may now be used to reflect a Europe of peace. Firm claims on it by Europe can be based on this concept of Europe of peace. It seems like a paradox, but a turn towards subsidiarity could yield genuine European heritage.

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4 | Common European heritage: reinventing identity through landscape and heritage?

Sarah Wolferstan and Graham Fairclough

While academic archaeology can avoid nationalism, nationalism cannot do without archaeology in its myth creation and search for identity (Díaz-Andreu & Champion 1996, 18).

No satisfactory answer is given at a European level to the question of how to combine social and political unity, on the one hand, with de facto ethno-cultural and identificational diversity, on the other (Martiniello 2001, 68).

Abstract: The Council of Europe sees its work as part of “a specific contribution to the development of democratic, peaceful and open societies” (Council of Europe 2005b, 5–6). Its first objective in this task is “to raise diversity of territories as a source of strength and value” (*Ibid*). Its aim is to reinforce a European heritage that values diversity. Yet building identity through any view of the past is highly contentious. This paper recognises the ongoing importance of the search for origins in Europe. It frames this search in the history of the relationship between archaeology and ethnicity and the legacy of nationalism in the archaeological discipline. The Faro Framework Convention and the European Landscape Convention are part of the Council of Europe’s response to a wider ‘moral-ethical’ challenge faced by European governments.

Introduction

Over the past decade, important evolutions in thinking, which began as early as the 1980s when the objectivity of science was beginning to be questioned, were crystallised in a series of European statements and strategies. These could be seen as operating guidelines on how to be more conscientious in our roles as excavators, interpreters and cultural heritage practitioners. Where the previous generation of European protocols (such as The Council of Europe’s Granada or Valletta Conventions on Architectural and Archaeological Heritage respectively, or even the World Heritage Convention as first conceived) was concerned with the fabric of heritage, the two most recent Council of Europe cultural conventions: Florence, on landscape (in which European-ness is made manifest and material) and Faro, on the value of cultural heritage for society, supported at scientific level by the very recent ESF/COST Science Policy Briefing called ‘*Landscape in a Changing World*’, consider heritage from the viewpoint of the (living) people who construct and make, use and celebrate (or oppose) heritage. It is the values that they hold to be important that is heritage, rather than the fabric itself, and their human right to have such a value recognised that are key. Human rights as a concept has gradually come to the centre stage of heritage conventions, replacing a focus on property, individual rights and the ownership of objects (Turner 2006) and with it, materialist preconceptions of authenticity. This perspective is underpinned by the concept of external, extrinsic, attributed significance.

These alternative ways of seeing or conceptualising heritage are not, however, unproblematic. The framing of cultural rights based on the Conventions are “a bureaucratic celebration of precisely those aspects of culture theory that many anthropologists now mistrust”. Rowlands has said that “the identification of cultural rights with the possession of cultural property” is “a new kind of materialization of identity” (Rowlands 2002, 121) and that this kind of practice signifies that “the amount you have of your own cultural objects...is a measure in some sense of relative cultural complexity” (Rowlands 2002, 121). Furthermore, the idea of multiple values can be abused; an emphasis on multiple truths can deny problematic power relations. We must avoid being plagued by the suspicion that in this plurality of voices, claiming to give equal weight to all interpretations, some will be viewed as more authentic than others (Rowlands 1994). Democratisation can be used to thinly disguise ‘Big Society’ rhetoric, camouflaging a reduction of public things in favour of private; they offer the lure of the local, but the local is not always ‘superior’ to the global. Furthermore, broad demographic change is replacing the relatively uniform national consensus with which are most familiar with a European-wide plurality. The new heritage paradigms do not ‘solve’ the heritage problem but reformulate it, asking different questions, not least ‘so what’ and what (and who) for?

Part 1 Concepts

1. The archaeology of ethnicity

The extent to which archaeology has contributed to a recent or 'modern' rise of the nation state following the Renaissance has been the focus of much analysis. It is certain that archaeology played a part in verifying the origins of nations and identity and legitimising land claims in the 19th century (Layton 1989). We can safely say that the search for origins is deeply-embedded in European culture and society. The study of the past has several characteristics that make it valuable to nationalist (and thus imperialist) agendas: its evidence is versatile; it requires interpretation and thus is flexible; it is old, especially relevant given the general paucity of information on ancient origins (Díaz-Andreu & Champion 1996); it is spontaneous and able to "avoid the deceit of historical writing" (Rowlands 1994) and can provide symbols, important for the creation of myths (Smith 1996).

The direct link between 'archaeological cultures' and ethnic groups is now made more warily. Archaeologists are drawing more heavily on the work of anthropologists for the theoretical approach to ethnicity, and most are sceptical about the one-to-one correlation between material culture or practice with a single identifiable ethnic group. Jones identifies three main problems with the idea of 'archaeological cultures' as ethnic entities: "the assumption of the equivalence of archaeological culture and past peoples" (culture history framework); the actual existence of archaeological cultures; "there are no such entities as 'cultures' simply the contingent interrelations of different distributions produced by different factors" (Shennan 1989, 12); and lastly "the very existence of ethnic groups as fixed bounded entities" (Jones 1997, 109–10).

Yet despite this striking shift in the discipline, European policy-makers during the 1990s continued to find themselves facing challenging situations concerning heritage. Much rests on the practice of searching for identity using material culture. In a world where primordialist views of identity as deep, internal and permanent have the greatest power in the popular arenas (and therefore are the views that are manipulated by specific groups including actual and would-be politicians) archaeology is in an apparently privileged position due to its access to the long-term past. Historical texts are combined with archaeological evidence and thus ethnicities are traced back in time. Archaeological ideas are used for the invention of tradition and to "constitute a community of shared memory" (Jones 1997, 133). In this view, the past is created in order to meet current needs. One could argue that European conventions have embraced this approach whole heartedly and are trying to turn it to their own, positive, advantage.

2. Heritage and the European project

Over the last two decades, new understandings of the way we view the past have started to emerge that appear to offer different opportunities. Interdisciplinary work between the museum, archaeological and conservation sectors have led to the emergence of Heritage as a profession, a legal concept, and an academic discipline. In its early years as a discipline, the so-called heritage-baiters (Lowenthal 1985, 1998;

Samuel 1994; Hewison 1987; Walsh 1992) critiqued 'Eurocentric' and 'historical approaches' to heritage (Butler 2006) focusing on the 'rise of heritage' as a discipline with an Enlightenment mission (Lowenthal 1985, 1998) that foments national conflict (Layton 1989). The inspiration for this has in part been a reaction to calls for social justice from long-excluded minorities, in part due to perceived tensions and anxieties arising from demographic change, increased mobility and the experience of inter-community conflict. Within museum studies, the 'new museology' movement has given prominence to the role of culture in development and social change (Kreps 2003), incorporating notions of social justice that emerged from the insistence of minorities insistence to have a right to be included in national histories (Scham & Yahya 2003); the rise of 'subaltern' studies has contributed to this (Bhabha 1996, Spivak 1998). Interdisciplinary work now explores the use of museums, archaeology and conservation for reconciling conflicting interpretations of the past and present (Butler 2001, 2006; Scham & Yahya 2003). This agenda has wider relevance in debates on the philosophy of multiculturalism and definitions of community and their links to globalism, transnationalism and diaspora (Appadurai 1996).

The Council of Europe's response has been to seek new understandings of what it means to be European, and of what Europe means. Heritage makers have shifted the boundaries of the definition of a nation and its heritage. Sassitelli (2009) has shown how in recent years both landscape and culture have been used instrumentally through pan-European structures to foster a sense of being European. At first, as the countries of Central and South Eastern Europe were drawn into the EU's narratives of integration and enlargement, policy makers turned to "the idea of an intangible, ancestral 'European culture' to give an identity to what is geographically "only a peninsula on the western end of the super continent that includes all of Asia...and Africa as well" (Jones & Graves-Brown 1996, 9).

Following this initial phase of making Europe, a remarkable *volte-face* in what is desirable as heritage occurred, turning from the monumental to the everyday, from national glories to diverse multiple cultures. Where multi-ethnic populations were once shameful barriers to a homogenous nation-state, they are now a resource (Ditchev 2002). At best, this project is cosmopolitan in nature as it aims to unite disparate groups under a common goal. At worst, it legitimises a civilizing role for a majority heritage over minorities whose 21st century marginality is legitimized by being extended into the past. Another tactic is valuing diversity per se, without reference to power relations in the past or present.

The importance of the Council of Europe's discourse on diversity must be placed into context of UNESCO's Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, adopted in October 2005. This document was a response to criticism of Universalising mission of UNESCO and its concept of Outstanding Universal Value. It has been argued that it represents a response to much feared homogenising effects of globalisation in which cultures are like species and can become extinct. Diversity can also be seen as a code word for dialogue and reconciliation, which are

in danger of becoming mere buzz words, attractive to funders who are obsessed with post-conflict response, and use heritage as a way of dealing with reconciliation between conflicting views / peoples. Diversity can also be a code name for dealing with 'new' groups such as immigrants and asylum seekers.

3. Introducing Faro

New interpretations of heritage have been distilled within the Faro Convention (Council of Europe 2005b, 2009), which is already beginning to provoke debate (see e.g. Ünsal 2012; Wolferstan 2010). These are much more subtle than much 'imagined communities' thinking, encapsulating the idea that heritage consists not just of objects but of the relationships that are created by the interactions between people and their world. People come first; they create heritage both in the conventional physical sense but equally important in the sense of attaching meaning and significance (i.e. values) to things which do not intrinsically have such values. Few things automatically or inherently have heritage value, any more than they have intrinsic economic value. Values are attributed to things by circumstance, fashion or need; values are not despite appearances drawn from them without the mediation of people. The conflicts that heritage provokes are therefore almost always about contested ways of valuing. Rarely is an historic building destroyed because its existence it denied; it is its value, meaning and significance to one or more groups or individuals that is argued over.

Faro defines heritage very broadly, bringing it close to the concept of culture and identity. It highlights every citizen's right to 'their' heritage but also their responsibility to respect and take care of other people's heritage. This respect for the culture of others has its roots in finding cultural solutions to conflict resolution, post-conflict reconstruction and development. Such aims as 'securitisation' and 'democratisation', have become mainstream in organisational rhetoric (UNESCO 2004, 2005; Council of Europe 2005a; Munoz 1998). As the various groups in Europe are struggling to gain the cultural authority to selectively present and narrate their versions of the past, they are exercising their rights to both engage in cultural politics and participate in a 'democratization' process, one that looks to international organisations for leadership, and as such looks to a post-nation, multicultural state for inspiration (Hall 2000).

This democratic multivocal strain can be seen throughout Faro, which posits the role of heritage communities operating in the same ways as individuals; perhaps archaeologists are one (or more likely many) such community(ies). In this way the convention aims to democratise the valuing process: heritage cannot easily be restricted to "official" actions or laws. It includes the most basic and egalitarian processes of a person's being and becoming in the world. Expert, official or orthodox ways of seeing or valuing heritage remain valid but they are now set increasingly against all the other plural ways of seeing and acting. Some of these other value systems may not be scientific or objective, but they can still be part of this wider heritage. This system relies on a functioning democratic heritage process, as is also recommended in the framework convention.

4. Introducing the Landscape Convention

Faro has a sister convention: Florence, the European Landscape Convention (the ELC, Council of Europe, 2000). This treats landscape as a matter of human perception, and sees it as an idea as well as an object. It is also seen as something lived (performed, acted, constructed) as well as something enjoyed or used; object/ subject, insider/outsider come together in landscape. It can be researched, managed protected for itself (or more accurately for the values that people put into it) but it can also be used as an analytical tool, as a frame or as a way of thinking to tackle other problems and achieve other goals. The ELC defines landscape as "an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors", thereby reminding us that landscape is an act of perception that locates the past firmly into a contemporary, present day, context. Landscape also holds people's memories and folklore, and contains stories that are both personal and collective, and recent and old; it can act as pathway between past and present; this is close to the very scope of 'cultural heritage' in Faro's definition.

5. Integrated Landscape Research

A third key and even more recent document is "Landscape in a Changing World – Bridging Divides, Integrating Disciplines, Serving Society", the latest (no. 41) in a series of 'Science Policy Briefings' prepared and published by the European Science Foundation and in this case in conjunction with the EU COST Office (ESF 2010). Launched in October 2010 to coincide with the 10th anniversary of the European Landscape Convention, it sets out a very broad, action-oriented, definition of landscape research. It was the product of an interdisciplinary Network of Networks chaired by Prof. Tom Bloemers, which had its starting point in the humanities and included mainly academics from archaeology and related historical studies but it also made space for cultural geographers, landscape architects, ecologists and researchers from the environmental sciences and ecology. It explores and demonstrates the ways in which landscape can contribute to addressing major social and economic as well as environmental policy challenges facing European society and governance, explicitly crossing both national and disciplinary boundaries, and for that matter the higher even more deeply-rooted domain boundaries between e.g. Natural Science and the Humanities.

The Landscape SPB is an important document because it puts landscape research as a wide-ranging holistic field of study spanning all disciplines on the same level in policy terms as the 'hard sciences' that form the subject of most SPBs. It firmly places cultural and arts and humanities-based concerns on an equal footing with environmental or ecological issues. It is also important because it calls for greater debate and integration at translational European levels and suggests the establishment of a Forum and research strategy for policy-oriented landscape research. In this it fits well with the ELC which sees landscape as an integrating concept spanning all levels of society and crossing borders; like Faro it looks for the social value of environmental and landscape heritage. It explores how the process and results of landscape research can help politicians, policy-makers and society at large to

address major current challenges from climate change to demographic changes, migration and food security; or rather how it not so hampered and held back by disciplinary fragmentation and weak connection to present day concerns.

6. Challenges from changing contexts

Florence and Faro explicitly locate themselves within a changing world where grand challenges seem to face society on all fronts. The reaction to this change has not been to heighten the ramparts of the heritage fortress or to try to protect the highlights (as Valletta and Granada too; they are reactive instruments). All three manifestos try to suggest that heritage in its various manifestations – culture, landscape, place, identity – is a powerful tool for dealing with those grand challenges. Faro speaks of the role of heritage in resolving and avoiding conflict, as a uniting not dividing force; Florence speaks of landscape as way of shaping a better world in future, allowing material and emotional adaptation for example. The SPB, perhaps most explicitly of the three, suggests that landscape research (and landscape performance etc) can help to address the challenges on a wide range of fronts and contribute to solutions.

There is no need to rehearse them in detail (see the SPB itself) but they might be usefully summarised to set the scene a little more:

Social issues include people's quality of life and community identities, to which 'place' and therefore both heritage and landscape make a key contribution.

Political issues: Faro is informed by the rising importance of minority rights, a concept that was internationalised by the OSCE in the early 1990s, when multiculturalism began to take precedence over universalism (Chandler, 1999). The creators of the Faro Framework convention were at pains as how to describe the various peoples that had an interest in heritage, and by using the term 'heritage communities' their aim was to sidestep some difficult questions concerning ethnicity.

Demographic issues such as migration. People carry their heritage with them, in memory if not physically; they will sometimes share it on arrival and they will find (and make new, though different ways of valuing) the existing heritage of their new country. European heritage exists on other continents, and people on other continents have heritage in Europe. Government definitions of heritage are poorly fitted to such fluid and ever-changing circumstances.

Economic aspects of heritage are often seen as related to tourism, the modern golden goose, but heritage contributes much more broadly than that to the whole economy, in just the same way as society's other fundamental resources such as land, people or raw materials. It stands in the very mainstream of economic activity. High quality of place attracts business, employment, people; good quality landscapes which for many people means those with strong historic and cultural dimensions, support successful economies.

Environmental issues may concern 'Nature' but it is also an unavoidable truth that life is lived amongst what was

made before, and that includes current biodiversity, for example, as much as landscape. We do not have a natural environment but a highly humanised, artificial, modified one; furthermore, the main ways that people view the environment and construct their mental landscapes are cultural and social, not environmental. Solutions to environmental problems first of all need to be social solutions.

7. Aiming to be ordinary

Faro pushes heritage into the mainstream of all aspects of government and societal policy and economic activity. Florence says that about landscape, too. Faro insists that cultural heritage is a basic part of people's lives, part of identity, an essential component of 'place', a foundation for quality of life. This is in line with 'Western' meta-narratives of 'universalism', 'rationality' and 'civilisation' (Butler 2003) which are the foundational myths of European and international organisations whose standards are driven by 'Western' concepts of human rights and the individual. Nor does heritage have a closed, finite definition; it is a continuous process of 'working towards'. Heritage is constantly re-made, made as well as inherited. The main frontier that Faro urges us to cross is therefore to change heritage from being treated as a limited number of assets to be kept from harm, to being something universal and ubiquitous. This is about the use of the past in the present and its renewal into the future. A living heritage is a changing heritage.

If we accept heritage's role in creating futures, it follows that heritage objects, like landscape, accommodate different, divergent or even competing demands of that future. Reconciliation of conflicting values is central to Faro. One of the clearest tools that the Council of Europe proposes to combat aggressive ethnic-nationalism in Faro is the concept of 'Common European Heritage'. This notion is useful as it certainly does not claim to propose a unified identity, a particular period or type of heritage and this is a refreshing change from much discussion of the culture, geography or religion that should define 'Europe'. It does something more sophisticated and nuanced: it proposes a common heritage of *ideas*, whether political or social, which can meet at the crossroads of several affiliations. These concepts should not be extended back in time and influence our interpretations, but rather that they influence our approach to interpretation. Whether it is interpreted as cross-border heritage, the right to express culture, a shared responsibility for heritage or a troubled past of dissonant and difficult memories: it should be managed as a whole rather than in terms of parallel aggressive competing nationalisms.

It could be argued that this concept is of more use than 'universal value' or 'world heritage', both of which have been shown to be very powerful in fomenting conflict (such as at Bamyán, Afghanistan to name but one example) as well as in post-conflict situations such as in Kosovo. In the years following the NATO intervention, a great deal of money was spent on restoring and promoting tolerance for a 'diversity of heritage'. Heritage workers underlined the importance of safeguarding Kosovo's "universal and diverse heritage". In doing so, they were expressing their desire for all of Kosovo's communities to have equal rights in deciding on Kosovo's political status. However, this

apparent flattening of the hierarchies of values was not implemented, as the actual criteria for restorations were invariably historic and architectural (Wolferstan 2006). The idea of 'Common European Heritage' can escape this universal / diversity double bind.

Central to all this is the idea of the ordinary. There is not really a place in this heritage paradigm for 'canons', whether national or ethnic. This is clearly a move away from monumental (and outstanding universal) values. Instead values arise locally, from the grassroots. There is constructive tension between ubiquity (and therefore 'ordinariness') and local distinctiveness. 'Ubiquity' is a reminder that the remains and influence of the past exists everywhere and not only in 'heritage places'. 'Distinctiveness' reminds us of the overwhelming importance of a specific place (at a variety of scales from village to *pays*) to determining people's perceptions of landscape and their ways of being in the world. But what makes on place special is a matter of perspective. It follows that assumptions about authenticity, the originality of fabric, beauty and other externally imposed codes of aesthetics or value, the fetish of the patron or the famous architect /designer need to cede some of their priority to other concepts, such as for example palimpsest and change (the much altered can be more valuable for a number of reasons than the pristine or unchanged), context and setting and the other side of that coin, contributions and interactions, and finally character. One could say that the changes that Faro and Florence endorse are actually about the words that start and end that list – 'fabric' and 'character', representing a move from concern with physical fabric (with its correlation to the elemental components of heritage) to a concern with character (with its correlation with the whole as being more than the sum of the parts and as something which is essentially intangible. Indeed such a way of thinking makes all heritage intangible even when it is rooted in stone and earth.

Part 2 Case Studies

The following section focuses on five case studies that exemplify some of the themes mentioned above. The first example leads us to the Swedish forests, socially marginal today on many measures and generally treated as if historically marginal too. The second example concerns the 'loss' of land to urban growth, and how the pre-urban world through the application of archaeological knowledge and imagination become part of landscape again. The third borrows from a recent publication on Rome's Via Tiburtina, its interdisciplinary approach simultaneously illuminating the message of the Landscape Convention about the experience of converting mere environment into a landscape "perceived by people" and exemplifying the Faro Convention's claim that heritage is both individual and collective; it suggests ways of achieving some of the ambitions of the ESF/COST Landscape SPB. The

fourth case study explores how an archaeological understanding of cold war material culture and heritage in a wider sense, understood through the lens of the Faro and ELC, may be a new take on European identity. The fifth and final example concerns Europe's agricultural landscapes and presents a project that resulted in a study of temporal, spatial and functional complexity in landscape that crossed disciplinary boundaries, and ultimately commented on the national and sub-national diversity that provides the building blocks of pan-European landscape character.

1. *The Swedish Forest, the edge of consciousness*

A series of research projects looking at heritage, nature and culture and local and visitor attitudes have been carried out in recent years, notably those described in various publications by Skoglund and Svensson (eg 2010). These studies reflect on the tensions that exist between local and national priorities, lay and expert viewpoints, between nature and culture, and between farming and tourism: many of the topics raised by Florence and Faro. "Increased understanding and appreciation of heritage in forested landscapes is in the end an environmental issue. When the forest is no longer viewed as 'pristine nature' and the cultural impact of the past is acknowledged, the diverse forested landscapes may be better managed for future preservation then today and become a resource for local citizens as a source of pride and an asset for economical and sustainable development." (Skoglund & Svensson 2010)

In marginalised areas such as woodlands, in the past and today, *local* rather than national heritage and history is particularly important when constructing identity, sense of place and community pride. Traditional ancient monuments may be less relevant to inhabitants than "fairly late remains such as deserted 19th century crofts", or wolf traps, or features both literally and metaphorically at the boundary, even though unprotected by the law and rejected as non interesting by many antiquarians" (Skoglund & Svensson 2010). Forest Sweden can stand as proxy for the many rural areas and communities in all countries that seem to stand slightly outside the 'official' heritage frame in a Europe which is increasingly urban not just in a formal sense but in terms of mentality. It offers an example in a relatively extreme case of the 'rise of the local' and the importance of the marginal, ephemeral,



Fig 4.1: Forest heritage in SW Småland, Sweden – abandoned water-powered sawmills; a heritage strongly rooted in forest life, but not necessarily on tourist trails.

transient and mundane that has traditionally escape conventional archaeology. It is the sort of heritage that in some ways creates the core of landscape, the concept supported by the ELC that landscape is not only great monuments but by the non-monumental structures of the land. It represents in part a rejection of the city, arising from the old city/country opposition, but also it surely represents a democratic urge of the majority to feel that heritage is not just that which is handed down *de haut en bas*, provided like bread and circuses or the scraps from a medieval lord's kitchen, but as something personal; something to be constructed yourself not merely consumed, something active not passive.

Problems arise however when attempts are made to wrap the local impulse to construct heritage from the inside within national or expert external criteria or to 'capture' public opinion. It can be argued, as Skoglund & Svensson do, that whilst top down 'community or citizen participation' initiatives are a form of democratisation, they might also lead to "the original force of community involvement, as a radical way of criticising the behaviour and decisions of authorities, commercial companies etc., (being) hollowed out as the action technique is taken over by the former targets of criticism" (Skoglund & Svensson 2010). One example is the instinct of national authorities to try to contain 'local lists' of historic buildings valued by the community in a mould of expert guidelines and criteria to preserve national standards and consistency; but a nationally-approved local list seems slightly oxymoronic. This is thus not unproblematic as it could be claimed that authority is self-perpetuating and self-defending and to some the idea of a 'participatory' structure can appear as a means of 'licensing' and thus controlling involvement at local and individual level. Again this is a conclusion that travels well out of the forest to other parts of Europe. It underpins the Faro Convention's contention that everyone has both rights to their own heritage but responsibilities to respect that of others.

This Swedish research also illuminates the effect on heritage of major social change, and thus the historical contingency of any particular heritage stance. Both the nature conservation and cultural heritage management movements have roots in the reaction against industrialisation and urbanisation, and indeed were often intertwined. It might be argued that they pulled apart during the 20th century with the increase in scientific specialism and the growing involvement of the national state. Today justification for nature preservation has shifted from national pride to a global environmental concern. It is perhaps ironic that blaming 'globalisation' in its economic and technological aspects for many if not most of the environmental threats that nature conservation bases itself on, is an environmental form of global rather than national patriotism.

We can turn from supposedly-marginal near-nature to supposedly central urban heartlands, from one side of the coin of 19th/20th century industrialisation and urbanisation – exile from the land, the loss of the local

– to the other side, the flight to the city, the gain of another type of localness

2. Urban landscape, heart of modern life

The pre-urban world still exists below and within our sprawling modern cities, conurbations and peri-urban landscapes. To find them however requires us again to look at the ordinary, the intangible and the ghost-like. In fact, at what people think when they look at their streets; at the material aspects of their identity and at their connection to the past. The sometimes surprising survival of the skeleton of a pre-industrial world in the largest modern conurbations offers democratically-accessible links to the past. It is particularly relevant to understand cities as landscape because it is not only in England (one of the earliest countries to be industrialised) that 'a romanticised rustic nostalgia' take hold. It is important in the context of the spread everywhere of peri-urban or ex-urban landscape.

Half (50%) of the world's population is said to urban, but in Europe the figure is routinely higher, not just in the UK (89%) or Belgium (97%) but "even" in countries which are seen as and which present themselves as being almost natural wildernesses (eg, Norway 80% and Sweden 83%). France, still emotionally wedded to the idea of a fundamental rustic *La France Profonde*, where farmers on the street can still have real political weight, comes in at 76%; Finland stands at 67% urban, Hungary at 66% and Poland at 62%. The percentage falls below 50% only in a few countries (Albania 44% and Bosnia 45%); and only in very tiny islands do we drop to significantly low figures (Faeroes 39%, 31% Jersey/Guernsey). The town and the city is thus for most people in Europe their daily heritage. We must ask what this means for attitudes towards heritage and landscape, culture and identity. If to engage Swedish forest dwellers in heritage requires us to notice the recent, the mundane and the local, then to engage urban dwellers in any way other than as tourists in another land will require us to look at urban landscape, their daily scene.

Towns and cities often have a pre-industrial layer to their mainly urban landscape, surviving fossil-like within the overlying urban sediments; an underlying structure of streets and property boundaries that has proved most enduring in urban morphology. These fossils may be disregarded but can have a role in modern popular perception of landscape and



Fig. 4.2: The layered heritage of cities, here Evora (Portugal).

townscape. They need not have any so-called intrinsic historical or architectural value but their value lies in their contribution to place, character and landscape. The majority of the population do not live in, or even very close, to 'cultural monuments'; their personal 'historic environments' are very often more mundane places that are no less socially or psychologically important for being ordinary. If we accept that the past is omnipresent, and that 'landscape' (townscape) is how people relate to their world, then it would seem to be vital to help people understand the historic dimension of their environment not least due to their potential as an instrument of democratic engagement, one of the Council of Europe's central missions.

In contrast, of course, there is interest in studying areas and periods when the pre-industrial landscape was comprehensively erased for reasons of ideological modernity (the modernist ambition of starting again) or market economics (to maximise profits). In another, much older urban context, we see a different approach to heritage and landscape, one where everything seems to be kept, piled on top of one another, thrown together not planned by function, and where again it is the roads – movement not settlement – that persist the longest, in a city from which all roads radiated – Rome.

3. *The Via Tiburtina, the centrality, depth and persistence of time*

The book: *Via Tiburtina: Space, Movement and Artefacts in the Urban Landscape* (Blur & Frizell 2009) was written in by a group of spatial planners, archaeologists, heritage manager, sociologists, artists and writers to examine the road from Rome to Tivoli from an interdisciplinary landscape perspective and from the viewpoint of a continuum of time from prehistory to the present day. But it is not a history of the road; instead it is a dissection of the remains of the road's long past in the contemporary world with a view towards on the

one hand its future evolution and on the other towards trying to grasp at its social meanings.

"*Via Tiburtina*" matches Faro and ELC's vision – the social and economic benefits of heritage and landscape; its aesthetics or design, urban as well as rural, ordinary and degraded as well as special. It shows us that heritage is static in neither its temporal nor its spatial dimensions; much of the book is about movement. It can be read as a commentary on the Faro Convention, with heritage as a dynamic process as well as the 'stuff' that we preserve.

Most importantly, it was conceived as a multidisciplinary, cross-period analysis of a tract of land that is loaded with historical associations but that is easy to dismiss as chaotic modern urbanism. It represents not the rural, agricultural or pastoral landscapes that are often the subject of such research, but the messy, ever-changing landscape of ancient urban cores surrounded or invade by suburbs and being by-passed by explosions of peri-urban and ex-urban 'sprawl'. Not the ancient Rome of the visitor but the Rome of contemporary Romans. The book does not make value judgements about this land, but studies it exactly as it has been inherited. As one chapter title says 'That's (just) the way it is' – neither good nor bad, neither beautiful nor ugly, but simply 'there'. Viewed sociologically or archaeologically, or viewed through the lens of integrated landscape research, it becomes simply (or, rather, complexly) interesting, intriguing and informative.

Bronze Age transhumance route, Augustan road eastwards to the villas of Tivoli, the road along which travertine marble reached the city and its reports, today it is almost entirely flanked by frequently changing factories, warehouses, barracks, retail parks and mass housing a typology of 20th century social and economic transformations, a readymade narrative thread for the history(ies) of this broad corridor sweeping to or from the hills; a frame for depicting all the human life that has gone on here over 4000 years; it is a point of reference for modern life, teeming with traffic now like never before. Excavated fragments of Antiquity fit awkwardly into overlooked and passed by corners of modern suburban Rome. This book asks its readers to consider anew how past and present are constantly be reconciled.

The next case study also suggests that reconciliation of past and present is never a completed project.

4. *Cold War; continuing pasts*

In the search for a fully shared pan-European heritage we normally look for long-past unity and similarity (e.g. 'The Bronze Age', Hansa, Francia Media). We might choose something else however, for opposite reasons, something that unites because of its diverse indeed conflicting experience, something like the 40 or 50 year period that the West calls the Cold War, for example. This choice is particularly close to one of the Faro Convention's and indeed the Council of Europe's core mission, that of valuing Europe's diversity as a resource for reconciliation.



Fig. 4.3: An embedded heritage, excavated, 'protected' and 're-used': Roman buildings adjacent to the Via Tiburtina in Rome's 21st suburbs.



Fig. 4.4: Greenham common, Berkshire, UK- an English Heritage designation team visiting a disused USAF anti-USSR Cold War cruise missile silo in 2001.

The Cold War challenges archaeology to review its oft-unspoken assumptions about our relationship with the past and about how we use material remains to create present day perceptions and understanding. It is apparently a familiar, well-understood and straightforward topic. Yet its closeness to current politics both personal and national makes it a very problematic area to deal with, and raises in acute form many of Faro's concerns and hopes about the use of heritage in politics. It provides a place to explore issues that are particularly relevant both to itself and to and other even more recent and bloodier recent conflicts, and which are at the same time relevant to our contact with any periods of the past. Its study readily transcends disciplinary barriers between archaeologists, historians, anthropologists, artists and writers (among others). The period's material remains – simple concrete structures – also seem to invite simple concrete explanation, but studying the heritage of the Cold War will teach us not to take too innocent a view. Interpretation and meaning is not as clear-cut, but more questionable and unknown, than we might care to admit. If in landscape, everything turns out on closer examination to be usually “always older than you think”, then arguably material culture is always more complex than we think.

The meaning that people attribute to the Cold War continually changes. Still-unfolding world events cause people to re-examine interpretations; memory is modified by hindsight. Responses to the Cold War, as any recent still-relevant events, are constantly recalibrated in the light of what has happened since. Do events in New York, Afghanistan or Iraq give us a new perspective on the national and international politics behind the Cold War? The Cold War was global but not homogenous. Not all its participants were willing, and not all involved governments with the same approach to openness and democracy; the extent to which the Cold war is documented world-wide varies enormously. However, the Cold War is so to speak still an undigested period, with little interpretative closure, its close proximity to our time (with all that implies for detachment or engagement) creating problems that we are only beginning to address, and all too often at mere site or structure scale. The very recent past and its legacy is not merely the latest 'layer' but is also the still-forming transition from past to the future, so that its study has lessons beyond its own results; it is the

'contemporary past', and it is still forming our future by guiding our thoughts about the world. As it starts to be perceived as being more distant, a more finished (and closed) episode of history, the seemingly instinctive human desire to find interpretative closure begins to take effect. Should archaeology facilitate that closure or challenge it? What the Cold War means to a military historian is likely to be very different to what it means to a social historian, as well as what it means to a conformist citizen or a non-conformist peace protester. As an episode it never enjoyed a single narrative, and some of its narrative strands do not have a “history” (in the sense of history drawn from studying documents). Many of them, however, do have stories of other sorts, many of which can be approached through disciplines such as archaeology, anthropology, sociology and through the media of the visual and performing arts. Multi-vocality, of course, applies to analysis of all periods of the past, but it is simply more obvious and more unavoidable in recent periods. The simultaneous existence of evidence that is a-historical (through material culture, memory and oral traditions) and historical (through documents) is not new; they have co-existed for the past 2,000 years or more, but the former perhaps arises more prominently, consistently, fundamentally and challengingly (that is, more unavoidably and yet seemingly avoided) in recent periods.

People know about or even remember the period because they lived through it or their parents told them about it, or they have seen TV programmes about it. It therefore has a strong (if partly false) solidity and vividness for people, and 'heritage' (and landscape as perception) therefore becomes extremely personal. There are multiple heritages of the Cold War. To that personal plurality, can be added plurality deriving from the diversity of situations across the world. The relationships between the USA and its clients, and that between the USSR and its clients, were very different. It is the archaeological interpretation of material culture that will open new interpretations. Cold War material culture was not only very different between the western and eastern parts of Germany, but it must also have been very different between eastern Germany and Poland or the Czech Republic, just as the experiences of living through it were very different. To understand the Cold War, it needs to be contextualised into a wider social and political framework which also has its material culture.

Finally, let us move to something supposedly simpler, more clear cut, the comfortable warmth of traditional European (agri)cultural landscapes in all their romantic simplicity.

5. Agricultural landscapes, familiar complexity?

A recent Culture 2007 network project with active partners in about 12 countries and supporters in many more, EUCALAND (European Agricultural Landscapes) set itself as one its tasks to produce a classification of 'traditional' landscapes created through agricultural



Fig. 4.5: French vineyard, an example of a Class 9 (Arboriculture and viticulture) in the Eucaland classification. These vines no longer exist; the field is used to make hay.

activity (Fairclough, Turner *et al.* 2010). Work began with defining landscape as “an area, as perceived by people...”, that is an idea, a matter of subjective, personal and plural perception. Classification is normally applied to material, bounded objects, not the immaterial or interpretations. By definition agriculture is local, each community historically normally having access to most types of productive land in varying combinations and therefore classifying at a level above the regions necessarily ignores much local diversity (e.g. woodland or meadow resources, normally only one component of a whole system). At the same time, in recent centuries at least, agriculture has been partly market based, and a classification based on the local land use and framing practice has difficulty in coping with long distance movement of products. Finally, whatever diversity exists in the fabric and form of agricultural landscape, multiplied by the use of more than one scale, can pale into some insignificance when compared to the diversity across Europe (and between disciplines, but even that is secondary) in how landscape is understood, in what agricultural landscape in particular signifies in national, micro-national or community culture, and in the different weights given to different periods of change even within the 20th century.

The resultant attempt at classification started with a structure based on landscape attributes such as Identity, Patterns, Process, Change, Spatial Relationships, Social Organisation, and Topography, later partly simplified into descriptions based on four questions (What does this area look like, why is it distinctive? (Form/pattern); Why does it look like this? (Systems, processes/functions, systems); What is/was it connected with (social, legal and territorial connections); What happened to it before (preceding landscape) and since (e.g. successor landscape types, survival, condition, landscape influence). This helped to produce a suitably a high level classification highlighting broad *shared* characteristics rather than the local differences that fragment understanding. It was inevitably tailored towards the visibility and ‘presence’ of more recent agricultural landscapes; because national differences are relatively well known the approach opted for pan-European classification underemphasise some of the *differences* between regions in order to give room to the attributes and characteristics that spoke of similarity and unity over large regions. These focus

on broad agriculture processes and patterns, spatial relationships and territorial organisation, and the ever resented issue of change, especially in long-term history, whilst locally-specific factors like topography, and regional and local names, were considered last of all. This attempt to produce a classification that might in a future project be applied to all or at least large parts of Europe at a truly European scale of generalisation stands as a test of the ideas about landscape as cultural construct enshrined in the ELC, looking at all areas not just the special. Its attempt to be interdisciplinary from a humanistic starting point puts some of the SPB ideas into practice. And the very ambition of trying to create a common map of Europe from a cultural and past-oriented viewpoint (as opposed to the more common maps based on land form or environment) offer a partial answer to Faro’s unanswered question of what precisely constitutes a common European heritage. It is something inherited but still living, still present. But other issues that arise from that include for instance how to contain at two extremes both local particularity and a sense of national exceptionalism within a context wide enough to reflect pan-European patterns and identities, and as with all interesting archaeological work, the Eucaland product did not presume to have found a right or final answer, merely to have revealed complexity and contingency.

This very preliminary classification (even without a mapped version) shows how landscape might be drawn away from its traditional focus on the natural and the topographic, on biodiversity and scenery, towards a more cultural, people-centred construction such as promoted by the European Landscape Convention. It demonstrates some of the contrasts and comparisons that can be made between different countries, not merely in terms of variations in landscape but more interestingly in variations in how landscape is understood. These differences underline the value of working across and beyond our traditional national borders. Even in its present undeveloped form, the emerging classification justifies the efforts of Eucaland and similar projects to work across the whole face of Europe in search of European as opposed to national heritages, difficult though it is. It also shows how heritage within landscape (or landscape as heritage) offers new perspectives on what the Florence (Landscape) and the Faro (Social Value of Cultural Heritage) conventions seek to achieve, providing an enlarged view of how landscape and heritage can be constructed within a wide public mentality.

Some conclusions

There is strong solidarity between the concepts of heritage and landscape, and the two Conventions are unsurprisingly complementary. They both for example lead us to define heritage not only as “the things we wish to pass on” but embraces “everything we have inherited” irrespective of whether some of us wish to

keep them intact to pass on to our successors. Passing heritage on to our successors ('keeping') is just one way of responding to this inheritance; there are other ways, such as celebrating it as it fades away or is transformed, or using it to effect a transformation, converting it (e.g. by excavation or analytical demolition) into evidence, or even using its destruction to symbolise something else.

The equation in recent decades of "heritage" with only the parts we try to keep (e.g. the Burra Charter definition) has created many of the economic and political barriers that constrain the heritage process and it risks dividing past from future, breaking the continuity. It also risks overlooking common heritage in favour of an official selection or canon; it may create a self-defeating dichotomy between heritage and change. Faro offers an alternative more holistic approach.

The greatest value of the idea of landscape as promoted through the ELC is surely that it concerns human habitat and habits. It is conceptualised in the ELC definition as the product of people's perceptions. The ELC also carries within it the message that landscape because it is personal and ideational, is amongst other things a materialisation of human rights. But landscape is as much a part of heritage as heritage is of landscape, each nested inside the other (a little Mobius strip-like), and seeing landscape as heritage, not as nature or scenery opens landscape to Faro's view that people have both rights to the definition and assessment of landscape on the one hand and rights (and responsibilities) to manage and plan it for the future on the other; part of the creation of future heritage, future landscape. Likewise seeing heritage as landscape, and not as discrete ethnic cultures (read nations) helps us move past the idea of parallel aggressive nationalisms rooted in an ancient (often golden) past.

But neither heritage nor landscape should only be located within the local sphere. That would risk encouraging an exceptionalism and a preservationism that is only able to oppose change and which fails to recognize ubiquity and commonality, and would easily reinforce nationalist viewpoints or exclude the increasingly common phenomenon of needing to find room amongst landscape and heritage values of longer-term inhabitants for the possibly different ways of 'seeing' the heritage of incomers/immigrants, both permanent and temporary, whether moving because of increased mobility, demographic change, rising seas or encroaching deserts or the draw of the expanding city.

Local distinctiveness can be protected by other means and landscape and heritage are not our only tool. In contrast, what the ELC concept of landscape or Faro's concept of heritage offers is a new tool for working with more global or at least continental perspectives. Indeed, it has been argued that local and global perspectives can rarely be separated, and it would be more accurate to say that such categories co-exist. At the end of the debate, perhaps paradoxically, landscape is not rooted in space but site within perception and is therefore as mobile and fluid. Landscape and heritage can be and are shared, exchanged, merged. Whereas it is often claimed that landscape equates to the local whilst environmental equates to the global, there is room to argue the opposite (Germundsson *et al.* 2011).

We can speak of nationally-shared landscapes, regional landscape, and thus even of a European landscape: a concept which many people seem to find difficulty with but only if it is taken to mean a singular landscape. 'The European landscape' in contrast is a mosaic landscape, a global overarching synthesis, a composite and in this sense it lends itself well to Faro's 'Common European Heritage'. In Europe, landscape was once constructed and used (like heritage) as an attribute of nationhood. Recently it has increasingly been assigned to the local (the notion of branding, for example, and of 'place') or the sub-national regional (through for example the idea of character areas, and natural areas) scales. The ELC and the Faro Convention offers a prospect of landscape and cultural heritage being placed at pan-European and supra-national regional scales. Place is local; landscape need not be.

The desire to embrace local and global is the essence of the cosmopolitan values of organisations such as the Council of Europe, and are embodied in their most recent heritage and landscape conventions: 'Even though you might not share the same heritage values as me the respect for it should be a universal right across Europe, a *Common European Heritage*' they claim. At a conceptual level this form of cosmopolitan multiculturalism is not oppositional to nationalism as cultural difference has always been central to the formation of nations that are ever heterogeneous (Cornwell & Stoddard 2001, 3). So in themselves, they do not resolve the ethno-identification dilemma of the European project. Yet they are a constructive response to heavily critiqued approaches that such organisations have promoted in the past.

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5 | What's European in the landscape?

Thomas Meier

Abstract: When considering heritage and landscape European institutions tend to equally emphasize shared European heritage and local diversity but seem unclear about the tension between the two. Actual landscape practice entirely concentrates on local and regional aspects and their potentials in creating identities. If landscape indeed creates identity we have to find a European landscape that helps in the formation of a shared European identity. Identifying a European landscape, however, asks for some criteria of the term European. Formal, functionalist and historical definitions are likewise deficitarian, a discursive approach produces too diffuse results. Therefore, I am opting for an a-historical political approach defining Europe as a specific practice according to the shared European values (respect in human rights, democracy, rule of law, peace). In that case a European landscape is a landscape managed according to Europe's shared values. Of special interest are participation in cultural life, freedom of speech, liberty of movement, protection of minorities, democratic participation, and administration and proceedings. The participation in cultural life combined with liberty of movement allows for deducing a right of access, which is in harsh tension with the right of property actually being interpreted as individual right of use. Following this definition of a European landscape as a specific practice defining such landscapes will mainly be a political task of the future as today hardly any landscape matches these criteria.

WARNING: While all science is politics in one or the other way, this paper is explicitly political as it promotes values and calls for pro-European action.

The diversity of landscapes in Europe

Traditionally any paper on landscape research starts with a quotation from the European Landscape Convention (Florence 2000). Traditions are to be respected – at least sometimes – so I am quoting from the preamble: “The landscape contributes to the formation of local cultures and is a basic component of the European natural and cultural heritage, contributing to human well-being and consolidation of the European identity”. This sentence refers to a number of landscape-functions in a European context, a.o. likewise contributing “to the formation of local cultures” and the “consolidation of the European identity”. However, local cultures and European identity are not self-speaking identical, but may even be regarded to be in tension or contrast. From reading the landscape convention it remains entirely open, how both of these aims should be reached side by side within the concept of landscape.

This ambiguity between the local and the European is typical for most of the Council of Europe's statements concerning heritage and landscape – especially if contextualised with each other. E.g. article 5 of the Landscape Convention (2000) emphasises the local and regional importance of landscape¹, while the Valetta-Convention (1992) on the Protection of the

Archaeological Heritage sets out “to protect the archaeological heritage as source of the European collective memory” (art. 1), i.e. emphasising the European perspective. The European Union, likewise confronted with the ambiguity between the local and the European by its motto “United in diversity” makes a virtue out of the problem explaining that “via the EU, Europeans are united in working together for peace and prosperity, and that the many different cultures, traditions and languages in Europe are a positive asset for the continent” (http://europa.eu/abc/symbols/motto/index_en.htm accessed 03/05/2011). Accordingly EU's Agenda for Culture (2007) sets out “to foster intercultural dialogue to ensure that the EU's cultural diversity is understood, respected and promoted” (http://ec.europa.eu/culture/our-policy-development/doc399_en.html accessed 08/05/2011), its Culture programme (2007–2013) aims „to celebrate Europe's cultural diversity and enhance our shared cultural heritage” (http://ec.europa.eu/culture/our-programmes-and-actions/doc411_en/htm accessed 03/05/2011) and the European Commission's proposal to establish a European Heritage Label is “to strengthen European citizens' sense of belonging to the European Union, based on shared elements of history and heritage, as well as an appreciation of diversity” (http://eu.europa.eu/culture/our-programmes-and-actions/doc/label/EHLdecision_EN.pdf accessed 08/05/2011). None of these statements – politically correct as they are – is very helpful, when it comes to specific action. Practitioners as well as governmental bodies are fully left alone with the implementation of such verbal celebrations in real life.

Looking at practice, actual European discourse on landscapes mostly emphasises one side of the medal: diversity and plurality. i.e. the local and regional

¹ Each Party under-takes to recognise landscapes in law as an essential component of people's surroundings, an expression of the diversity of their shared cultural and natural heritage, and a foundation of their identity”.

(generally for archaeology Kristiansen 2008). The local and regional, sometimes even national in the landscape not only is more comprehensible with – mostly – a clearly defined idea of its specific characteristics, but it also more easily finds support from politics as well as society. Almost any of the innumerable European landscape projects, which are often – I want to stress – brilliant and exemplary projects, have their focus on the local and/or regional; e.g. (to name only a very few) the Lancewad project with a focus on the Wadden Sea (<http://www.waddensea-secretariat.org/lancewad/>; Vollmer *et al.* 2001) while the projects “European pathways to cultural landscapes” (<http://www.pd-eu.de/>; Clark *et al.* 2003) and “Demotec” (Mets & Skar 2003; Skar 2006) are combining a number of local perspectives from different European countries and the COST A27 project “Landmarks” settles diversity of national landscapes in diversity of national practices towards and perceptions of landscape (<http://www.fcet.staffs.ac.uk/jdw1/costa27home.html> accessed 14/05/2011; Fairclough & Møller 2008).

Landscapes in Europe and defining the European

Such emphasis of practice on plurality and diversity, on the local and regional neglects the aspect of unity beyond the celebration of diversity. From such neglect rise a number of questions, which are not trivial with respect to European identity.

- The first problem is a (funda)mental one: The assumption that there is diversity in the cultural landscape of Europe and the assumption that this diversity is important is a presupposition, which is grounded in political values. Andreas Dix (unpublished) recently has emphasized that processes of homogenization were/are equally common in the course of European history, but are blanked out by the diversity-paradigm (contrary to Gramsch’s 2000, 13ff. warning that the idea of unity may disguise diversity).
- The second problem is logical one: What unifies Europe, if it is only diversity? What does “Europe” mean beyond the local?
- From this arises a third problem, which is political: If local and regional landscapes contribute to local and regional identities – as the Landscape convention claims – does a European landscape contribute to a shared European identity?

If we are going to answer the last question with a “Yes” and if we agree that such a shared European identity is desirable and should be fostered, then we come to the crucial point of this paper: Is there anything like a European landscape beyond the plurality of landscapes in Europe? This question entails another, even more fundamental question: What is Europe? Without an at least preliminary definition of Europe it is logically impossible to determine an European landscape. For purposes of definition Europe certainly should be more than local diversity. Indeed there are a number of approaches to get a grip on that fuzzy idea called “Europe”:

- Formalistic definitions: Europe may be defined by geography or by the collection of states being members to one of the European organizations, e.g. the European Union, the Council of Europe or the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe. In the first case at least the border between Europe and Asia is arbitrary and has been defined very differently in different times and by different authors (fig. 5.1). In the second case it is fully arbitrary which “European” organization is chosen (fig. 5.2) defining Europe everything between merely Western Europe (WEU) or almost the northern hemisphere (OSCE). In any case such formalistic definitions are highly reductionist and top-down measures ascribing the power of inclusion and exclusion either to geographical or political experts.
- Discursive definitions: Countering the top-down-approach of formalistic criteria Europe might be understood as a unifying concept with anybody adhering to this concept being part of Europe. In this case Europe is not so much a geographical or political entity, but an intellectual discourse, which is not necessarily a disadvantage. However, this discourse and accordingly the definition of Europe differs significantly if the discourse is held at what is perceived as the centre, the periphery or outside of Europe. Consequently the term “Europe” becomes empty and does not mean anything except being an umbrella-term.
- Functionalist definitions: From looking at the 20th century history of Europe and especially at the movement of European integration the impression may be gained that the actual construct of Europe very much has a functionalist core: Until today it owes very much of its esprit to the experience of World War II and the collective conviction to avoid another war in Europe in the future. Later on it was enriched by the idea of shared welfare and promoting a joined economy on the basis of a free market. Quite recently after the fall of the Soviet Union Europe was assigned the aspiration of being a strategic counterpart to the US and China. These functional ascriptions are based on the history and understanding from the EEC to the EU and therefore are not only a dominantly Western European perspective, but again highly reductionist cutting down Europe to the interests of some badly defined stakeholders.
- Essentialist definitions: Staying with such a perspective on the history of the EU the claim that the economic paradigm of the EC has shifted to a cultural paradigm in the EU (Tzanidaki 2000) now asks for an essentialist definition of Europe instead of a functionalist: What makes up the cultural core of Europe? One way to determine such a cultural core may be a phenomenological approach: To prove empirically the joined material, intellectual and structural frame shared in all of Europe (for a survey on this approach cf. Gramsch 2000, 7ff.); in this approach diversity derives from local specificity of an underlying common property (e.g. Simms in preparation). This approach frequently is based on what is deemed a European history, an argument backed up by a number of conventions with e.g. the Valetta Heritage-Convention (1992) speaking of “the European collective memory” (art. 1) and

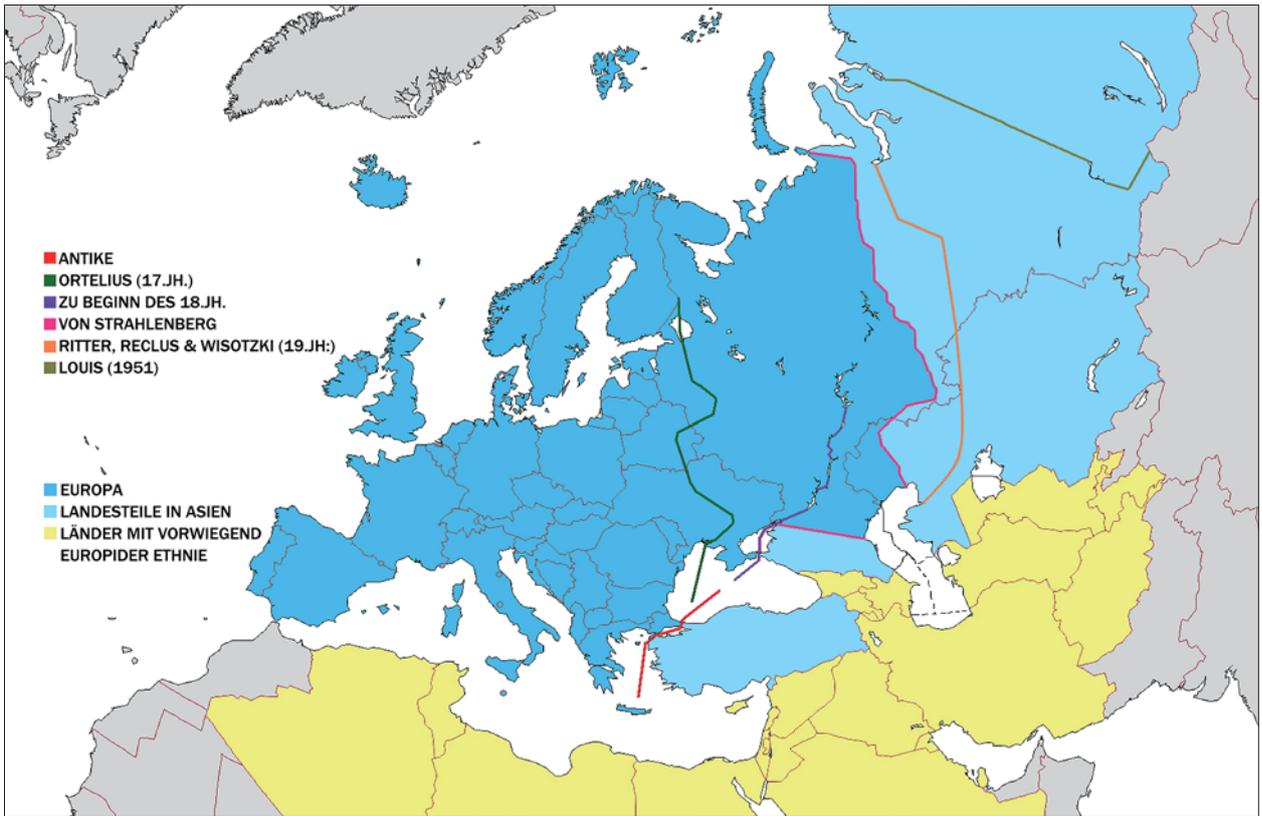
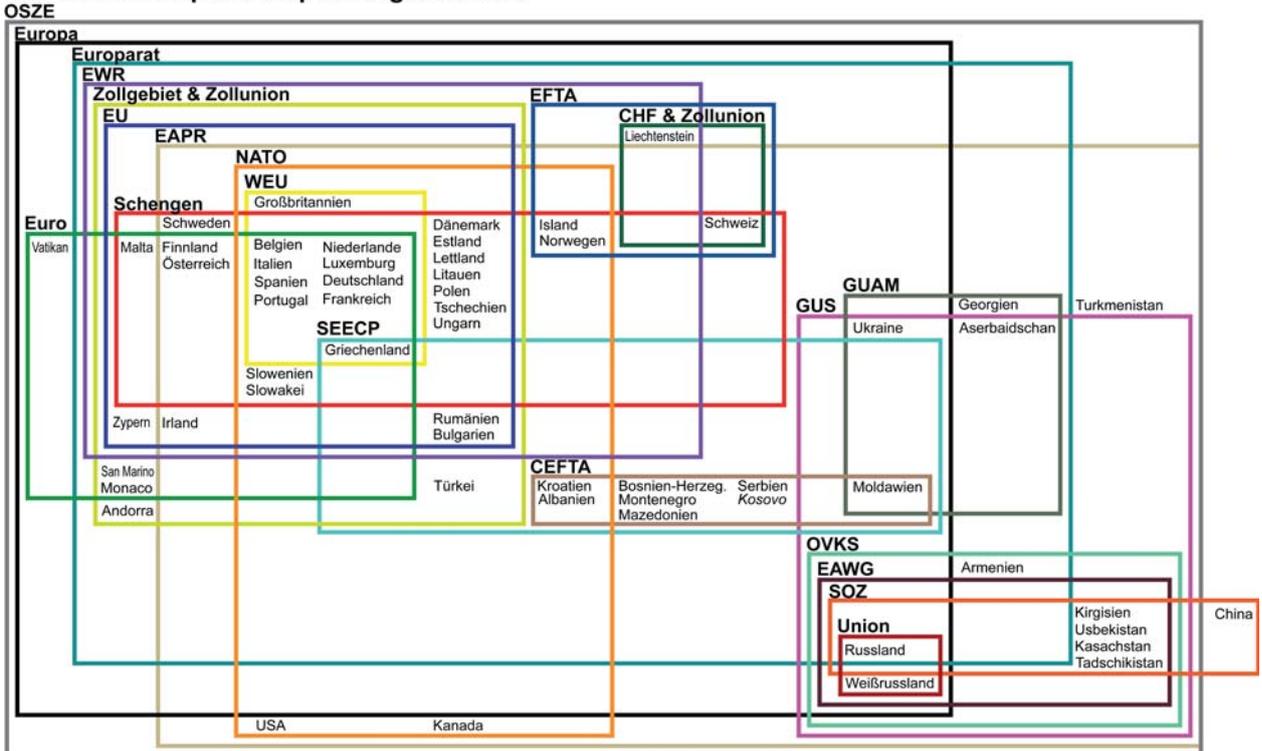


Fig. 5.1: The border between Europe and Asia according to different authors. (https://secure.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/de/wiki/Datei:Europa_geografisch_map_de_v2.png (accessed 07/05/2011), by User:BillFromTheHill [with amendments] under CC BY-SA 3.0).

Fig 2.5: (Full) members of European organizations. (https://secure.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/o/od/Mitglieder_in_Europaischen_Organisationen.svg (accessed 07/05/2011) by WikiNight2 under CC BY-SA 3.0)

Full membership in European organizations



the Culture programme (2007–2013) enhancing “our shared cultural heritage” (cf. *supra*). But what does this mean when things turn to the precise? Which memory, which heritage? Whose history? The youngest of the Council of Europe’s papers dealing with heritage, the Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (Faro 2005; cf. the explanatory report to the convention <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/EN/Reports/Html/199.htm> accessed 19/05/2011) defines cultural heritage as “a group of resources inherited from the past which people identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions. It includes all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time” (art. 2) and goes on that “the parties agree to promote an understanding of the common heritage of Europe, which consists of: a) all forms of cultural heritage in Europe which together constitute a shared source of remembrance, understanding, identity, cohesion and creativity” (art. 3). This very broad definition – anything deemed a cultural heritage by anybody – is not at all handy for operationalization in heritage management. The other extreme is exhibited by the proposed European Heritage Label, which should be awarded for enhancing “the value and the profile of sites which have played a key role in the history and the building of the European Union, and [for seeking] to increase European citizens’ understanding of the building of Europe, and of their common yet diverse cultural heritage, especially related to the democratic values and human rights that underpin the process of European integration. [...] the initiative will be based on the European narrative of these sites and their symbolism for Europe” (http://eu.europa.eu/culture/our-programmes-and-actions/doc/label/EHLdecision_EN.pdf accessed 08/05/2011). In this case the definition of heritage is highly exclusive, as it is teleological towards the present state of the EU (cf. Högberg 2006): The local will be made comprehensible by the grand narrative of the European Union. Moreover, the decision on what is a “key role”, sufficient symbolism or a “European narrative” and which site suffices to these criteria is left to “a panel of independent experts”, i.e. a top-down-approach itself of questionable democratic participation and transparency and already criticized in post-colonial and international heritage studies under the embellishment of “stewardship” (Groarke & Warrick 2006).

Such experts’ narratives on a supposed cradle of Europe are frequent among archaeologists and historians for several decades now (cf. Kristiansen 1998, 14–16). Vere Gordon Childe and Christopher Hawkes (1940) already were convinced that “European civilization as a peculiar and individual manifestation of the human spirit” emerged as early as the Bronze Age (Childe 1925, xiii) and from that time on “barbarian societies in Europe behaved in a distinctively European way, foreshadowing, however dimly, the contrast with African or Asiatic societies that has become manifest in the last

thousand years” (Childe 1958, 9)². Not to speak of Colin Renfrew tracing back a specific core of Europe (Renfrew 1973) or of European nations (Renfrew 1987:6) even further down to the stone age (cf. Kristiansen 1989, 16). Council of Europe’s 25th art exhibition on “Gods and heroes of the bronze age. The first golden age of Europe” (1998–2000), being the highlight of the European Campaign for Archaeology, has still celebrated the Bronze age as a period of renewal and “a certain cultural unity in a region stretching from the Urals in the east to the Atlantic in the west and from what is now Scandinavia in the north to the Mediterranean in the south” (http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/culture/events/1998_en.asp accessed 08/05/2011). According to the then Secretary General of the Council of Europe each of the art exhibitions had “something that is distinctively European about it, but perhaps never so much as this one [...]. For it was at that time, at the distant dawn of European history, [...] that Europe can first be distinguished as an emerging entity” going on to speak of an “indubitable fact of a common origin” and “to recall what unites us all and from long ago” (Tarschys 1999, ix). Archaeologists joined in that it was their “goal to present the concept of a culturally unified Europe to a broad public” as in the Bronze Age “a Europe joined by cultural affinities began to take shape” (Demakopoulou *et al.* 1999, 5). In fact the hidden narratives of the exhibition not only proposed a “deep history” of European unity quite in the way Childe had advocated decades ago, but also traced back the origins of the capitalist economy down to the Bronze Age glorifying it with a halo of naturalness (Gramsch 2000, 13; Gröhn 2004)³. Classical antiquity at least since the Renaissance again and again was regarded Europe’s cultural core and origin, disregarding that Greek and Roman “civilisation” perceived itself and later on was perceived in opposition to “the Barbarians” (cf. Kristiansen 1998, 7–12) on the civilisation-barbarian-topos and Persian Asia, that the Roman empire included North Africa and the Near East, but excluded northern and eastern Europe or Ireland, i.e. the greater part of the continent. Recently the Culture 2000 project “Frontiers of the Roman Empire” happily revives this antique dichotomy between “us, the civilised” and “those, the barbarians”: According to Henry Cleere, former World Heritage Coordinator of ICOMOS, empires “as [they] expand and increase in power [...] produce great architecture” – clearly a reflection of the antique notion of “high civilization”. Even worse he continues that “among the most striking of these ancient defences are those which present a continuous barrier to hostile armies” (Cleere 2005, 5). Propagating the “Frontiers of the Roman Empire” as a World Heritage Site Cleere reaffirms the excluding chauvinism of Roman times by

² I am especially thankful to Mark Pearce, University of Nottingham, for pointing me to this narrative.

³ E.g. Demakopoulou *et al.* (1999, 20): “Commercial traffic was soon brought under organised control, yet the tradition of smuggling offers a revealing look back at the climate of profit-seeking and aggression in which this new overland trade was pursued.”

emphasizing the aspect of the border⁴. Moreover, he presents military power and especially fortifications as a proper means of defending outside borders. In the case of the Roman Empire these borders were facing tribes from Eastern Europe, Near Eastern powers and African semi-nomads. In the years of Schengen-fortified Europe it may be more than coincidental that these are exactly the groups „threatening“ the minds of today's EU-bureaucrats (despite any rhetorics on the value of cultural diversity). From medieval times onwards the offers for a cradle of Europe become ever more numerous. A French-German exhibition (1996) celebrating Clovis as the precursor of Europe was focussing on the continuity from antiquity this way also continuing the antique dichotomy of "civilisation" and "barbarians", resulting in a community of values and a European geographical core now forged together by the concept of (western) Christianity (Staab 1996; cf. Gramsch 2000, 11f.). Charlemagne, called *pater Europae* already by his contemporaries (Erkens 1999), in 1999–2001 was honored by a project of five exhibitions celebrating "The making of Europe" (Anonymous 1999). Among many other uses Charlemagne lends his name to the *Karlspreis* at Aix-la-Chapelle, one of the most renowned prizes for special merits in European integration. Similar to Clovis the geopolitical concept connected with Charlemagne prospects a hegemonic German-French-axis of the EU into the past, thus excluding Northern and Eastern Europe and especially opposing to Orthodox Europe and the Islam. On the other hand the Vikings, champions of cultural models beyond the vision of a lost Roman identity and counter to their revised identity they were equipped with by Scandinavian archaeologists in recent years (cf. contribution by Søren Sindbæk), in most parts of Europe are still perceived as counter-cultural heroes. This counteracts the integrative capacity of their widespread European network and only allows for a bearing a national or at the best a trans-national Scandinavian identity – simultaneously stylizing the Vikings for early protagonists of free enterprise. Likewise the Cistercians built a pan-European network and decisively contributed to Europe's religious, economic and cultural development in the Middle Ages; moreover, almost all of their abbeys are connected by a shared final failure, being suppressed by the protestants (16th cent.) or secularization (18th cent.) (cf. contribution by Thomas Coomans). Apart from propagating a very special economic perspective on the exploitation of landscapes (Duby 1993, 98–110; Howe 2002: 210–3), which does not conform to today's ecological thinking, the disintegrating power of the Cistercians is exactly their restricted religious foundation: Being part not only of western Christianity, but of

its Catholic branch today makes a monastic order meaningless or even suspicious for any people not based in Catholicism. Quite recently Meike Schmidt-Gleim and Claudia Wiesner proposed to define Europe on a meta-level as a special mode of relations and forms of exchange, of mixing with others, translating from others and dominating or suppressing of others (<http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/termine/id=12000> accessed 20/12/2009) – Europe as a specific way of dealing with diversity. On the one hand this definition may be blamed to be reductionist as well insofar this definition is meant to be a historical description: Europe in the course of its history was much more than permanently circling around constructions of its identity at the expense of others. On the other hand – if we take this definition as an a-historic decision – it points to another kind of essentialist definition of Europe.

Europe – a community of shared values

Article 3 of the Faro-Framework Convention not only offers the extensive definition of cultural heritage quoted above, but simultaneously under point b) states that the common heritage of Europe consists of "the ideals, principles and values, derived from the experience gained through progress and past conflicts, which foster the development of a peaceful and stable society, founded on respect for human rights, democracy and the rule of law". This definition of values – peacefulness, human rights, democracy, rule of law – structurally is fully opposite to point a)'s approach, extremely expanding heritage by connecting it to the definitional power of the people. The values of point b) are not open to discussion or dependent on any group's estimation, but they are ethical regulations defining a fully essentialist core of Europe. In this case the reference to shared historical experience is not part of the definition, but a moral gesture of proudness ("progress") and warning ("past conflict"); neither are these values an exhaustive description of Europe, not to speak of its history, during which such ethical obligations were invalid for most of the time and which includes many more ideas and trajectories. Rather this definition forwards a number of shared values, which are an ethic regulation in the present.

Compared to other attempts of defining Europe this approach benefits from its apparentness: Ethical claims are clearly addressed and assigned, but not silently inferred from some sublime narratives camouflaged by a gesture of naturalness as is often the case with essentialist definitions based on history. Simultaneously this definition asks for an ethical commitment as participating in Europe needs to consent in these fundamental values the same way as participating in any state or society needs such a consent in the shared values of the respective group. From this perspective the European values are ethical aims and moral obligations to a political agenda in the present. In short: Europe is a practice of shared values, which centrally (but not exclusively) are a special way of dealing with diversity. This practice is a fundamentally political action as it concerns the very core of living together in a European society.

⁴ Breeze & Jilek (2008, 26) try to soften this exclusive aspect of the *limes* as "it was through these frontiers that Roman goods passed out to the people beyond the Roman world." But this is rather trivial, as no frontier – not even the Iron Curtain – was totally hermetic. The export of (some prestigious) goods does not change the ideology manifest in the *limes*.

But is this definition applicable to landscape research?

Remark: Admittedly this approach is inclusive only towards those sharing these values, but definitely exclusive towards other value-systems. But: Isn't identity always an inclusive "we" against an exclusive "them"? If we integrate everything in European identity being fully inclusive towards everyone, what then is the difference between Europe and the universe? Apart from this logical problem the matter with inclusion-exclusion in my eyes depends on the fact whether the criterion of inclusion-exclusion is transparently grounded in ethics.

European landscape as practice of values

If Europe is a specific political practice in the present based on ethic values of historic experience, than what makes a landscape European should be defined by a specific practice in the present realising these values. As a working definition *a European landscape is a landscape managed according to Europe's shared values*. The point now is, how to translate these general values into practices of landscape management?

Each of these values has a long tradition of philosophical and legal interpretation. For the purpose of this paper, however, we may concentrate on those aspects of the values, which are especially relevant to the practice of management and landscape. A far from exhaustive compilation suggests:

human rights	→ participation in cultural life
	→ freedom of speech
	→ liberty of movement
	→ protection of minorities
democracy	→ participation
rule of law	→ administration and proceedings
peacefulness	→ non-violent negotiations

Among these specifications the most fuzzy but most fundamental is "the right freely to *participate in the cultural life* of the community", which is part of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (art. 27.1). It is conceptualised as an individual right and consequently all rights derived from it apply to personal individuals. The Faro-Framework Convention very prominently in art. 1a) and again in art. 4a adopts this right stating that it relates to cultural heritage. Doubtlessly this right covers landscape as well insofar as it is regarded cultural heritage (cf. Explanatory Report to the Faro Framework-Convention). Accordingly the same convention elsewhere (preamble) explicitly connects to the European Landscape Convention and (art. 2) defines heritage to include – among others – "all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time", especially referring to land-use planning and landscape diversity (art. 8). From this right of participation in cultural life the following two rights – freedom of speech and liberty of movement – gain special momentum with regard to cultural heritage and landscape beyond their abstract general importance.

The *freedom of speech* is a central aspect of active participation in cultural heritage. Quite obviously it asks for the possibility to bring forward a plurality of

interpretations (Habu *et al.* 2008) instead of a single reading of a landscape e.g. by a stately body or by restriction of acceptable interpretations to academic narratives – as does the ICOMOS Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites (principle 2; http://www.international.icomos.org/charters/interpretation_e.pdf accessed 13/05/2011). But it may be less obvious that to enable such multivocality implies to equally make visible that different voices and interpretations; The freedom of speech not only is a right to freedom of speaking, but likewise includes the right of equal access to the media for all speakers to give their voices equal chances to be heard. This accounts for e.g. teaching diverse interpretations in school or advertising them on information tables on site (Skeates 2000, 89ff.).

Liberty of movement with respect to participation in cultural heritage is concerned with sharing and experiencing. Liberty of movement is a much more problematic right than freedom of speech as – taken seriously – it poses fundamental questions on the practice of participation. Some European countries are still following traditional juridical constructs granting different degrees of public access to landscapes; cf. the right-of-way in the United Kingdom, the *Allemansrätten* of Scandinavia and the Austrian *Wegefreiheit*. Apart from such regional rights it may be arguable to deduce a general right of accessibility of heritage and landscapes from the rights of participation in cultural heritage and liberty of movement⁵. If a landscape is perceived a cultural heritage what else could mean the right of participation than foremost a right of access? Such a general accessibility of landscape and heritage, however, is in fundamental tension with the right of property. In a fully economized Western world of the last three decades the right of property, likewise part of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (art. 17), is basically interpreted as a total right of (economic) usage and accordingly a right to restrict or forbid usage by others. Though under heavy neo-liberal bombardement heritage legislation still constrains some aspects of an unlimited use of property: E.g. destruction of monuments is prohibited, alterations are subject to regulations and a (disputed) duty of conservation is prescribed. But at the sunset of a purely capitalist world-view it may be timely to question whether everybody's right to participate in cultural life might imply further restrictions to property⁶. It seems a justifiable argument that access to cultural property may not be denied to anybody interested as long as such public access does not harm the total sustainability of the property. Moreover it poses the question, whether there is any legal fundament to impose entrance fees on the participation in and access to cultural heritage

⁵ From personal experience I feel that the numerous positive answers to free public access of heritage sites, provided by a number of European heritage agencies (De Wit & Ziegls 2009, 165) is not so much a reflection of real practice but of a very short question and very short answers.

⁶ The Explanatory Report to the Faro Framework-Convention sets out that a status of cultural heritage "does not negate private proprietary status", but limitations in the exercise of private rights may be justified in the public interest, in proportion to the values placed upon particular items. (See Articles 4c and 5a).

(in any form). This discussion on general legitimacy of cultural (private or public) property has already started during the last years (e.g. Carman 2005; Gillman 2010), but so far concentrates on objects, looting and indigenous rights. It pays strikingly little attention to the question of accessibility in general and to landscapes in special, not to speak of public accessibility for the reason of cultural participation (but Silverman & Ruggles 2007, 9ff.). If landscapes and heritage indeed are fundamental to collective identities as European conventions are claiming (cf. Déjeant-Pons 2002, 15), then not only the right to participate in heritage, but also the societal interest in a collective identity-formation votes for supremacy of public against private interests. This combination of two fundamental human rights – the liberty of movement and the participation in cultural life – is fostered more generally by the idea of a social obligation of property, which is (a neglected) part of some national constitutions (e.g. German Constitution art. 14.2). To raise awareness for the full dimensions of the problem in Germany in 2007/08 approximately 0,5 % of the people owned 82 % of the land, providing 2,1 % of employment and contributing 0,9 % to Germany's gross value⁷. Apparently the very little economic importance of the land is not a convincing reason to concentrate landed property along with all its various rights of usage in the hands of a very small part of the population. Instead from a heritage- and identity-perspective it may be worth to discuss differentiating the various rights/interests connected to landed property by e.g. distinguishing between ownership (= possession) and authority of usage. While the first incorporates the private economic value of the land, the second depends on the social meaning of the landscape, which may ask for the integration of public access; this way ownership would be augmented by a notion of social responsibility. These two and any other aspects of property could conform to each other without derogating one aspect by others, if all aspects are subordinate to sustainability of the whole.

Protection of minorities, i.e. protection of minorities' heritage and landscapes has for some years found its way into the discussion on heritage. On an abstract level the protection of minorities' heritage limits the majorities' interests. Usually this idea is interpreted as a special protection of sites and landscapes, which are valued only by a strange minority, but are meaningless to the local majority. But if heritage is "a group of resources inherited from the past which people identify [...] as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions" (Framework Convention on the Value

of Cultural Heritage for Society art. 2a), if these people identifying something as heritage are a minority in general, then heritage itself is a minority-position against the majority of society not taking part in such heritage-construction. The same way the protection of species in ecology is a kind of minority-protection against a human majority.

Participation is a fundamental ingredient to democracy – as the Explanatory Report to art. 5d of the Faro-Framework-Convention puts it: "Participation may, indeed, act as an indicator of the health of society". It is encapsulated in the European conventions' very definitions of heritage and landscape. While the Faro Framework-Convention (art. 2a) just cited above binds cultural heritage to the identification by people, the European Landscape Convention (art. 1) likewise declares that "landscape is an area, as perceived by people". This constructivist definition puts people at the base of any heritage and landscape: Heritage and landscape in their sheer existence are bottom-up processes instead of top-down decision: Without people neither of them exist. To transform into practice this definition needs fully participatory instruments to ascertain and (re-)evaluate what is identified and perceived by people. Certainly such initial and interim acts of participatory definition do not fully exploit the potential of democratic inclusion (cf. King 2008, 247f.). With regard to freedom of speech and liberty of movement participation also asks for the equal involvement of all interested groups in the management of heritage and landscapes (Déjeant-Pons 2002, 16). Such equal involvement of diverse interests includes e.g. farmers, ecologists, economists, historians and archaeologists, landscape architects and planners, the government, owners, tourists, locals, indigenous groups, religious parties and any other group with an interest in the specific landscape (cf. Skeates 2000). Equal involvement likewise means to equally acknowledge all aspects of landscape far beyond reducing it matters of appropriation and commodification⁸, but valuating intangible aspects as well like emotions, narratives, recreation, etc. (cf. the analysis by Bortolotto 2007). Participatory elements in environmental impact assessment may provide a model to some degree, though neither does this assessment take all stakeholders involved for equal, but privileges environmental interests (more optimistic King 2008, 253f.). With regard to heritage a shared benefit with other interests (e.g. tourism, ecology) of course is highly welcome, but heritage has an importance of its own in the landscape and may not be reduced to a collateral aspect – especially not to one of economic or ecological interests.

Certainly such a multivocal integrative approach goes along with multifocality of the different interest groups. Therefore, the Faro Framework-Convention (art. 7b) asks the participating state parties to "establish processes for conciliation to deal equitably with situations where contradictory values are placed on the same cultural heritage by different communities". I.e. *administrative procedures* have to be established,

⁷ According to the Statistisches Bundesamt (<http://www.destatis.de> [accessed 18/05/2011]); Gurrath 2009) the agrarian landscape and forest in 2008 summed up to 293.469 km² = 82,2 % of Germany's total area of 357.111 km². At the same time 840.000 persons were (self-)employed in farming and forestry = 2,1 % of Germany's total of 39.800.000 employees, while farming and forestry contributed 0,9 % to the German gross value (2007). The agrarian landscape and forest was owned by 403.000 farms almost exclusively in the possession of physical persons = 0,5 % of Germany's 82.200.000 inhabitants.

For comparison, in the French *Ancien Régime* of 1789 1,8 % of the population (clergy and nobility) owned 40 % of the land.

⁸ The Explanatory Report to the Faro-Framework-Convention explicitly states that "cultural heritage is valuable for its own sake", but inconsequently frequently draws upon economic metaphors to describe this "value" of heritage.

guaranteeing a lawful way of dealing with divergent interests. According to sociologist Niklas Luhmann (1975) in a democratic society it is administrative proceedings, which guarantee participation and constitute legitimacy. However, such proceedings may not be arbitrary but have to acknowledge standards to achieve a legitimizing effect, not the least public authorities are obliged to be integrative and well-informed “in all sectors and at all levels” (Faro Framework-Convention art. 11a). Moreover they have to be transparent to all parties involved. Such transparency, less obviously, not the least is a matter of the duration of proceedings: The legitimizing effect of proceedings taking a decade or longer is dubitable at the best as no one is in the position to overlook the full course of the proceeding, which started under quite different conditions of society than they are at the time of the final decision.

Finally such proceedings and transparent administrative measures are instruments to foster a peaceful society and the peaceful interaction of nation as they provide means to avoid violent action instead of mutual negotiations.

According to these criteria so far there are only a very few European landscapes (e.g. Stonehenge since 2000; the Demotec-sites). The europeanization of the overwhelming majority of landscapes remains a political duty for the future, as most landscapes today are exclusive, top-down, prohibiting access and acknowledging only a very limited spectrum of (economic) stakeholders.

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The use of heritage in economic, social and political action



Oropesa de Toledo (Spain). Archaeological investigation of mass graves breaks taboos and supports the recognition of a painful past.
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variant of ‘memory fever’ – a term coined by historian Andreas Huyssen, which has afflicted Europe since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. It comes as no surprise that it triggered many reactions when it was published. The question has been asked, and rightly so, whether the state should present a canon that ‘supports a civilised form of Dutch identity and even Dutch self-awareness’. At first it was agreed upon that the benefits of debating this issue lie in the fairly broad consensus that the project can help to represent and anchor the values underpinning our democratic system rather than a specific Dutch identity. In the last couple of years the discussion has taken a new direction now that even left wing scholars and politicians are advocating a form of ‘civilised nationalism’ (Dutch *beschaafd nationalisme*), based on the right to say “we”, i.e. “we, the Dutch”.

‘The story of the Netherlands’, the canon, has inspired alternative and many other canons. These days, for instance, we have canons for the city of Leiden, the province of Fryslân, the history of Dutch music, social work or the geology of the Netherlands. Recently, the canon on the social sciences (*De gammacanon*) and *The Scientific Canon (De bètacanon)* were published. The last one contains fifty concepts covering what every Dutch person should know about science and technology. Interestingly the canon includes two concepts – ‘people’ and ‘agriculture’ – which are central to archaeology but which are either absent from the historical canon or are discussed – see the window on the Dutch *hunebedden* – in a way that I find unsatisfactory. The history of our human ancestors is described in chapter 38 under the heading ‘Away from the Savannah’. There we find what for a host of reasons should have been the first window of the historical canon. This demonstrates why the historical canon should not have been written by historians alone. Not to put too fine a point on it – they have absolutely no idea about the study of the history of the Netherlands and Western Europe before 1500 A.D. It also shows that we have a long way to go in bringing together evolutionary-biological and historical perspectives. Together with ethnologists, archaeologists are ideally placed to bridge the divide between the arts and the sciences.

Criticism has also been levelled at the fact that the canon obstructs our view of the world beyond the Netherlands. Although some windows do show something of European and world history, a few additional archaeological windows would, I think, naturally have paid greater attention to the Netherlands as part of a wider world. A look at prehistory and protohistory would have revealed that the Netherlands, the Dutch state and the Dutch community are (very) recent phenomena. The Netherlands is not a natural entity, but a historical product with a brief and changeable past history. This also means that the subject of the canon has no enduring value in perpetuity. A glance at a series of maps in any historical atlas will show clearly that our country soon vanishes the further back you go in time: from a state called the Netherlands (as from 1831) via the Dutch Republic and the Burgundian Netherlands and ultimately back to the Bishopric of Utrecht. Before that there was nothing that even remotely resembled the

subject of the new canon. For pre- and protohistory, the Netherlands should be viewed as an indivisible part of the Northwest European Plain, the extensive coastal region that runs from Northern France to deep into Poland and which is situated in a moderate climatic zone.

This is not the place to present the definitive missing windows for the pre- and protohistory of the Netherlands. But I intend to make a start; in a very broad and sketchy outline. I am doing so in order to provoke discussion, but above all to show why the story of prehistory and protohistory is both interesting and important. More so than is suggested by the Dutch historical canon. It gives us an initial point of reference with regard to the diverse ideas and values contained in what at first glance appears to be an unfortunate term – namely, ‘civilised nationalism’. Hopefully my line of reasoning provides an outline of an open, multilayered and dynamic canon. This is, however, not to build a European but a trans- or post-national set of windows instead.

2. Five windows on our distant past

2.1 Window on our most distant past: man and animal

The exclusive focus on the Netherlands has been abandoned in the description of my first proposed window. The phenomenon that the new window refers to took place in Africa. It concerns the process of the origins of humankind, principally the origin of the species *Homo* – that is, all species, including modern humans, who we class as hominids. This is a process stretching back six to eight million years, to a time when humans shared a last common ancestor with various other primates. About four million years ago, there evolved the common ancestor of the hominids – the bipedal *Australopithecus*. Consecutively and in parallel with each other, various hominid species evolved from this ‘southern ape’ 2.5 to 1.7 million years ago. One of them, *Homo erectus*, made and used tools and possibly fire and was the first to move outside Africa (‘Out of Africa 1’).

Another descendant was the Neanderthaler, whose presence across Europe beginning 500,000 years ago has been well-documented. As I mentioned earlier, flint artefacts of this species have also been found in the Netherlands – only very rarely in their original context, unfortunately. A fitting icon for this window is the hand-axe (fig. 6.2), a fairly complex and versatile tool that was used by our distant hominid ancestors across



Fig. 6.2: Middle Paleolithic hand axe from ‘De Hej’ at Sint Geertruid.

large parts of the world for hundreds of thousands of years.

Although clear boundaries can be drawn between different genera and species, there is no great genetic difference between primates and hominids and ultimately humans. Ethological research also shows small differences in the social and cognitive domains. The combination of nature and culture applied not only to human evolution. Imitation, learning processes and cultural transfer were decisive for other primates too. The work of archaeologists has also found strong evidence for calling into question the age-old dogma of a clear-cut dividing line between humans and animals. The subject matter of the first window is not only *bien à penser* as regards the dividing line between nature and culture and between animal. In addition it draws our attention to the deep evolutionary roots of the distinction between male and female and between young and old.

2.2 The origin and spread of modern humans: cultural diversity

My second new window concerns the origin of the human species – of *Homo sapiens*, or modern humans. This process also took place in Africa, where the human species evolved, perhaps as far back as 150,000 to 200,000 years ago. After the evolution of the species, in possession of full command of language, and only ca 60,000 years ago, *Homo sapiens* dispersed in a series of steps out of Africa and across almost the entire world ('Out of Africa 2'). Characteristic of these early modern humans was a more complex and intensive use of tools, made not only of stone but also of bone, antler and ivory. Technological and social developments took place at an ever-increasing pace. We find the first indications of the use of jewellery and art, to name some special examples.

In Europe, humans encountered Neanderthals, a relative of the genus *Homo* who differed markedly from humans in genetic, social and cultural respects. This is because the two species went their separate ways more than half a million years ago. *Homo neanderthalensis*

died out about 30,000 years ago for reasons that we do not yet know. Only then did a situation arise in which humans became the only representatives on earth of the genus *Homo*, a situation so familiar to modern humans but in fact quite exceptional.

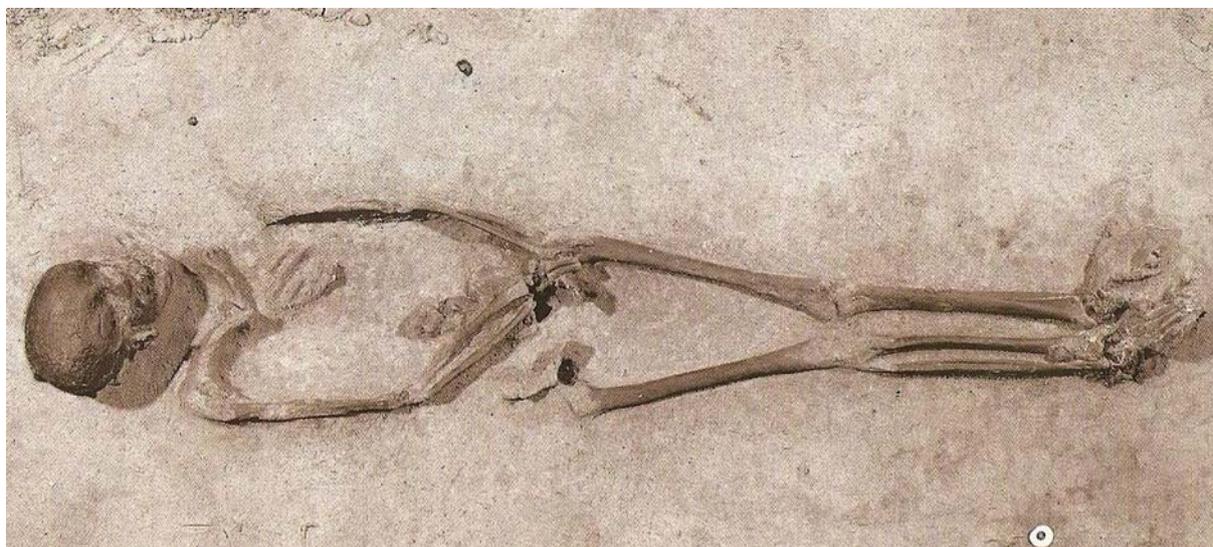
The earliest traces of modern humans in the Netherlands stem from the period after about 13,000 BC (the late Palaeolithic). From that time onwards, with only a few minor interruptions lasting several centuries at the end of the last Ice Age, our region has seen uninterrupted human habitation. No less a figure than 'Trijntje' (fig. 6.3), the oldest archaeologically documented individual from our region's past, can symbolise the developments described in this window.

In an evolutionary sense, we're talking about very recent events. Given the short space of time since 'Out of Africa 2', there has been little opportunity for genetic change in relation to our ancestors of about ca 60,000 years ago. The conclusion is inescapable: all people in the world are born genetically equal. In the lead-up to and during the relatively slow evolution of the human species, changes in genetic make-up and in human culture played their part together. Since our species spread out of Africa, there have been only very minor genetic changes within the species and human development has been entirely determined by processes of cultural innovation and transfer. Or, to exaggerate slightly, it is we humans who have shaped our own development. Complex processes of separation, (separate) development and (renewed) contact and subjugation have given rise worldwide to a complex mosaic of cultures and cultural groups. Archaeology is still at the early stages of making comparative studies of similarities and differences in the way people and societies developed in different parts of the world.

2.3 Hearth and home and the outside world: "us" and "them"

My third new window seems to be already represented in the historical canon. After all, the first window relates to Neolithic megaliths and the 'revolutionary'

Fig. 6.3: 'Trijntje', the oldest documented *Homo sapiens* from the Netherlands, Hardinxveldt-Giessendam, Polderweg.



transition from a way of life based on hunting, fishing and gathering to one centred around agriculture. Nevertheless, this window does raise some fundamental questions. Megaliths are without doubt a special phenomenon whose existence and significance every Dutch person should know about, but we should not create the impression that habitation began in the Netherlands with the builders of these megalithic burial chambers. Here the historical canon has reproduced a highly antiquated view that was widely accepted in educational circles until the 1960s, but which scholars dismissed decades ago. This one-sided, exclusive focus on *hunebedden* in connection with our earliest history fails to do justice to a richer prehistory and to the enormous strides made by archaeological research in this country. Major research studies into settlements and cemeteries have enabled archaeologists to present – for most regions in the Netherlands – a detailed picture of the development of local farming communities from several thousand years B.C. to well into the Middle Ages. Archaeologists would probably have preferred a window featuring a farmhouse, livestock, farmyard and surrounding infields and outfields (fig. 6.4). For a period of five thousand years, until far into the twentieth century, our history was above all one of small farming communities. We archaeologists prefer to write canon with a small ‘c’ rather than a capital. And it was not the new type of food production that was most important here, but the experience of living in one place – the emergence, in other words, of the practice and notion of ‘hearth and home’.

Incidentally, for most of prehistory and protohistory we are talking about relatively small numbers of people in the Netherlands. It is hard to conceive of, but with the exception of the Roman period when numbers rose to perhaps a quarter of a million, the Netherlands was inhabited until the early Middle Ages by several tens of thousands of people. Nevertheless, the intensive and often disastrous use of the landscape over many centuries meant that from early times people had left their mark everywhere.

There are some important points to be made about the significance for the Dutch delta region of the transition to agriculture. Once again, the Netherlands lay far outside the area of origin of this new way of life in Europe and Asia. For the indigenous population, a complete and unconditional transition to agrarian food production was by no means a foregone conclusion. For at least a thousand years, a kind of food gathering prevailed that combined old and new sources of food.



It is also important to understand that the transition to a farming way of life should not simply be understood as a positive step forward in human civilisation. It also meant leaving paradise behind, once and for all. Unlike hunters and gatherers, cultivators were obliged to devote a much greater part of their time to economic activity. The transition to agriculture also marked the end of an egalitarian form of social organisation. And the changes I have just outlined brought with them the beginnings of a heightened sense of the difference between ‘us’ and ‘them’.

2.4 Tribal communities on the margins: hierarchy

With the fourth new window, we once again find ourselves off the beaten track of the official Dutch historical canon. The fact that the Netherlands became part of the Indo-European domain of languages and cultures during the Bronze Age deserves special attention. The nature, cause and phasing of Indo-European expansion is still hotly debated. What we do agree on, however, is that there were major differences between the farming societies of the Neolithic and the early Bronze Age on the one hand and the Middle and later Bronze Ages on the other, and not just in a linguistic sense. Although we find desirable objects of value in the first group, such as large (unusable) honed axes, these societies seem to have placed great emphasis on the community as a whole. The community was also responsible for fairly ambitious undertakings, such as the erection of dolmens. We can find no traces, however, of prominent people in the archaeological heritage – in the funerary ritual, for example. This is essentially different in the second, later group of societies, whose latest representatives we catch a glimpse of in medieval epic poems. For late prehistory and protohistory, the prestige of individual men and women is clearly visible in the archaeological record, especially in warfare, personal hygiene, feasts, rituals and kingship. In the graves of these men we therefore find precious weapons, toilet articles, special clothing, jewellery, chariots, horses, drinking vessels and on occasions objects symbolising sacral kingship. A salient example in the Netherlands of the symbolic manifestation of these differences in status is the early Iron Age ‘vorstengraf’, or king’s grave, in Oss, North Brabant (fig. 6.5).

For the rest, it is clear that highly pronounced socio-political differences between people and within groups never developed in the territory of the present-day Netherlands. People lived in isolated farmhouses or hamlets of no more than two or three farmhouses. True villages did not appear until the late Iron Age or the Roman period. In contrast to what was customary in most parts of Europe, people in the Netherlands lived together with their livestock under one roof. This tradition, which persisted until the twentieth century, goes back to the Middle Bronze Age. In this context, it is fascinating to note that the millennia-old practice of tethering cattle will soon be prohibited in the interests of promoting animal welfare.

Fig. 6.4: Iron age farmstead from the Dutch riverine area.



Fig 6.5: Grave finds from the early Iron age 'royal burial' of Oss (National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden).

2.5 Touched by civilisation: individual and state

With the fifth and final newly proposed window, we see a link with the official canon. The window on the Roman *limes*, or frontier, has quite rightly allocated the Roman era a place in the canon. The Roman milestone is a well-chosen icon. It was in the first century BC that the tribal societies of the Dutch delta were confronted for the first time with an *imperium*, a colonising state society in which writing, law, a state monopoly on violence, institutionalised and dedicated power and a trade economy played a leading role. The tribal *persona* had to redefine him- or herself in relationship to a much more complex and global outside world. Roman society and state provided individual people with opportunities for development far outside the ancestral tribal sphere. At the same time it enforced through for example education, enlistment in the army and participation in professional societies and cults new models for feeling, thinking and behaving.

We should not harbour any illusions about Roman interest in our region. The Netherlands had only a strategic significance, as an important corridor between the German Rhineland and Britain. It was also an area from which soldiers were recruited. The well-known, native Batavians, exponents par excellence of an Indo-European warrior tradition, were the group that supplied soldiers in the greatest number. A contested issue is whether we can discern in the way they lived and developed – with its close adherence to the traditions of late prehistory – a self-conscious clinging to their own cultural traditions or whether long-term dependence and exploitation led to underdevelopment. What is clear, however, is that the collapse of Roman authority created a situation in the Netherlands that bore a striking resemblance to that of late prehistory. The landscape was dominated by small farming communities in small tribal groups, once again numbering no more than several tens of thousands of people. The importance of the Roman empire lay not in its immediate legacy but above all in the power-political possibilities suggested by the recollection of what was regarded for centuries as the oldest civilisation. The Dutch delta did not change beyond recognition until the high Middle Ages when large-scale land reclamation prompted a major demographic transition, laying the foundation for the unique position of the Dutch coastal region in the late Middle Ages and the early modern period.

3. History and social values

The alternative five archaeological windows that I have proposed touch on the origin of humankind, on human colonisation of the world, the domestication of animals and plants, the emergence of a cohesive domain of Indo-European languages and cultures, the creation of the first state and empire, and the implications of these far-reaching processes for the habitation history of the area that would later become the Netherlands. These processes confront us directly with our views on and our appreciation of the contrast between people and animals, between male and female, between young and old, between indigenous and migrant peoples, between house, yard and the outside world, and between persons or individuals on the one hand and society and the state on the other. This entails a discussion of the mix of humanity and cultural diversity, of self-awareness and openness, and of a sense of community and individual or personal autonomy. These are combinations of important social values, I think, that are vital to the shaping of a society that prides itself on both its democratic foundations and its unity, which is rooted in a shared history. They show that 'civilised nationalism' is not a straightforward concept: the construction of our own national identity must go hand in hand with an awareness and appreciation of ever changing relationships with our natural environment and other social groups. This approach to discussing our history will allow us to choose an intermediate position between too great an emphasis on our 'own' identity and a taboo on discussing and appreciating cultural differences. Archaeologists and natural historians have an interesting story to tell on this subject, one that provides a large audience with a common but open historical framework for discussion of important issues and values of the present and the future. Not one that tells all what to think or to value but invites to reflect and to discuss.

4. Acknowledgements

An initial proposal for four alternative 'archaeological' windows within the historical canon can be found in Bazelmans 2007. Ultimately, my proposal to have five new windows for prehistory and protohistory can be interpreted as a way to get rid of the Dutch historical canon altogether. Within my line of reasoning it is sound to have five additional windows which cover 'history' in a more universal trans-national, 'de-centred' sense: (6) christianisation; (7) the development of mercantile capitalism and early modernity; (8) the development of the modern nation-state; (9) the development of the modern welfare state; and (10) 2100: scenario's for the future. This is however far beyond my expertise and the scope of this article. The latest work by Colin Renfrew, the grand old man of European archaeology, was a key source of inspiration for developing the windows (Renfrew 2007). For Huyssen's 'memory fever', see Huyssen (1995). Bank and De Rooij (2004) produced

the predecessor to the official historical canon. For the historical canon of the Netherlands, see www.entoen.nu. For an English translation: <http://www.entoen.nu/doc/AKeyToDutchHistory.pdf>. Grever *et al.* (2006) and the special issue 79 of *Boekman. Tijdschrift voor kunst, cultuur en beleid* both contain critical reviews of the canon, including a plea by Siep Stuurman to write world history instead of a canon. For regional and local canons, see www.regiocanons.nl. For the scientific canon or *Bètacanon*, see Dijkgraaf, Fresco, Gualthérie van Weezel and Van Calmthout (2008). Van Heeteren (2008) wrote the chapter on the origin of humankind in the scientific canon. To bridge the gap between the arts and sciences, we need to tie in with the work of ethologists (see De Waal 2005; 2006, with a host of references to his comprehensive and important oeuvre). The National Archaeological Research Agenda (www.noaa.nl) provides a useful introduction to research into the prehistory and protohistory of the Netherlands. Louwe Kooijmans *et al.* (2005) have written a standard work on the prehistory of the Netherlands, while Deeben *et al.* 2005 present an important supplement for the Stone Age. The *Limes Atlas* (Colenbrander & MUST 2005) provides useful insights into the military infrastructure along the Nederrijn, Kromme Rijn and Oude Rijn. Unfortunately, there is still no worthy successor to the out-of-date *De Romeinen in Nederland* (Van Es 1981). Roymans, Derks and Heeren (2007) present a special study of a Batavian village. This last work contains excellent references to relevant modern literature on the Roman Netherlands from at home and abroad.

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7 | The Slavs, Great Moravia and Us

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Abstract: Almost twenty years ago, after the fall of communism Czechoslovakia split up into two independent states. On the one hand both entered the European Union; on the other hand both are now searching separately for their roots. Great Moravia and everything that has to do with it appeals mainly to the Slovaks and Moravians. New traditions are being created, new monuments erected, and the interpretation of medieval history is subject to political controversies. Archaeologists, historians, historians of art and linguists play an important part in this endeavour and we have to ask, to what extent they are aware of how much they are involved in the formation of current cultural identities. This example is not important only for the interpretation of the cultural heritage of a certain part of Central Europe, but also for the whole of Europe.

The countries of Central Europe, more precisely those who did not become part of the Holy Roman Empire north of the former *Limes Romanum*, nowadays known as the Czech Republic and the Republic of Slovakia, entered the political history of Medieval Europe in the course of the development of the first states in this territory in the 9th and 10th centuries. The Slavic inhabitants had settled this area within the Migration Period. At the time of their evangelisation the first state known as Great Moravia was established. Today we have only a vague idea about its organisation, and historians have not yet come to a conclusion about its maximal nor minimal territorial extent and we know really only very few personalities from the secular and clerical elite (Dvorník 1948; Dvorník 1956; Graus 1963a; Graus *et al.* 1966; Měřínský 2006; Třeštík 2001).¹ In the eyes of the first concepts of the modern Czechoslovak state it has been considered the first common state of Czechs and Slovaks. The Great Moravian motif as an important structural element of the Czechoslovak statehood appears shortly after the foundation of the Republic in 1918, though really strong and important it became so only at the end of the 60s, 70s, and in the 80s a monographic study was dedicated to this problem (Chropovský & Poulík 1985). From the members of the Mojmir dynasty, the best known and most warlike was perhaps prince Svatopluk I; the religious tradition most appreciates Rastislav. To the country, which was subject to the Bavarian church, he summoned the reformers Cyril and Methodius, two brethren, who introduced and enforced a liturgy in a Slavonic language (Dvorník 1970; Vavřínek 1963; Havlík 1983; Kalhous 2008). At the beginning of the 10th century, after the fall of Great Moravia, the followers of the house of Mojmir are the Přemyslids and the Hungarian Árpáds. Both had a great potential and both are referred to in the ideology

of today's states that developed after the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy after World War I. In the time of the National revival, in the frame of Austria-Hungary the interest in the Czech and later on also the Slovak language, history and culture grows. Intellectuals of their time demarcated themselves against the German, eventually Hungarian Language, History and Culture. From the Czech point of view of greatest interest were old Bohemian legends, especially about the first Přemyslids, but it also was the time of the Pan-Slavic idea, that is, the idea to unite all Slavic nations, at least those of multinational empires. Pan-Slavism was spread foremost by intellectuals, writers and artists. In Bohemia and other countries, for example the south Slavic, it was met with great enthusiasm. In Bohemia the extreme idea that all Slavs should be protected by the mightiest neighbouring state, which was the Russian empire gained considerable support (Hrodek *et al.* 2005). Archaeology was a rather young science, its main function was to study the past and to some extent to legitimise the presence of Slavs, Czechs and Slovaks in this territory, at the beginning it mainly gathered and listed Slavic antiquities. The major work of this time was the multi-volume "Slovanské starožitnosti" [Slavic Antiquities] by Lubor Niederle (1904). This scholar also became the first director of the State Archaeological Institute that was founded soon after the birth of the new republic in 1919 (Jiráň 2009). Although the institute was founded as a work place for fundamental research from the beginning it was oriented towards a broad band of archaeological goals, the question of the relations between Czechs and Germans, or more precisely, Slavic or Germanic tribes, belonged to the themes that were discussed until the end of the 1950s in the 20th century. Very soon archaeological excavations came to face other objectives of profound importance.

In the beginning of the 20th century Pan-Slavism, supported by historical and archaeological research, gave birth to two outstanding works of art, which on one hand represent the climax of Slavophilia of the preceding period, and on the other hand influenced the relation between Czechs, Moravians and Slovaks to their past. They accomplished the feeling of the

¹ The history of Great Moravia as well other sub-topics mentioned in the text, is treated mainly in Czech and Slovak literature. Since it is not our aim to deliver a complete overview, only the most influential works, contributions available in other languages and more recent ones are mentioned.

direct connection between the modern state of Czechoslovakia and its Early Medieval predecessors. In visual arts it is the monumental Slavic Epic by Alphonse Mucha, in which the author tried to render the history of the Slavs. We have to deal with a monumental collection of twenty paintings, the average size of which is 48 square meters which were created between 1912 and 1928 (Mucha 1982, Bydžovská & Srp 2012). Of most interest to us is the "Introduction of the Slavonic liturgy in Great Moravia", which explained the interpretation of the beginnings of our Christian history. On the background of monumental architecture, inspired by the Hagios Demetrios church at Thessaloniki a scene is shown, in which on the court of the castle of Veligrad, the residential town of Great Moravia, the Pontifical legate reads the bull "*Industriae tuae*", appointing Methodius archbishop of Great Moravia and allowing him to serve the mass in Old Church Slavonic. According to contemporary interpretation the figure on the elevated throne is prince Svatopluk, in front of the rotunda, in the face of a procession of his pupils is Methodius himself. The group left on top symbolises the violent spread of Christianity through the Franks. On the lower right with hood we see Cyril in heaven protecting the Moravians. In the right upper part of the picture Mucha illustrates through four figures in form of an icon the timeless connection between Great Moravia and the Kievan Rus and Great Bulgaria. The two characters in the centre, sitting as if on a cargo boat are the sons of the Saints Vladimir Gleb and Boris,

patrons of the sailors and guardians of the traders, who symbolise that step by step all Slavic nations reached the haven of Christianity. Actually it was this painting that influenced the Czechoslovak, esp. the Czech archaeologists and art historians more than they would admit themselves. I am convinced that in many respects it is to be held responsible for the "Byzantine" interpretation of the architecture of the 9th century. Alphonse Mucha dedicated his Slavic Epic to Prague. Significantly until recently it did not have a permanent place of exhibition, nor was it honoured by a representative scientific publication. Today the whole cycle was transferred to Prague and will temporarily be exhibited in the National Gallery of Prague. Far beyond this interpretation and deeply into the nucleus of this, came the composer Leoš Janáček especially in his perception of the heritage of Cyril and Methodius the composer. In his ingenious and individualistic "Glagolitic Mass" he tried to create an authentic picture of this time. It deals with the confrontation between paganism and Christianity, this means with man, who believes in natural gods and meets a new, spiritual type of religion. After the institution of the Czechoslovak Republic Great Moravia became, though it was known only from Chronicles, very real. The new state, which developed after the break up of the Habsburg Monarchy, had to substantiate its borders and common Early Medieval roots were a welcome help. Only one year after the proclamation of the republic, in 1919, on the urging of

Fig. 7.1: Alphonse Mucha, Introduction of the Slavonic liturgy in Great Moravia, National Gallery of Prague (J. Maříková-Kubková).





Fig. 7.2: Emil Venkov, Sculptural group of St. Cyril and Methodius, Mikulčice-Valy (J. Maříková-Kubková).

President Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, a National Archaeological Institute was established, at the head of which stood the pre-eminent slavist Lubor Niederle (Jiráň 2009). Although colleagues will not like to hear it, his role was namely to study our Slavic past (we have to mention in passing that the Slovak Archaeological Institute was founded in 1939, i.e. in the year, Slovakia separated from Czechoslovakia and existed as the fascist state called the First Slovak Republic until 1945). In the time of the First Republic this didn't become really true. The golden time of Slavic Archaeology came about only after World War II. Interplay between more aspects favoured the advancement of this field. The need to explore the beginnings of the Slavic settlement of our country was still alive, after the fall of Nazism, Slovakia was reconnected to Czechoslovakia and the question of common origins became once more important. The close relationship to Russia had two almost contradictory effects: on the one hand another version of Pan-Slavic ideas came into being, on the other hand the fear of being absorbed by the bigger brother led to the reinforcement of their own identity supported by a separate Early Medieval past. At this time of big changes in Moravia and Slovakia the first sites from Great Moravian times were being discovered. They were fortified strongholds with ecclesiastic architecture, churches and monasteries, dwellings and outbuildings, and, especially due to local geographic conditions, bridges. In these centres rich graveyards with gold and silver jewellery were found. Specialists as well as amateurs were fascinated. In the course of the Archaeological World Congress held in Prague, a big exhibition was organised, that passed through Europe and was very successful in the 1960s. From the beginning onwards we feel a very strong tendency towards the Byzantine in the interpretations,

that subsequently obliterated the variability of the material finds and extinguished the fact that Moravia was baptised before the arrival of Cyril and Methodius from the East. By this means Great Moravia slid to the east. This direction of the current scholarship has not ceased even in the last twenty years, repeatedly conferences and conference volumes are dedicated to it. As one for that covers all view we recommend "Slovensko a európsky juhovýchod" [Slovakia and the European Southeast] (Avenarius & Ševčíková 1999) or "Velká Morava mezi západem a Východem" [Great Moravia between East and West] (Galuška *et al.* 2001). In Bohemia numerous sites were excavated with the same accuracy, especially for the preserved remains of architecture and naturally for jewellery a Great Moravian origin or Great Moravian influences were sought. At the beginning of the 70s, shortly after the equilibration of the Bohemian and Slovak part of the state and the establishment of a Federation, the burial field in Lumbe garden at Prague Castle was discovered (Smetánka *et al.* 1973; 1974). It was as if the rich burial gifts had confirmed a common Early Medieval history of the Slovaks, Moravians and Czechs.

In the 1970s and 1980s the concept of the history of Great Moravia was fixed as a state formation that stood at the beginning of the Czechoslovak state (Chropovský & Poulík 1985). The contributions of many outstanding professionals are written in this spirit. Many expositions from the icons of Slavic archaeology are to be found in the daily press at this time. It was commonly accepted that our Christian and cultural roots come from the east, if not from Great Russia then at least from Byzantium and the Balkans. This orientation should have altered only after the fall of Great Moravia and the accession of the Árpáds and Přemyslids. We have to ask, to what extent the historians and archaeologists fulfilled the public interest and how it corresponds to the traditional Slavophilia, popular from the 19th century on. The situation changed after the fall of the Iron curtain and the break of Czechoslovakia into two independent states. In Slovakia and Moravia the relation to the Great Moravian forefathers has become very close. This is understandable, as both formations, one a separate state and a second one within the frontiers of the Czech Republic are in need of clarifying their origins and to demark themselves against the Czechs, who are lucky to have Prague founded by the first historically attested Přemyslid and still intact together with the graves of their oldest martyrs and their patron saints.

Canonisation of Prince Rastislav

The first interesting event after 1990 in this respect was the canonization of prince Rastislav in 1994 by the Czech and Slovak Orthodox Church, firstly in Prešov and then one year later with confirmation in Brno (Magna Moravia 1994; Havlík 1996). He was given this honour for inviting Cyril and Methodius. Catholic Slovakia and Moravia received this activity with great enthusiasm; in the media live broadcasts and many newspaper articles

were dedicated to it. Perhaps a little bit grotesque was the appreciation by the “Royal Order of the Moravian Knights of the Saints Rostislav and Columba”, an organisation that has erected a monument in his honour last year, with the co-operation of archaeologists, in Pohansko, a place that has traditionally been named “Rastislav’s seat” (Macháček 2008).

Svatopluk I. at Bratislava Castle

Most important, especially in Slovakia, but similarly in Bohemia and Moravia, was – or still is – the perception of the most militant Great Moravian prince, Svatopluk I. From written sources it is known that he subsequently conquered relatively vast territories, but it is not sure at all, in which way these were administered and how they were annexed. Nevertheless he reached Slovakia, the territory of Nitra. In Slovakia Svatopluk became the symbol of a successful ruler and was highly appreciated in Nazi Slovakia (Kováč 2005). The climax of his veneration like cult is represented by a dispute that came up in the last decade. On the demand of the Slovak political representation a thesis about the so called “Old Slovaks” as Great Moravia’s nation was elaborated. It was defended by the foremost Slovak historians, but we must comment that most parts of the scholarly community opposed it. The discussion is still lively and undecided, on both sides renowned archaeologists, historians and linguists take part and declare their attitudes in form of collective statements, as e.g. in the “Stanovisko slovenských historikov, archeológov a jazykovedcov” [statement of the Slovak historians, archaeologists and linguists] from the 4th of January 2008, signed by 32 mostly very prominent experts. Most information is to be found on the



internet and in newspapers, for basic orientation I can recommend www.sk.wikipedia.org/Starí_Slováci. A summary for the Czech reader was delivered in 2008 by the Slovak archaeologist Hana Chorvátová (2008) in Lidové noviny. Nonetheless on Bratislava castle an equestrian statue from the workshop of the Slovak sculptor Ján Kulich was dedicated to Svatopluk. The statue shows various attributes that according to many should remind people of the Slovak state, including an inscription that called Svatopluk a “king of the Old Slovaks”. The discussion continues to the present day, producing various statements and examinations by politicians and experts (e.g. “Stanovisko odbornej komisie Matice slovenskej k soche kráľa Svätopluka” [Statement of the expert board of the Matica slovenska to the statue of king Svätopluk] from the 10th September 2010 with signatures by a couple of historians and archaeologists).

Apart from the effort to relate oneself to the Great Moravian Empire in connection with political ambitions and to prove by this way the antiquity of territorial claims, not unimportant is the role of the conflict between Slovakia and Hungary. This at times has become more than latent, representing an important indicator of the perception of the Great Moravian tradition of the Cult of Saints. At the head of this naturally are Cyril and Methodius. At this point we would like to remind readers of at least one event. In June 2010 in Komárno, a town at the Slovak-Hungarian border, a statue of both saints was unveiled after the Hungarian minority had unveiled a statue of St. Stephen. The hitherto Slovak Prime Minister took part in this ceremony which became the subject of another controversy between the two countries.

The Thessaloniki Brothers – SS. Cyril and Methodius

The cult of Cyril and Methodius, which today has become one of the pillars of the Moravian, to a lesser extent Bohemian Catholicism, can be studied from the Early Middle Ages to the suppression of the Slavic mass at the beginning of the 11th and 12th centuries. In the Early Middle Ages their traces become faint, nevertheless they are mentioned in the legitimisation of the rule of the Přemyslid and Luxembourg dynasty (Kalhous 2011), but their time still was to come. More expressively their cult appears only in the middle of the 14th century, during the reign of Charles IV., when – apart from the idea of Cyril and Methodius – political circumstances became important. At that time the thought appeared that the Cistercian monastery at Velehrad, founded in 1205 by Přemysl Ottokar I., is identical to the Great Moravian Velehrad of Bishop Methodius, known from written sources (Kolísek 1935; Graus 1980; Měřínský 2006). Charles IV. even re-established Slavonic liturgy at the Benedictine monastery Na Slovanech (founded 1347 at Prague), which thereby should have continued the tradition of Cyril and Methodius. The real motifs and the importance of this act still have not been evaluated,

Fig. 7.3: Ján Kulich, Svatopluk the King, Bratislava Castle (J. Maříková-Kubková).



Fig. 7.4: Church of St. Cyril and Methodius, Prague-Karlín (M. Frouz).



at its time it was a relatively unusual step (Benešová & Kubínová 2007).

Hussitism, the Bohemian Brethren and the Lutheran reformation, which in the 15th and 16th centuries prevailed in our country, took a positive attitude towards the idea of Cyril and Methodius. The heritage of Cyril and Methodius was more appealing only to intellectuals of their time, such as the priest Bohuslav Bílejovský or Tomáš Zázvorka Lipenský, or later on to the humanistic scholar John Amos Comenius, or to the Slovak poet and collector of folk poetry Jakub Jakobeus (Mareš 2000). The Cardinal Franz Seraph von Dietrichstein pushed for a restitution of the veneration of these saints and inspired the search for the relics of St. Cyril at St. Clemente in Rome (Methodius should have been buried somewhere in Moravia). The remains were found, and one part was dedicated to the monastery at Rajhrad. The existence of these relics contributed to the reverence of Cyril and Methodius, but still only in local measures and as a subject of patriotic intellectuals (Graus 1963b; Měřínský 2006, 766–809).

To the time of the Thirty Years' War in the 17th and 18th century date some attempts to re-establish a saint's day for them, but without any result. A change came about in the 19th century, when their cult was formalised during the Czech National Revival. Cyril and Methodius'

Fig. 7.5: Statues of St. Cyril and Methodius. Church of St. Cyril and Methodius, Prague-Karlín (M. Frouz).

idea became the basis for the restitution of old privileges, national pride and political independence, it was part of the idea of a Slavic community in the spirit of Pan-Slavism. In the Orthodox Church both had been ventured as saints for a long time. The encyclical *Grande Munus* of Pope Leo XIII from 1880 ordered a feast of both brothers to the whole Roman Catholic Church (www.papalencyclicals.net/Leo13/113cym.htm accessed 01/12/2011). Moravian Velehrad became the target of big patriotic pilgrimages and of efforts to unite Catholic and Orthodox Christians (Unionist Congresses), a place for the deepening of the lively faith and of the convergence between Czechs and Slovaks. After World War II, apart from the Roman Catholic Church, the Czechoslovak Hussite Church and also the renovated Orthodox Church of the Czech Lands and Slovakia accepted the ideas of Cyril and Methodius (Piřha 2011).

Of interest is the study of the architectural expressions of the cult of Cyril and Methodius in Bohemia and Slovakia. Only occasionally references to chapels or churches with this patronage can be found before the middle of the 19th century. The first important building was a church in the Karlín district of Prague which was erected in the years 1853–1863. Most of the Czech and Moravian buildings were built in the 1890s and between the world wars. A relatively small group of chapels and churches were built after 1990. The situation is different in Slovakia, where almost half of these patronages date from the years 1940–1944, from the time of the Slovak Nazi State, the other building periods are the 20s–30s and 60s–70s and the time after 1993 (Judák & Poláčik 2009). In a time, when the cult of Cyril and Methodius in Moravia and Slovakia is very vivid and the heritage is referred to by top politicians of both countries, it seems incredible that we have to deal with a modern affair. If we consider the construction time of these churches, it becomes clear that the cult of these saints becomes actual at times, when we have to handle our past, when we refer to our forefathers to legitimise the present. In Bohemia it was the 1890s, when Masaryk's Czech question was actual, and in the time of the first republic. In Slovakia we have to deal mainly with the time of the Slovak state, when the Slovaks for the first time separated from the Czechs and then in 1993, when Czechoslovakia definitely broke apart.

St. Gorazd

Together with the reference to a Great Moravian tradition nowadays, perhaps more in Slovakia than in Moravia, and without any echo in Bohemia, the cult of St. Gorazd, the follower of Bishop Methodius is propagated. According to later tradition he was born in the small village of Močenok near Nitra (Škoviera 2010). From written sources we know very little, but we suppose that after the fall of Great Moravia he went to Bulgaria, where his memory is still very vivid. There are few churches with this patronage, mostly they stem from the time between the World wars, sometimes even with explicit quotations of Russian architecture (i.e. Olomouc), or from the last twenty years. Today we encounter a steady growth of his popularity, in his "native village" the theatre festival "Gorazdův Močenok" was called into being, which began as a

festival of liturgical theatre, and last year already the 18th year of this festival of Christian theatre was held. Moreover, from the highest Church positions the claim for archaeological excavations in the centre of the village was suggested, where, according to the legend, an original church is supposed to be. Perhaps a gothic or younger church, but today most of the submitting authorities believe that we will find an Early Medieval building.

We can't condemn historians and archaeologists, if they submit to public demands, this is only natural and we must bear this fact in mind. We have to bear in mind that this simply happens and that every one of us at least once in his professional career is posed before such a problem. On the Bohemian part we often hear laughter or nuisance about the instalment of a monument for Svatopluk, pompous Cyril and Methodius' or Gorazd's celebrations. It's obvious that Slovakia and Moravia revived the Great Moravian tradition under new political circumstances after the division of Czechoslovakia and joining of the European Union they have accepted it as containing their roots and without any doubt it enhances their self confidence. Last but not least of importance is the cultural inspiration, the creation of artistic festivals, works of visual arts. Unfortunately today we hardly can find something of a quality comparable to the works of one hundred years ago, we have to deal with rather mediocre statues and images, and we are inclined to say, because they were installed for the wrong reasons. In any case we witness the creation of a new cultural identity, and historians and archaeologists have a lion's share of it. In 2013 we will celebrate the 1150th anniversary of the arrival of the Thessaloniki brothers. It will be interesting to see how the Czech and the Slovak Republic will handle this date. By now, on the Czech side, the ministry of Culture has decided not to financially support a project for an accompanying exhibition on Great Moravia.

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8 | All in the same boat. The Vikings as European and global heritage

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Abstract: This paper presents a survey of contexts and places where Vikings are currently highlighted as a European cultural heritage, and discusses how this heritage is presented, and why so. The most significant contemporary importance of the Viking heritage, it is proposed, is not as a Scandinavian ancestral image, nor as a epitome of ruthless but enterprising barbarians, but as Europe's most distinctive historical and archaeological heritage relating to the world-wide maritime expansion of the Early Middle Ages. As such, 'Vikings' are historical champions of cultural models beyond the vision of a lost Roman identity implied by the concept of a 'Middle Age'.

1. The Vikings: European outsiders?

Europe, according to one of its most ardent historians, Marc Bloch, was a creation of the early Middle Ages. Yet it was not an achievement shared between every part of the continent. "European civilization arose and flowered", declares Bloch, "until in the end it covered the face of the earth, among those who dwelt between the Tyrrhenian, the Adriatic, the Elbe and the Atlantic Ocean. It had no other homeland." (Bloch 1939; quoted after the English translation by L.A. Manyon 1962, xix). This is a view, which finds considerable resonance in the dialogue of European heritage even today. Especially, one may suspect, among those who dwell between the Tyrrhenian, the Adriatic, the Elbe and the Atlantic Ocean. It resonates strongly in a historiography, which continues to distinguish a Gallo-Roman historical mainstream from developments in "Outer Europe", as it is termed in a prominent recent historical synthesis (Wickham 2009, 472).

Groups from other parts of the continent are not absent in these inherited narratives. Indeed, those from one corner, the Scandinavian Vikings, play a starring role in the continental nativity drama staged by historians like Bloch. They appear as the external threat which 'galvanized' the ties of feudal dependency and military obligation, which in this view defined the very concept of the Middle Ages. Having achieved that aim, however, they were left to become subject to the expansion of 'real' European history "until in the end it covered the face of the earth". The conception of external force acting upon – rather than within – European history, and the concomitant role as ferocious barbarians and pirates is still the image most likely to be associated by a modern European with the word Viking. Yet a number of very different Viking heritages exist.

This paper aims to presents a survey of contexts and places where Vikings are currently highlighted as a European cultural heritage, and to discuss how this heritage is presented, and why so. It will show how large parts of European countries share a Viking heritage across national and political boundaries. 'Vikings' it is argued, have considerable power as a contemporary ancestral image in the Scandinavian countries, the North Atlantic Islands, and to some

extent in the British Isles. Yet they have even stronger international focus as symbols of individualism, expansion and enterprise in medieval history. This image, reworking the early conception of ruthless barbarians into one of energetic explorers, settlers and traders, has emerged as a historical mirror of capitalism and the 'American Century'. This image, however, is a dubious construction of Viking Age societies as well as of the wider early medieval world. The advancement of archaeology both in Europe and elsewhere is currently contributing to an important reevaluation. The Viking heritage, it is proposed, is rather to be understood as one relating to the world-wide maritime expansion of the Early Middle Ages.

2. Viking heritage across Europe

The Viking heritage is a surprisingly diversified portfolio. 'Vikings' are a national legacy of the Scandinavian countries and the North Atlantic islands. Yet they are also a regional heritage in several other European countries, and one commemorated in connection with particular sites and cities in countries far off the Viking homelands. Moreover, they are a powerful international historical image, with a presence in popular culture which other European national ancestors rarely share. The word 'Viking' has been used to sell rubber boots, kitchen appliances, financial services, aircrafts, electronics, oil drilling, banks, a publishing company and a Mars lander. It is allegedly the single most popular name for sports clubs worldwide from Scandinavia to North America and Brazil (Ward 2000). If I go to a leading internet media-shop, I learn that customers who bought a historical TV-documentary on "Rome: The Rise and fall of an empire" also bought TV-documentaries on Ancient Egypt, ancient Greece, and on – the Vikings (www.amazon.co.uk accessed 28/02/2011). Vikings are the sole representatives of the early Middle Ages in this distinguished company. Clearly this is a heritage which appeals to people well beyond today's Scandinavia. The word 'Vikings' is a vernacular Old-Norse word for 'pirate', re-invented in the 19th century as a collective

term for Scandinavian sea-farers and warriors of the early middle ages (Brink 2008, 5f). It is sometimes applied more broadly to include the later medieval Norse societies in the North Atlantic islands, which maintained aspects of culture and historical memory of the age of colonisations, as vividly reflected in the Icelandic Sagas. The Viking heritage, to provide some form of definition, is the historical, archaeological and literary memory of these maritime activities.

The visual trappings associated today with Vikings as a popular image have a long history in the public domain. Furious combat, dragons-headed longships and (fictional) horned helmets can be enjoyed in full splendour in the 1928 MGM silent movie "The Viking", directed by Roy William Neill (better known for his classic Sherlock Holmes films). The cultural assumptions behind these symbols are spelled out in the introductory text frames of the movie, which present Vikings as "men of might, who laughed in the teeth of tempest, and leaped into battle with a song. Plundering, ravaging, they raided the coast of Europe, until the whole world trembled at the very name – the Viking". Yet the image of the barbarian warrior is balanced by the ensuing drama of the film, the theme of which, in the words bequeathed to the movie's Norwegian king Olaf, is to "sail out there and find new lands" – eventually leading to the crux of the plot: the discovery of America.

To Scandinavians, the Vikings are indeed a heroic ancestral image, maintained since the 19th century and in some contexts even since the renaissance (Roesdahl 1989). They are celebrated in art and literature, films, comic books, re-enactment, computer games, and in scores of museums and historical sites across the Nordic countries. They include some of the most well-visited museums in the countries, such as the Viking Ship Museum in Oslo, Norway, Ribe's Vikings and Roskilde Viking Ship Museum, Denmark (fig. 8.1). They also count some of Scandinavia's best know historical monuments, some recognized by UNESCO as world-heritage: Birka, the earliest Swedish town, the Urnes stave church in Norway with magnificent late Viking-style wood-carvings, and the royal burial mounds and rune-stones in Jelling, Denmark.

Currently strong efforts are applied to raise further Viking-age monuments to World Heritage status in a transnational serial nomination. The candidates proposed are the Trelleborg fortresses in Denmark –



Aggersborg, Fyrkat and Trelleborg – large and well engineered military camps of the tenth century; the Hyllestad quernstone quarries, Norway, where mass production of a bulk-trade commodity emerged in the Viking period; The sites of the Vestfold ship burials in Norway – Borre, Gokstad and Oseberg – richly furnished graves which have preserved a vivid archaeological window into Viking art, technology and mortuary customs; Hedeby in Northern Germany, an important trading hub at the southern border of Scandinavia, and the near-by Danevirke, a large system of defensive dykes; and Grobiņa in Latvia, a hillfort settlement and burial site with strong evidence for contacts with early Scandinavia (Anon. 2011; cf. also www.vikingheritage.org). The lengthy list reflects both the range and diversity of sites and phenomena which may be considered as part of a Viking heritage, and the strength of the interest in the Viking period in the countries which deem themselves to share in such a heritage.

The Viking Age is arguably even more central as a historical heritage to societies in the North Atlantic Islands, which were colonized during this period: the Faroese Islands, Orkney, the Shetlands, Iceland and Greenland. In the Shetlands the Viking past is celebrated annually with burning ships and processions at the famous "Up helly Aau" festival in Lerwick. Iceland's best know historical place, the assembly site Thingvallir, is another Viking site protected as UNESCO world heritage. So are the low turf-house foundations of L'Anse Aux Meadows, Newfoundland, which mark the brief spell in the 11th century when Viking Europeans explored the North American continent.

In other European countries the Vikings are hailed as a regional rather than a national heritage. This is the case in Normandy in France, where the Viking chief Rollo is venerated as the founder the Norman duchy in 911 (Renaud 2000). Even more prominently this applies to Northern England – the historical 'Danelaw' settled by the 'Great Viking Army' in the 870s. Across Northern England early medieval stone sculpture with pronounced Scandinavian styles and motifs are found together with occasional Scandinavian type objects in archaeological sites, and Scandinavian place names, complementing Scandinavian personal names in medieval sources (Richards 2000). This lends a distinct flavour to the regions cultural heritage, which has been keenly incorporated in identity discourses since the nineteenth century, sometimes with a pronounced class association (Wawn 2000).

A regional Viking heritage may also be said to exist in North West Russia. Scandinavian activities in Viking-age Russia are implied by the Russian Primary chronicle and by early Byzantine sources, as well as by finds of Scandinavian-type objects in settlements and graves

Fig. 8.1: The Viking Ship Museum in Roskilde is an extensive Viking heritage institution, comprising the ship hall (background) with original wrecks, a large visitor centre with harbour and workshops (left), and a working shipyard which uses authentic early medieval technology to build boats such as the Sea Stallion from Glendalough (front), an exact replica of a 11th century Dublin-built warship found in Roskild Fjord. In Roskilde 'Vikings' is a by-name for maritime endeavour (S.M. Sindbæk).

(Duczko 2004). For centuries these have been the focus of the 'Normannist Controversy' over the significance of foreign (i.e. non-Slavic) influences in the early Russian State (Nosov 1998; Klejn 2009). Notwithstanding the controversy (and recent high-level political endorsement of 'anti-Normannism', cf. Klejn *in press*), the early Scandinavian links continue to call a strong interest in North-West Russia, in part as a marker of regional distinction from other parts of Russia. A focus on Viking heritage is particularly noticeable in the on-site museums in the historical towns of Novgorod, Staraya Ladoga, and the princely seat of Rjurikovo Gorodishche (Nosov 2001).

Vikings play a part in the historical heritage of individual sites in further countries. Ireland's oldest towns, including Dublin, were founded as strongholds for Scandinavian navies in the ninth century and continue to celebrate their Scandinavian roots (Clarke *et al.* 1998; Wallace 2001). The Viking town Hedeby (or Haithabu), undoubtedly the most famous archaeological site in the German province Schleswig-Holstein, attracts attention both as an important regional monument, entangled in the regions complicated history as a Danish-German border region, and as a unique – in some respects exotic – archaeological site within Germany (Hilberg 2008). Vikings are also a focus point in the presentation of the great Carolingian North Sea port Dorestad in the Netherlands, which has recently received much attention (Willemsen 2009). Dorestad grew as a port for trade between the Carolingian empire and Scandinavia in the eighth and ninth centuries; it was held for a long time by Scandinavian reeves, and was eventually sacked by Viking fleets. The historical town Wolin in northern Poland, like Dorestad a site marked by intense contacts with Scandinavians, hosts a large annual Viking festival and market, drawing re-enactors from across Northern Europe. Catoira in Galicia, Spain, celebrates the *Romeía Vikinga* festival each year on the first Sunday in August, staging a theatrical display with horned marauders and dragon-ships in commemoration of a legendary defense against attacking Vikings.

Even a few Mediterranean countries can claim snippets of a Viking heritage. Tourists visiting the imperial Byzantine monuments in Istanbul are told about the emperor's Varangian guard of Nordic warriors, which included several famous Vikings, and they may be shown the faint Runic inscription carved by one such mercenary on the marble of the gallery of the Hagia Sophia church (Knirk 1999). Another Scandinavian in Byzantium carved an impressive runic inscription on the shoulder of the Piraeus Lion, which now puzzles tourists in Venice, whence it was moved in 1687.

The Viking heritage, then, is not an exclusive property of the Scandinavian countries, but a part of historical memories in maritime regions across large parts of Europe. They do not express a unified legacy with similar implications everywhere, but relate to a wide range of meanings and sentiments, ranging from celebrated national ancestors to more or less unwelcome exotic guests.

3. Varieties of Vikings

As with other brands of historical and archaeological heritage, it is hardly possible to point to a single

explanation for the widespread interest accorded to Vikings. It is possible to distinguish several very different strains of appreciation in different contexts.

The time-honoured image of Vikings as sea-borne barbarian warriors, taking cues from medieval sagas and chronicles, was cultivated by nineteenth century artists and writers not only in the Scandinavian countries, but notably in Britain and France (Dillmann 1996; Wilson 1996a; 1996b; Wawn 2000; Hall 2007, 217f). This interest expressed a Romantic fascination with barbaric ancestors, often hardly distinguishable from that pertaining to Celts, Goths and other early peoples. In Scandinavia, however, the Viking Age was seized upon as a national golden age, as it continues to be (Svanberg 2003). Interest in Vikings as national ancestors remains strong in all Scandinavian countries, and Viking-age sites and objects serve as important national symbols. Passports in Denmark are decorated with images from the Jelling rune stone, and the Oseberg ship sails on every Norwegian 20 kroner coin.

The use of Vikings as national symbols resembles the use made of historical heritage in many other countries, and many instances may be rationalised simply as a use of convenient symbolic identification. Yet the Vikings and the Viking Age are not entirely arbitrary signifiers. The arguments put forward by the international committee behind the aforementioned UNESCO serial nomination in favour of the nomination of Viking-age monuments and sites neatly sums up a current consensual view of the Vikings as Scandinavian heritage – with notable differences as compared to the barbarian image discussed above: "In the Viking Age the Norse peoples – the Vikings – developed a maritime culture which had an enormous impact on Northern Europe and beyond. Harnessing the technology of the ship, Vikings used the sea for expansion, overseas settlement and exploration as well as for long-distance trade and the transport of goods from production on a large scale. During the Viking Age, Scandinavia witnessed the transformation from tribal to state societies, urban development and a change of religions. The three Christian kingdoms that developed from this transformation were by the end of the Viking Age an integral part of Europe." (Anon. 2011). The view conveyed by this text does not only associate Viking-age Scandinavians with a full measure of historical agency and social complexity, largely absent in the traditional image, but also presents the Viking Age as the root for the contemporary Scandinavian state traditions, state religions, and international orientation "overseas", i.e. towards "the West".

The appeal of Vikings outside Scandinavia rests in part on different foundations. These may be studied nowhere better than in the Jorvik Viking Centre in York, an internationally renowned visitor centre established on the site of large scale excavations conducted 1976–81, the "Viking Dig" (Hall 1984). The animated dioramas presenting the Viking settlers in York have proved a lasting success, which continues to draw long queues during each tourist season. Yet the displays of small shopping streets lined with enterprising Viking traders and customers, eager to procure goods from exotic countries, have also been accused of presenting an unabashed business-and-consumer focussed image of the past (Shanks & Tilley 1987, 86–90; Walsh 1992, 115). The centre does not shunt the association, as can be seen in banners flagged in the city centre in 2011 showing



a fully loaded 'trader' (fig. 8.2). The image of Vikings as an early medieval antecedent of individualism and consumer society is no accident, but part of the appeal, which attracts visitors to the Jorvik centre.

Yet Jorvik is also a part of local identities. The annual Jorvik Viking festival, organized under the auspices of the York Archaeological Trust, runs for a full week every winter. The long list of events listed in the 2011 programme included combat displays, boat burning, theater, markets, historical craft displays, lectures by academics, child friendly "Teatime Terrors with Terry Deary" (famous author of "Vicious Vikings" and other classics of the "Horrible Histories" series of children's books and television programmes), and a nostalgic screening of the 1970s cartoon "Vicky the Viking" (www.jorvik-viking-centre.co.uk accessed 28/02/2011).

The Jorvik festival draws thousands of visiting Viking enthusiasts and re-enactors, who may be found crowding the streets, supermarkets or local pubs in full period costume during the festival. Many come from far afield, but even more are local. The York "Local Link" magazine ("delivered monthly to every home & business in York and the villages") covers the event in depth. The front cover of the February 2011 issue shows a striking image of a Viking, presumably chosen among a bulky stock of photos from previous festivals (fig. 8.3). The image conjures up a complex assortment of heritage discourses. The model is a terrible foreign invader in full armour, and with sword raised for kill, yet he is seemingly a gregarious guy, with a smile that would rather suggests a friendly hug. He is a self-confident and clearly enterprising individual. To locals his looks almost certainly qualify him as a 'Northerner', i.e. a fellow 'local'.

The friendly, pagan, self-made warrior represents yet another variant of the Viking image, an interesting contrast to the state-building, Christianising, urbanising, civilising and large-scale producing Vikings of the Scandinavian world heritage nomination discussed above. Yet in common with the business-Vikings of the Jorvik display he is characterised by individual enterprise, pragmatic outlook and – one may presume from the context – material wealth. The implications of

Fig. 8.3: The York 'Local Link' announces the annual Jorvik festival. Vikings are a regional heritage in Northern England as much as an international one (S.M. Sindbæk).

Fig. 8.2: A Viking 'trader' invites customers to the Jorvik Viking Centre in York. The image of Vikings as individualists, materialists and shoppers is one of considerable international appeal (S.M. Sindbæk).

this image are particularly conspicuous if we try to trace its historical development. Until the Second World War the characteristics emphasised in the 'Jorvik Viking' can hardly be recognised in presentations of Vikings. In so far as positive features were noted, they would have focussed on warrior honour and personal loyalty rather than on expediency and individualism (e.g. Paulsen 1933). The Viking heritage was widely understood as an aspect of a shared Germanic legacy, along with the kingdoms which succeeded the Western Roman Empire and the Saxon invasions in England. Being incorporated into a wider pan-Germanic legacy, this heritage was easily and eagerly appropriated as Nazi ideology in Germany as well as in the Scandinavian countries (Müller-Wille 1996; Nordenborg Myhre 2001). For obvious reasons, the Germanic association of the Vikings rapidly lost appeal after the end of war. In its place appeared a convenient association with the 'maritime' (as opposed to land-logged continental) Anglo-Saxon culture of Britain and America. The argument was put prominently by writers like the Danish novelist Martin A. Hansen in his 1952 book "*Orm og tyr*" ["Worm and Bull"], which contrasted the mutually interdependent ship-crew as the model of Nordic society with an alleged inherent despotism of land-empires. Perhaps more subtly, though with even more pronounced cultural self-importance, Johannes Vilhelm Jensen's novel "*Den lange rejse*" (1908–22; English Translation "The Long Journey", 1923), had portrayed Scandinavian roots for what was alluded to as essential cultural characteristics of modern Britain and North America: individual enterprise and liberal society. Characteristic of the shifting cultural and political climate this work received the Nobel Prize in literature in 1944.

The understanding of the Vikings as a shared Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian heritage received academic sanction by the formation in 1950 of the Viking Congress, since held on a three- to four-year basis as the most significant scholarly conference for the study of Viking age history and culture (Simpson 1954). The Viking



Congress was granted (and continues to have) national representatives of the Scandinavian countries, each nation of the British Isles (England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland), the Faroese, Iceland and Greenland – but not from Germany, Russia or other continental European countries, regardless if some of these might well be argued to have better claims to a Viking Heritage than Wales. Language and wartime experience may have been decisive in the early years, but the fact that the conference remained without continental delegates for more than five decades points to entrenched perceptions.

In parallel, the revaluation of Vikings as agents of trade and enterprise gained ground. In a evocative substitution the town Hedeby, published before the war by its German excavator as “A Germanic City of early times” (“*Eine germanische Stadt der Frühzeit*”) with a prominent picture of a sword on the dust cover, was re-published in 1956 as “A trading place of the Viking Age” (“*Ein Handelsplatz der Wikingerzeit*”), now with an image of a ship on the front cover (Vollertsen 1989; Steuer 2001). From being a menace to civilization, the Vikings came to be seen as a dynamic force, which brought disturbance, but also trade and prosperity (see in particular Sawyer 1962). The roving Vikings became historical precursors in a world re-oriented to individual freedom, ideological pragmatism, consumerism and capitalism – well-nigh a sort of early medieval ‘proto-Americans’.

4. Vikings as global maritime heritage

As suggested by the cases discussed here, the prominent themes in the representation of the Viking heritage, both within and outside Scandinavia, a transparent reflections of the framing historical and political conditions and developments. This realisation should inspire caution, but may also prompt us to reconsider received images. In a world where Europeans must find it increasingly difficult to imagine their civilization as “covering the face of the Earth”, such reconsideration is pertinent. As I shall suggest, it may well lead the way to a heritage of greater appeal as well as authenticity. In a global perspective the maritime developments seen so far to characterise ‘Vikings’ and the Viking Age, to some extent in contrast to what has been considered ‘real’ European history, may offer a vantage point for a new vision of the Middle Ages as such. In the early Middle Ages the Antique urbanized empires largely ceased in many regions from Europe to South Asia. This episode marks a profound discontinuity of cultural and societal evolution in human history, as expressed in the very concept of the period as a “Middle Age” between Classical antiquity and the Renaissance. Yet the early middle ages is also an episode of remarkable cultural diversification.

As archaeology begins to show, new urban centres appeared in maritime regions from the North Sea to the Indian Ocean as nodes in novel social networks. This process comprises Viking towns like Birka, Hedeby or Kaupang around the North and Baltic Seas (Sindbæk 2007; Skre 2008). Yet recent archaeological investigations demonstrate that remarkably similar and almost synchronous developments characterise a number of maritime regions across the world: from the

Mediterranean, where the ninth century sees deep-sea navigation evidenced for the first time since the classical era, and to China, where maritime trade entered a boom in the mid Tang period (McCormick 2001, 494f; Hodges 2006; 2008; Chin 2004, 117). This is also the time when Swahili coastal emporia first emerge along the East African seaboard from Somalia to Mozambique (Horton & Middleton 2000; Wynne-Jones 2007).

An extraordinary archaeological testimony to this ‘global Viking Age’ is the lavish, Chinese cargo of the Arab wreck, which sank off the coast of Belitung Island in Indonesia in the second quarter of the ninth century (Krahl & Effeny 2010). The date of the wreck coincides with the time when Chinese pottery first arrives in sites in the Persian Gulf (Whitehouse 2009). It is a striking coincidence that Belitung – material testimony to an early phase of this maritime expansion in “Outer Asia” – sank in the same decade as the Oseberg ship was buried in Norway – the earliest known sailing vessel in Scandinavia, and testimony to maritime expansion in “Outer Europe”.

These developments do not merely express general conjunctures, but often direct material links. Early medieval sites from East Africa to South Asia and Northern Europe are characterised by sometimes identical types of beads, coins, ceramics or textiles, by similar flows of raw materials like furs, tusks or metals, by similar technological adoptions and social innovations. Glass-beads from the same Middle Eastern factories may be found in Swahili Zanzibar and in Viking Birka. It is an essential challenge for 21st century archaeological research and heritage management to explore and present these developments in a world perspective.

In the perspective of these developments, the maritime activities which define the Viking heritage appear at once less exceptional and more characteristic. As an icon for early maritime expansion, the Viking heritage can be seen as a legacy of pan-European and indeed global appeal. The most interesting aspect of the Vikings, in a perspective both of scholarship and of heritage, is as a historical heritage relating to a development, which was neither exclusively Scandinavian nor European, indeed, in the phrase of an eminent post-colonial critic: “not so much ‘of the west’ as it was of and in the world” (Frank 1998, 7). Along with Frisian sailors, Croat pirates or Saracen warriors, Swahili merchants and Persian sailors, the Vikings can be retraced as historical champions of cultural models beyond the vision of a lost Roman identity implied by the concept of a “Middle Age” in which a single “European civilization arose and flowered”.

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9 | Local, regional or international? The role of UNESCO World Heritage in changing local perceptions of the value of heritage in the North East of England

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Abstract: The North East of England is an area with a very strong sense of its own separate history and identity within the UK. There is natural pride that the region has several World Heritage Sites, but this has not necessarily been accompanied by an acceptance that their heritage is one that is shared, even with adjoining regions. This paper looks at some of these factors: local pride and ownership, regional aspirations, and international recognition. Has the international accolade of World Heritage status changed local attitudes to “their” heritage? Hadrian’s Wall World Heritage Site (now part of the Frontiers of the Roman Empire transnational World Heritage Site), and the UK’s 2011 World Heritage nomination, the 7th century A.D. twin monastery of Wearmouth and Jarrow, will be used as case histories in this examination of issues and opportunities presented by the nomination and management of locally valued sites on the basis of their international significance.

Introduction

This brief presentation will look at perceptions of two major sites in the North East of England, and their identity in relation to that part of the United Kingdom, and whether inscription, or candidacy as a World Heritage Site has changed these perceptions. The North East of England is defined as consisting of the counties of Northumberland, Tyne and Wear, County Durham and Tees Valley.

Hadrian’s Wall

Hadrian’s Wall was largely built between 120–130 A.D. on the orders of the Roman Emperor Hadrian, and it formed the north-west frontier of the Roman Empire for nearly three centuries. It is among the best known and best surviving examples of a Roman frontier in design, concept and quality of construction, and spans 118 km across an area of strikingly beautiful landscape, largely farmed but also taking in the cities of Carlisle and Newcastle. (Breeze 2008)

Hadrian’s Wall was inscribed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1987, and is the largest and most complex archaeological site in Britain. In 2005 it then became part of the transnational World Heritage Site “Frontiers of the Roman Empire”. (UNESCO website)

The local, regional, national and European identity of Hadrian’s Wall pre-inscription

Over the 1700 years of the existence of Hadrian’s Wall, it has moved through many stages of influence and meaning, first dictating, and then subject to the turns

of history. Some of these phases of perception may be outlined as follows:

- Strategic, military: as part of the outer defence of the northern Roman Empire, and a system for the control of movement of peoples and goods. The building of the *vallum* or ditch to the south of the Wall in fact suggests that the Romans had cause to distrust not only the peoples to the north, but also those to the south. (Breeze & Dobson 2000, 212)
- Divisive: the Roman regime in Britain did little to promote either regional or national identity, encouraging separate and competing tribal groups (Laycock 2008). If this is so, the Wall may have continued to inspire rather ambivalent feelings among the local populations.
- Foreign: soldiers manning the Wall were auxiliaries, often from other countries, and foreigners also settled the *vici*, or associated villages. Arbeia, the fort at South Shields at the mouth of the river Tyne has funerary evidence of a Syrian from Palmyra and a 20-year old freedman from Mauretania living in its *vicus*, and the fort was garrisoned in the 4th century by a unit of boatmen from the Tigris (de la Bédoyère 2005, 140–2). A 4th century inscription found in 1934 at the village of Beaumont two miles east of Burgh-by-Sands on the banks of the River Eden details the existence of a unit of Moors, from North Africa. (Benjamin 2004).
- Benign: after the withdrawal of Rome, the Wall provided a division between the English, and the Picts and Scots. This was apparently welcomed by the English: the interpretation of the Wall by the 7th century historian Bede was that the Romans had

helped the English themselves to build the Wall, in order to protect them.

- Of purely local significance: as part of a virtual “no man’s land” in the 13th–16th centuries, when the area became largely lawless, with locals living in fortified houses to protect themselves against the Scots, or raiders living in the borderlands known as the Reivers.
- A “ruinous reminder that north and south would no longer be divided”: after 1707 (Hingley & Nesbitt 2008), when England and Scotland were united by the Acts of Union.
- was used as a mine for stone to build a new Military Road (again, for defence against the Scots). The visible Wall was reduced to isolated monuments and fragments. While this was happening, however, its recovery towards having a place in forming regional and national consciousness was beginning:
- Re-emerging back into British consciousness: the Wall began to be studied, excavated and recorded by antiquaries from the 17th century onwards, though on the whole, perceptions were of individual, local monuments (Hutton 1802).
- Awareness of a complete linear site: in 1801 William Hutton walked the length of the Wall and wrote the first history of the monument, and in 1849 the first Hadrian’s Wall “Pilgrimage” of scholars and antiquarians took place. Awareness still however rested largely among antiquarians (Hutton 1802).
- A symbol of empire: the Wall increasingly gathered meaning for a 19th century Britain now become powerful, as a tangible link to the Roman Empire on which she modelled herself. “Another empire has sprung into being of which Rome dreamt not... In that island, where, in Roman days, the painted savage shared the forest with the beast of prey – a lady sits upon her throne of state [Queen Victoria], wielding a sceptre more potent than Julius or Hadrian ever grasped! Her empire is threefold that of Rome in the hour of its prime... The sceptre which Rome relinquished, we have taken up. Great is our honour – great our responsibility.” (Bruce 1978)
- Visions of decline: the ruination of the Roman wall inspired cause for concern. The author Rudyard Kipling could foresee the potential decline and fall of Britain’s own empire, and for him, Roman Britain presented an analogy for the British in India. By educating school boys with ideas of imperial defence, Kipling hoped that the British could avert impending disaster (Hingley & Nesbitt 2008).
- A national monument: the empire now dissipating, a rather institutional, British identity brought about by the site being scheduled (first section in 1927) and therefore officially protected. Still not a cohesive site, however, because of multiple ownership and hugely complex management.

The twin monastery of Wearmouth and Jarrow

Wearmouth-Jarrow was founded in the 7th century A.D. as an Anglo-Saxon Christian monastery on two sites some 14 km apart, on the banks of the rivers Tyne and Wear, and originally the lands of their extensive monastic estates lay between them. The monastery

was to become a powerhouse of intellectual endeavour drawing on one of the best libraries in Western Europe, and a place full of beauty and of fine craftsmanship and architecture not seen in England since the departure of the Romans three centuries earlier. It also brought to this remote and apparently barbarian western extreme of Europe the new concept of ordered, communal monastic living which was to go on to influence European life for centuries to come. (Wearmouth-Jarrow Partnership 2010)

The local, regional, national and European identity of Hadrian’s Wall pre-inscription

The monastery is best known now as the home of the great seventh century scholar Bede, and for his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* [Ecclesiastical History of the English Peoples], written at Wearmouth-Jarrow (McClure & Collins 1999). In this work, Bede created for the first time the concept of an English nation, based on a common Christian faith. Bede’s name is well known in the region, appearing frequently in local road names, and names of schools and businesses, but it has been largely because of his role as the earliest historian of the English peoples, rather than for his association with an internationally important monastery.

Identity in the North East

The modern North East which is the context for these two sites has a strong sense of regional identity, and this is well recognised by the other regions of the UK. It was differentiated already by its rule by the Danes before the Norman invasion in 1066, and then by its rebellion against the Normans, and appallingly harsh reprisals by William the Conqueror: historians record that up to 100,000 members of the local population were killed (Forester 1853, 28), food and livestock were destroyed, land was salted to make it unproductive, and large areas of the North were left sparsely populated. Confiscated lands were then given to Norman nobles. The North continued as an often insecure or rebellious borderland area of castles, fortified houses and churches until 1603, when England and Scotland were united, under James I. In terms of its relationship to authority, a certain degree of distance from and even distrust of rule from the south (i.e. London) can be found, to this day, although – and I would attest to this – the people of the North East are some of the friendliest in the United Kingdom.

In the 19th and early 20th centuries, this distinct regional identity was further defined in the urban areas by the economic and social structures created by its great industries, such as coal mining, ship-building, and heavy industry. When those industries were badly affected by the Depression in the 1930s, and when they largely closed down in the latter half of the 20th century, this area was therefore hit disproportionately hard:

“Invention, resilience, community, togetherness, survival, strength, solidarity, and hard work provide the basis for an identity forged out of unique, often perilous, circumstance. Whilst the lifestyle and industrial landscape have changed, these values have not disappeared.” (ONE North East 2006). The North

East has the lowest GDP per capita of the 9 English administrative regions, and 2005 statistics showed that it captured less than 4% of the tourism spend in the UK (ONE North East 2005), despite having magnificent landscape, castles and religious buildings. A study by Middleton and Freestone found the North East's identity to be very much based around its relatively recent regional and local heritage of industry and of decline: "People are proud of their humble roots: the North East is built on tough times and it kind of gets ingrained." (Middleton & Freestone 2008). The North East's wider Regional Economic Strategy takes a rather less positive angle, indicating problems with the region's feeling of self-worth by aiming at "improving perceptions of the North East locally from 2004 baselines – increasing those regionally who talk positively without prompting about the North East from 19% to 34% by 2010." (ONE Northeast 2005) This is a distressingly low target. So has UNESCO World Heritage inscription (in the case of Hadrian's Wall) or candidacy (in the case of Wearmouth and Jarrow) affected the region's identity, or its relationship to the nation, and to Europe?

Inscription

In the UK generally, UNESCO inscription alone seems to have had marginal influence in changing perceptions of sites: there is generally very low awareness of how many World Heritage Sites we have, what World Heritage means, and what its value might be. This was brought out particularly in the Department for Culture, Media and Sport's recent consultation, "*World Heritage for the Nation*". Responses showed that heritage professionals attribute the low levels of public interest to a lack of enthusiasm about or commitment to UNESCO by the UK Government, with a resultant lack of financial support. It was also felt that there was little to unite or unify the UK's World Heritage Sites nationally i.e. that World Heritage has not created a coherent image for the UK. (DCMS 2008)

The difference in the effect of World Heritage inscription in the UK rests in its implementation. Rebanks Consulting's report "*World Heritage Status: Is there opportunity for economic gain?*" noted that it was only the World Heritage Sites which opted to use a Site's status as "a tool to develop powerful new identities for places, and powerful programmes of actions to change places fundamentally" which saw major results from inscription (Rebanks 2008). Indeed, whether the Site is looking for economic development, or any other sort, the report notes that it is the case that: "World Heritage Site status is a means to an end, not an end in itself. Sites looking for a free lunch from simply getting the designation are destined to be disappointed." (Rebanks 2008, 22) In the UK, implementation has been devolved to the city or regional authorities and/or owners who administer the Sites, with national bodies such as English Heritage acting very largely in an advisory and strategic capacity, and this localism has been very important in changing perceptions of the identity of the Sites.

When Hadrian's Wall was inscribed in 1987, the nomination had been developed by central government, with little awareness among stakeholders of what was happening, Coordination of the Site then continued

to be funded from London, in the form of the English Heritage Coordination Unit based in Hexham, a town near the Wall, and the slow work began, through the development of communication, trust, a management committee, and a management plan, to forge a 118km long community, and a sense of cohesiveness for the Wall. This was a remarkable achievement, but the members of the Wall committee were the first to recognise that collaboration and community were being held back by lack of funding. (Norman 2007)

However, in 2006, the not for profit company Hadrian's Wall Heritage Ltd was created as a result of what was to prove an initially turbulent process (Norman 2007), with considerable backing from the two Regional Development Agencies. Since then, there has been increasing local and regional "ownership" of the Wall. This has been helped by the company's success in raising financial capital for developments along the length of the Site, and in collaborative projects such as the creation of a Wall-wide interpretation strategy. This will include information about the wider Frontiers of the Roman Empire Site (HWHL 2011).

The company has carried on using "Hadrian's Wall Country" as its marketing strap line, embedding the World Heritage Site in a broader area of land, and increasingly giving it an identity as a regional force for economic good and good management. In 2005, Hadrian's Wall became part of the much larger serial transnational World Heritage Site, "Frontiers of the Roman Empire". Funding to create a new framework for cooperation was provided by the European Union's Culture 2000 Programme, as a result of an application by partners in Austria, Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Scotland, Slovakia, Slovenia and Spain (Breeze 2008). This fascinating development has brought a completely new dimension to the Site. As David Breeze, one of the leaders of the project points out, "archaeology knows no boundaries" (Breeze 2008), and the challenges of making this Site functional are already leading to collaboration over issues of planning, protection, conservation and management. It is a matter of pride for Hadrian's Wall Heritage Ltd that they are now able to offer help and hospitality to partners on the recently inscribed German *Limes*.

There are interesting plans to use the themes of conflict, borders, destruction and the movement of peoples which we saw are part of the history of the Wall as a vehicle to look at international, present-day examples of the same, and also to link Hadrian's Wall to other parts of the larger Site.

This expansion of horizons is already feeding back into the image that the North East of England has of itself: in the 2008–14 *Hadrian's Wall Management Plan* Roz Elliott, a teacher from one of the local schools, was quoted as saying: "Arguably, Hadrian's Wall is more relevant today than it was in the past: it stands as a symbol of our identity as well as our heritage, and serves as a cultural link across continents, not simply as a tourist attraction but a means which connects our understanding of the world today. ...it helps to promote community cohesion." (HWHL 2008) If one looks at the trajectory of perceptions of the Wall over the centuries, this is a remarkable outcome.

Wearmouth-Jarrow

The Site was the UK's nomination for World Heritage status in 2011. Wearmouth-Jarrow is a prime example of the process being the key, rather than inscription itself. The Site is not yet inscribed, but the years building up to its nomination have seen massive investment in the Site, its infrastructure, and its surroundings, major public consultations, and the development of governance by a wide range of local professionals via a Management Committee and a number of Working Groups. This has also resulted in a growing awareness about the Site that now sees it appearing regularly in the local and regional media.

Although Wearmouth and Jarrow's most famous resident, Bede, has been best known in the UK for his contribution to the creation of English identity, Wearmouth-Jarrow is being nominated for its universal value, part of which rests in his research into and re-packaging of the skills and learning of late antiquity, in which Bede's work provided momentum to the Carolingian Renaissance, a period of intellectual transition in Europe in the 8th century. The Wearmouth-Jarrow Partnership commissioned a public consultation into visitors' awareness of the significance of the monastery, and this has picked up the beginnings of a new awareness about region's wider European role, drawing attention away from a concentration on much more recent industry and decline: "The extraordinary flowering of cultural activity in the Anglo-Saxon period had Wearmouth/Jarrow at its heart. We should be proud of this and celebrate it, not just the cradle of the industrial revolution." (Woodholmes Group 2009) As predicted by Rebanks, the project has resulted in the beginnings of a "new or improved identity and a sense of mission" (Rebanks 2008), and this identity now has the beginnings of a European perspective.

Conclusions

It is clear that a great deal of effort, organisation and funding has gone into both of these Sites, and that it is this, and not the mere status of the Sites, that is making the difference. It is early days yet, but it could be argued that these two Sites are starting to be vehicles for change in local perceptions of the role of their heritage: Hadrian's Wall moving from an early history of division, separation and control to one of outreach to an international community, and an opportunity to examine shared issues for Europe, and Wearmouth and Jarrow moving from national pride to pride in international scholarship, and in the North East's contribution to the cultural development of Europe.

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10 | Identity ambivalences of monastic heritage and international networks: The case of the Cistercians and Trappists

Thomas Coomans

Abstract: In our postmodern and secularised Western world, monastic heritage carries complex and sometimes contradictory values. This article examines the case one of the most renowned religious orders, that of the Cistercians, which celebrated its nine hundredth anniversary in 1998. Several religious and lay international networks – associations of owners, study centres, routes, spiritual movements – have been founded during the two last decades in order to protect and promote different aspects of Cistercian and Trappist heritage, including spirituality, culture and art, but also food and alcoholic beverages. This broad spectrum leads to identity ambivalences and sometimes to conflicts between religious ideal and tourism economy. In one word, the process of ‘heritagization’ based on idealized medieval networks, monastic authenticity, and present (inter)national identity building is at a crossroad and needs some critical reflections.

1. Introduction

In his historical atlas “Fragments d’Europe”, Michel Fouchier describes Europe as a community of cultures characterised by a great diversity and an impossible unity. Contrasting with this fragmented landscape, the idea of unity always had been present in the conscience of the Europeans to belong to a community of cultures, even though in the form of a utopia. Mutual transfers, borrowings and interbreeding between different cultures developed a complex and rich stratification. In this community of cultures, Michel Fouchier chose twelve cultural and intellectual episodes from the Middle Ages to present, which were constitutive of a common culture within the European space (Fouchier 1993, 22–23). His choice of course is limited and subjective, but it is interesting that the first map of his “palimpsest” is the monastic network of the Cistercians, as developed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This contribution examines the complex and sometimes contradictory values that this monastic heritage carries today. We will see that several religious and lay international networks have been founded during the two last decades in order to protect and promote different aspects of Cistercian and Trappist heritage, including spirituality, culture and art, but also cheese and beer. This broad spectrum leads to identity ambivalences and sometimes to conflicts between religious ideology and tourism economy. In one word, the on-going process of ‘heritagization’ or ‘patrimonial memory’ (Morisset 2010), based on idealized medieval networks, monastic authenticity, and present (inter)national identity building is at a crossroads and needs some critical reflections.

2. Ups and downs of a monastic history

The fascinating history of the Cistercian Order, more than 900 years long, was marked by remarkable spiritual and material achievements, both ups and down, and generated a remarkable heritage (Birkedal Bruun 2013; Lekai 1997; Pacaut 1993). The Cistercian Order was born in 1098 with the foundation of the abbey of Cîteaux in Burgundy, as a reform of the ancient Benedictine order. After a difficult first decade, the modest abbey began to attract more and more religious vocations: Cîteaux founded new abbeys and so became at the head of a family called Cistercians or White Monks. Thanks to the prominent role of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, the order had a lightning and fascinating expansion during the first half of the twelfth century, and spread in a very short time over all Europe and counted no less than 700 abbeys for men and 300 nunneries at the end of the thirteenth century (van der Meer 1965; Locatelli 1997). (fig. 10.1) Within the Western Monasticism, the Cistercian Order gave a major contribution to Europe’s religious, economic and cultural development in the Middle Ages. However, the original model had to adapt several times during the centuries. From the mid thirteenth century, the central power of the General Chapter was gradually contested and regional congregations developed in England, Scotland, Spain, Bohemia, Hungary, etc. As a consequence of the religious wars of the sixteenth century, nearly all the abbeys were secularized in the countries that became protestant, that is to say the British Isles, Scandinavia, Northern Germany, and Holland. In the countries that remained catholic, the Counter-Reformation also influenced the abbeys. In 1665, the order split in two branches: the Cistercians of the common observance and the Cistercians of the strict observance, to which belonged the famous abbey of La Trappe in Normandy. The French Revolution suppressed all the abbeys, first in France and Belgium, later in all the countries conquered by the French.

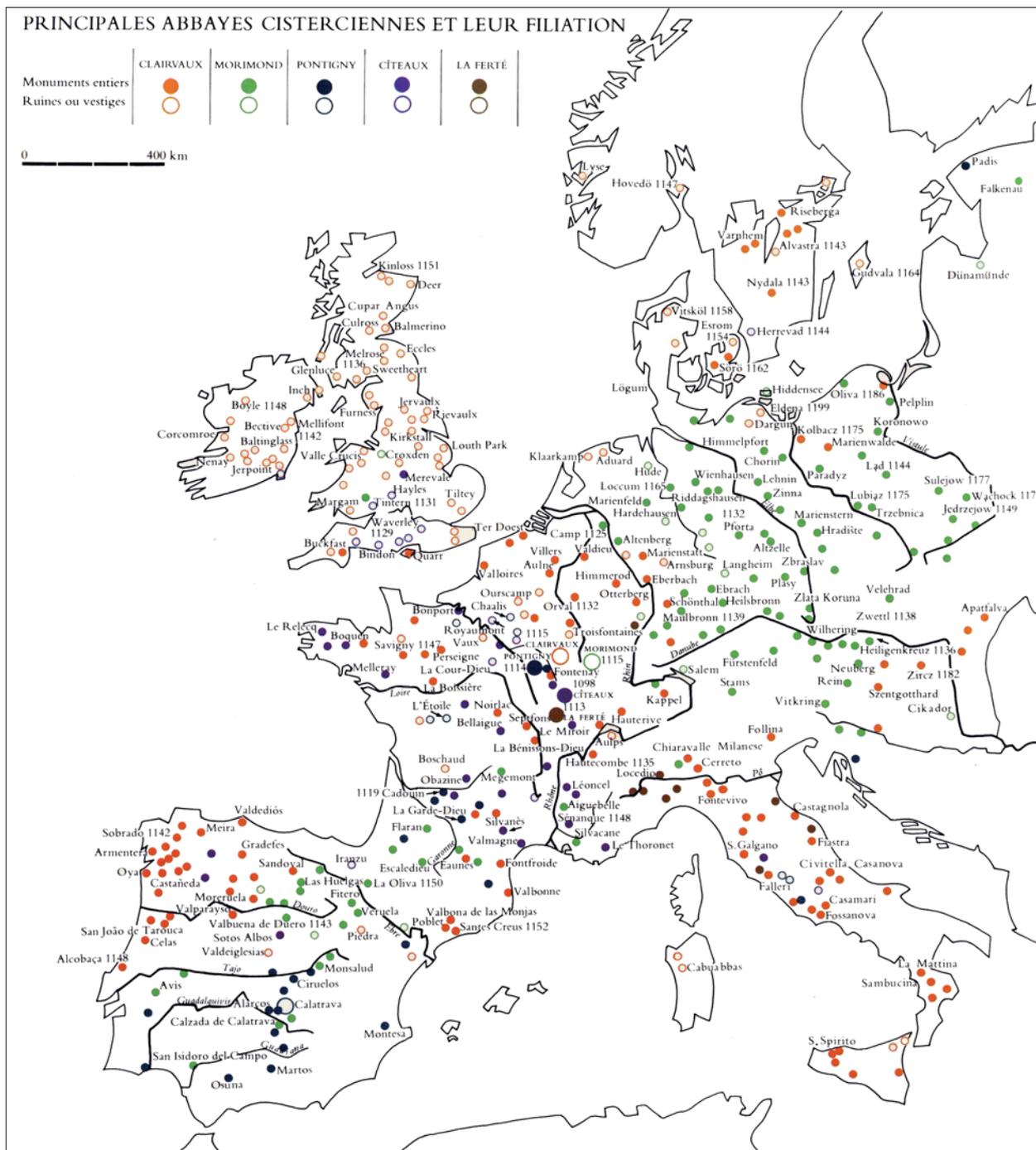


Fig. 10.1: Map of the Cistercian expansion in medieval Europe (from Duby, G. 1989: *L'art cistercien*, Flammarion, 6).

Except in some parts of the Austrian empire and Italy, the Cistercian order definitely seemed to be dead. The spirit of the Cistercians of the strict observance survived thanks to a group of monks from La Trappe that founded small communities during its exile from 1791 in Switzerland, Russia and even the United States in 1813. As soon as the political circumstances made it possible and in the context of the Catholic Revival, new Trappist abbeys were founded in France, Belgium, Spain and England. (fig. 10.2) The abbeys that had survived in Italy and the Austrian empire formed other congregations of Cistercians. In 1892, the Cistercian family again split into two separate orders: the Cistercians of the common observance and these

of the strict observance also called Trappists (Delpal 1998). The latter were able to recover the original site of Cîteaux and made it the head of an order of which the core was in France and Belgium. Before the First World War, Trappists founded several abbeys in Holland, the United States, Canada, Algeria, Lebanon, Congo and even in China. Both Cistercian orders flourished until the 1950s, but declined slowly from then. Inversely they are continuing to develop on all the other continents. In 1998, a celebration was held at Cîteaux at the occasion of the ninth centenary of the foundation of the order (Plouvier & Saint-Denis 1998). Presently the Cistercians of the strict observance count 159 abbeys and the



Fig. 10.2: The chapter house at the abbey of La Trappe: catholic, monastic and gothic revival (Postcard, about 1900).

Cistercians of the common observance 103 abbeys in the world. Laymen and woman, who are admitted into spiritual union and affiliation with Cistercian communities, also adopt Cistercian spirituality.

3. A varied and dispersed monastic and post-monastic heritage

During the 912 years of the existence of the Cistercian Order, Cistercian and Trappist communities of men and woman have produced and still continue to produce a considerable tangible and intangible heritage. This heritage is varied and dispersed over the world, not only in living abbeys, but also in private property and in public museums, libraries and archives.

In first instance, the Cistercian heritage is an original contribution to the spiritual heritage of mankind. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), Aelred of Rievaulx (1110–1167), Armand-Jean de Rancé (1626–1700), or Thomas Merton (1915–1968), the most illustrious Cistercians, not only marked their generation, but also still today guide people in their daily life. Cistercian authors not only were theologians but include hagiographers, liturgists, historians and scientists. The order also counted artists in its ranks, architects, musicians, painters, book illuminators, as well as craftsmen and engineers. At least there were saints, that is to say men and woman who lived in the light of God and therefore can serve as model for other people. Their lives are written in books and illustrated with images. The film *Of Gods and Men* (*Des hommes et des dieux*) on the Trappist monks

of the monastery of Tibhirine in Algeria is a recent contribution to this secular heritage (Beauvois 2010). It is commonly accepted that Cistercian heritage is above all Romanesque architecture in beautiful remote sites and austere art, in particular the illumination of books. The standard works *L'Art Cistercien* (Dimier 1962; Dimier 1971), and *Saint Bernard: l'Art Cistercien* (Duby 1976) greatly contributed to the creation of the artistic paradigm of the Cistercian aesthetic, which would have been developed by St. Bernard himself. Literary fictions and artistic publications popularized this stereotype (Pouillon 1964; Cali 1972). An important exhibition held at Aachen in 1980 stressed the international dimension of the order's heritage (Elm *et al.* 1980). Nevertheless, the association of Cistercian heritage and St. Bernard was consecrated in 1990, when the French culture made the nine hundredth anniversary of St. Bernard's birth a 'célébration nationale', with an official program and a great exhibition at the Conciergerie in Paris (Pressouyre & Kinder 1990).

From then the scope of the interest for Cistercian matters broadened considerably, became more and more international, including economy – farming, breeding and vineyards – and all aspects of material culture – tiles and bricks, hydraulic works, landscapes, urban houses, etc. – as well as intellectual culture – libraries, medicine, books, etc.

Some regions outside of France with a rich Cistercian heritage, like Yorkshire in England and Catalonia, as well as regions from post-communist Central Europe, like Poland, Brandenburg or Bohemia, developed specific programs. In less than twelve years, UNESCO inscribed five former Cistercian abbeys on the list of World Heritage: Fontenay in France (1981), Fountains in England (1986), Alcobaça in Portugal (1989), Poblet in Spain (1991) and Maulbronn in Germany (1993).

In 1998, the nine hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the abbey of Cîteaux was the occasion of a second Cistercian 'célébration nationale' in France, which is quite exceptional in a lay state. (fig. 10.3) This proves indeed that Cistercians are not only religious, but that they belong to French culture and identity, and can contribute to place France as the centre of a European movement. The celebrations of 1990 and 1998 gave a considerable impulse to all fields of Cistercian studies (Pressouyre 1994; Kinder 1997; Coppack 1998; Williams 1998; Leroux-Dhuys 1998), including new media (Coomans 2004). After 1998, studies became more and more critical about the idealised view on Cistercian medieval architecture, art and history (Berman 2000; Untermann 2001, Coomans 2013).

Nevertheless, this remarkable wave of 'heritagization' of Cistercian culture was above all dedicated to the medieval past – as the "fragment d'Europe" (Fouchier 1993), that is to say the apogee of the Cistercian Order at the time before the first secularisations of the sixteenth century. The medieval period corresponds indeed with a shared Christian unity in which monasticism in general played a capital role. This means that Cistercian baroque, gothic revival, and twentieth-century modernity remain largely unknown fields. This is all the

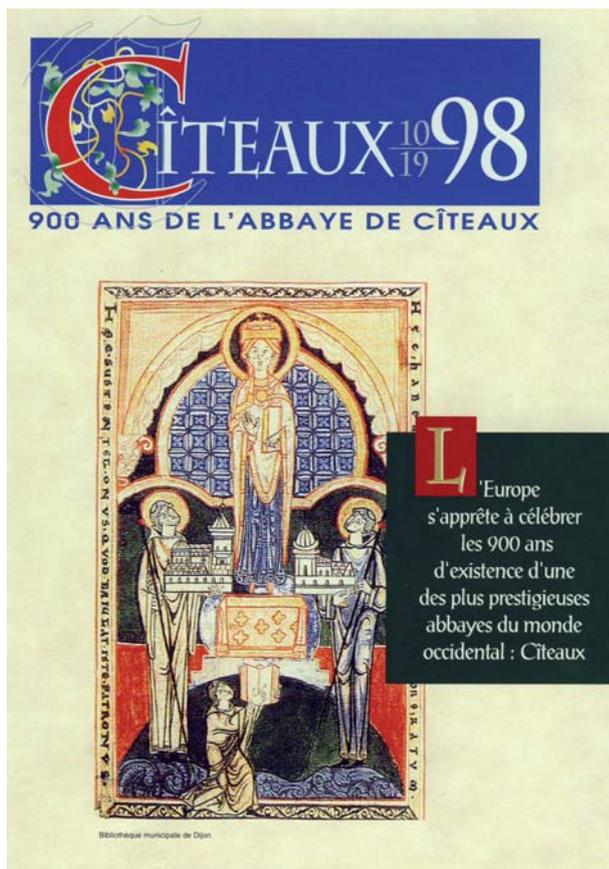


Fig. 10.3: In 1998, the nine hundredth anniversary of the abbey of Cîteaux led to numerous and international commemorations (flyer of the celebration).



Fig. 10.4: Cistercian monk welcoming the visitor of the website of Langwaden abbey, 2011 (<http://www.zisterzienser-langwaden.de/> accessed March 2011).

more a paradox that these fields concern almost living abbeys with aged communities.

This overview of a varied and dispersed Cistercian heritage would be incomplete if one omitted the Cistercian gastronomy, especially the world famous Belgian Trappist beers from Orval, Chimay, Rochefort, Westmalle and Westvleteren (Van den Steen 2003). When a wing of the abbey of Rochefort burned on 29th December 2010, the main concern of the media was to ensure that the brewery had not been damaged!

Beer brewing is a business and highly contributes to the present ambivalent perception of monks. Indeed, people do not believe that beer brewing is a non-profit activity for the monks. It is part of the monastic economy of subsistence, just like the production of cheese, honey, chocolate, shampoo, bread, etc. and the benefit, conforming with the rule of the abbeys, is used for charity both on local and international level.

Another ambivalence resides in the fact that in today's materialist and virtual world in crisis, many abbeys present themselves as places of tradition and authenticity, and their products as ecological and healthy. This post-modern version of the monastic devise "pray and work" (*ora et labora*) surprisingly attracts on the present secularized society. Sociologists have proven that this relationship confines the monks in a certain role, as if they were associated with their heritage and, in a certain way, became part of their own heritage (Jonveaux 2010).

Analysing home pages of monastic websites is very instructive about how communities present themselves to the world. A subtle example is the home page of the Cistercian abbey of Langwaden in North Rhine-Westphalia that combines several symbolic meanings. A monk stands near a half open door, which is the symbol of both welcome and enclosure. He seems looking at a terrace where people eat and drink under sunshades. The welcoming word says: "Many love our monastery's gastronomy. Others are searching our spiritual offer. Experts cherish both as treasures" (www.zisterzienser-langwaden.de accessed 15/03/2011, fig. 10.4).

4. Present networks and identity ambivalences

The third part of this paper is dedicated to the present Cistercian networks. We will see that they are various and increased during the last decade.

The oldest network, of course, is the order itself, with its characteristic arborescence structure with mother and daughter abbeys defined in the early twelfth century legislation, and its organisation around the Chapter General (Waddell 1999; Waddell 2002). The basic texts of the Cistercian Order still are the same as nine hundred years ago and define the Cistercian spirit and solidarity: the Rule of St. Benedict or *Regula monachorum*, written by St. Benedict about 650, and the Charter of Charity or *Carta caritatis*, written by St. Stephen Harding about 1113–1114. In the historical overview, we have seen that the Cistercian family evolved and presently is composed by two different orders. Both organise their own chapter general, which is no more annual. The Trappists have a centralised structure, with Cîteaux as first abbey, while the Cistercians of the common observance are grouped in autonomous regional congregations. This is a heritage from the past. Since the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), the feminine branches of the Cistercian orders also participate in the Chapter General and in the central administrations. The abbots general still are men.

Religious orders are not sects, but according to the fact that contemplative abbeys are submitted to silence and enclosure, they could look like secret societies or hidden networks. (fig. 10.5) In order to avoid this misunderstanding, abbeys adopt modern tools of communication with the world. A website of an abbey

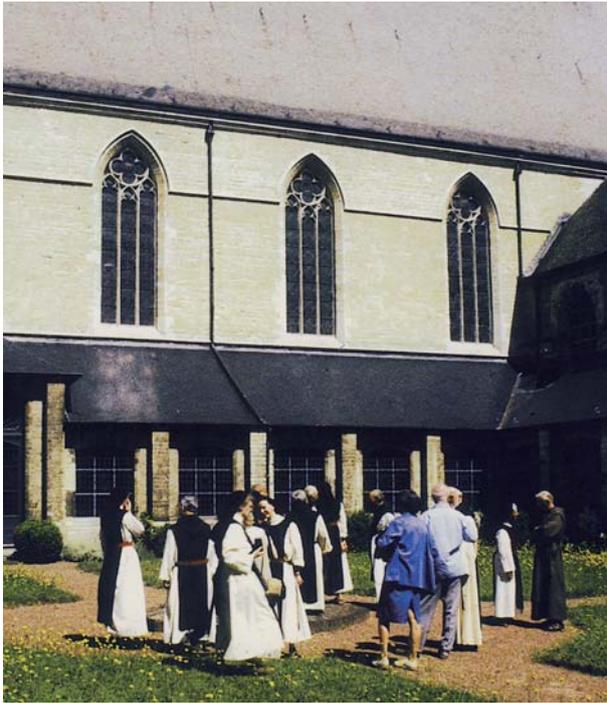


Fig. 10.5: Dutch Trappist monks and nuns during a heritage trip in Belgium: a visit to the former abbey of La Cambre in Brussels (THOC, August 1999).

can be compared with a gatehouse that protects the contemplative community from the world and informs the world about the community. The same can be said about the websites of both Cistercian and Trappist orders, that provide information about spiritual life, liturgy, history, art, monastic products and publications, give links to the sites of individual abbeys, but also inform about the order's life (www.cfc-liturgie.fr accessed 15/03/2011).

Websites also are tools of evangelisation and communication with the world, what offers new possibilities for communities that were "out of the world" to share their faith and their liturgy with people "in the world". *The International Association of Lay Cistercian Communities* also has a website and platform (www.cistercianfamily.org accessed 15/03/2011).

The image of the monk is used and misused to promote beer, cheese and other products for which monastic authenticity is a commercial argument. This phenomenon increased the last decades. Therefore Cistercians and Trappists developed specific networks in order to protect both their name and heritage. *The International Trappist Association* has been created as an international non-profit association promoting the deeper evangelical values of economic activities within the abbeys (www.trappist.com accessed 15/03/2011). Because this issue is crucial for the monastic image, the website is very explicit about the work of monks and nuns at the service of the human person, but also about the protection of the "Trappist" name and label. Another monastic network groups monastery stores and other services. Contemplative communities of Cistercian and Benedictine monks and nuns created the *Association Monastic* in 1989 in France (www.monastic-euro.org accessed 15/03/2011). These communities wanted to join their effort and coordinate their marketing in order to guarantee the monastic origin of their production and so to protect their work against all industrial pseudo-monastic products, especially cheese. In 2011, the *Association Monastic* groups more

than 220 communities including other monastic orders and communities out of France. The logo 'Monastic' is protected. At the production level, they value the quality of their products more than the quantity. They also have a special concern for the environment and their approach to publicity and advertising is moderate and marked by integrity.

Networks of scholars and specialised scientific publications on spirituality or history also wear the name Cistercian and have their own website: *Cistercienser Chronik* since 1889, *Collectanea Cisterciensia* since 1934, *Analecta Cisterciensia* since 1945, *Cistercium. Revista monastica cisterciense* since 1948, *Cîteaux: Commentarii cistercienses. A Journal of Historical Studies* since 1950, *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* since 1966, *Rivista Cisterciense. Periodico quadrimestrale di letteratura, storia, arte, liturgia, spiritualità, cultura e vita monastic* since 1984, etc. Most of these journals were founded by abbeys or specialised commissions composed with competent monks and nuns. Some opened their board of redaction to academics and today reach an international high level of scholarship. Specific sessions on Cistercian history, architecture and art are yearly organised at the *International Medieval Congress* at Leeds and the *International Congress on Medieval Studies* at Kalamazoo.

Some university centres focus on Cistercian studies and have own series, like The Institute of Cistercian Studies at Western Michigan University and the famous *Cistercian Studies* series (www.wmich.edu/cistern accessed 15/03/2011), the German *Studien zur Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur der Zisterzienser* (www.lukasverlag.com/schriftenreihe/zisterzienserstudien accessed 15/03/2011), or other broader monastic research networks (www.cercor.france.com accessed 15/03/2011). Several sites of secularized abbeys have a newsletter, a museum and a local research centre in particular when there are excavations, sometimes organize conferences, and publish a journal or diffuse a digital newsletter. Articles on Cistercian matters and heritage are published in a wide range of publications. We will not discuss here the scientific quality of all these publications, but observe that they reach a broad public and contribute to involve people in Cistercian heritage. The same can be said about the numerous exhibitions dedicated to aspects of Cistercian heritage such as medieval manuscripts, regional clusters of abbeys, and excavations on Cistercian monastic sites.

The abbey of Cîteaux, as head and "name-giver" of the Order, has founded in 1996 the *Association pour le Rayonnement de la Culture Cistercienne* (ARCCIS), with the aim of "informing and diffusing all the aspects of the Cistercian culture, to defend it against wrong interpretations, and to stimulate Cistercian spirituality" (www.arccis.org accessed 15/03/2011). The members are in first instance other abbeys and religious communities that are interested in placing heritage in the perspective of present faith and spirituality. In 2000, the association has created at Cîteaux the *Centre Européen pour le Rayonnement de la Culture Cistercienne* (CERCCIS), a documentation centre that

offers a platform for researchers and scholars as well as for religious interested in Cistercian heritage. CERCCIS conserves Cistercian heritage and archives, organises meetings and publishes a journal.

In Austria, the Cistercian abbey of Heiligenkreuz has founded in 2007 the *Europainstitut für cisterciensische Geschichte, Spiritualität, Kunst und Liturgie* or *Forschungsinstitut EUCist* (www.hochschule-heiligenkreuz.at accessed 15/03/2011), of which the aims are similar with those of ARCCIS. Both centres are partners in collecting and sharing information about Cistercian heritage. The abbey of Heiligenkreuz is developing a virtual platform called *CISTOPEDIA Encyclopaedia Cisterciensis*, a very ambitious project building up serious information about 3000 sites, with illustrations, connections with university libraries, etc. *Cistopedia* works as a 'wiki' encyclopaedia: people are invited to input information according to rules (www.cistopedia.org accessed 15/03/2011).

A very different network started in France in 1988 by some owners and managers of ancient abbey buildings and sites, with the aim to share experience about organising visits, obtain subsidies, promote tourism, optimise relations with administrations, and collect historic information. This group of owners and managers founded an association in 1993, named *La Chartre des Abbayes et Sites Cisterciens*, that produced an itinerary of Cistercian sites in France, and organises annual training sessions for guides (www.cister.net accessed 15/03/2011). Thanks to the dynamics of the nine hundredth anniversary of Cîteaux in 1998, the

association benefited of the internationalisation, expanded to other countries, and changed its name in: *Charte européenne des Abbayes et Sites Cisterciens*. Contrary to the networks emanating from the Trappist and Cistercian orders, La Chartre is not a religious association and does not ambition promoting spirituality. Most members of La Chartre are confronted with Cistercian heritage that has been secularised at the time of the French revolution, some sites being ruins, other having been turned in castle, factory, farm and even prison (Clairvaux). The present statistic of La Chartre mentions 175 members of which 40 are out of France. Interesting is to note that only 8 members on the 175 are living abbeys. A specialised guide mentioning about 520 Cistercian sites in France, Belgium, Switzerland and Luxembourg was published (Peugniez 2001).

This overview shows that Cistercian heritage is much more than only the heritage of living monastic communities. The largest part of the Cistercian tangible heritage no longer belongs to the order and has developed its own varied post-monastic history, in secularised private or public hands. Nobody can contest this evidence. However, the debate about the role and the meaning of this heritage in the present world is on another level. The spiritual dimension, that is to say the intangible heritage, still is in the hands of the religious who therefore have another vision on heritage according to their own identity and worldview. Religious do not want to consider themselves as keepers of a heritage or curators of museums. In a

Fig. 10.6: The abbey of Le Thoronet, one of the archetypes of Cistercian Romanesque architecture, is a national monument belonging to the French State (THOC, August 2009).



Fig. 10.7: Fake monks, real beer and historical abbey ruins: the 'Hostieux moines de Villers', Easter 2010 (<http://www.hostieux.org/> accessed March 2011).



certain sense, they are a living part of a heritage that they call "monastic tradition".

A last point that must be evoked here is the relative specificity of Cistercians and Trappists in the much larger phenomenon of monasticism. There are, of course, numerous other religious orders in the World (Johnston 2000; Laboa 2003; De Maeyer *et al.* 2004). Why give such an importance to Cistercian heritage? The reasons of this historiographical distortion are historical. They are for a large part the result of nationalist French scholarship (in particular around the figure of St. Bernard) and modernist admiration of Cistercian Romanesque architecture (fig. 10.6).

Thanks to the development of international identities, this model has changed for the twenty last years, despite the two "célébrations nationales" in France. A good example is the *Cistercian route*, developed by the European Institute of Cultural Routes, which depends on the Council of Europe. "It is at the request of France, during the celebrations of the 9th centennial of the birth of Bernard de Clairvaux, that in 1990 the Council of Europe elected 'the Cistercian route'. With this theme, Poland also inaugurated its entry within the Cultural Co-operation Council in November 1990. (...) Later, the theme of the Cistercians was extended to that of "monastic influence" (www.culture-routes.lu/ accessed 15/03/2011).

In May 2010, the "Monastic Route" has received the official certification of the Council of Europe and is one of the 29 certified cultural routes in Europe. The route also includes the rich heritage of Orthodox monasteries. The website of the European Institute of Cultural Routes mentions that the routes of monastic influence "will encourage the revaluation of the relation that we have established between public and private, intimacy and exteriority, patriotism and European spirit" (...) "The routes will support the consolidation of tolerance and the development of a European consciousness by means of artistic forms, historical testimonies, declarations of those who chose to deviate from the world to better understand the world and the meaning of human existence" (www.culture-routes.lu accessed 15/03/2011).

5. Conclusion

We would like to conclude this overview of Cistercian history, heritage and networks with two cases, which both are radical, and therefore illustrate the extreme ambivalences of Cistercian heritage.

The first case is the *Confrérie des hostieux moines de Villers*, a group founded in 1995 in a Belgian village that conserves outstanding ruins of a medieval Cistercian abbey. This "brotherhood" aims to valorise gastronomic specialities, in particular (abbey) beer and sausage, as well as local folkloric traditions (www.hostieux.org accessed 15/03/2011). The group is composed of about twenty men and is a parody of a monastic community, with an abbot, monks and novices, wearing Cistercian

habits and holding an annual chapter in the ruins of the abbey (fig. 10.7).

The second case comes from Portugal, a country that has a very rich Cistercian heritage, but that is the only country in Western Europe where the Cistercian Order never revived since the secularisation. A group of rather nationalistic catholic laymen is militating for the foundation of a Cistercian abbey in Portugal that would diffuse Portuguese Cistercian spirituality (www.cisterportugal.blogspot.com accessed 15/03/2011). The group received the support of the Cistercian abbot of the Spanish abbey of Oseira, but there are no monks available for a foundation in Portugal.

So we have, on the one hand, fake monks dealing with commercialized pseudo-monastic gastronomy, in real ruins of a former Cistercian abbey. On the other hand, we have a virtual project searching for real monks that should start a new abbey. What do these two cases have in common, except using the term Cistercian? Both belong to a post-modern and neo-romantic vision of monasticism and heritage. Fortunately, Cistercian heritage is much more than that, despite ambivalences and different views on the essence of its meaning.

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11 | 'Not just bones'. A cultural and political history of mass grave exhumations in Spain

Lore Colaert

Abstract: In this paper I analyze the exhumations of mass graves of the Spanish Civil War (1936–39) and dictatorship (1939–75) as spaces where processes of attribution of meaning take place, and I'll propose a provisional thesis on how cultural and political meaning is formed through the performance of forensic exhumations of mass graves. Hereby the focus is on the attribution of meaning to the exhumations in the public sphere, or, to say it with the words of Johannes Fabian, I consider death 'a prime datum of communication' (Fabian 2004). I argue that not only forensic truth is the object of the exhumations, but also the 'making of' truth, as a process of public acknowledgement and identification with the dead.

Introduction

I have to start with admitting that I am not a specialist in heritage. My paper is about mass graves, and mass graves are rather sites characterized by the fact that they are known, but invisible and unacknowledged in the public sphere. Therefore these public secrets could almost be considered as the opposite of a monument, although it is said by Robert Musil that "there is nothing in this world as invisible as a monument" (Musil 1987). In this paper I will analyze the exhumations of mass graves (fig. 11.1), like other types of 'heritage', as a space where processes of attribution of meaning take place, and I'll propose a provisional thesis on how cultural and political meaning is formed through the performance of forensic exhumations of mass graves.

In my PhD research project I am trying to write a cultural history of mass grave exhumations on the basis of a couple of micro histories of Spanish villages with a mass grave of the Civil War. Hereby the focus is on the attribution of meaning to the exhumations in the public sphere, or, to say it with the words of Johannes Fabian, I consider death 'a prime datum of communication' (Fabian 2004).

First of all I need to present some facts and figures about the exhumations in Spain. In this paper, I deal with mass graves of victims of the Civil War (1936–39) and the following Francoist dictatorship (1939–75). During and after the Civil War tens of thousands of civilians were killed by the Francoist army, police and paramilitary groups, and left in mass graves at the side of the road, in the open field, or at the sides or entrances of cemeteries, in order that the people would walk over them.

In 2000, the grandson of one of these '*desaparecidos*' or disappeared, Emilio Silva, initiated the first scientific exhumation of a mass grave in Priaranza del Bierzo (León), in order to rebury the body of his grandfather (Macías & Silva 2003). Since that moment, several associations

have exhumed approximately 5,300 missing persons, in approximately 230 mass graves (Huete Machado & Moro 2010). In total the memory movements are searching for approximately 130,000 missing persons – a number confirmed by historian Francisco Espinosa and judge Baltasar Garzón – in mass graves all over the country (Junquera 2008). Various associations, who only receive little financial support from the federal government, carry out the exhumations. In almost all



Fig. 11.1: Mass grave exhumation of the ARMH in Oropesa de Toledo (Toledo), November 2010 (L. Colaert).

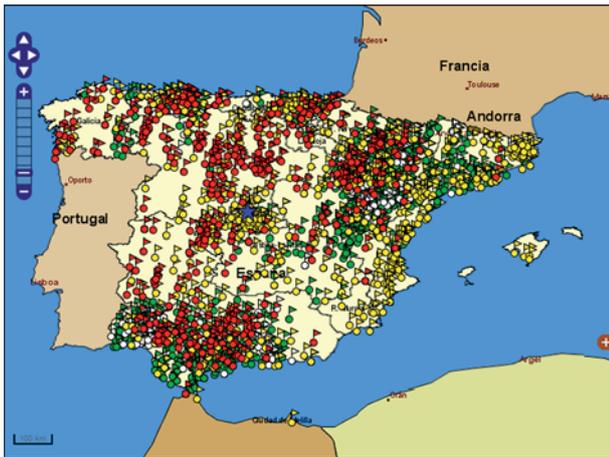


Fig. 11.2: The 'map of mass graves', published by the Spanish government in May 2011. Each flag represents one mass grave. The green flags stand for unexhumed graves; the red ones for exhumed (in total or in part); the yellow ones for mass graves transferred to 'Valle de los Caídos', the blue star on the map (the megalomaniac memorial for Franco and Primo de Rivera, where approximately 40.000 bodies of victims of the Civil War, of both sides, are buried). The white flags represent disappeared mass graves (Ministry of Justice, Spain).

cases, the exhumations are performed without any legal proceedings. We could say they happen in a legal limbo, because the human remains are too young to be considered archaeological, and too old to be investigated by a judge, although the latter depends of how that judge interprets the international law on enforced disappearances and the inapplicability of the terms of limitations in the case of crimes against humanity (United Nations 2006, United Nations 1968). In May 2011 the Spanish government published a 'map of mass graves' (fig. 11.2), which displays over 2000 mass graves all over the country. The associations however claim that most of the research was done by them, and that not all regional governments collaborated, which is why the result is far from complete (interview La Mazorra). Moreover, some of the forensics criticise the fact that the map is published without a compulsory protocol. They are afraid that non-professionals as well can now start exhuming the graves.

My findings for this paper are mainly based on fieldwork in 2010. I use a combination of data collection techniques, such as formal and informal interviews and participative observation during exhumations. In 2010 I attended exhumations in Candeleda (May 2010) and Oropesa de Toledo (November 2010) (Toledo) of the *Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica* (ARMH). I also included some results from my participation in exhumations in La Mazorra (May 2011) (Burgos) and Puebla de don Rodrigo (May 2011) (Ciudad Real). These findings lead to a preliminary thesis about the cultural and political attribution of meaning to mass grave exhumations.

The attribution of cultural and political meaning to mass grave exhumations "Truth" and "Evidence" or the rise of scientific and legal discourse?

Oropesa de Toledo, November 2010

The team of the ARMH is excavating a mass grave of seven victims of the Civil War, '*paseados por las cunetas*', persons shot and left at the side of the road.

A lot of relatives and neighbours of the victims pass by on a daily basis. When the archaeologists start to collect the bones to transport them to their laboratory in Ponferrada (León), one of the relatives starts questioning the method of the team of excavators. He denounces the uselessness of transporting the human remains to the lab hundreds of kilometres up north. The remains are in such a bad state, that it is already clear that the forensic analysis will not reveal new facts or the identity of the remains. The man thus wonders why it is not possible to rebury the bodies immediately. Consequently, the exhumation team starts to legitimize its method. One of their arguments is that they are performing a *scientific* investigation. According to their protocol, a forensic anthropologist has to draw up a scientific report and at least declare that those are human remains.

Since the first professional exhumation in 2000, there is indeed a rise of scientific discourse and practice surrounding the exhumations (fig. 11.3). Before 2000, some villages did rebury their victims, but the villagers put all bones together in a coffin, without examining or identifying them. Nowadays, forensic anthropologists legitimize their work by emphasizing the objective truth they reveal. The forensic anthropologist that founded the famous forensic team of Argentina (the *Equipo Argentino de Antropología Forense* or EAAF) in 1984, once stated that 'bones don't lie', (Guntzel 2004), on Facebook someone recently wrote to the main memory organization in Spain: 'the earth is speaking and you know how to listen to it', and in Madrid a protester of the 15M movement told me that the *cunetas* (the term to describe mass graves at the side of the road) speak us as much as archives (Madrid, June 2011). This belief that the past can be read in the material of bones is comparable with the 19th century

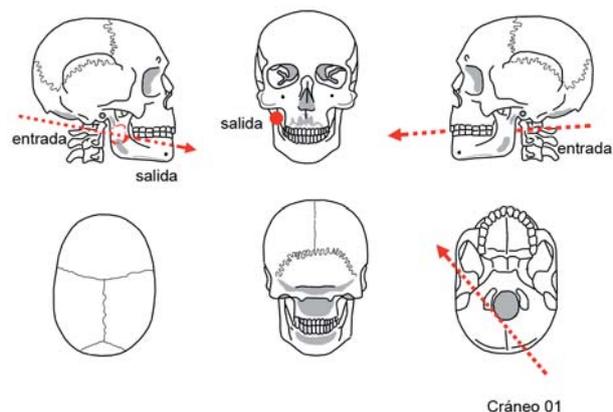


Fig. 11.3: Image from the forensic analysis of an exhumation in Fontanosas (Ciudad Real, 2006): "Interpretation of the injuries in the skull" (Etxeberria, Rissech & Herrasti 2010).

positivist idea of historians that the sources speak for themselves. Therefore, the forensic practice fits well in the hunger to know history "as it actually happened" in recent post conflict situations, a phenomenon that Darnton has called a 'Rankean rage' (Darnton 1981). The high status that 'evidence' is invested with in the exhumations is also a sign of the rise of a *legal* discourse in memory debates. Until now it is rather an exception that judges cooperate in exhumations, and usually the aim of the relatives is only to recover the body of their member of the family. But in all official acts like reburials, conferences or protests, many members of the memory movement demand a legal investigation of the crimes of the Spanish Civil War and dictatorship. The main memory movement, the ARMH, always goes to the police office to declare that they have found a mass grave, and they keep an archive with all the reports of the exhumations, in case there would ever be a judge who wants to investigate the crimes of the Spanish Civil War and dictatorship. One forensic anthropologist once said that he was reluctant to sign a report on the identity of the victims without a judge confirming this. Apparently the status of forensic truth is even higher once established by a judge. Or would the memory movements call upon judges because there is not only a need for truth, but also a need for 'institutional' and 'definite' *acknowledgement* of what happened? And what *cultural* traditions regarding dealing with the dead and the missing can we reveal beneath the surface of this scientific and legal discourse?

"Acknowledgement" and the politics of public or private bones

Let's try to answer the first question. What kind of truth is at stake in the exhumations? An argument often heard in defence of post conflict policies such as truth commissions and mass grave exhumations is that the aim of victims' relatives is to find the truth. This aspect of the exhumations is also the least controversial and the most convincing argument in defence of the exhumations in Spain. But in the case of those policies, as I will argue for the case of Spain, the truth is often already known by the relatives and local residents. One of the informants of the memory project '*Todos los Nombres*' (all the names) in Ciudad Real once asked what her benefit was by giving testimony. The anthropologist answered that the truth had to be known. She answered, 'but I know already what happened' (interview Puebla de don Rodrigo). So what kind of process of truth making do the exhumations generate?

In Spain, most mass graves are known in the villages as public secrets. During the Civil War, the militia often obliged villagers to bury the victims themselves, in order to install a form of continuous terror (interviews Oropesa, La Mazorra, Puebla de don Rodrigo). Once the bodies were buried, it was prohibited to mourn publicly (interviews Oropesa). Out of fear, people lied about the fate of the victims. A woman of Burgos explained

to me for instance how her grandmother told her that her parents had left her. In fact, her parents were killed, and the grandmother wanted to protect the girl against the stigma of being a '*rojo*' (republican) or '*vencido*' (loser of the Civil War) (Interview Madrid). These situations did create taboos in the villages where there were mass graves. Forensic anthropologists like to say that mass graves don't exist until the moment of an exhumation, but they do exist, 'under the surface' (Ferme 2001). They are known by individuals but not socially shared, not acknowledged in the public sphere, and not institutionalised by a public 'ritual' like a truth commission or a memory law, or by 'experts' such as a judge, a historian or a forensic anthropologist.

Of course, the exhumations do reveal some truth. Sometimes they exclude doubt and provide facts with the status of hard, material evidence. There is always the undeniable confirmation that there is a mass grave. Sometimes however, the bodies are not found (Puebla de don Rodrigo), the amount of bodies does not coincide with the written and oral sources, or identification of the remains is impossible (Oropesa de Toledo). But even in these cases the relatives are positive about the results of the exhumation, underlining the positive effects of getting to know the other families, finding a space to give testimony, and participating in a social process of repairing the dignity of the victims (Puebla de don Rodrigo, Oropesa de Toledo).

So, revealing 'truth' alone does not serve as a satisfactory explanation for the exhumations. The public character of the exhumations in Spain helps us to point to another function: the pursuit of *acknowledgement* of the truth. Acknowledgement has been defined by Thomas Nagel as the 'potentially significant material' that is admitted 'into the category of what must be taken into consideration and responded to *collectively* by all parties in the joint enterprise of discourse, action, and justification that proceeds between individuals whenever they come into contact' (Nagel 1998). The main memory movement the *Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica* (ARMH) has called this the pedagogic function of an exhumation. Francisco Ferrándiz, a social anthropologist, once told the most active forensic anthropologist in Spain, that he worked too fast, and that he had to let the mass grave 'breathe' more. He referred to the fact that after some days of exhuming, more people come to visit the site to share memories of their past, and conversations about the mass grave disseminate throughout the village (fig. 11.4). This way the gravesite becomes a temporary



Fig. 11.4: A daily scene during the exhumation in Puebla de don Rodrigo (Ciudad Real, May 2011): elderly who come to give testimony to the anthropologists and to share their memories with fellow-villagers, and youngsters receiving explications from the archaeologist. (L. Colaert).



Fig. 11.5: This life-size picture of a mass grave in La Andaya is displayed in expositions and on public places such as the Puerta del Sol in Madrid (Cristóbal & Junquera 2010).

discursive space for memory making. In general we can argue that because of the exhumations, the status of the mass graves changes from public secret to public, full stop.

I consider this choice to keep a mass grave in the private realm, or to acknowledge it in the public realm, a political choice. It is interesting to study in which situations the memory movements situate their work in the public or private realm, and there is a great diversity between organizations and families. This 'politics of public or private bones' is for instance noticeable in the afterlife of the exhumations. In Spain, the reburial of the victims is usually a public ceremony in which local officials, the exhumation team and the press participate. The bodies are often buried together, and a small memorial with their names gives them some visibility. But sometimes the victims are reburied in their respective family graves and they disappear of the public scene. Compared to post genocide Rwanda for instance, where the bones are piled up for the public at yearly commemorations, the Spanish victims of the Civil War are not so visible as one group. They are only present in the images of skulls and bones that circulate, through the pictures of villagers and researchers, new media like Facebook, and pedagogic tools of the ARMH like the 'life-size' picture of the mass grave of La Andaya (fig. 11.5). During an exposition to celebrate ten years of exhumations, some children even drew a sketch

of a mass grave exhumation (fig. 11.6). The different associations answer the question to which realm, the public or the private, the dead belong in many different ways. An incident in Candeleda in May 2010 made this clear in a painful way. There, a local organization would normally perform the excavation. But, when the landlord and other persons involved started to dislike the political flavour that this group wanted to give the exhumation, the ARMH took over. According to the president of the first, local organization, the actions of the ARMH were 'mercantile interferences' (Lorenzo 2010), and the bodies belonged to 'the cause' of the republic. According to the ARMH, the dead belong first of all to the families, but at the same time they argue that the public function of the exhumations and reburials benefits the acknowledgement that families would normally receive in a village when a violent death occurs (interview Puebla de don Rodrigo). Studying these notions about public acknowledgement and public belonging of the dead can reveal the potentially political and cultural meaning of the exhumations.

Cultural traditions beneath the surface of the scientific practice

Not only public acknowledgement, but also the *cultural and symbolic* meaning adds to our understanding



Fig. 11.6: Children's drawing at the conference 'Exhumando fosas, recuperando dignidades', Ponferrada, 18–24/10/2010 (L. Colaert).



Fig. 11.7: A man brought a picture of one of the victims that were claimed to be in the mass grave in Oropesa de Toledo, November 2010 (L. Colaert).

of mass grave exhumations beyond the scientific discourse about “truth” and “evidence”. Intrinsicly, bones don’t carry meaning, nor do they narrate a history. When I am excavating, I can be focused on the technical endeavour of finding one missing leg. Often the conversations of the excavation team and villagers deal with the type of soil and other technical aspects, which frees the act from identification with the bodies. But, the performance of the exhumation turns the bones into persons. First of all, if all goes well, the identification gives them a name (fig. 11.7). Then they are given a human face, because of the pictures the relatives often bring to the site. Sometimes the excavation team members demonstrate with an act of re-enactment, with their own body and gestures how the victims are situated in the grave. After the exhumation in Fontanosas (Ciudad Real) for instance, the whole team even lay down in the grave to show the village how the victims had been buried in the mass grave (Ferrándiz & García 2010). These re-enactments are thought to bring what for some is a distant past, near. Certain objects as well can produce a moment of identification with the bodies. In Pol (Lugo), the team of the ARMH bumped into this pair of boots that looked like the ‘Dr Martens’ shoes that were popular when they were teenagers. They told me they were so intact they ‘could have put them on and walk around with them’. They were shocked, and thought they had found, in their words ‘a real missing person, you know, a recent one’. The aged woman that had known the victim instantly recognized the shoes and started to cry (Interview Oropesa). These boots produced a moment of identification, as if that man was present for a moment through his shoes. Thus, next to a performance or ritual that ‘makes’ truth in the sense of institutionalizing and acknowledging the truth, the whole process of the creation of the mass grave, the taboos around it, the exhumation and the reburial, can be analyzed as a cultural process of meaning attribution to the material of bones.

Conclusion and epilogue

In this paper, I argued that these scientific exhumations, carried out by experts, could be analyzed as constructors

of political and cultural meaning. This political and cultural meaning may however not be separated. It is often stated that exhumations help societies to find ‘closure’, which can be regarded a cultural way of dealing with death. But ‘closure’, as well as the opposite of ‘closure’, which is ‘liminality’, can create explosive political categories. In the general memory debate in Spain, the exhumations offer a space for questioning the political choices of the generation that chose to ‘forget and forgive’ during the Spanish transition in the seventies. The banner of the ARMH for instance reads ‘why did the fathers of the transition leave my grandfather in the ditch?’ (www.memoriahistorica.org/joomla). According to the president of the ARMH, Spain is a ‘country in trance’, haunted by its missing republicans (Seminar “Memoria y pensamiento en el teatro contemporáneo”). Hereby the liminality of the missing is used as a metaphor to point at the ‘black holes’ or lacunas of the Spanish political transition to democracy.

To conclude, I think the Spanish exhumations can help us reveal the political and cultural meaning attribution behind the scientific and juridical discourse that is embedded in transitional justice and democratization projects worldwide.

The quote ‘Not just bones’ in the title, is based on the line ‘Pero no son, a simple vista, sólo huesos’ (‘But they are not, at first sight, just bones’) from the Pedro Guerra song ‘huesos’. This song from the album ‘Bolsillos’ (2004) deals with the exhumations in Spain, and is often used at reburials or protests of the several memory movements in Spain.

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Fig. 11.8: These boots were the first thing the ARMH team found when they were exhuming an individual grave in Pol (Lugo) (Huete Machado & Moro 2010).

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Links

Research groups

www.socialhistory.ugent.be

www.litra.ugent.be

www.tapas.ugent.be

<http://politicadela memoria.org/>

Related research projects and associations

<http://www.cchs.csic.es/es/content/justicia-memoria-narraci%C3%B3n-y-cultura>

<http://www.aranzadi-zientziak.org/antropologia-fisica/memoria-historica>

12 | Parallels. Construction and re-construction of the heritage of war in the urban landscape of Sarajevo – World War II and the 1992–95 conflict

Maja Musi

Abstract: The Peace Agreement for Bosnia and Herzegovina approved at Dayton in 1995 provided for the establishment of a Commission to Preserve National Monuments. In the city of Sarajevo, the Commission designated 95 national monuments until now, none of which is dedicated to the 1992–95 conflict. What are the implications of such apparent forgetting? What does the “national monument” label entail in an institutionally and politically fragmented country where memory is still highly contested? This article presents two “monumental sites” in Sarajevo – one dedicated to World War II, the other to the 1992–95 conflict – to consider the implications of their recognition (or lack thereof) as national monuments and explore the processes of monument construction vs. cultural heritage re-construction. By relating the case studies to international trends and conventions in the field of heritage, the article further hints at the relevance of the Bosnian experience with regards to European notions of heritage and its role in post-conflict settings as well as in promoting cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue.

During the last week of May 2011 three new initiatives related to the memory of armed conflict were presented in Sarajevo. As announced by the Government of Sarajevo Canton, the city will be the second place in Europe to host a Peace Monument fashioned on the example of the one inaugurated in Maribor, Slovenia, on the 20th of May. The Slovenian monument was erected to commemorate the fallen soldiers of World War II regardless of the side on which they fought: with the purpose to avoid political/ideological bias, it “includes tablets with the names of almost 3,000 soldiers from 26 countries” (STA, Slovenian Press Agency, “Monument to Peace unveiled in Maribor”, 20/05/2011, see www.sta.si). In Sarajevo, a similar project was announced to the public six days later, on the 26th of May, representing an “adaptation” of the Peace Monument idea to the Bosnian experience. The monument, to be located at the Bare cemetery in Sarajevo, will be dedicated to the soldiers killed in the periods 1941–45 and 1992–95. Besides this, it will also commemorate the members of the UN, UNPROFOR (United Nations Protection Force), SFOR (NATO-led Stabilisation Force), and other international organizations whose mission was the preservation of peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (see website of the Government of Sarajevo Canton, www.ks.gov.ba).

At the same time, a project for the arrangement of a “Veteran Alley” within the cemetery of Vlakovo was presented, responding to the “need of burying the deceased veterans of the defensive-liberation war of 1992–95”. The location will host 840 burial plots in a space of 10,000 square metres, for the graves of members of all faiths as well as atheists, and will assume the shape of a memorial park, foreseeing also the construction of an obelisk and a fountain (www.ks.gov.ba). The two projects were presented by the Cantonal Minister of Veteran Affairs and the Cantonal Minister for Physical Planning and Protection of the Environment.

Another 5 days later, on the 30th of May, under the auspices of the City Mayor and the Municipality of Sarajevo Centar, four organizations presented the project of a virtual museum on the siege of the city. The Museum of the Siege will present a wide range of material, including a virtual encyclopaedia, interactive maps and chronologies of the fall and disintegration of Yugoslavia and of the siege of Sarajevo, 1,400 oral testimonies, 3,000 visual documents, films, photographs, drawings and artefacts, as a “monument to human intellect, achievements, creativity, and strength of the human nature showed by the people of Sarajevo during the 4-years period of the siege” (website of the City of Sarajevo, www.sarajevo.ba).

Such a proliferation of proposals around the memory of war 16 years after the formal ending of the latest conflict is indicative of an atmosphere of perceived yearning to come to terms with painful experiences and find a settlement for open wounds to gradually heal, on the initiative of both civic/social organizations and various layers of the governmental structure. Additionally, the fact that the projects also refer to the Second World War hints at an apparent need to re-assess experiences of extreme suffering that are located further in the past, implying that seemingly long-gone strifes have in reality not yet been tackled in an adequate way or to the necessary extent.

The re-elaboration of past occurrences of struggle and bloodshed – both suffered and performed – though, is never a straightforward process, and involves, expresses and affects both the lived experience of individuals and the conduct and legitimization of political and military organisms in intermingling and complex ways.

In this paper, I will present the case of two monumental complexes dedicated to the memory of past wars in the city of Sarajevo, concentrating on the institutional aspects and the formal procedures pertaining to the (re) construction of monuments/heritage in a post-conflict

setting as one part of such articulated processes of remembrance. In this framework, I will try to show how the perceived lack of a unified politics of memory “from above” leaves space in today’s Bosnia and Herzegovina for the parallel development of discrete policies that endorse specific notions on heritage and foster particular accounts of the past. In other words, I will try to explore how distinct policies correspond to discrete approaches to the role and function of built heritage in the process of memorialization, and which past they select and retrieve for recollection. In reflecting on the memorialization of armed conflict as “man-made disaster”, I will specifically concentrate on the divide between the formal system of heritage management and protection and the practice of erecting new monuments. As I will conclude, a perceptible discrepancy between these two ways of “dealing with the past” leaves unresolved the dual character of built heritage as presumed means of “reconciliation” strategies on the one hand and potential source of conflict on the other.

Contextualization/background

The built heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina provided until the early 1990s a powerful visual exemplar of the centuries-long development of a shared cultural space characterized by heterogeneity and diversity. One recurrent example of such cultural richness and interrelatedness is Sarajevo’s historic core, where the visitor can encounter buildings of the four main monotheistic religions within walking distance from one another (among others: the Old Orthodox Church, the Catholic Cathedral, the Sephardic Temple, and the Gazi Husrev-bey Mosque, all dating back to the 16th century except for the Cathedral). This diverse and yet common cultural and religious environment was also testified by the variety of necropolises characterizing the landscape of the country: from prehistorical and ancient necropolises, to medieval Stecci (monumental tombstones typical of the region), Ottoman period burial grounds (comprising Christian, Muslim, and Jewish cemeteries), cemeteries from the Austro-Hungarian period and contemporary ones, altogether constituting a peculiar feature of Bosnia and Herzegovina’s heritage (see Serdarevic 1997).

With the wars of disintegration of Socialist Yugoslavia (1991–95) heritage was exposed to massive damage and destruction, to the extent that surveys carried out during and after the conflict denounced that “the entire heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina is endangered” (Mulalic-Handan 2007, 26, emphasis mine). On the destruction and endangerment of heritage see also Riedlmayer 2002a, Serdarevic 1997).

Such devastation was not a consequence or by-product of combat, but was rather carried out deliberately and systematically, constituting part and parcel of strategies of so-called “ethnic cleansing” entailing the eradication and/or elimination of the ethnic other from contested areas through systematic violence and practices ranging from harassment to deportation, torture, rape, detention in camps and mass killings, where the Serb faction assumed by and large the role of the perpetrator.

The background for ascribing to heritage such a function during wartime was devised by the emergence and affirmation in the late 1980s of extreme ethnonationalist ideologies fostering simplified and narrowed notions of identity, in which narratives of the past were employed to stiffen ethnic affiliations and exploited to justify particular political and military goals.

Framed as “cultural war” and centred on territoriality as one fundamental attribute of essentialised group identity, the armed conflict that ravaged Bosnia and Herzegovina thus highlighted the nexus between *place, identity and heritage* (Ashworth *et al.* 2007) as a pivotal premise for the deliberate targeting and destruction of built heritage in the framework of the redefinition of the territorial organization and demographic composition of strategic areas in military terms. In this context, heritage was targeted for annihilation with the aim of erasing the visible traces of previous cultural variety and interaction, through the elimination of buildings denoting the historical presence of particular groups on territories claimed by others.

The Statute of the International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia recognized “seizure of, destruction, or willful damage done to institutions dedicated to religion, charity, and education, the arts and sciences, historic monuments, and works of art and science” as amounting to war crimes (Art. 3d). The link between heritage destruction and genocide became explicit in the sentence against Radislav Krstic in 2001 (see www.icty.org, Francioni 2004).

The figures emerging from data collected in 1995 by the Institute for the Protection of Cultural, Historical and Natural Heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina – though incomplete – clearly demonstrate that annihilation of heritage was carried out with the aim of eradicating the claim by an ethnic group to a particular place: “2771 architectural heritage properties were demolished or damaged: 713 of them were totally destroyed and 554 were burned out and unusable” (quoted in Commission to Preserve National Monuments 2004, 30).

In late 1995, the war was halted through the internationally brokered General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina approved at Dayton, Ohio, and signed in Paris, France (hereinafter: Dayton Agreement). The Agreement’s first goal of freezing armed conflict was complemented by a series of Annexes aiming at defining some pivotal aspects of the new state (i.e. the Constitution, electoral system, human rights) and at promoting peace and stability in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the wider region of the Former Yugoslavia. Significantly, Annex 8 was dedicated to the establishment of a Commission to Preserve National Monuments (hereinafter: the Commission).

The inclusion of such a body in the framework of an international peace agreement not only confirms the impressive proportions of destruction of monuments and heritage during combat in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also hints at the relevance and role with which heritage is increasingly endowed in processes of post-war reconstruction and stabilization worldwide. This particular stress on heritage is part of global trends conceptualized and promoted primarily by the UNESCO and the Council of Europe in the development of a heritage doctrine and system. Taking the moves from the 1954 Convention on the Protection of Cultural

Property in the Event of Armed Conflict signed at The Hague, and refining its basic notions, tools and provisions in a series of similar international documents, this tendency theoretically links heritage preservation to cultural identity and intercultural dialogue, thus investing heritage with crucial functions in post-conflict reconstruction and inter-group reconciliation (e.g. UNESCO web pages on 'Heritage and Reconstruction' and 'Dialogue and Reconciliation', <http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en>, section 'Emergency situations').

As it "bears witness" of the past and forms part of that "system of cultural references" that should be handed down to future generations, heritage has come to be considered in such conventions as an essential "component of the cultural identity of communities, groups and individuals, and of social cohesion, so that its intentional destruction may have adverse consequences on human dignity and human rights" (2003 UNESCO Declaration Concerning the Intentional Destruction of Cultural Heritage, Preamble).

The latest of these documents, the 2005 Framework Convention on the Value of Heritage for Society (came into force: 1st June 2011), broadly defined "cultural heritage [as] a group of resources inherited from the past which people identify [...] as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions" (Art. 2). The Convention, under the auspices of which a *Regional Programme on Cultural and Natural Heritage in South East Europe* was launched in 2003, explicitly relates heritage to "dialogue", calling for the development "of knowledge of cultural heritage as a resource to facilitate peaceful co-existence by promoting trust and mutual understanding with a view to resolution and prevention of conflicts" (Art. 7c). At the same time, the text acknowledges the potential of discord attached to heritage, demanding the contracting Parties to "establish processes for conciliation to deal equitably with situations where contradictory values are placed on the same cultural heritage by different communities" (Art. 7b).

In the specific case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the function of heritage in contributing to political stability and economic development in the aftermath of war was further emphasized in the Dayton Agreement by the positioning of the Annex establishing the Commission (Annex 8) after Annex 7 on the return of refugees and displaced persons, implicitly associating heritage with the territorial dimension of the cultural identity of groups. This link was made explicit in the *Regional Programme on Cultural and Natural Heritage in South East Europe*, through the promotion of a process of rehabilitation of heritage whose "purpose is to preserve a certain lifestyle that could help convince inhabitants to remain in (or return to) their villages, making sure that affected regions do not face post-conflict trauma with progressive impoverishment or even abandonment. Reconstruction and development is therefore a priority in conflict areas, not only for accommodating the inhabitants and ensuring the right conditions for the return of displaced persons, but also for preserving the spirit of the communities" (Council of Europe 2011, 4).

Mandate and tasks of the Commission

As established in the Dayton Agreement, the mandate of the Commission is to "receive and decide on petitions for the designation of property having cultural, historic, religious or ethnic importance as National Monuments" (Annex 8, Art. IV). On the basis of documentation and research on the needs/tasks of reconstruction of given sites, the Commission designates the authorities in charge of providing the "legal, scientific, technical, administrative and financial measures for the protection, restoration, conservation and presentation" of the (proclaimed) national monument (usually specified in article II of each Decision). For further information on the work of the Commission see: www.kons.gov.ba. In the complex institutional geography fashioned in the Dayton Agreement (two Entities – a predominantly Serb Republika Srpska and a predominantly Croat/Muslim Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina – plus the self-governing Brcko District. Additionally, the Federation is composed of 10 highly autonomous Cantons), the Commission is the only body at the State level in charge of heritage reconstruction and preservation.

Looking at the items declared national monuments until now, it is possible to highlight two features of the Commission's work: first, decisions concerning religious buildings or historical/architectural properties that might be associated with specific ethnic groups have been designated in "balanced" proportions, i.e. properties that can be assumed to represent each of the three "constituent peoples" of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bosniacs, Croats and Serbs, according to the Dayton Agreement, Annex 4) were evenly designated. This suggests that the Commission's efforts are dedicated to positively build upon the so-called "ethnic key" informing the Dayton Agreement, and that, without "privileging" any of the groups, its work is directed to reconstruct the heritage of the country in its entirety, plurality and heterogeneity (Hadžimuhamedović 2008). Secondly, it can be noted that monuments purposely erected to mark historical events/figures constitute a tiny minority of the decisions adopted by the Commission, which by and large entail historical or religious buildings, bridges, tombstones, archaeological sites, as well as landscape ensembles and movable properties. These two traits indicate that the formal system of designation of national monuments embodied by the Commission is informed by international concepts on the importance of heritage and its role in processes of reconciliation, and reflects the character of international involvement in the armed conflict that marked the dissolution of Yugoslavia, in that it (re)proposes the ethnic principle of balanced representation in every institution (as well as in the list of items declared national monuments) as a guarantee against the ethnic superimposition of one group over another.

Being the unique body in charge of heritage at the State level, the Commission emerges – at least formally – as the pivotal actor in this field, as no other institution can perform the task of heritage designation on a national scale, with a jurisdiction that extends on the territory of both Entities and the Brcko District, with final and binding decisions. The composite administrative geography devised by the Dayton Agreement, though, reverberated in all fields, with the

consequent existence of heritage institutes at all levels. Issues related to monuments/heritage in the city of Sarajevo, hence, involve the Institute for the Protection of Cultural-historical and Natural Heritage of Sarajevo Canton, the Institute for the Protection of Monuments of the Ministry of Culture and Sport of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the institutes and ministries for urban planning and construction at the municipal, cantonal, and federal levels. All these bodies are, or should be, engaged in collaboration with the Commission, but their relationship is not regulated by a unified legal framework on heritage – still missing at the state level – so that their tasks, competencies, and responsibilities often vary.

Monuments and armed conflict

In the city of Sarajevo, the Commission has so far designated 95 National Monuments. Remarkably, none of these is a monument erected to the armed conflict from which Bosnia and Herzegovina emerged 16 years ago as a newly created independent state, despite the massive presence of plaques, monuments, and other markers of the 1992–95 conflict disseminated across the urban landscape. The lack of formal recognition by the Commission, on the other hand, does not prevent sites from being given visibility and public relevance, as is the case with some monuments related to the recent armed conflict that not only have become major tourist attractions but are also already part of ceremonies and official celebrations, still very frequent in Sarajevo. One such example is constituted by the Monument to the killed children of besieged Sarajevo, inaugurated in May 2009 in the city centre and visited by official authorities on all important dates.

Studies on the recent conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the violent dissolution of former Yugoslavia increasingly tackle the implications of the relations between memory, power and identity (Müller 2002), exploring the (re)emergence or persistence of local memories in relation to the rise of ethnonationalist ideologies and their use and construction of narratives of the past (see Jansen 2002, Duijzings 2007). Reflections of this kind are developing especially in relation to the recent armed conflict and remembrances of previous episodes of (inter-ethnic) violence during World War II. As such, the analysis is mainly focused on the role of memory in the context of war and in relation to the rhetoric of reconciliation and post-war reconstruction, and often concludes that ‘within a decade the modern Balkan wars [have] generated their own powerful cycle of memories’ (Bet-El 2002, 207).

Such considerations highlight the nexus between war and remembrance, and emphasize the consequences and implications of the ways in which the memory of armed conflict is shaped and managed in and by different political settings. In the immediate aftermath of war and in dealing with legacies of large-scale past abuses, moreover, monuments are increasingly invested with a pivotal function in memorialization as part of reparation measures to victims, in the framework of transitional justice processes.

More generally, monuments are envisaged as one factor of processes of memorialization where “collective memory [...] depends on transitions from

history into memory that involve the framing of historical events in the shape of affectively charged narratives and mobilizing symbols” (Assmann 2008, 67). What eventually comes to be collectively regarded as heritage, therefore, whether formally recognized (i.e. labelled) as such or not, is normally ingrained in narratives on history and identity and often constructed as a constitutive element of political legitimization. In this framework, monuments and heritage thus involve a certain component of construction: to continue with the words of Assmann, “[i]f historic dates [...] are selected to be collectively and transgenerationally remembered, “fiction” in the sense of making, shaping, constructing is always implied in their narrative emplotment or visual encoding” (Assmann 2008, 67). This perspective reasserts and confirms Halbwach’s (1992) constructivist approach and understanding of collective memory in relation to social frames, and provides ground for Kansteiner’s conceptualization of collective memory as “the result of the interaction among three types of historical factors: the intellectual and cultural traditions that frame all our representations of the past, the memory makers who selectively adopt and manipulate these traditions, and the memory consumers who use, ignore, or transform such artifacts according to their own interests” (Kansteiner 2002, 180).

Recalling the way in which different political regimes adapted monuments to such constructions of memory, identity and power, Jezernik unambiguously concludes that “in the course of time, [monuments] invariably prove to be temporary constructs which may be changed or forgotten at any moment. The image of what one generation believed to be the realization of their forebears’ ideals was conceived by the succeeding generation to be no more than an illusion which should be replaced with the closest possible realization of their dreams, whatever the cost” (Jezernik 1998, 587). That monuments and heritage are charged with meaning as well as with social and political functions, and that these processes have precise implications on what comes to be selected as “the past” and eventually history, is reminded also by the example of the creation of a Monument Park in the outskirts of Budapest to host Communist-era monuments and statues after 1989, and the powerful image of old street name signs marked by a red diagonal slash and left for some time above the new ones in the centre of the city (Esbenshade 1995). In analysing the Budapest case and its implications on the construction of history, Nadkarni defines this process as a “re-monumentalization in the service of a new memorial project to disjunction rather than continuity” (Nadkarni 2003, 201), rather than as a conciliating way of dealing with the past. However, she also reminds us that the location and shape of monuments are not sufficient to guarantee heritage’s important role in processes of memorialization, which needs to be validated and complemented through practices in and around the sites: “the monument’s memorial value usually only inspires attention as a marker within cyclical time: a site to commemorate holidays within the official calendar” (Nadkarni 2003, 195). On the crucial role of performance in relation to memory see Connerton (1989).

It is in this perspective and on the basis of such considerations and understandings of cultural heritage and mechanisms/processes of memorialization that I

will try to interpret and analyse the cases of two specific memorials to armed conflict in the city of Sarajevo.

Vraca Spomen Park and memory of World War II

“The glorious past will be of example to new generations, [showing] how the peoples of a small country were resolute to defend their country, and their freedom, at the cost of the highest number of victims, being more gladly ready to die rather than kneel slavishly in front of the fascist invaders”

(Message by Tito at Vraca Memorial Park.
Translation M. Musić)

Spomen Park Vraca is a memorial complex on the outskirts of Sarajevo erected in 1980–81 to commemorate the suffering and resistance of the citizens of Sarajevo during World War II. Originally an Austro-Hungarian fortification (completed in 1898), the structure was used between 1941 and 1945 by occupying forces as a torture and execution place, where the bodies of the victims were also buried. Once completed, the memorial park comprised a Museum on the “battle for Sarajevo”; a Memorial to the city’s combatants killed in action; a Memorial to 26 national heroes with mausoleum; a Memorial to the city’s combatants of the resistance movement; a sculpture to women combatants; a Memorial to the victims of fascism; an eternal flame with fountain, messages by Tito, a ceremonial plateau and a belvedere (fig. 12.1 & fig. 12.2). The names of 2,013 fallen fighters and 9,091 victims of fascist terror (of which 7,092 were Jews) were inscribed in stone on the site.

Between 1992 and 1995 the park was used as a military location for light and heavy artillery by the forces besieging Sarajevo, who upon withdrawal left the site completely damaged and mined. In post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina, with the redefinition of the structure of the country, the site remained on the line demarcating the border between the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republika Srpska, its conditions aggravated by neglect and acts of vandalism (Čusto 2008; figs 12.3–12.6).

In 2004, the Council of Associations of Fighters of the National Liberation War (SUBNOR – the partisan veteran association created after WWII) of Canton Sarajevo drafted and submitted a petition for the recognition of Vraca Memorial Park to the Commission (on the function of SUBNOR in Socialist Yugoslavia with regard to memory see Karge 2009). One year later, in 2005, the site was designated as a national monument. In article II of its Decision, the Commission identified the authority in charge of undertaking the measures necessary for the site’s reconstruction and rehabilitation in the Government of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The site, though, remained completely unattended until 2010, when the Mayor of Sarajevo City organised a meeting with the directors of two institutes for the preservation of heritage (the Cantonal Institute for the Protection of the cultural-historical and natural heritage and the Federal Institute for the protection of monuments), the president of the Jewish Community, the Mayor of Novo Sarajevo municipality (comprising Vraca neighbourhood), and Pokop funeral services, for arrangements to start the reconstruction works (May, 11th 2010, www.sarajevo.ba). Some works of reparation of the plateau, pavement and care of the vegetation

Fig. 12.1: Plan of the Memorial Park at Vraca. Source: Committee for the Construction of the Vraca Memorial Park, various authors, 1985; Spomen park Vraca, Directorate of the Vraca, Ivančiči and Igman Memorial Complexes and Memorials, Sarajevo.

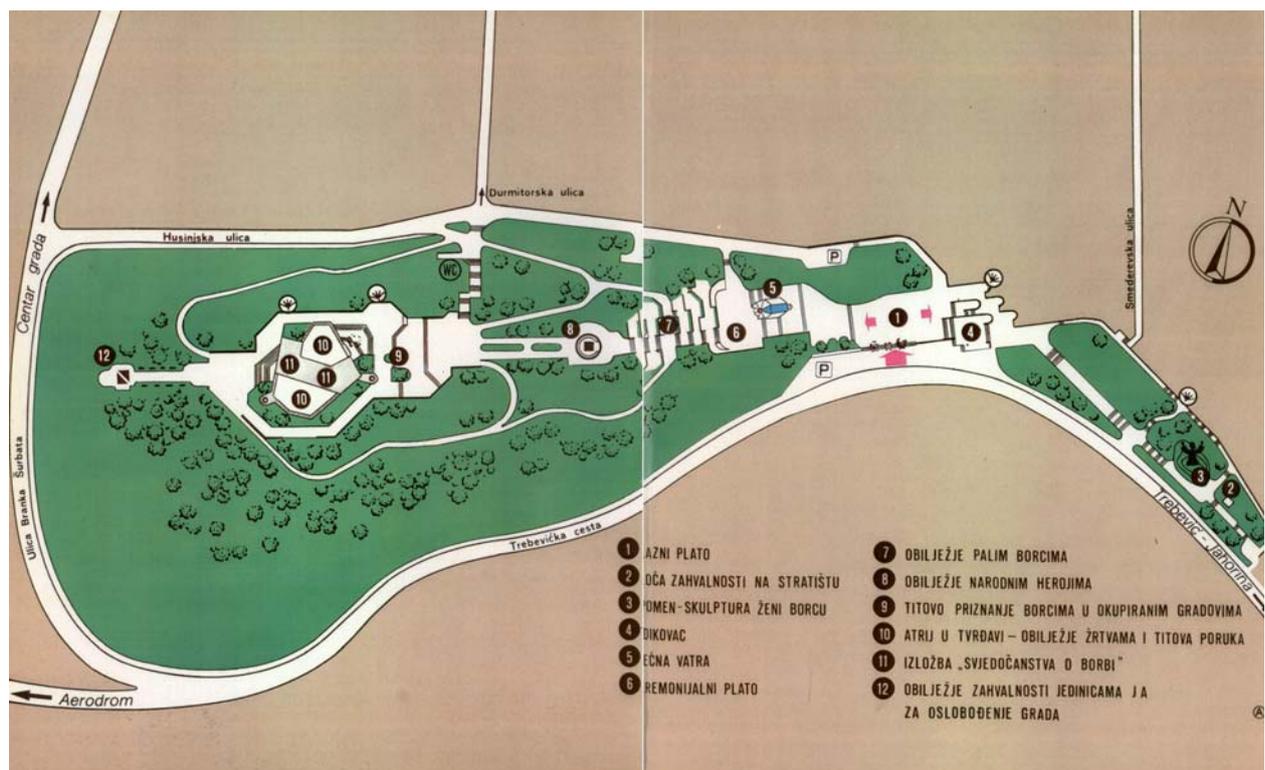




Fig. 12.2: Aerial picture of Vraca Memorial Park. Source: Committee for the Construction of the Vraca Memorial Park, various authors, 1985; Spomen park Vraca, Directorate of the Vraca, Ivančiči and Igman Memorial Complexes and Memorials, Sarajevo.

were eventually carried out in September 2010, though it is not clear whether reconstruction will continue. The Memorial Park at Vraca constitutes an exception in the list of declared national monuments, as it is one of the very few socialist monuments recognized as heritage in Bosnia and Herzegovina (similar instances are the Partisan Memorial-Cemetery in Mostar and the Memorial complex of the Battle on the Neretva in Jablanica, see www.kons.gov.ba), and the only one in

the townscape of the capital city. But whereas its formal recognition might point to an involvement in the public memorialization of Bosnia and Herzegovina's socialist past, the practical outcome of its designation results in a series of contradictions. First, no signs have been set up to mark the place as a protected area and describe the site's history and meaning, a task usually carried out by the Commission itself, and crucial to the memorial's public visibility and acknowledgement, thus implying

Fig. 12.3: Austro-Hungarian fort at Vraca Memorial Park, Nov. 2009 (M. Musi).



Fig. 12.4: Austro-Hungarian fort at Vraca Memorial Park, Nov. 2009 (M. Musi).



an inefficiency in the formal system of heritage management. Moreover, no works of reconstruction have been carried out for 5 years after its designation. Although the main reason for such neglect might be identified in a critical lack of funds to be devolved to heritage preservation, the neglect itself conveys an apparent indifference towards the site on the part of the Federal institutions, and an implicit irrelevance of

the formal system of heritage care. Finally, the fact that some works were carried out on the initiative of the City's authorities leaves unclear the relation between formal recognition and practical care, and questions the coherence of rules and procedures regarding heritage reconstruction and preservation.

Sehidsko Spomen Mezarje Kovaci and the 1992–95 war

Fig. 12.5: Eternal Flame and Fountain on the ceremonial plateau of Vraca Memorial Park, Nov. 2009 (M. Musić).



Fig. 12.6: Sculpture to Women Combatant at Vraca Memorial Park, Nov. 2009 (M. Musić).



"Not even one of the genocides on the Bosnjak people/nation has been marked... the message of the Shahid cemetery Kovaci must bring a warning that will be transmitted from generation to generation. May they not try again!"

(Introduction to the memorial's construction project on the website of the Fund.
Translation M. Musić.)

The Kovaci Shahid (martyr, *lit.* Witness of the Truth) cemetery memorial is a complex in course of construction in the Kovaci neighborhood of Sarajevo, close to the historic city centre. Before the start of its erection, the area used to host an old burial ground with *nisan* tombstones dating back to the 16th century, some parts of which were turned into a park area and complemented with a sports center in the 1960s and '70s. Since the 1992–96 siege of the city, the area was gradually turned into a military cemetery, where members of the First Corps of the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina were buried. Today, the cemetery hosts the graves of the first President of (independent) Bosnia and Herzegovina Alija Izetbegovic and the Chief General of the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina Rasim Delic (buried in April 2010, fig. 12.7 & 12.8). According to the current project plan of construction, the memorial complex is meant to comprise – besides the cemetery – a Museum to Alija Izetbegovic; a Museum of the Siege of Sarajevo; an amphitheatre and auditorium; a tekke [Islamic religious building]; a central *nisan*-monument to Shahids; a Wall of Memory; and a panoramic plateau (www.dasenezaboravi.org.ba; figs 12.9–12.11).

The institution in charge of the site under all aspects – from drafting the conceptual project to solving legal and administrative issues and carrying out the works of construction – is the Sarajevo Canton Fund for the protection and maintenance of cemeteries of shahids and killed combatants, memorial centres and monuments of the victims of genocide (*Fond Kantona Sarajevo za zaštitu i održavanje grobalja šehida i poginulih boraca, memorijalnih centara i spomen obilježja žrtava genocida – Fond memorijala*, hereinafter: the Fund). The Fund was established in 1997 by means of a Decision of the Parliament of Sarajevo Canton, and nowadays is one organization under the Ministry for Veteran Affairs of the Sarajevo Canton. The basic competency of the Fund is to raise *nisan* gravestones to the Shahids and fighters killed during the aggression of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and to collect funds for its purposes. Although it is an institution created within the Sarajevo Canton, the Fund carries out its work on the whole territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, "wherever on Bosnian land lay shahids and killed fighters" (webpage of the Fund, introductory



Fig. 7.12: Former President Alija Izetbegovic Mausoleum at Kovaci Cemetery Memorial, June 2011 (M. Musi).

page: <http://www.dasenezaboravi.org.ba/bos/fondks.wbsp?sm=0&page=1&spage=1>.

The mission and work of the Fund entail various activities ranging from the basic task of raising *nisan* gravestones in cemeteries, to raising monuments/memorials, collaborating with primary and secondary schools, collecting information and publishing material on the recent conflict, raising awareness. The Fund's vision is one centred on the victims and fighters of the recent armed conflict, and is primarily devoted to "rescuing" the war experience from oblivion and against competing accounts, with the aim of warning future generations against the horrors of genocide in a "never again" imperative.

At present (2011), works of construction of the amphitheatre and auditorium are in an advanced phase, while other parts of the memorial are already built and operative, namely the cemetery, the central *nisan*-monument to Shahids, and the Museum dedicated to Alija Izetbegovic's personal, political and military life. The memorial complex at Kovaci is visited by a growing number of tourists, often in guided groups, and is always visited by public officials and political authorities on important occasions and commemorations.

Remarkably, despite the proportions of the projected memorial complex, no petition has been drafted for its formal recognition as national monument. The apparent lack of interest in recognition is rendered even more striking by two characteristics of the site: first, the fact that it constructs (and will present, once



Fig. 12.8: General Rasim Delic grave at Kovaci Cemetery Memorial, June 2011 (M. Musi).

construction is completed) an articulated narrative on the armed conflict from which the country emerged as an independent state in the very near past, thus a narrative on the foundation of present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina, and, second, the fact that it hosts the grave of the Country's first President. The absence of a petition submitted to the Commission to Preserve National Monuments is neither due to the fact that construction works are still on-going, nor to a generic indifference to formal recognition *per se*. On the contrary, in April 2010 the Government of Sarajevo Canton proposed the recognition of the complex as an "area of public interest for the Sarajevo Canton" (Government of Canton Sarajevo, Proposal for Conclusion 02-05-17172-2/10, 16th April 2010, www.ks.gov.ba).

Heritage, memory, and the past(s)

Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge succinctly and effectively define heritage as "that part of the past that we select in the present for contemporary purposes [...] and choose to bequeath to a future" (Ashworth *et al.* 2007, 35). The cases of Vraca Memorial Park and Kovaci Shahid Cemetery offer two clear examples of



Fig. 12.9: Kovaci Cemetery Memorial, view, June 2011 (M. Musi).

Fig. 12.10: Kovaci Cemetery Memorial, view, June 2011 (M. Musi).





Fig. 12.11: Construction Plan of Kovaci Memorial Complex (leaflet collected at the Fund Offices, explanatory signs M. Musić).

the ways in which heritage management corresponds to specific needs and purposes drawn from the present, rather than reflecting an intrinsic relationship with the past. More specifically, these two cases show a neat divide between formal procedures of heritage reconstruction on the one hand and concrete practices of construction of new monuments on the other, which emblematically point to two discrete approaches to the function of heritage in society, endorsed by two of the many actors in this field in the particular context of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

If we look at the work of the Commission and the Fund in this perspective, we can already draw a first set of conclusions from the information and examples reported above. First, despite the contradictions and ambiguities of the formal system of designation of monuments in today's Bosnia and Herzegovina, these two cases remind us that "heritage is [...] what and where someone says it is" (Ashworth *et al.* 2007, 41). This is particularly evident in the case of the Commission, whose main task is precisely that of "naming" heritage: the Commission in fact decides *where* heritage is to be found, on the basis of *what* is to be considered "heritage" (see Criteria for the Designation of Property as National Monument, www.kons.gov.ba). The importance of recognition emerges also from the example of the Fund and its memorial at Kovaci: in this case designation is sought from another authority, that of the Sarajevo Canton. As suggested above, the fact that acknowledgment is not sought via the Commission does not question the symbolic importance of recognition itself, but rather reminds that recognition is a mirror-structure in which the authority that delivers it at the same time asks for the acknowledgment of its power to do so (Feuchtwang 2003). This observation hence leads to question whether the Fund concedes such authority to the Commission or not.

This "saying" what and where heritage is, moreover, appears as a composite set of practices at various levels, and in both explicit and implicit ways. As shown by the apparent "forgetting" of Vraca Memorial Park after 2005, the formal designation of a site is neither the only means of its affirmation nor the most important one, but rather needs to be complemented with practices that enhance

its public visibility, such as the marking and explanation of its value and its symbolic acknowledgment on the part of authorities and representatives, who, paying tribute to the site on official occasions, contribute to its establishment through its inclusion in the performance of commemorative rituals.

These two cases, thus, remind us that heritage is construed and produced rather than recognized, and highlight the relation between the subjects, purposes and objects of this process, while pointing to its implications with regards to memorialization of past events.

In this perspective, the apparent forgetting of the 1992–95 conflict – suggested by the absence of designated national monuments dedicated to it in the city of Sarajevo – appears influenced by the value and function ascribed to heritage at the basis of the Commission's work. In other words, charging heritage with a crucial function in reconciliation processes, the Commission's selection of sites implicitly seeks to reconstruct a past tradition of peaceful coexistence of different cultures on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The items designated as National Monument correspond to this multicultural vision, but this has also implications on the fact that through this mechanism particular segments of the past are selected for inclusion in public, official and structured practices regarding or involving commemoration *at the expense* of others (see also Gilbert 2006). Far from having been forgotten, the 1992–95 war cannot be included in such a narrative, at least as long as opposite accounts of it continue to have a highly political content, and to constitute a potential source of conflict. Conflict around monuments is not just "imagined" here, but rather still latent and sometimes enacted, as demonstrated by the attempt to damage the grave of President Izetbegovic with explosives at the Kovaci cemetery in 2006, an act for which no one responsible has yet been identified (the incident was reported also by international media, see for instance <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4783333.stm>). Since then, the complex at Kovaci is under 24 hour surveillance by security guards and cameras.). The (ethnically) neutral identity of the Commission and the (politically) unbiased character of its work, while based on an effort to mend recent fractures, result in an elision of particular segments of the past from public memory, most strikingly the 1992–95 conflict. The case of Vraca Memorial Park can be read in the same perspective: the fact that it is the only socialist monument recognized as cultural heritage in Sarajevo suggests that memory of socialism is also still contested, though perhaps with a "lower" content of conflictuality than that pertaining to the armed conflict of the 1990s, expressed in reiterated and persistent acts of vandalism on the site (fig. 12.14). This, and – perhaps more significantly – the symbolic implications of its positioning on the line demarcating the boundary between the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republika Srpska, allow for the formal recognition of the site, but result in the neglect and avoidance of its concrete rehabilitation.

The case of the Kovaci memorial complex seems opposite to that of the Vraca memorial park. Here, the process is overtly one of heritage construction, on the part of a subject whose traits have clearer political implications. The basic aim of the Fund, in fact, is to foster a specific account of the 1992–95 conflict and promote its recognition as the *true* one against a background of irreconcilable and mendacious versions of the recent past.

The work of the Fund is based on an understanding of heritage (and memory) as a crucial tool to figuratively assign credit and blame after the man-made catastrophe of armed conflict, and irrevocably “sculpt” in the heart of the city a message of warning against the repetition of past wrongs and the revival of past horrors. Through the erection of memorials, the Fund aims to “attain the establishment of the sacrifice endured by the defenders of the Army of RBiH [Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina] between 1992 and 1995 in the system of social values of the new Bosnian state” (Introduction, website of the Fund, translation mine). Here, the “encounter” of past and future around cultural heritage built in function of present needs/purposes is made explicit.

As suggested by the components of the projected memorial, moreover, such “making sense of the past” has precise implications regarding identity and legitimization: the “new *Bosnian* state” ambiguously overlaps with the “*Bosnjak* people/nation” in the presence of symbols related to the Islamic influences characterizing part of the history of the country (besides the Tekke, the original project comprised a mosque. The conceptual project of construction consistently refers to traditional Islamic architecture and to the spiritual value of natural elements in it), although without excluding other segments of the population, as shown by the presence of non-Muslim fallen fighters in the cemetery, for which a different kind of tombstone can be set up in place of the traditional Islamic *nisan* (the term *Bosnjak* started to be used during the 1992–95 war to designate Muslim citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina).

In relation to the stated purposes of the Fund, thus, the 1992–95 war is inscribed in a narrative that recollects specific segments of the past to recall basic principles on which the new Bosnian society will be modelled. To do so, the Fund draws on collective identification: “we

can build memorial centers and memorial-markers to the victims of genocide only with the common strength of those who love their Homeland and thence will the built objects have their own full meaning and message that we fought and will fight for equality, justice and liberty of all peoples and our Homeland” (www.dasenezaboravi.org.ba, introductory word. Translation M. Musi).

As in the case of the Commission, the recollection of specific segments of the past is intertwined with the forgetting of others: the war of disintegration of Yugoslavia is central to a narrative from which the socialist experience seems to have been elicited.

In lieu of a conclusion

“Conflict is [...] endemic to heritage”

(Lowenthal 1996, 234)

Vraca Memorial Park and the Kovaci Memorial Cemetery are two of the sites usually visited on commemorative dates by public authorities, political representatives, and organizations and citizens of Sarajevo (figs 12.12 & 12.13). Among the most important recurrences of this kind is the 6th of April, annually celebrated as the Day of the City of Sarajevo, established during Socialist Yugoslavia to mark the official date of the liberation of the city by the partisan resistance movement. Sixty years later, though, the 6th of April has come to symbolize also the beginning of the war of disintegration of Yugoslavia, remembering the day on which two young women, Suada Dilberovic and Olga Sucic, were killed by bullets shot at a peace demonstration in 1992. In today’s Bosnia and Herzegovina, thus, this date symbolically and simultaneously marks both the end and the beginning of armed conflict.

The public ceremony on the 6th of April usually starts in the morning with the laying of wreaths at the *Vjecná Vatra* (Eternal Flame) in Marshal Tito Street – the monument to the liberation of Sarajevo erected at its first anniversary in 1946. Official delegations and participants then visit also the Kovaci Memorial; the Fountain dedicated to the children of Sarajevo killed during the 1992–95 siege; the Bare and Lav cemeteries; the Bridge dedicated to Suada Dilberovic and Olga

Fig. 12.12: Wreaths of flowers at Vraca Memorial Park on the 6th of April 2011 (M. Musi).



Fig. 12.13: Wreaths of flowers at the Central Nisan-Monument at Kovaci Cemetery on the 6th of April 2010 (M. Musi).





Fig. 12.14: Graffiti on the Eternal Flame/Fountain at Vraca Memorial Park, with the writing "This is Bosnia!!" Who and what is claiming with such a writing placed on a "forgotten" monument in between the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republika Srpska? (M. Musi).

Sucic; the statue of Tito at the University Campus (former military barracks of the Yugoslav People Army – JNA); the statue of Vladimir Peric "Valter" (heroic partisan of WWII); the Memorial Park at Vraca; the square dedicated to the National Anti-Fascist Council of the People's Liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ZAVNOBIH square, in the Alipasino Polje suburb); the Jewish Cemetery. The day thus is celebrated around both formally recognized sites of cultural heritage and "unrecognized" ones.

First-hand attendance on this date offers the opportunity to observe variations in participation and behaviour, especially on the part of exponents of the governmental structure. While the central moment seems to be the initial one at the Eternal Flame, attended by representatives of all political and administrative levels, the rest of the commemoration is characterized by the fact that different officials visit and pay homage to different sites.

On the one hand, the ceremony is visibly a strongly formalized ritual: representatives of the establishment visit key sites on a cyclical (annual) recurrence in a standardized typical performance, that of laying wreaths of flowers. On the other hand, though, variation within this practice is staged both in terms of the proportions of public attendance at different sites (i.e. the amount of participants varies from site to site) and attendance and behaviour on the part of the

officials. To give but two examples, the performance at Vraca Memorial Park in 2010 involved the organization of a structured ceremony, with various officials, former partisans, and representatives of organizations who delivered speeches in the presence of a few hundred participants, while at the other sites it was limited to the symbolic placing of garlands (interestingly, nothing similar was organized in 2011, and the level of attendance was lower). At the Kovaci Memorial cemetery, both in 2010 and 2011, after laying flowers in front of the central Nisan-Monument to Shahids, only some of the representatives paid tribute to the mausoleum of first President Alija Izetbegovic laying an additional wreath, while others were already proceeding to visit the following monuments of their commemorative "tour" (observations from personal attendance to the commemoration on the 6th of April 2010 and 2011).

The behaviour displayed on this occasion is symbolically indicative of the lack of a unified perspective on memory on the part of the Bosnian establishment, mirrored at the national level by the fact that no agreement has been reached until now on the approval of a common legal framework concerning monuments and heritage. As I have tried to show, this fragmentation emerges in various ways and at many levels: from the behaviour of public officials just described to the haziness of the outcomes of the system and procedures of protection of cultural heritage, the ongoing construction and

valorization of new monuments, and the proliferation of new initiatives, defying efforts to trace a cohesive politics of memory in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (contrary to the case of Republika Srpska, where a centralized system of government has structured a more definite memory politics).

In this context, variation does not amount to conflict – at least not apparently – but rather produces the impression of *parallel* trends moving simultaneously in the same spaces. In an inspiring contribution on the theory and method of memory studies, Confino referred to memory as “an outcome of the relationship between a distinct representation of the past and the full spectrum of symbolic representations available in a given culture” (Confino 1997, 1391). Through the cases presented above, I tried to explore some aspects of the ways in which formal procedures, concrete practices and public performances around monuments and heritage constitute the domain and tools of the articulation of varying representations of the past(s) in today’s capital city of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In this context, an evident discrepancy can be found between heritage preservation and reconstruction on the one hand and the erection of new monuments on the other. Unveiling this divide, the cases of Vraca Memorial Park and the Kovaci Shahid Cemetery hint at a reality in which discrete approaches to heritage and memory do not enter in direct relationship with each other (to recall the words of Confino), but rather develop on parallel tracks. This, in turn, contributes to emphasize an underlying ambiguity concerning (cultural) heritage notions and doctrines, especially in relation to discourses on place, identity, and power, and with regards to the conceptualization of memory groups/communities that do not fit in the nation-state model of identification.

Beyond all differences between the work of the Commission and that of the Fund, this ambiguity seems to constitute an essential common trait. In this perspective, the two bodies work on the premises of a fundamentally shared notion of the nexus place-identity-heritage, endowing cultural heritage with a pivotal function in the concrete marking of physical space and the symbolic recollection of (historical) group identities. This common principle, though, can be instrumentalized in very different ways, and to purposes that are diametrically opposite. Thence, the Commission uses it to reassert a past of heterogeneity and promote the re-shaping of the outlook of Bosnia and Herzegovina accordingly, while the Fund apparently uses it to re-constitute a community and mark the territories of its victimization. In addition, in a setting like that of Bosnia and Herzegovina, where conflicting recollections of the past make memory highly contested, the implications of their operations on the construction of history and the past – through the implicit interplay of selection and erasure – contribute to foster ambiguity and leave unresolved the dual character of heritage. The programmatic upholding of (historical) heterogeneity and pluralism in the framework of reconstruction and “reconciliation”, in fact, does not specify the *relationship* between the various subjects of the plural environment it seeks to reconstruct, running thus the risk to amount to an “entrenchment of mutual solitudes”, or a “mere tolerant acceptance of the existence of diversity” (Ashworth

et al. 2007, 15). On the other hand, the affirmation of the identity of a specific community and its right to recognition and reparation potentially finds new legitimizing grounds in the self-defining character of most-recent notions such as that of *heritage community*, introduced by the 2005 Faro Convention as “consist[ing] of people who value specific aspects of cultural heritage which they wish, within the framework of public action, to sustain and transmit to future generations” (Art. 2b). Within this framework, the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina dramatically reassesses the need for disambiguation and refinement of such notions (starting from the acknowledgment of the fact that heritage does not simply “reflect” the past), requiring clearer definitions of their translation into practice and showing that the vagueness at the basis of current conceptualisations of the role of heritage in post-conflict reconstruction/reconciliation is not a guarantee of the inclusiveness of the resulting policies. On the contrary, it allows for discrete interpretations that potentially result in the fostering of particular views of both “the past” and group identity. As for now, if such dissimilar approaches to heritage and memory as the one fostered through the reconstruction work of the Commission to Preserve National Monuments and that endorsed by the Fund for the erection of Memorials of Canton Sarajevo can coexist and develop on a binary track without entering in conflict or mutually modify each other, it is because they stem from a similar understanding of the legitimate and legitimizing function of cultural heritage in relation to place and identity, and, more to the point, because they fill and refine the gaps produced by the ambiguity of current definitions with attributes and specifications that might head towards the distinct and opposite directions of conflict on the one hand and reconciliation on the other.

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Europe's Holocaust dissonances in East and West

Rob van der Laarse

Abstract: From the Second World War onwards European political integration is based on the assumption of a common cultural heritage and the memory of the Holocaust. Yet, does such a mutual heritage and collective memory really exist? Notwithstanding the common roots of European culture, Europe's nations share most of all a history of war and conflict. Nonetheless, the devastating horrors of two World Wars have for the last six decades stimulated a unique process of unification. Millions of fallen soldiers, the mass slaughter of European civilians, and the destruction of the Jews have determined, by an act of negation, Europe's postwar humanist identity. Politics of memory and forgetting play a crucial role in this process. Yet, I will argue that after the Fall of the Berlin Wall (1989) the assumption of the Holocaust as a common European experience, and hence as a basic part of Europe's postwar identity, raises some critical objections. The Holocaust Paradigm will be challenged by a new 'Double Genocide' or Occupation Paradigm, resulting in a deep incompatibility of opinions between Western and Eastern Europe people about the impact, interpretation and meaning of the World Wars and the Cold War. This will ask for completely new interpretations, integrating (and confronting) very different twentieth century European experiences, and a fundamental rethinking of postwar politics of memory.

On a quiet day at 2.00pm on the 10 June 1944 German SS troops marched into the beautiful small village of Oradour-sur-Glane, near the city of Limoges. Without warning they started to herd together the 700 villagers, men, women and schoolchildren under the typical Nazi shout 'fast, fast, hurry up!' Men and women were separated, the women and children transported to the village church and the men lined up at the village square, after which they were split up and brought to sheds, a garage, and a wine cellar. Hours later, at the sign of a bomb explosion, the torture started when SS soldiers started to shoot with machine guns at the legs of the men, after which they were heaped on each other, covered with straw, and set on fire. The women and children imprisoned in the church heard the shootings and the crying of their relatives before the Germans returned to throw explosives in the building, after which the door was opened and the escaping people were one by one killed by gun fire. Then the Germans started a fiesta in the burning village, plundering the wine cellars and drinking until late that night surrounded by burning houses and the smell of burned bodies. Two days later the Germans returned to wipe out all of the traces by cutting up the corpses and burying them in different mass graves, making identification almost impossible (Hawes 2007).

Oradour is just one of many villages in Western Europe where Nazi units during WWII were killing people in a 'war against civilians'. In the Netherlands in October 1944 660 men of the village of Putten were transported to German concentration camps of which only 10 per cent survived the war (De Keizer 1998), and in Italy Nazi troops killed in March 24th 1944 335 civilians in the Ardeanate caves in Rome (Portelli 2003), while in Tuscany on August 12th 1944 about 300 SS troops massacred and burned down the village of Sant'Anna

di Stazzama. According to Paolo Pezzino, this was part of an organized campaign under Field Marshal Kesselring's Headquarters from 1943 to 1945 by which 3,650 people were killed in more than 200 operations, of which only a fifth was organized as a response to partisan attacks (Pezzino 2012, 6). What these massacres have in common is a cruelty against civilians unknown in Nazi occupied Western Europe up to then.

1. Holocaust paradigm

From the Second World War onwards European political integration is based on the assumption of a mutual cultural heritage and common cultural values. Yet we may ask, does such a consensus really exist? Notwithstanding Europe's common roots, based on Christianity and the on-going project of the Enlightenment, most European nations share mainly a traumatic history of war and conflict. Nonetheless, the devastating horrors of two World Wars have for the last six decades stimulated a unique process of European unification. Millions of fallen soldiers, the mass slaughter of European civilians, and the destruction of the Jews have determined, almost dialectically, so to speak, Europe's post-war humanist politics of memory and identity as the total negation of the Nazi and Bolshevik 'age of the camps' (Bauman 2001).

If the European project seemed finished and history ended with the Fall of the Berlin Wall (1989), the shock of the Yugoslav War and the Srebrenica Massacre of 1995 opened peoples eyes for the possibility that history repeats itself. Only since then the recognition of the Holocaust and all other genocides – and, as a consequence, the prosecution of racism, ethnic cleansing, and Holocaust denial – function as a ticket to

European and western citizenship. A citizenship based on the undisputed recognition of a common painful past.

In the *Stockholm Declaration of the International Forum on the Holocaust* of January 2000, 44 world-leaders declared the Shoah to be the main challenge of Western civilization, of which the cruelty and magnitude should be 'forever seared in our collective memory', while new genocides should be prevented by research, education and remembrance to 'plant the seeds of a better future amidst the soil of a bitter past (as quoted from the ITF website). In 2005 the General Assembly of the UN supported the Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research (ITF) in its mission by declaring the founding of a yearly Holocaust Remembrance Day on January 27th, the day of the (Russian!) liberation of Auschwitz.

Yet did we really live in the shadow of Auschwitz? Auschwitz during the Cold War was still regarded a communist remembrance place, and so were most other 'civic' terrascapes. Thus in France the citizens of the rebuilt town of Oradour, next to the consecrated ruins of the 'martyred village', were voting for a communist mayor who declared his municipality independent from French officials, after the pardoning of Vichy war criminals and French SS-soldiers at the Bordeaux trial of 1953. The municipal council scrapped the plans for putting the ashes of their 'martyrs' in a state's monument and built its own, still existing local monument, posted at that time with large placards listing the nationalist members of parliament who had voted for the amnesty of some perpetrators of the Oradour massacre (Farmer 1999, 178–80).

A few years later the Netherlands' government forbade the placement of an urn with earth from Auschwitz to be put next to the symbolic ashes of fallen members of the national (non-communist) resistance movement, military soldiers, and bombing victims in the so-called urn wall of the National War Memorial (1956), opposite the Royal Palace at the Amsterdam Dam square. The urn was only much later placed in the Auschwitz Memorial at the Amsterdam Wertheim Park (1993). A decade later, in 1965, the burgomaster of Putten as well as the liberal press and the Dutch government accused the Czech village of Lidice of communist propaganda when planting roses for Putten in a local remembrance garden, trying to relate the fate of the Dutch martyred village to their own communist 'antifascist struggle' against the West (De Keizer 1998, 307–8).

Although many of these heroic cold war narratives now seem bizarre to us, I will argue that also the post-1989 assumption of the Holocaust as a common European experience, and hence as a crucial paradigm of Europe's postwar identity politics, raises some critical objections:

In the first place the iconic role of Auschwitz as the world's unique, transcending genocide is challenged by historians, arguing that the Holocaust should be put in the context of both world wars and explained by the ideological, military and geopolitical competition and confrontation of Nazi and Soviet totalitarianism.

Secondly, a series of recent memory conflicts show a deep incompatibility of opinions among politicians and citizens about the impact, interpretation and meaning of Nazi, communist and nationalist terror, genocide and dictatorship in Europe's 'Age of extremes' (Hobsbawm

1994). This concerns the traumatic politics of forgetting and 'remembering' with regard to Hitler's Germany, Franco's Spain, Mussolini's Italy and Vichy France as well as the even more complicated wartime and postwar occupation histories of the Balkans, Ukraine, Poland, and the Baltics.

Thus, although in many Eastern European countries today Soviet politics are held exclusively responsible for their postwar economic underdevelopment, this revisionism underestimates the consequences of the short, but devastating war period and Nazi occupation. As recently argued with help of statistical sources, occupation means something completely different in different parts of Europe. While western and north-western occupied economies were generally stimulated by German orders, eastern and south-eastern Europe faced a Nazi policy of mass killing, plundering and unscrupulous exploitation. Western countries could therefore in the first postwar period by American aid easily recover from the vicious circle of monetary chaos and food and fuel shortage, while 'the war severely and permanently damaged the economic power of the Soviets' (Klemann & Kudryashov 2012, 429). In view of this unequal development not only the start of the Cold War should be reinterpreted but also the Fall of the Wall and the future of the European Union. In other words, different war heritages might have a long lasting impact on the transnational memory culture of old' and 'new' Europe.

2. Anne Frank experience

Now let me first turn to the origin of the western Holocaust narrative. The Anne Frank House in Amsterdam is today, next to Auschwitz, by far the most successful Holocaust museum in Europe. At the time of its founding by Otto Frank in the 1960s in his former storehouse at the Prinsengracht, a canal in the centre of Amsterdam, no-one would have expected this unsightly place to become one of the Netherlands most visited tourist spots with more than one million yearly visitors – to compare, Auschwitz attracts at about 1,5 million visitors (Van der Lans & Vuijsje 2010), and the number is still growing.

Why do so many people more than 65 years after the war want to visit the Dutch hiding place of a German-Jewish refugee family? As Pierre Nora and others have suggested this remarkable need for a spatial experiencing of the past represents a postmodern transformation of history into memory (Nora 1996; Lowenthal 1996, 2005). Mediated memories and tourist gazing have therefore become crucial for performing the past as 'our' heritage, and heritage sites have become more popular than history books. This packaging of the past by a consumption of places fulfils a growing need for (place or staged) authenticity (Urry 2002; Ashworth 2005; MacCannell 2011). This might explain also the popularity of Holocaust memorials and museums, as they offer visitors a virtual 'Holocaust experience', a nearness of the past which history can never offer. Yet, the Holocaust, just like the Great War before, has at the same time become itself a crucial symbol of this traumatic break with the past (Winter 2006). Cut off from our postwar experiences and memories by the traumatic atrocities of war, terror

and genocide, the Holocaust memory boom may even have contributed more than anything else to the alienated sense of the past as a world we've lost – to be experienced only by literature, film and sightseeing. For heritage needs identification.

Thus Otto's daughter Anne Frank is the central figure in the Amsterdam museum's plot, based on her own world-famous script, the diary. And the museum's text is the hiding of the Franks and a befriended Jewish family in the so-called Secret Annex (the back of the house) during the persecution of the Jews from 1942 to 1944. In the making of Anne Frank as the paradigm victim of the Holocaust her personal story has been framed by her father and others as a universal narrative of human persecution and genocide (Lee 2002; Prose 2009). For, as we know, Anne Frank's diary, published in Dutch in 1947 as *Het Achterhuis* and translated in English as *The Diary of a Young Girl* in 1952 was the first of a long series of Jewish war memories mediatized in fiction and film, starting with the prize-winning American Broadway play *The Diary of Anne Frank* (1955), (revived in 1997 with Natalie Portman in the role of Anne), and George Steven's award-winning film version of 1959, up to mega Hollywood productions of other family stories, such as the television mini-series *Holocaust* (1978), *Sophie's Choice* (1982), and *Schindler's List* (1993).

In particular for Jews in Israel and the United States (more than in the Netherlands itself), as well as for many tourists in search for 'virtual Jewishness', as Ruth Ellen Gruber put it, the Anne Frank House has become a universal *lieux de mémoire* in one of Europe's most important 'cities without Jews' (Gruber 2002). For if the 'selling' of Anne Frank was fundamental to the 'Americanization of the Holocaust' (Flanzbaum 1999; Cole 2000), place authenticity is still for 'fans' the unique selling point of the Anne Frank Museum. Yet nowadays the 'Anne Frank experience' can be consumed by prosthetic memory almost everywhere (Landsberg 2004). Thus the recently opened Centro Ana Frank in Rio de Janeiro offers a virtual experience by way of a replica of the famous bookcase – the secret door to the annex – and even a shoot from the now gone Anne Frank-tree in the garden behind the Amsterdam canal house. What we experience in the empty rooms with no more than some original wallpaper spotted with movie star pictures in Anne's original room in Amsterdam or in the staged 'room of Ana' in Rio de Janeiro, is a crucial aspect of the Holocaust memory boom, the experience of a heritage of loss (Van der Laarse 2011).

3. Landscapes without Jews

Remarkably, Anne's diary does not have anything to say about the camps. Nonetheless the notion of absence that probably originated from Hugo Bettauer's foretelling and filmed novel *Die Stadt ohne Juden* (1924), also colours our experiencing of Holocaust sites in eastern Europe; the vast 'landscapes without Jews' where the terror really happened. Thus one of the most influential Holocaust novels of the last decade, praised by critics as the first 'true story', Daniel Mendelsohn's *The Lost* (2006), is written by a Jewish American, a classicist at Princeton University with an eye for Odyssean plots, searching for stories of six lost relatives in the Ukrainian village of Bolechov in former Galicia. Mendelsohn's

obsession with his family's past started in the eighties, spurred by the finding of some old letters in the pocket of his deceased maternal grandfather Abraham Jaeger, which were written in 1939 by some relatives asking for help to flee to America after the German invasion.

As a descent of a Jewish family migrated to the US before the Second World War, Daniel Mendelsohn had to cope like many migrants with a break in his life history, and like many Jewish Americans and Israelis' after 1989 he searched as a 'root tourist' in Eastern Europe for a Jewish heritage and identity. For Bolechov only, I counted at least ten Jewish genealogist websites, among them his brother Andrew's *The Mendelsohn Family Bolechow Website*. For these second or third generation American Jews their family history had literally become a foreign country. Before the Fall of the Wall the Ukraine was never visited by Americans, and *The Lost* can be read as an attempt to recall lost stories into Holocaust memory. But the book is also an account of a disillusion. Hoping to find witnesses of his family's past, Daniel Mendelsohn only became aware of the complete fatality of the events. Asking some school children playing in a schoolyard, they answered that they had never heard of any Jew in Bolechov. We arrived at a 'death place', as he told in an interview, 'a place where nothing could be found, and certainly not the people we searched for'. Thus searching for his roots, Mendelsohn found in the Eastern landscapes of the death just a heritage of loss. Or, as he put it: 'The stories don't fit into reality' (Zeeman 2007).

In my view, Mendelsohn's quest belongs to the same semantic space as the Anne Frank House, Yad Vashem, the USHMM, or the Mémorial de la Shoah in Paris, and the Polish State Museum Auschwitz-Birkenau. The social exclusion and hiding of Jews that would end in the Jewish destruction camps, Anne Frank and Auschwitz, are thematised in Jerusalem and Washington as icons of present-day Holocaust discourse, with Auschwitz as the paradigmatic genocide and Anne Frank as the paradigmatic victim. In the same way the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising of January–May 1943, fictionalized in novels and films, and staged for display in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum as well as in other Holocaust museums, such as the Israeli Yad Mordechai kibbutz museum, represents a paradigmatic Jewish martyrdom. For in Holocaust narrative this bloody crushed rebellion is framed as the beginning of the Jewish Resurgence that would have led to the rebirth of the Zionist Muscle Jew and the founding of the State of Israel (Mosse 1993; Van der Laarse 1999; Sand 2009). Interestingly, this Jewish resistance myth with its appeal to the nationalist utopia of the New Man, show a remarkable similarity with the less known Polish partisan myth of the Warsaw Rebellion of August 1st 1944, ending up in the Nazi destruction of the city, as being fictionalized by communists and Catholics, and staged for display recently in the new Warsaw Rising Museum (Jasinski & Usielski 2007).

4. Unearthing the Past

Transforming personal experiences into literature Holocaust narratives – from Anne Frank and Elie Wiesel to Daniel Mendelsohn – may give a voice to the lost as well as to the Auschwitz survivors. But not

all survivors participate in this master narrative. In 2002 the French priest Patrick Desbois, head of the French episcopal office for Jewish relations, went just like Daniel Mendelsohn to the Ukraine in the footsteps of his grandfather. He had been imprisoned during the Second World War as a French soldier in a Nazi camp in the town of Rava-Ruska, and according to him his suffering was nothing compared to that of the Jews. Curious about the fate of 1,5 million Jews executed in the Ukraine, Desbois started to ask the same questions as Mendelsohn, again without getting answers. In his case, however, what started as a sort of exploratory tourism ended up in an archaeological expedition when Desbois went back three years later.

The reason for this remarkable choice was a television documentary he saw in Paris about the Bosnian mass graves. A forensic expert, a woman, told the reporter about the difficulties of identifying the corpses at Srebrenica because – exactly as the Germans in Oradour – the Serbs deliberately dug them up after the shooting to quarter them and rebury the parts in different places; a method already used by the Habsburgs against the Bohemians at the Battle of the White Mountains in 1619 (Wheatcroft 1996, 179). Yet the modern researcher was able to reconstruct the killings by way of a metal detector, because as she observed: where cartridge cases are, are corpses. Back in the Ukraine, Desbois was led by the obsession to dig deeper, as he writes in *Porteur de mémoires* (2007), translated as *The Holocaust by bullets* (2009).

A young ballistic expert from Lvov, named Mischa became the man with the metal detector. What made the difference was the finding of hundreds of cartridge cases, not in a secret place but nearby the village. As Desbois noticed: ‘One bullet, a Jew; a Jew, a bullet’, because the Germans never used more than one bullet to kill a Jew (Desbois 2009, 54). From then on, people started to talk, and the silence was broken. The stories came back, not only in Rava-Ruska but all over the Ukraine. Day after day Desbois’ team interviewed hundreds of witnesses, some in their nineties – and it still goes on, counting by now already tens of expeditions. Old people brought Desbois’ team to pits where Jews were slaughtered. These places were not forgotten, nor hidden. Thus sometimes people went on to throw cadavers of cows and horses upon the corpses after the War, and a local forest was known as Lis na Jevrejach (Wood on the Jews). As Desbois found out the bullets were not only a clue to locate the victims, but also a means to recover memories – precisely as happened during this same period in other parts of the former Soviet Union, former Yugoslavia and in Franco’s Spain, where archaeological excavations of mass graves related to Stalinist and nationalist terror during the age of the camps started an ‘unearthing of the past’ (Paperno 2002; Jerez-Farrán & Amago 2010). In Ukraine during the Nazi occupation often complete families were loaded on trucks, and shot at the pits by German commandos. This murdering did have neither heroes nor bystanders as the villagers were often forced to support the massacres by guarding Jews, removing golden teeth, or stamping the earth of the mass graves. Yet their muteness, the wall of silence, was not caused by a deep seated anti-Semitism, as often thought by Western critics of Polish and Ukrainian massacres during the Nazi occupation. Instead, the bullet-Holocaust

seemed to have been extremely traumatic for most of these non-Jewish witnesses because the Jews were no strangers, such as those in Auschwitz, but natives, often friends or neighbours, and children from the village school. People knew the victims by name, and some still heard their screaming and begging for help, or the repeating sound of the German submachine guns and Mauser carbines: A Mauser could contain only five bullets, which explains why trucks were loaded with at about 50 people and families in the pit were shot in groups of five (Desbois 2009, 56).

This ‘holocaust by bullet’ had nothing to do with the industrial murders of Auschwitz or other Nazi camps. Here were no guards who would later claim to have never personally murdered. Neither had the stories of these witnesses anything to do with those of Auschwitz survivors, as filmed by Claude Lanzmann in *Shoah* and taped by the Steven Spielberg Project in almost all European countries, except Ukraine and Belorussia where most of the mass murders took place (though without western victims). Hence, my theme is the clash of Holocaust narratives, more precisely the mismatch of the Holocaust master narrative with the war and postwar experiences of the survivors of hundreds of Eastern European terraces, faded away in the shadow of Auschwitz.

5. Politics of Genocide: fact and fiction

If Auschwitz has become our common heritage, it is because it was the place where ‘our’ Jews from West-European cities went to, and from which we know so much because of its many survivors. But what do we know about the experiences of the eastern European Jewish and non-Jewish populations? Many of them were already dead before the building of Birkenau in 1942, and almost none of the survivors were able to publish war memories.

As far as the camps played a role in the killing of Polish and Baltic Jews we should look at the early extermination camps of Operation Reinhardt – Treblinka, Belzac and Sobibor – of which almost no-one survived. Thus from the Netherlands Selma Engel-Wijnberg was the only Dutch-Jewish survivor of Sobibor, who escaped during the Uprising of October 14, 1943 together with her future Polish husband, though even her story would never been told as she was not allowed to return to her homeland with her foreign husband and migrated to the United States (Trouw 2010). Besides, most of the Jews were killed outside the iconic camps during the Shoah by bullet, in Poland and Ukraine as well as Lithuania, Belorussia and Rumania. Of the 1.5 million Jews killed in these three camps, Treblinka counted almost half of them and Belzac almost half a million. At the end of 1941 already one million Jews were murdered in camps and one million in villages, and buried in pits. Thus by September 1942, with the exception of Czechs and Hungarians, the Eastern Jewry was exterminated or fled to Russia (a neglected fact in Holocaust historiography).

Timothy Snyder’s *Bloodlands* (2010) has recently put the ‘ignored reality’ of the Holocaust high on the historical and political agenda (Snyder 2009 and 2010).

What are the facts?

The Holocaust by bullet made more victims than Auschwitz during the war.

The heart of the Holocaust was in Eastern Europe: 70 percent of the 5.7 million Jewish victims of the Holocaust were Poles (three million) and Russians (one million). Next to them came Rumanians, Hungarians, and Czechs, and behind them the Jews from Western Europe.

Prior to the Holocaust, the Nazi killings started with Russian prisoners of war, numbering 3.3 million, of which two million were already shot in the first nine months of the Eastern War in 1941, even before the organized persecution of the Jews. Apart from the 5.8 million Jewish victims of the Holocaust this 'Forgotten Genocide' was by far the greatest war crime in history, though completely neglected in western literature and public opinion (Berkhoff 2005; Porter 2010).

These groups of data show the original Eastern European character of the Holocaust, a project of destruction developed during the Nazi war against Bolshevism. Yet the Holocaust was not unique. The Russians too were mass killers. Prior to the ten million civilians killed by Germans, the Bolsheviks killed, or were responsible for the death of another five million, although, to paraphrase Snyder, as a general rule the Nazis killed non-German citizens, whereas the Bolsheviks killed Soviet citizens.

In the Belarusian and Ukrainian killing fields, the center of the Holocaust by bullet, Kulaks had already been victimized by Stalin's policy of forced collectivization to finance industrialization (1929), which resulted in the 'terror-famines' of 1932–3 among whom the Kazakh Famine (one million deaths) and the Ukraine Famine (three million deaths), followed by the Great Terror of 1937–8 with another 600,000 victims shot by KNVD bullets, as reconstructed for Ukraine even before the opening of the Soviet archives. Though strongly criticized for its use of sources and far too high numbers, Robert Conquest's pioneering *Harvest of Sorrow* (1986) has become after the Orange Revolution of 2006 the academic legitimation of the 'Holodomor' – the official term for what politicians also named the 'Ukrainian genocide' or 'Ukrainian Holocaust'. The Ukrainian parliament has declared its official remembering at the fourth Saturday in November, whereas President Viktor Yushchenko even suggested making the denial of the Terror Famine punishable by law.

Remarkably, the Ukrainian government did not seem to have noticed that the impact of the Nazi *Hunger Plan* of the winter of 1941–2 by far exceeded that of Soviet forced collectivization. This second terror famine deliberately caused the starvation of another another 3-4 million people after the German conquest of Belorussia and Ukraine that became the Third Reich's largest colony (Berkhoff 2004, Snyder 2010, 411). The *Hungerplan* was a prelude to Heinrich Himmler's *Generalplan Ost*, the planned Germanization of conquered Poland and Western Russia, implemented after the German invasion of Russia in 1941 by the SS-policy of *Ostkolonisation*. Under the slogan 'Heim ins Reich' this resulted in the annexed West Poland, renamed as Warthegau, in the forced deportation of at least 100,000 Poles and the complete extermination of the Jews, to be replaced by Baltic *Volksdeutschen* (Rössler & Schleiermacher 1993; Heineman 2003; Van der Laarse 2009).

Thus Auschwitz was not the Holocaust, not the beginning, nor the end of ethnic cleansing in Eastern Europe. The Nazi planned destruction of the Jews was part of a greater project to destroy all Bolsheviks and Slavic populations, which only in the case of the Jews has been completely implemented. So, for instance, the Germans succeeded in killing at least 750,000 people in the fight against partisans (of which at least 350,000 in Belarus), and 100,000 Poles at the crush of the Warsaw Uprising of 1944, not to be confused with the Jewish Ghetto Uprising a year before. Of the ten million civilians killed in Eastern Europe by German mass slaughter, however, half of them were Jews. Belarus, Poland and the Ukraine were the center of the German killings, and the deadliest place in the world. Here between 1941–4 at least 20 per cent of the population (almost 15 million people) died of warfare, terror and hunger, whereas – insofar statistics may have any use for this catastrophic period – approximately another 20 per cent were forced to flee their countries (Klemann & Kudryashov 2012, 414–5).

It might be clear that from an Eastern European perspective the suffering in Western Europe was almost negligible. Thus in the Netherlands about 200,000 people were killed by fighting, bombings and persecution, among whom 102,000 were Jews, which is 2.3 per cent of the population. Nazi Germany suffered most of the Western countries with 7.5 million deaths (10.8 per cent of the population), among them some 165,000 Jews and 70,000 euthanasia patients killed by the Nazi's, and 5.3 million military victims of which 460,000 soldiers died of starvation in Allied war prisoner camps (Overmans 2000), among them 360,000 in Russian POW camps, which is just a tenth though of the number of Russian soldiers who died in German POW camps. Roughly 370,000–600,000 of 1.8 million German civilian deaths were killed by Allied bombings of cities (Friedrich 2004), and at about ten per cent (600,000) of a total number of six million German war refugees died on the run for Stalin's Red Army in 1944–5. Yet only few felt victim to the more organized post-war expulsion of another six million German Heimatvertriebenen felt victim to the expulsion of Germans from Poland and the Czech Republic. Besides, Mass migration was not a German monopoly during this period of shifting German-Polish and Polish-Ukrainian (now Russian) borders. Next to the Jews and the Germans of Polonized Prussia and the Baltics, eastern Poland was ethnically cleansed from Ukrainians and western Ukraine from Poles, after which only ruins and graveyards remind postwar inhabitants and root tourists of centuries of multiculturalism (Snyder 2003; Lowe 2012).

I hope this will put the recent debate on German victimhood in a broader perspective (Neven 2006), and question also the legalistic way of dealing with genocide, such as in the case of the Demjanjuk trial, which seems to me completely irrelevant in the light of the Western neglect of the millions of Ukrainian victims during the Hitler-Stalin War. It should also warn us for too much praise of Lord Claus Schenk von Stauffenberg and other Wehrmacht heroes for their failed assassination attack on Hitler in July 1944, for these were the officers responsible for Himmler's *Ostkolonisation*. As shown in Wibke Bruhns' *Meines Vaters Land* (2004), a stout-hearted quest to the wartime role of her father Hans Georg Klamroth, a

liberal entrepreneur from Halberstadt who became a member of Hitler's Nazi party and Himmler's SS, and served as a Wehrmacht officer at the Eastern Front. To his daughters astonishment he had returned two years before at his own request to the Russian killing fields where he cherished good memories of earlier fights in the First World War. Although plotting against Hitler in the July Bomb Plot, Klamroth never questioned in his letters and diary the Germanizing of Poland, the killing of the political elite, and the destruction of the Jews.

6. Contested memories

Aleksander Smolars, the Polish-French sociologist, has rightly called for attaching more importance to Eastern European memories in a post 1989 politics of European memory. Yet Holocaust and post-communist memory cultures have not much in common. If the Holocaust has become the cornerstone of Western war remembrance and democracy (next to the postcolonial inheritance of slavery and racism), than Central-Eastern Europeans may ask for a new memorial agenda of their own. Feed by the 'betrayal myths' of the Western role at Munich (1938) and Yalta (1945), and the Russian role at the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pakt (1939) and the Warsaw Uprising (1944), this will reconsider the traumatic impact of both Nazi and Communist terror. Personally I don't think it is wise to create another series of international remembrance days – but for a *European* politics of memory to become successful we should recognize at least at Holocaust Memorial Day, the day of the liberation of Auschwitz, the shortcomings of the Stockholm narrative.

In the first place we should not forget that the national-militarist appropriation of the commemoration of the Allied forces and armed resistance has suppressed in most European countries up to the 1980s the memory of the Holocaust. Although the Second World War has become in Western countries almost completely associated with the Holocaust, for decades the persecution of the Jews did not play a crucial role in war remembrances. In the West as in the East commemorating took place along national and often nationalist lines. In most Western European countries, such as the Netherlands, Dachau, Buchenwald, and Auschwitz were mainly commemorated by former political prisoners and other camp survivors, and only from the 1970s Auschwitz and other camps gradually developed into significant Holocaust icons.

Secondly, although Europe's memory culture might nowadays be put under the shadow of Auschwitz, the Polish State Museum and Memorial Auschwitz-Birkenau was established in 1947 to commemorate 'the martyrdom of the Polish nation and other nations in Oswiecim', and was still nominated as such for the UNESCO world heritage list in 1978. One year later though, the Polish pope John Paul II on his visit to Poland transformed this Polish 'Auschwitz without Jews' with theological support of his future German successor cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, into a Catholic martyrrium and a national site of resistance *against* communism (Dwork & Van Pelt 1996, 367–71). Thereafter Auschwitz-Birkenau witnessed contesting appropriations of UNESCO experts, Polish catholic nationalists, the State of Israel and American-Jewish organizations, the

German Federal Republic and the European Union (Zubrzycki 2006). While on the one hand the original State museum Auschwitz I still represents the same sort of patriotism as today's Warsaw Rising Museum, on the other Birkenau or Auschwitz II has become the main touristic spot for an in situ 'Holocaust experience'. Polish visitors of the prison cell of Father Maximilian Kolbe, 'the martyred saint of Auschwitz', are competing with Israeli and American-Jewish root tourists as well as Western European citizens searching for virtual Jewishness in Birkenau and Krakau's Kazimierz district. Holocaust sites might therefore become more and more contested spaces, characterized by both a globalization and localization of memory.

Thirdly, one could argue that the recent discussion on the 'Holocaust by bullet' – the mass killing of Jews at the Polish and Ukrainian killing fields – undermines the paradigmatic role of Auschwitz (or the camps), as most European Jews, living in Eastern Europe, were already killed before the building of Birkenau. We might therefore expect that long neglected terrascapes would attract more academic and public attention, such as the Kiev site of the Babi Yar massacre of 29–30 September 1941 (34,000 Jewish deaths), the Vilnius site of the Ponary or Paneriai massacres (estimated 70,000 Jews and 20,000 Poles killed between July 1941 and August 1941), and the Massacres in Transnistria, numbering alone in Odessa at 22 October some 25,000 Jewish deaths), executed by German, Ukrainian, Lithuanian and Romanian troops.

And finally, as an unexpected result of the Fall of the Wall (1989) the Western Holocaust memory boom might become challenged by a deep incompatibility of opinions about the impact, interpretation and meaning of the World Wars between present-day Western and Eastern European populations. As symbols of the Age of the camps both Auschwitz and the Gulag Archipel have made us blind for the hundreds of normal citizens acting as mass murderers or killed by mass slaughter at local terrascapes were people had to cope with the less spectacular, but much more effective NKVD and Nazi murdering by bullet, and the total absence of their stories in Western Europe.

7. Memory wars and Occupation paradigm

Although the Age of the Extremes, terrorized by Nazism, communism and civil war, seem to have finally ended in 1989, the Srebrenica massacre of 1995 functioned as a wake-up call, fading away the naïve, liberal illusion of an end of history. The unusual call for military intervention, framed in Western Europe and the United States from the perspective of the atrocities of the Jewish extermination camps, was illustrative for Auschwitz's new symbolic role as the paradigmatic genocide.

Yet, as it seems to me, the project of European expansion creates new and fundamental tensions in memory politics. Because of the post-Cold War expansion of the EU from 12 to 27 member states, we may even expect in the near future a paradigm shift in Europe's memory culture. For, starting with Eastern Germany (after the 1990 German reunification) and the former neutral nations Austria, Sweden and Finland in 1995, the enlargements of 2004 and 2007 resulted

in twelve new member states of Central Eastern Europe as well as in Ukraine and Belarus sandwiched as New Eastern Europe between the European Union and Russia, the Holocaust seem to be held by neo-nationalist politicians as a Western construct that completely ignores the long-lasting impact on their societies of Bolshevism from 1918 up to 1989. Hence, for many (non-Jewish) people in Eastern Europe today not the German SS or Wehrmacht but the Red Army functions as the main symbol of oppression.

Thus the European continent is not only strewn with lots of newly discovered terrascapes, but New Europe's former communist states seem unwilling to handle their traumatic war *and* postwar experiences in terms of the Western Holocaust master narrative. Therefore I see at the moment at least three possible scenarios for Europe's theater of memory:

The first scenario opens the perspective of a growing number of memory and heritage wars. So, for instance, the Bronze Soldier of Tallinn, the communist national liberty monument of 1945 has been relocated in 2007, together with the remains of some Red Army soldiers to a Russian war cemetery, because most Estonians regarded the Soviets as occupiers instead of liberators. The old monument of a Red Army partisan honored during the Soviet period, now functions only as a proud symbol of the ethnic Russian minority, whereas Estonian nationalists remember 'their' fallen soldiers at the Monument of Lihula (2002); a bronze bas-relief of a fascist 'freedom-fighter' with a German *Stahlhelm*, representing the SS Unions fighting alongside the German Wehrmacht and Waffen SS in the anti-Partisan war against the 'Judeo-Bolshevik conspiracy'. As a tribute to these anti-communist martyrs in the 'War for Estonian independence' the Lihula monument raised a lot of protest by Western Jewish organizations such as the Simon Wiesenthal Center. The removal of the monument by EU and US pressure, caused however a storm of protest among Estonians, after which it has been relocated in 2005 at the privately owned Museum of the Fight for Estonian Freedom at Lagedi nearby Tallinn (Melchior & Visser 2011).

In the context of the long-lasting Russification of the Baltics these memory wars will also have personal consequences, which might be seen as a second scenario. Thus the Ukrainian partisan Stepan Bandera, killed by the KGB in 1959, has been posthumously proclaimed a 'national hero' by president Yushchenko in 2010 whereas he is treated as a war criminal in Poland for his role in the ethnic cleansing during the German occupation. Cleverly using human right narratives and the Western war on terror, nationalists are also trying to change the markers of terror and genocide by demanding the persecution of communist perpetrators, such as in the case of the Lithuanian 'war crimes investigation' against one of the last surviving Jewish communist partisans Dr Rachel Margolis and Fania Brantsovsky, both escaped from the Vilnius ghetto where they lost their entire families. Although a public hero for many years Brantsovsky has now been accused of murdering 38 'innocent' Lithuanian villagers in January 1944; a 'massacre' though, according to Yad Vashem, the Simon Wiesenthal Center, the British House of Lords and Prime Minister, and US congressmen applying to Lithuanian leaders in 2009, which happened to be an ordered punishment

expedition against nationalists collaborating with the Germans in the killing of 3500 Jews in a bordering village (Hendriks 2009).

Yet more serious than these bizarre accusations is the EU attitude or more precisely that of the European Court of Human Rights on historical war crimes. Thus the Russian former partisan Vitali Kononov, accused in Letland for murdering nine villagers in 1944, who helped the Nazis catching partisans, was sentenced by a Latvian Court in 2004. Not unlikely under Russian pressure – Moscow opposed the verdict as an hostile attempt to undermine the 'good war' against Nazism – the Latvian Court of Appeal declared the lawsuit illegal; a decision, though, dismissed by the Strasbourg Court in 2010! In terms of jurisdiction this incredible, legalist verdict, representing as it seems Europe's geopolitical power shift, may cause enormous problems in the EU's dealing with the past and its external relations, whereas its historical amnesia seriously undermines the Court's authority by legitimating the 'human right strategy' adopted by streetwise Holocaust negationists, trying to rewrite history.

A last scenario concerns the dissemination of the revisionist 'double genocide' paradigm by the use of new memorial museums (Otto 2010). This occupation paradigm is supported by the 2008 Prague Declaration that, as an alternative to the Holocaust's paradigm's Stockholm Declaration, demands from the EU to 'recognize Communism and Nazism as a common legacy' and deal with communist crimes in the same way as the Nuremberg Tribunal did with Nazi crimes. An EU parliament resolution of April 2 2009 recommends in the spirit of the 'red-brown' myth of the Eastern European suffering as victims of *two* regimes of terror, the 'Europe-wide Day of Remembrance for the victims of all totalitarian regimes' (Katz 2012). Thus, after the post-communist relocation of monuments and the renaming of streets the Riga Museum of Occupations 1939–91 replaces the memory war with a museological script of three occupations: the Russian annexation of 1939, the 1941 German incorporation as *Reichskommisariat Ostland* (welcomed by nationalists at the time as a liberation!), and the postwar Russian 'occupation' that lasted until Latvia's independence of 1991. The Occupation museum pays attention to long 'forgotten' NKVD genocides, such as the mass graves of Latvian freedom fighters already used in Nazi propaganda, although the highly contested elimination of the Riga and Liepaja ghettos in 1943 and the murdering of the Jews from Vilnius and Hungary in Riga's Kaiserwald concentration camp in 1944 is also mentioned. The Riga museum may work as a laboratory for new critical questions, but behind the ongoing debate on numbers and ethnicity ideological wars are still fought out with Russia as well as Europe (Nollendorf 2008; Rislakki 2008).

That this relatively balanced position is not self-evident, though, is shown by the one-sided display of Vilnius' Genocide Museum, located in a former KGB headquarter and devoted mainly to the murdering of 70,000 citizens under Soviet occupation without paying much attention to the Lithuanian Holocaust, except for a small room recently added in reaction to Western critique. The same applies to the Budapest Terror House museum (2002), which tells more about the Hungarian Holocaust of 1944, but likewise silences their

own participation in Nazi terror. Nonetheless, although these new museums show a tendency to operate as an intermediary between nationalist, anticommunist public opinion and the EU's Holocaust memory culture, the Holocaust paradigm only functions as a model for adaptation as far as it concerns the narrative of trauma and victimhood, whereas the message is completely different. One should wish therefore a much more self-critical and subtle attitude on the perpetrator's role of Holocaust victims and national freedom fighters, some of whom fought against Soviet and Nazi occupiers as well as collaborated with them as perpetrators in the context of civil war and ethnic warfare (Lotnik 1999). Next to ideology, historical complexity confuses the paradigm debate. This might be shown by the case of Katyn that combines all the above mentioned scenarios. The highly contested memorial site at Smolensk in Russia (former Polish) became world news in 2010 because of the air crash that resulted in the death of the Polish president Lech Kaczynski and 95 members of a Polish delegation on their way to the celebration of the seventieth anniversary of the massacre. Here the Russian NKVD (the forerunner of the KGB) shot approximately 22,000 Polish officers after the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact in 1940, of which 4,500 are buried in three mass graves (Sanford 2005). Ever since the Germans discovered the pits in 1943 and let the corpses be inspected by an international war crime committee Katyn functioned as a horrible example of the Bolshevik 'Red Danger' in Nazi war propaganda. As might be expected, the communists blamed the Germans for wartime propaganda, and responded after the War with counter-memorials. Thus in 1969 in the Belarus village of Khatyn (Chatyn), a few hundred kilometers from 'Polish' Katyn, the Soviet Union built a memorial for the Nazi massacre of the 149 inhabitants of this Belarusian village. Interestingly, with president Boris Yeltsin's 'second destalinization' the Russian government accepted guilt to the Katyn massacre in 1990, after which documents were handed over to the Polish president Lech Walesa, and treaties signed. From then a binational Polish-Russian memorial remembers both the Polish and Russian victims of Stalinist terror. Although the present place looks like an idyllic park in a forest, with four great mounds, the Katyn memorial during the last decades did not really function as a place of reconciliation. In 2010 the new Polish president Komoraswki and Russia's president Dmitri Medvedev commemorated here together the air-crash deaths and the victims of the Katyn massacre. Yet the Russian recognition of Stalin's guilt to the massacre was based on the acceptance of at about 1,800 Polish people killed, without classifying Katyn as war crime or genocide. Besides, Russian historians point to a contextualization of the 'dark site' of the Katyn massacre by putting it into the context of the earlier Polish outrage of 1920–21, when during the Russian civil war of Red and White armies, ten thousands of Red Army prisoners starved in Polish camps near Warsaw whereas, as we saw, three million Russian war prisoners died in German camps. In this highly politicized climate even the online publication in 2010 of the documents of March 5th 1940, confirming the massacre was to be carried out on Stalin's and Beria's orders, did not stop the questioning of archival sources, or the German cartridge cases found on the spot, which suggested the possibility of a

Nazi cover-up. However, just as in the case of the bullet Holocaust people started talking after the opening of the Russian archives about the locations of Stalin's Great Terror and the NKVD prison massacres of 1941. The last one numbering almost 9,000 in Ukraine (Berkhoff 2004, 14), whereas the Kurapaty massacre near Minsk, numbering 200 graves in the forest, has been estimated as with from 30,000 up to 250,000 victims (according to Norman Davis in 2004). Yet of them only five people are identified because in this case no earlier research has been carried out and no NKVD archives have been found (Kaminska 2011).

Yet behind every fact politics are at stake. This was after all a war starting in 1939 with a staged 'Polish' attack on a German radio station of German soldiers in Polish uniforms and dead injected German political prisoners 'playing' Polish victims. A scenario directed by Himmler and Heydrich, which offered Hitler a pretext to legitimate his Polish invasion (Breitman 1991, 66). Thus the American Slavic scholar Irina Paperno wondered in the case of the Ukrainian Vinnytsia massacre of 1937–8 (9,400 deaths) about the uncritical use of 1943 German documents and photos, handed over to the international war crime commission – just like in Katyn. Because no later forensic or archaeological research has been carried out, postwar Ukrainian refugees, American historians, and Kyiv Memorial researchers of the 1990s, all relied on these same sources. Strangely, no-one questioned the Nazis manipulation of data to proof a Judeo-Bolshevik conspiracy by neglecting to include in propaganda the Jewish and Russian victims, mentioned in the original documents, nor the ordered ethnic identification of NKVD perpetrators as 'Jews' (Paperno 2002). Whereas these reports objectified Nazi propaganda so to speak, new memory wars are started, however, by neo-Nazis on the internet, suggesting an American-Jewish conspiracy for silencing the ethnic component of Vinnytsia as the Ukrainian Katyn: 'The Jews own all of those media. And the Ukrainians don't own Hollywood, so they can't make movie dramas about Vinnitsa either, like Steven Spielberg does about the so-called "Holocaust" (Pierce 1998). This should warn us that digging deeper may reveal the truth as much as it might feed new myths!

To conclude

As the topography of terror did have a much deeper imprint in Eastern Europe than generally thought in the West, the European expansion in Eastern direction will result, without doubt, in a further transformation of the EU's politics of memory.

For Western Europe might be overshadowed by Auschwitz, Oswiecim is still in Poland (Citroen & Starzynska 2011). Yet even in Old Europe, with its growing Euroscepticism, one might expect a reduced support for the 'Holocaust-centered European mnemonic community' in the nearby future (Kansteiner 2006). With regard to this fundamental relocation of memory, even small conflicts about painful heritage and traumatic memories run the risk of ending up in a clash of cultures. Thus against the assumption of the Holocaust as a common European experience I would pose the prospect of Holocaust dissonances. But memory wars and paradigm conflicts should,

in my view, not be resolved by top-down European declarations and legal procedures. Instead we should search for new interpretations of different, if not opposing, European experiences, and a fundamental rethinking of Holocaust history, memory and heritage, to be grasped from a transnational comparative perspective.

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Heritage identification and presentation



The *In Flanders Fields* Museum in Ypres (Belgium) eyes a landscape of universal value.
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14 | Choosing our heritage: Two examples from Scotland

Noel Fojut

Abstract: Scotland aspires to multi-culturalism, but the ways in which our cultural minorities interact with “their” heritage vary greatly. How significant are immovable heritage assets in the construction of modern identities? Do they help us to understand shared links, or simply emphasise differences? Are there lessons we can learn from our national experience which help in constructing a European heritage-based identity?

- The first example looks at links between Scotland and Poland. A long history of small-scale population exchange was followed by a large Polish presence in the form of troops during the Second World War. This left behind a small legacy of built heritage, and considerable numbers (including the author’s father) who chose to settle in Scotland after the War. Today, Scotland once again welcomes a new generation of Polish students and workers: do these newcomers feel any attachment to the longer established Polish community or to the tangible heritage of past connections?
- The second example is Scotland’s indigenous Celtic/Gaelic heritage, where the former majority linguistic and cultural tradition is now reduced to a small minority tradition which is regarded as threatened, and is the subject of strong political and financial support: is there a distinctive Gaelic archaeological heritage, and if there is, does this have any value in the construction of cultural identity?

Scotland itself represents a minority within a larger state, the United Kingdom, and we have constructed a national identity for use within the UK and further afield. Do the examples illustrated here, of minority heritages within the larger community of Scotland, help in understanding the way in which Scotland draws upon its diverse internal minority heritages to construct a unifying national identity?

Introduction

EAC is, by definition, an archaeological organisation, but much of what is discussed in this paper is not archaeology. However, the issues addressed do have relevance for archaeology in a number of ways, not least in reminding us that an archaeological perspective is only one of many ways of looking at our world, and that it may not always be the most useful.

We continuously construct and reconstruct our identities, as individuals, as communities, as nations. We construct them from our tangible heritage and from the intangible. We adjust them according to the interactions we anticipate. In some of our multiple identities, we may reasonably expect the physical remains of our shared past to feature strongly, in others, our intangible heritage will feature, while in yet others, heritage of any kind may barely feature at all, displaced by contemporary preoccupations or concerns.

The intention is to examine two examples concerning minority cultural groupings in Scotland, and to invite readers to consider how these groupings have, or have not, taken account of our beloved tangible heritage in the construction of their identities. The conclusion will reflect briefly on how that process has operated in Scotland at a national level.

These observations are not original or profound, nor are they the product of deep research. Rather, these are situations which have stimulated the author to think, in

his role as a professional curatorial archaeologist with 30 years working experience, to consider the relevance of the archaeological heritage in the modern world of holistic approaches to questions of identity.

Polish heritage in Scotland: is it Polish, Scottish, both or neither?

There is a long history of emigration from Scotland to Poland (Devine & Hesse 2011). Drawn by the economic gap left by the Polish aristocracy’s disdain for trade, some Scots made fortunes in the Baltic timber from as early as the late 13th century A.D. They were soon followed by other merchants and traders, who prospered so well that from 1576 they were granted rights of self-government by Polish kings. However, by the late 16th century, so many poor itinerant Scots were roaming Poland that, King James VI instructed the more prosperous Scots to organise themselves into “Scottish Brotherhoods” to support their poorer compatriots, who may have numbered as many as 60,000. These poor Scots gained an unwanted reputation for persistent sales techniques and cheap, low-quality goods. Indeed, even today, in parts of Germany and Poland, a “Scottish event” implies a sale of cut-price bargain goods!

In subsequent centuries, links continued but changed in character. The growing Polish mercantile class closed many doors for Scottish merchants and traders, but mercenary soldiers and later engineers and technical experts of all kinds emigrated to Poland, increasingly under the sponsorship of Polish bankers and industrialists: Scots were very much engaged in what we would call today, in good Euro-jargon, “knowledge transfer”. What characterised these movements was that, by and large, these later Scottish immigrants usually settled in Poland and became polonised, frequently changing their names – Macleod to Machlejd, for example. It has even been suggested that Waleśa is a Polish version of Wallace.

But that is a story for another time. This article concentrates on the evidence for movement in the opposite direction, for Poles in Scotland, and particularly how this evidence is regarded by the 60,000 Polish-born workers who live there today – coincidentally the same number as that of Scots who lived in Poland in A.D. 1600.

During the later medieval and early modern period, the flow of Scots into Poland was not balanced by any significant counter-flow. It was only after the successive Partitions of Poland in the late 18th century that any significant number of Poles settled in Scotland, their numbers augmented by exiles escaping after the Uprisings of the early 19th century. This process of immigration appears not to have been studied in depth, and such a study might well be difficult. Polish immigrants of this period seem to have been adept at disappearing: they generally adopted local surnames, picked up the language, and simply got on with a new life in their new home.

It was only in the later 19th century and early 20th centuries A.D. that an identifiable Scottish-Polish community began to appear in Scotland, and it consisted largely of relatively wealthy families of ancient Scottish origin, intermarried into Polish families, who had returned as Polish industries were increasingly taken over by German and Russian interests (MacLeod 2000).

Fig. 14.1: Craigievar Castle, Aberdeenshire, was built in the 1620s by William Forbes, known as “Danzig Willie”, who made his fortune trading in the Baltic (National Trust for Scotland, per Images of Scotland).



There were further sizeable immigrations of “Poles” (including many Lithuanians) to the Scottish coalfields during the 1920s and 30s, and for the first time they formed more localised ethnic communities, with Polish and Lithuanian shops, schools and associations.

When displaced Polish servicemen who had chosen to remain in Scotland were seeking somewhere to settle after the Second World War, they were naturally drawn to these existing communities, and many were recruited into the newly nationalised coal-mining industry. Scots miners, faced with fiercely patriotic Poles, soon learned that they had to adjust their terminologies to take account of the changes in European politics and boundaries. Amusingly, many Scots in the mining communities now began to talk about “Polish Poles”, “Lithuanian Poles” and even “Ukrainian Poles.” (The author has not been able to establish whether his own father, whose forename was Pawel, was known as “Paul the Polish Pole”, but it seems likely.)

Although discussing cultural matters, there is little archaeology or built heritage in this story of social and cultural interchange. There are some fine buildings in Scotland built by Scots with money made in Poland (fig. 14.1), and later buildings by or for Polish immigrants. Likewise there are buildings in Poland built by Scots who settled there. But in all cases, these consistently conform to local styles and modes – the Poles did not build recognisably Polish buildings in Scotland and, apart from the occasional wearing of kilts, the Scots-derived families in Poland were similarly low-key in their cultural expressions. The Polish-Scottish heritage was very much one of association, traditions, language, and dancing classes.

The sole exception, where an identifiable archaeological/architectural legacy was created, was in military defensive architecture. Exiled Polish soldiers, organised alongside the British Army into the Polish First Corps, were based on the eastern coast of Scotland. Here they set about constructing gun emplacements, pillboxes and tank traps in preparation for the expected German invasion (fig. 14.2). British Prime Minister Winston Churchill may have talked inspiringly about “fighting on the beaches” but in the Scottish counties of Fife and Angus it was Polish troops who would have undertaken much of that fighting, with the British Army waiting well inland! Today those coastal defences survive, along with a scatter of wartime and later memorials, as

Fig. 14.2: Anti-tank defences were built along on the coast of Fife by the First Polish Corps in 1940–41 (N. Fojut).





Fig. 14.3: The wartime headquarters of the Polish forces in Scotland, in St Andrews, Fife. Known throughout the world as the home of golf, archaeologists should remember St Andrews as the birthplace of the metal detector (N. Fojut).

the sole tangible, physical evidence which is distinctly Polish – not so much the major structures built of concrete, which are of relatively standardised design, but the many traps, bunkers and other ingenious structures improvised from wood and corrugated iron. There is one associated example of Polish-Scottish heritage which came to have huge significance for the archaeological profession, although a less than positive one. It was in the town of St Andrews in Scotland, better known as the home of golf, that the mine-detector was invented by Lieutenant Jozef Stanislaw Kozacki in 1941–2. From that invention came, of course, the portable metal detector, and archaeologists all know the continuation of that story (fig. 14.3).

Many Polish soldiers settled in Scotland after the War, marrying local girls. Polish names are still widely scattered, and as widely mispronounced, throughout Scotland. Like many émigré communities, the degree of social adaptation varied. Some Poles and their families quickly assimilated, seeking nationalised British status and even changing their surnames to emphasise their intention to remain as permanent settlers. Others adhered strongly to their cultural roots and kept up the old traditions, with the vague hope that one day they might return to the “old country”. This was particularly the case in the Scottish Borders area, where third-generation children of Polish descent may still take Polish language and folk dancing classes. Most, naturally enough, fell somewhere between these two extremes (Henderson 2002).

In the years following the ending of Communism, and particularly after Poland joined the European Union, Scotland once again began to welcome large numbers of Poles, coming for further education and increasingly for employment. In 2011, there were about 60,000 “new” Poles in Scotland. The interesting difference about this new, economic, immigration is that our young Polish guests regard themselves almost exclusively as short-term residents: these are Poles who are here to work hard for a few years and earn good money, with which they intend to return to Poland and establish themselves in business (fig. 14.4). Undoubtedly a small minority will decide to settle permanently, lured by

love or business success. Already numbers are falling, as healthier economies elsewhere in Europe beckon, and as the differential between Polish and British earnings narrows.

Polish temporary immigration in strength has allowed specialist services to develop – newsletters, translation services, advisory centres, delicatessens and pubs (fig. 14.5). Low cost airlines link Scotland to many Polish cities. To some extent these developments bring Scotland’s “old” Poles together with the “new” community – certainly they have help to preserve increasingly tenuous family links, which might otherwise have dwindled to the exchange of Christmas and Easter cards.

To the puzzlement of Scotland’s heritage professionals – especially those with no direct Polish links – our “new” Poles show very little interest in the heritage of older links between Poland and Scotland: they accept the fact that such links exist, but show very little curiosity: why is this? Where, we ask ourselves, is the niche marketing opportunity for guided tours of Scotland’s – admittedly limited, but none the less interesting – Polish heritage? There appear to be two main answers to this question: one is simple and economic, the second more complex and historical:

- Economically, our temporary Polish residents are largely in the 20–40 age group, and studies of heritage tourism activity across Europe and beyond

Fig. 14.4: Signs of the “new” Polish immigrants in Scotland: 1 (N. Fojut).





Fig. 14.5: Signs of the “new” Polish immigrants in Scotland: 2 (N. Fojut).

puzzlement at their own lack of sentimental attachment to past connections between our two countries. It is interesting to note that this example tends to reflect back onto mainstream archaeology: archaeological studies of migration in Europe have tended to focus more upon the actions and attitudes – in so far as they can be interpreted from material culture – of those who move, while relatively little research has been done into the actions and attitudes of receiving populations. This contrasts markedly with modern historical and sociological studies, where the interaction of immigrant and host populations has, it seems to a non-expert, been studied in a much more integrated manner.

Gaelic Scotland: an indigenous heritage founded on language

The second case study is, by contrast, one of indigenous rather than immigrant cultural differences.

For more than 2000 years, the Gaelic language has been spoken in Scotland. Around A.D. 800, it was probably spoken across the whole area which was later to become modern Scotland. However, the arrival of Norse settlers in the north, and the increasing use in the south of Scots, or Scottish English, which came to be the language of the law and of administration, led over time to the steady retreat of the Gaelic language, and its associated cultural expressions, to the rugged and poor – though scenic – lands of northern and western mainland and the western islands (fig. 14.7). Long after

suggest it is precisely this age group which simply does not “do” heritage. In short, our Poles are not unusual in their lack of interest in heritage – Scots of similar age group are also notable by their relative absence at archaeological sites, ancient churches or historic houses – always excepting those sites which have recently featured in films or on television.

- Historically, the key to the “new” Poles’ apparent disjunction with “their” heritage in Scotland is to be found in a divergence of understanding of recent history. To most Scots, and to Britons generally, Poland had been a gallant ally, overwhelmed first by one and then by another aggressive neighbour. When Communism ended in 1989 the popular perception in Britain was that Poland had *returned* to its previous status, as it had been in 1939. But to the modern generation of young to middle aged Poles, the perception was quite different: Poland had not returned to being what it once was, but had *moved forward* to become something different.

Poland has, it has been said, “too much history”, and for the go-ahead post-Solidarity Poles, willing to travel aboard in search of advancement, there appears to have been little difficulty in consigning the past to the past, leaving the steadily dwindling band of old soldiers to continue commemorating older links (fig. 14.6). Younger generations, whether in Scotland or at home in Poland, tend to look forwards, not back, and at times appear to have genuine difficulty comprehending our



Fig. 14.6. Memorial to former times – a memorial to General Sikorski stands in a quiet public garden in St Andrews, Fife (N. Fojut).



Fig. 14.7: Gaelic language and culture survived in north and west Scotland – the scenically dramatic but agriculturally poor Highlands and Islands, seen here at Kintail in the West Highlands (N. Fojut).

the high-water mark of 800 A.D., cultural life within the Gaelic heartland remained strong, with distinctive forms of ecclesiastical and social organisation: the church and the extended kin-group – the *clan* – were the two pillars of society. But this was never a materially wealthy society.

By the early 1600s A.D., when the kingdoms of Scotland and England came together under a single monarchy, there was such a sharp cultural divide that Scotland was in effect two entities, with a Gaelic speaking Highlands

and a Scots-speaking Lowlands. There was more difference, culturally as well as linguistically, between Gaelic and non-Gaelic Scots than between non-Gaelic Scots and the English.

There was, of course, considerable social and economic interaction between the two language-based communities, but increasingly relationships were asymmetrical. John Speed's well-known map of 1601 carries images of a "Scottish man" (well-dressed and prosperous) and a "Highland man" (barely clad in ragged clothing) and their female counterparts (fig. 14.8). The identification of the Highland or Gaelic cultural zone with poverty and disadvantage was not mere cartographic prejudice: as already noted, Gaelic society was not materially rich. The Gaels by now inhabited the poorest land, with unpredictable harvests and frequent famines. They exported primary produce – mainly cattle – with little value added.

Gaelic speakers generally continued to adhere to Catholicism after the Reformation, which socially disadvantaged them still further. After the Catholic

Fig. 14.8: Two distinct races? This 1662 edition of an earlier map by John Speed depicts Lowland and Highland Scots very differently indeed – was this reality, belief or propaganda? (Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland).





Fig. 14.9: Once officially targeted for extinction, the Gaelic language now enjoys energetic government support: the headquarters of Gaelic broadcasting in Stornoway, Isle of Lewis (N. Fojut).

Stewart royal line was disinherited in favour of the Protestant House of Orange in 1688–89, the successive uprisings (notably in 1689, 1715, and 1745) and intervening conspiracies in favour of the Stewart cause drew their support mainly from the remaining Gaelic-speaking areas, with the notable exception of the north-east of Scotland.

After the last Stewart rising failed at Culloden in 1746, the British government – Great Britain having been formed in 1707 by the formal union of the Scottish and English Parliaments – undertook further measures to discourage the use of Gaelic and the practice of Highland customs. Already poor, the Gaelic lands were now regarded as the home of potential rebels, and the Gaelic language itself became deeply suspect. Economic, educational or social advantage could, henceforth, only be pursued in English. Many abandoned their language for English, often leaving the region, to take up employment in the growing industrial cities or, ironically, to enlist as soldiers in the British army.

Some of the wealthier Gaels also left. The chiefs of many clans, began to convert their traditional stewardship of clan lands into questionable legal titles, then promptly sold up and moved away to the delights of Edinburgh or London society. Lands thus sold passed almost entirely into the hands of Scottish or English purchasers who spoke no Gaelic (Dodgshon 1998). By the early 1800s, Gaelic speakers were increasingly landless and dispossessed, lacking in local leadership and treated as second-class citizens, even in their own traditional homelands. (The first formal schools in the area, run by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, inflicted corporal punishment on pupils who spoke Gaelic on school premises.) During the 1800 and early 1900s, many thousands were to leave the highlands and islands, taking ship to Canada, America or even further afield, where they set up communities named for their homelands.

The language survived in daily use, but was apparently destined for extinction. It is arguable that, but for a surprising chain of events, Gaelic might by today have become virtually extinct in Scotland, only preserved, perhaps, by émigré communities on Canada, America and New Zealand. Instead there are today almost 100,000 Scots in Scotland who “have the Gaelic”, the language is treasured as part of national culture, is now the subject of government subsidy, and has ever increasing numbers of new learners.

The surprising chain of events which preserved the language has its roots in the Europe-wide upsurge in intellectual, emotional and political interest in nationalism which took place in the early to mid 19th century. This is not the place to investigate that very complex phenomenon. But Scotland was in the vanguard, in the literary and cultural sense, if not the political.

In a surprisingly short time, Gaelic culture (largely re-badged as “Celtic”) became fashionable. The supposedly ancient writings of the poet Ossian (fabricated by schoolmaster James Macpherson), were followed by the romantic novels of Sir Walter Scott, many set in the “Celtic twilight” of the highlands and islands. These were a huge literary success and were translated into many European languages. There was an upsurge in Gaelic scholarship at home in Scotland, recording and analysing the genuine stories, poems and songs of what had previously been a largely oral culture. From being a despised minority tongue, often contemptuously referred to as Irish, Scottish Gaelic became part of the national heritage of all Scots, to be protected and preserved, at first by private efforts but more recently by active state intervention (fig. 14.9).

At the same time as that Europe-wide awakening of interest in nationalism and not unconnected with it, the middle of the 19th century also saw the widespread flowering of antiquarianism, later to mature into archaeology as we know it today. Strangely, despite great interest in ancient peoples throughout Europe – the Gauls, the Scythians, the Celts in Ireland, even the mysterious Picts of north-east Scotland – the revival of interest in Gaelic language and literature was not accompanied by the formation of a “Gaelic archaeology.” With the exception of sustained interest in the early Christian Celtic (note, not Gaelic) church, this has largely remained the case up until today. Despite today’s state-sponsored Gaelic publishing scene, books in Gaelic about archaeological, architectural or other “built heritage” topics remain almost totally non-existent.

Aonghus MacKechnie has pointed out that the Gaelic language does not have an equivalent word to “monument”, which in English can mean both a memorial and simply an ancient site. The Gaelic equivalent has the sole meaning of a memorial, a reminder of times past and dead ancestors. There are specific Gaelic words for old sites, such as *càrn* (a heap of stones) or *larach* (a ruined house) but, unlike English *monument*, these words do not carry with them any implication of interest or value (MacKechnie 2009).

Despite a landscape littered with archaeological sites of great time-depth and variety, Gaelic culture continues to treat such remains, when it recognises them at all, primarily as the anchoring points for oral history, for legends, songs and reminiscences of ancestors. It may be significant, as Aonghus has observed, that only two expressions of architectural heritage seem to modern Scottish eyes explicitly Gaelic: the free-



Fig. 14.10: Early medieval crosses hint at links between Gaelic Scotland and Ireland: the Kildalton Cross on the island of Islay dates from the late 700's A.D. (Crown Copyright reproduced courtesy of Historic Scotland).

standing cross (fig. 14.10) and the simple (or not so simple) cairn of stones (fig. 14.11) – both with overtones of commemoration, memory and loss.

In areas where Gaelic is still in use, a local heritage society, or a local historical society, will tend to focus

Fig. 14.11: Cairns, mounds of stones first built in Neolithic times (4000 B.C. onwards) to enclose human burials, have remained a persistent monument type in north and west Scotland, and are still built today to memorialise specific events – here commemorating the centuries when Catholicism was forbidden by law and practised in secret (N. Fojut).



primarily on the intangible heritage, on genealogy and history; in a non-Gaelic area, such a group will typically be much more interested in the tangible remains of the past, on archaeology and architectural history. There are, it is true, growing numbers of small archeologically groups in areas with strong Gaelic traditions, but until very recently these have predominantly been formed by incomers of non-Gaelic cultural background. Is this relative lack of apparent interest in archaeology in some way inherent in Gaelic culture, even perhaps in the Gaelic language, or is it an acquired trait, an accidental by product of centuries of repression and misfortune? Looking at language first: the modern Gaelic writer Dr Finlay Macleod, once pointed out that remarked that, if the author were to discover an ancient sword, his English-speaking colleagues would refer to the *object* as “Noel’s sword” while his Gaelic-speaking colleagues would refer to *him* as “Noel of the sword”. By this, Dr Macleod was suggesting something beyond a mere play on words, or a reflection on grammatical constructions. His implication was that language contained, hard-wired within it, patterning which affected how we see reality, and in this instance the nature of relations between individuals and the material world. While this is not the place to explore that theme deeply, it is undoubtedly the case that a pattern exists, although not one which appears to have been studied systematically.

In the absence of systematic research, an anecdote must illustrate this point. The author recently visited the heart of the Gaelic-speaking area with a fellow archaeologist. A meeting took place with local officials and elected representatives, to discuss an ambitious plan to bring to publication a major series of archaeological excavations undertaken from the late 1960s to the early 1980s. The archaeologists were excited by the prospects for multi-disciplinary research into past material culture, environmental history, and changes over time in dwellings, economy and lifestyle. As is politically and morally *de rigueur* in modern archaeology, the archaeologists wished to engage with the local populace and not just study these finds and records at distant universities.

While appreciative of the archaeological objectives, intellectually understanding the archaeological value of the project and being prepared to collaborate, it was soon apparent that one aspect of the whole project which really sparked the imagination of the local councillors was not the prospect of exploring a 4000-year-long archaeological sequence, but the memories of the old excavation project itself. Remembering and reliving social relationships between the excavator and his family, his team of students and the local community were the topics to which conversation kept returning. The archaeologists wanted to know if there really had been an early Viking period fortification on the site, as the excavator had claimed, while the local community wanted to know about what happened in later life to the diggers: the project itself was now history, and capable of generating interest in those terms.

Such differences of perspective in Gaelic-speaking have recently give rise to significant issues for heritage management, over the appropriate treatment of the relatively recent remains of houses which scatter the landscape (fig. 14.12). Most notably in the island of Lewis, there has been considerable pressure from



Fig. 14.12: The ruins of abandoned, or “cleared” rural settlements are both a widespread monument category and potent symbols of disinheritance (N. Fojut).

some local residents for these ruins to be cleared away, in the name of modernisation. The land these ruins occupy has little or no economic value, the ruins are of considerable interest to archaeologists and also of nature conservation value, providing sheltered micro-habitats. Despite these considerations, some local residents want these ruins obliterated, and as a result heritage curators are exploring ways of ensuring they are adequately recorded, as a precautionary measure. The ostensible motive is emotionally convincing: one local councillor expressed it thus:

“These old black houses, some of us were born in them. They remind us of what our parents and grandparents had to put up with: poverty and hardship. No option but to travel away for work or leave the islands. Why would we want to keep them? They remind us of nothing we want to remember.”

But a more nuanced reading comes from a locally-born acquaintance who works in nature conservation – and it is worth noting that the area is one of the most heavily “conservation designated” in Scotland, if not Europe. He has pointed out (perhaps wisely, not in print) that the appearance of a local campaign to have these remains swept away seems to have coincided with the recognition of their interest by “outside” archaeologists and nature conservationists. From this perspective, then, we may be looking not so much at a rejection of an aspect of the physical cultural heritage for reasons of shame, as at an assertion of the right (for reasons of pride and independence) to decide the terms on which that heritage is addressed?

In fact, these two perspectives are not necessarily contradictory. Both are consistent with a cultural, and personal, identity in which relationships and character matter more in measuring worth, than do material possessions or wealth. The strength of religious belief and observance in the Gaelic speaking areas remains very high compared with English-speaking parts of Scotland, which might tend to support this interpretation.

But the core question about the relationship with materiality remains unresolved – perhaps unresolvable. In so far as one can accept the simplistic concept of a shared, language-based, cultural identity, does Scottish Gaelic cultural identity place relatively little emphasis upon material heritage because the Gaels have been deprived over many centuries of material wealth, or have the Gaels not acquired and

retained material wealth over the centuries precisely because the methods by which they have constructed their identity, whether conscious or innate, have not set a high value upon physical possessions?

For archaeologists concerned with promoting the value of our interests for society, the answer to this philosophical question is perhaps academic, since there does seem to be a clear solution, a means to engage the Gaelic cultural world in our subject: concentrate on the individuals, the people and stories behind our beloved monuments, buildings and artefacts. In contrast with the earlier, Polish, example, there is a real archaeological heritage in the Gaelic lands of Scotland and at least a potential route by which it may be brought into connection with those we think should care more about it.

But equally, as a profession, perhaps we should have the humility to accept that there will always be individuals, perhaps whole cultural or social groups, for whom our treasured evidence and hard-won understandings simply do not matter in their world view.

Conclusion

Finally, and in a very few words, what general lessons may be drawn from these contrasting examples of the role (or lack of it) of tangible and intangible heritage in the construction of community identity? Do similar patterns of conscious or unconscious choice operate at larger scales, and in particular at the national level?

Scotland is acutely conscious of its history and its cultural heritage, even if not all Scots are as deeply educated in the details as some might wish. Within Scotland, differences of older history and cultural identity are celebrated (often with humour) differences of history. People from Shetland emphasise their Viking heritage, people from the west their Gaelic roots. We delight in the strong divergences between our regions in accent, music, sport and other expressions of popular culture. Glaswegians (caricatured as typically garrulous and drunk) tell jokes about Aberdonians (caricatured as miserly), while both tell jokes about Edinburghers such as the author (caricatured as conceited and arrogant for no good reason).

But externally, for interaction with the outside world and particularly with the rest of the United Kingdom, we construct a united, composite Scottish identity – an *identikit*, so to speak. Scots abroad tend to present themselves as hard-working, trustworthy, serious-minded (but passionate when aroused) and, above all, as former Prime Minister Gordon Brown famously said, “prudent”. Good car mechanics, doctors, accountants, engineers, politicians. In short, our composite *external* identity recognises and incorporates selected elements of our diverse *internal* identities.

Indeed, Scotland has also created a second identikit image, for the tourism industry and the pub trade (fig. 14.13). Yet many Scots, for special occasions only, happily wear that strange hybrid of Gaelic tradition



Fig. 14.13: The “tartan and bagpipes” tourist caricature of Scots appears abroad as well as at home – here in Wroclaw, Poland. Most Scots profess to finding this displeasing (N. Fojut).

and 19th century inventiveness, the kilt (fig. 14.14). It is worn especially in London, Shanghai and New York, but less often at home in Scotland. The author only knows 4 people in Scotland, not involved in the tourism industry, who wear the kilt to work each: one is a Scot, two are English and one is Welsh. But the story of the kilt is a book, indeed several books, in itself (Trevor-Roper 1983).

To return to more familiar ground, we have our iconic archaeological artefacts and sites, images which say, at least to our British neighbours and our western European colleagues, “this is ancient Scotland.” But in fact, much of this, too, is constructed image. Scotland arguably has only one unique prehistoric site-type, the Iron Age broch tower (Armit 2003) (fig. 14.15), and arguably only one unique artefact type, the Neolithic carved stone ball (Marshall 1977) (fig. 14.16). Interestingly, we do not, after two centuries of study, understand the purpose of either: they are both very Scottish, but they lack comparanda. Unique phenomena are fascinating, but they are fascinating precisely because they are so difficult to explain.

Fig. 14.14: But this does not prevent us wearing the kilt for special occasions: like the author, at his son’s wedding, held at the Scottish Bagpiping Centre in Glasgow! (Janet McNaught, per N. Fojut).



Fig. 14.15: Brochs, complex Iron Age defensive structures dating from the last centuries B.C., are monument type unique to Scotland: Dun Carloway, Isle of Lewis. Similarities to other European monuments, such as Sardinia’s nuraghi, are superficial rather than ancestral (Crown Copyright reproduced courtesy of Historic Scotland).





Fig. 14.16: Relatively few artefact types are unique to Scotland. Among the most distinctive are carved stone balls, dating from the later Neolithic period (c. 3000–2000 B.C.) (Crown Copyright reproduced courtesy of National Museums Scotland per Alan Saville).

The large majority of our archaeological and architectural heritage we understand much better, precisely because we share it with northern and western Europe: the prehistoric houses and burial places, castles, churches, great houses and industrial monuments. And with a few noble exceptions, mainly very early (Europe's best preserved Neolithic village) and very late (such as some of our industrial archaeology), it must be said that our examples are not particularly outstanding in terms of scale, or ingenuity, or date on a European scale. Instead, we seek consolation in looking after them as well as, or – we think – even better than anyone else. Thus we extract an intangible value, pride, from our tangible heritage.

Concluding, by a return to the opening words, we continuously construct and reconstruct our identities, as individuals, as communities and as nations. We construct identities from our tangible heritage and from the intangible. We adjust them according to the interactions we anticipate. Some days the author is an archaeologist, some days a civil servant. With Scots, the author emphasises his Polish ancestry, but when in Poland, he is a Scot. And when in England, he can become very Scottish indeed!

In some of our multiple identities we may reasonably expect the tangible remains of our shared past to feature strongly, in others, the intangible aspect will bulk large, while in yet others, heritage of any kind may barely feature at all, displaced by contemporary preoccupations or concerns. The best we can do, as professional archaeologists, is to care diligently for what we have inherited, explore that heritage as fully as we can, and make it, and our findings of our researches, accessible to everyone.

Whether we like it or not, and however many international conventions and charters we may write, the

tangible heritage is just one building block of identity. And it is better that way: a world in which identities were defined solely by cultural heritage, or even more narrowly by archaeological heritage, would be a rather depressing place – even (or perhaps especially) for archaeologists.

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15 | The wreck of the *Vrouw Maria* – A sunken treasure or a common European heritage?

Riikka Alvik

Abstract: The *Vrouw Maria* was a Dutch merchant ship, whose last voyage started in the autumn of 1771 from her home harbour of Amsterdam to St. Petersburg. She got lost in a storm and sank on the rocky coast of Finland. Most of her cargo was sugar, cloth, dye stuff and food, but there were also very precious items like paintings, mirrors, flower bulbs and other luxuries for the Russian nobility. Some of the luxuries and art were salvaged after the accident, but paintings bought for Catherine II were lost in the sea with the ship. This is why the *Vrouw Maria* had a reputation as a treasure ship and attempts to find the wreck had already started in the 1970s. The wreck was found after a systematic search by voluntary divers in 1999 at a depth of 41 metres in the Finnish Archipelago.

Introduction

The *Vrouw Maria* had two masts and according to the written records, she was a Snow rigged ship. Her last voyage started in September 1771 from her home harbour in Amsterdam towards St. Petersburg in Russia. In late September she entered the Danish Strait and her cargo was registered at the toll station at Elsevier (Øresund). She passed the Danish Toll Station in the Sound on 23rd September 1771. According to the customs register she had sugar, dyes, zinc, cloth, mercury, paper, cheese, butter and some unspecified items of very high value in her cargo (Dutch ship number 508, von Ostens bind; Ahlström 2000a, 4). From the written sources it has been that the *Vrouw Maria* was also carrying paintings and silver in her cargo. Some of the paintings were bought for Empress Catherine the Great from an art auction of a Dutch merchant and art collector Gerrit Braamcamp, who had passed away and whose collection was sold in Amsterdam in July 1771. According to the written records of the auction and other sources, at least 11 paintings were most likely lost with the *Vrouw Maria*. These paintings represented masterpieces of the Dutch Golden Age (17th century). Some of the painters and paintings are known from auction lists like those of Gerard Dou, Paulus Potter, Gabriel Metsu, Jan van Goyen and Philips Wouwerman (Ehanti 2009, 66–9). The ship's cargo was registered with the name of a shipmaster called Reynoud Lourens with a 77 last ship?

The paintings are not mentioned in the Sound Toll Registers, but the value of the unspecified cargo was remarkable, being worth 9783 Danish rixdollars. The list of salvaged cargo gives some information what the unspecified cargo might have been. The crew and local men managed to salvage crates and barrels consisting flower bulbs and seeds, different kinds of textiles, printed issues like books, snuff, tea, ivory eggs, bird nests, some paintings belonging to Prince Gallitzin and several packages with no mention of the content, only the name of the person who ordered it. The court was excluded from custom duties, so it is not clear whether the paintings were in registered at all.

If we want to compare this sum, the value of almost 40 000 kg of sugar was 160 rixdollars and 21 skillings. The nobility was free of custom charges, so perhaps this was a reason why the paintings were not mentioned in the Sound Toll Register (Ahlström 2000, 5–9; Gelderblom 2003, 101–106).

On the 3rd of October in a stormy night the ship ran aground in the Archipelago, in South-Western Finland. The ship lost her rudder and began to leak. The ship did not sink immediately, so the cargo of the *Vrouw Maria* was salvaged over several days by local men and the crew. Silver, some cloth, shipmaster's goods, ships equipment and some pieces of art were salvaged, but most of the cargo was lost because coffee beans filled the pumps and the cargo hold was soon full of water. On the fifth day the ship was lost to the sea. Shipmaster Lourens, his eight man crew, and the salvaged cargo were transported to Turku, where the shipmaster wrote a sea protest and a ships log from the last days of the accident to the day when the ship was lost. In December 1771 he signed a declaration that he had got all the help needed from the Northern Diving and Salvage Company (Stockholm, Krigsarkivet, Amiralitetskollegium, Lotskontoret. E VI 1771–1772 Dykerihandlingar, 23. 12. 1771). The salvage company



Fig 15.1: The last voyage of *Vrouw Maria*. (V. Hautsalo, the National Board of Antiquities).

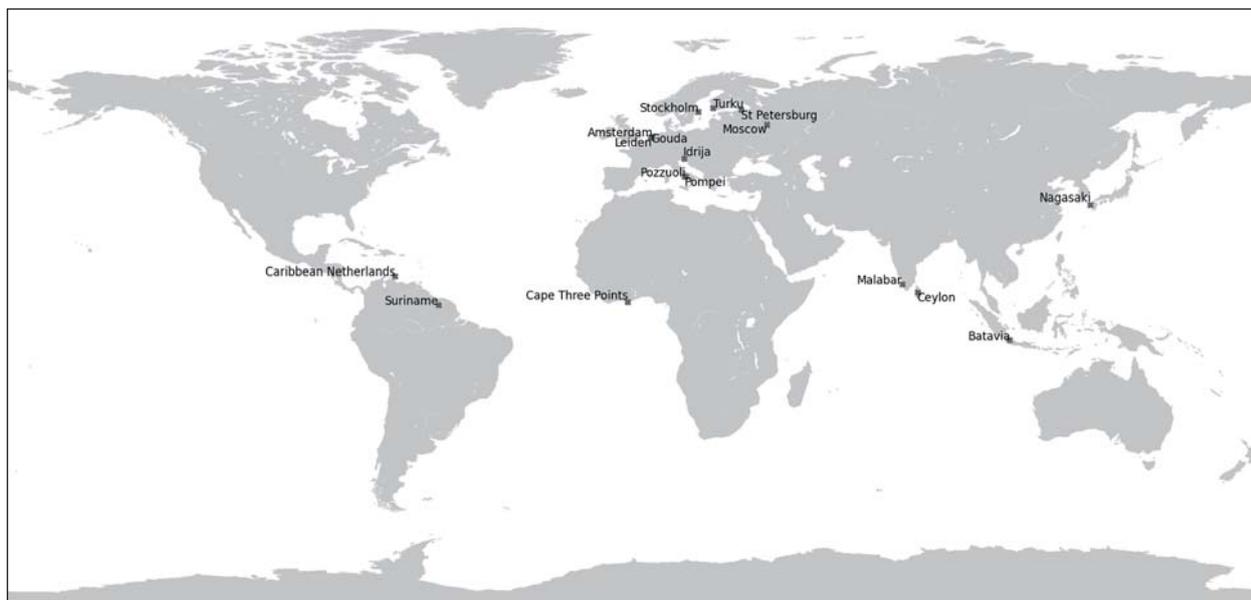


Fig 15.2: Impact map of *Vrouw Maria*. (V.Hautsalo, the National Board of Antiquities).

had a section in Turku and had a right to a 25% fee of the salvaged cargo. The salvaged cargo was supposed to be sold at auction, but in the case of the *Vrouw Maria* most of the cargo was transported directly to Russia and only the shipmaster's goods and ship's equipment was sold in auction. There is a list of all the salvaged items with the names of the owners and a list of goods sold in auction. These documents can be found in the Swedish and Finnish archives. (Ahlström 2000b, 23–33; Gelderblom 2003, 108–11).

The correspondence between the representatives of Russian nobility and Swedish authorities in Finland and Sweden began immediately after the news of the accident had reached the stakeholders. This issue was of high political value, and the authorities responsible had a very high status. The names and signatures in the letters belong to a leader of the government in Sweden, Count Ulric Scheffer, who was the next most powerful person after the King Gustav the III, Russian Count Nikita Panin, the minister of foreign affairs in Russia, Baron Carl Ribbing, a Swedish ambassador to St. Petersburg and Count Christopher Rappe, provincial governor in Turku.

After the loss of the *Vrouw Maria* there were attempts to find her so that the lost goods could be salvaged and the Russian nobility was very anxious to get their lost paintings back. A diplomatic correspondence between the representatives of Russian Empress Catherine the II and Swedish authorities continued until spring 1772. In the correspondence between Catherine the Great and French philosopher Voltaire the lost paintings and the unfortunate ship were also mentioned. The attempts to find the ship failed and she was lost and forgotten for more than 200 years (Ahlström 2000b, 21–71). The archive material concerning a Dutch ship with a valuable cargo was found in the Danish archives in early 1970s by researcher Christian Ahlström, but there were no resources to find the wreck even though the area of the shipwreck was already then known also by the authorities in the office responsible of maritime archaeology (the predecessor of National Board of Antiquities in Finland).

The discovery of the *Vrouw Maria*

The *Vrouw Maria* had a reputation as a treasure ship among divers at both local and international level, for example the ship is mentioned "The Atlas of Ship Wreck and Treasure" by Nigel Pickford published in 1994. The search for the *Vrouw Maria* was started again in the late 1990s by voluntary divers after several years of careful planning and archive research by Dr. Christian Ahlström assisted by the voluntary divers. The divers were took part in the search due to their interest in history and maritime archaeology. When the search for the *Vrouw Maria* was planned, it was clear to all participants, that the National Board of Antiquities was responsible for the research and management of underwater cultural heritage (for example the historical shipwrecks) in Finnish territorial waters. Many of the members had co-operated with the Maritime Museum of Finland for several years as members of another association called "Teredo Navalis", which was established already in the 1970's for helping National Board of Antiquities in maritime archaeological fieldwork and diving. For searching and promoting the *Vrouw Maria*, the group of divers founded a new association called "Pro *Vrouw Maria*" (Matikka 2007, 23). The wreck of the *Vrouw Maria* was finally found at a depth of 41 metres in 1999 by a side – scan sonar survey carried out by the "Pro *Vrouw Maria*" – association.

When the wreck was found, the National Board of Antiquities was told straight away by the finders. One of the curators gave them a permission to lift couple of artefacts to verify the date of the ship and its identification. She also supervised the lift and visited the site with two Australian maritime archaeologists, who were visiting Finland because of a joint exhibition project. The artefacts lifted were one zinc ingot, three clay pipes, one lead seal and a stone ware bottle. The artefacts were transported to Helsinki to the conservation laboratory of waterlogged finds. They were researched and dated to the 18th century and the tobacco pipes and lead seal were of Dutch origin. The research in the archives continued

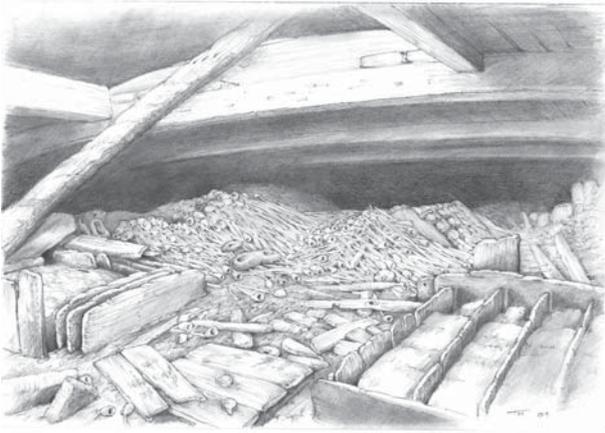


Fig. 15.3: Clay pipes in the cargo hold of the *Vrouw Maria* (Tiina Miettinen, the National Board of Antiquities, Finland).

Fig. 15.5: The clay pipes lifted from the cargo hold of the *Vrouw Maria* (Markku Haverinen, the National Board of Antiquities, Finland).



and the National Board of Antiquities started fieldwork at the site in 2000.

The research methods chosen were non – intrusive, because disturbance and changes on the site had to be kept to a minimum. No decision on whether the shipwreck should be lifted or excavated was made, but it was inevitable that the possible lifting of the wreck would be discussed in the media and among the stakeholders. Even though Finland has not signed the UNESCO Convention, the Annex is seen as guideline for good practices for treating underwater finds. Preservation *in situ* was seen as the first option for the *Vrouw Maria*. After finding the wreck there has been lot of discussion about the status of the *Vrouw Maria*. Particularly the question of who owns the wreck and the cargo, which is still inside of her hull? Whose history does the shipwreck represent? Should the wreck be lifted up and put into a museum? Should the wreck be excavated *in situ*? According to the Antiquities Act, a heritage law in Finland, ships that sank more than 100 years ago belong to the state and Finnish authorities are responsible for the management and research of underwater cultural heritage in our territorial waters. Seafaring is, however, international and the *Vrouw Maria* is a very good example of trade and merchant



Fig. 15.4: Lid of a barrel lifted from the cargo hold of the *Vrouw Maria* (Ulla Klemelä, the National Board of Antiquities, Finland).

Fig. 15.6: A lead seal lifted at the deck of the *Vrouw Maria*. The seal has originally belonged to a bolt of fabric produced in Leyden (Leiden) in the Netherlands (Markku Haverinen, the National Board of Antiquities, Finland).



ships in the 18th century. Therefore the *Vrouw Maria* can also be regarded as common European cultural heritage. She has already been one of the case studies in an international research project called Monitoring, Safeguarding and Visualizing North – European Shipwreck Sites (so called MoSS-project 2002–2004). This project was financed by European Culture 2000 – programme and the participants of the project.

Research conducted at the *Vrouw Maria*

The maritime archaeological survey at *Vrouw Maria* started in the year 2000 and was conducted by the Maritime Museum of Finland. The Ministry of Culture funded the research for several years. During years 2000–2 research included archaeological documentation by measuring the hull and the remains of the rigging, photographing and video shooting and some artifact and sample lifts. Also archives and other written sources were researched. Written sources considering the *Vrouw Maria* have been found from the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, Finland and Russia.

In 2001 the curators of the Maritime Museum of Finland applied and got funding for a project “Monitoring, Safeguarding and Visualizing North-European Shipwreck Sites”. The aim of the project was to create good practices in managing well preserved ship wreck sites in Europe, presenting them to the public and raising awareness towards underwater cultural heritage (Tikkanen 2002, 2). The *Vrouw Maria* was one of the three sites chosen for the project. During the MoSS-project the environmental conditions of the site were monitored and analyzed. Scientific research was mostly performed by non intrusive methods. The archaeological survey involved measuring the ship’s hull and the rigging, and also the recording of the inner parts with a video camera. Also some new recording methods were tested, like the Aqua-Metre D100. There was also a 3D-reconstruction made based on the archaeological recording, videotapes and photographs of the site (Leino & Klemelä 2003, 5–7; Leino 2003, 8–12; Wessman 2003, 14–17).

The site is not in immediate danger and the conditions are quite stable, so during the first years research was focused on archaeological recording. In the Sound Toll Registers it is mentioned, that the cargo consisted of more than 100 kg of mercury. The packing material of mercury is unknown, and if the mercury is spread in the surrounding environment, it may cause trouble. At the moment there is an ongoing project called *Vrouw Maria Under Water* (2009–2012) funded by Finnish Ministry of Culture and Education. During this project archaeological field work has continued. Some samples have been taken, for example dendrochronological dating samples, wood species samples and samples for identification of the contents of the cargo. Also the compounds of the wood are being analysed in some samples. The microbiological research has been going on for several years already since the MoSS-project for finding out the condition of wood and a presence of wood eating bacteria. The deterioration process is slow because of the special conditions of the Baltic, but it is going on and the surface of the wood is damaged because of bacteria and fungi. The analysis of the cargo has given a lot new information, for example fresh grapes and coffee beans were identified among high quality textile. As a result of the project, a virtual simulation of the wreck was made and presented in the Maritime Museum in an exhibition called “Lost at Sea – the Story of St. Michel and Vrouw Maria”.

The Cargo of the *Vrouw Maria*

It was very common that Dutch merchant ships transported luxurious goods to Russia. Already by the 16th and 17th century Dutch Baltic trade consisted of valuable goods like textiles, sugar, spices and wine, later also tobacco and coffee. When the ships returned back to Amsterdam, they were loaded with grain, leather, furs, caviar, tar and other goods needed in Europe (Jonker & Sluyterman 2000, 39). These goods were usually quite well insured, as in the case of the *Vrouw Maria*. When the *Vrouw Maria* ran aground, the news of the accident reached the stakeholders very quickly, and the diplomatic correspondence concerning the lost property started almost immediately after the accident. The ship was lost on the 9th of October 1771,

and the sea protest was dated on the 16th of October 1771 in the Turku Provincial Court. The shipmaster, crew and the salvaged cargo were transported to Turku on the 11th of October. The maritime declaration also included a list of salvaged cargo and the names of its owners. (Gelderblom 2003, 111). The contents of the salvaged cargo give some idea of the lifestyle of the nobility in St. Petersburg: silver, textiles and fabrics, books, coffee, snuff and tobacco, mirrors, shoes, ivory eggs, bird nests, flower seeds and bulbs were ordered by the members of the court in Russia, many of them known even by name like Count Panin, who had ordered snuff and Prince Gallitzin, whose six paintings were on the list. There were also several packages with just alphabetic letters and wood carvings marking the contents and owner, like a box with markings HZ belonging to Princess Menzikoff (probably Menschicoff), flower bulbs and seeds for Mr. Demidoff and so on. The ship equipment and shipmasters personal items were sold in an auction in Turku, the other goods were transported to Russia without auctioning even though the protocol said otherwise. The Northern Diving and Salvage Company which undertook the salvage operation of the ship, the cargo and crew, should have had at least a 25 per cent share of all the salvaged goods, but because of a request from the representatives of the Russian court, these rules were neglected in this case. (Ahlström 2000b, 33–61).

The monetary value of the cargo was mentioned in the Sound Toll Registers. At the time of the shipwreck, Count Panin wrote to Sweden saying that he was worried about the condition of the paintings. In his letters he asked the officers to find the ship as quickly as possible, because the paintings needed to be salvaged for conservation and restoration. It was because of the paintings that the ship had to be found, perhaps other items were not so important or could be replaced or reimbursed by the insurance company. After the accident was reported, the freighters made their claims to the insurance company. According to the written sources, the matter was solved according to present rules and losses were covered (Gelderblom 2003, 111–115). When the attempts to find the ship failed, the ship was left in peace on the sea bed for more than 200 years. After the loss of the precious paintings, French philosopher Voltaire mentioned the matter in his correspondence with Empress Catherine the II (Ehanti 2011).

Archaeological research at the site has given interesting, new information about the cargo of the *Vrouw Maria*. A historical shipwreck can be of great importance for archaeological and historical study. The aim of the present archaeological research is to find out more about the structure and building tradition of the ship, the ship as a space for working and living, and indentifying the contents of the cargo more precisely. Even though the cargo is registered in the Sound, and we have a list of salvaged items, there still are artefacts and materials that are not mentioned in these written sources. The main cargo hatch is covered with tobacco pipes made of clay, and also glass lenses and zinc ingots can be detected. During the years 2010 and 2011 several samples have been taken and some artefacts have been lifted up. It has been found out, that the ship’s hull is built of oak and the rigging is most likely entirely made of pine. Oak was a valuable building material, so this ship was built to

last. Some new information on the contents of the cargo has also been found. There have been fresh grapes, pumice, glass lenses for making a perhaps some optical device and rolled tobacco leaves in the cargo (Alvik, Kokko fieldwork report 2010 and 2011). None of these items were mentioned in the written sources. Also some samples from the textiles and dyes have been taken. Dyes and textiles were one of the most valuable items in the cargo and are very typical colonial stuff transported to European markets. The results of the fieldwork will be published in the exhibition and a publication in 2012. The accessibility of the site will be improved by archaeological survey and presenting the results of the research by creating a virtual simulation of the wreck and an exhibition in the museum. The virtual simulation and the exhibition will open to the public the Maritime Museum of Finland in April 2012.

The *Vrouw Maria* in the courts

While the historical and archaeological research has been going on, the “case *Vrouw Maria*” has been in the courts for almost a decade. Soon after the wreck was found in 1999 the mutual understanding between the finders and authorities of the status of *Vrouw Maria* changed quite quickly. The finders had been rewarded by a medal, but no monetary refund was given because it is not common practice in Finland. The Antiquities Act does not oblige the Board to pay for such things. The leader of the finders’ group, Rauno Koivusaari and one other member of the association “Pro *Vrouw Maria*” summoned the state of Finland and the National Board of Antiquities to court in December 1999. The complainants demanded a reward for sea-salvaging the six artefacts from the cargo hold permitted by the Board, and they also demanded a right to sea-salvage all the items in and around the wreck and a reward for salvaging them based on the Maritime Act. Additionally, they claimed an ownership to the wreck, a right to salvage it or the privilege to decide to whom the salvage operation would be delegated (Matikka 2009, 1).

Maritime Act or Antiquities Act?

In 2002 a judge from Turku District Court gave a provincial decision. According to that the Antiquities Act and Maritime Act are not mutually exclusive and both of them can be applied to a historical shipwreck more than hundred years old. The actual hearing was in 2004, where three judges decided to dismiss the complainants’ action. They saw that the wreck is not in danger and there is no need to salvage the wreck. The need for raising the shipwreck or objects from it is mainly for historical or archaeological purposes, and these kinds of measures are directed by Antiquities Act. The National Board of Antiquities is responsible of such actions and has an authority to make decision concerning the wreck and the objects belonging to it.

Hearing in Turku Court of Appeal

In 2005 the complainants appealed to the Turku Court of Appeal. The Court came to a decision, that both the Antiquities Act and the Maritime Act have to be applied in the case of the *Vrouw Maria*, but the regulations of the Antiquities Act prevent the finders of having

control over the wreck and therefore ownership of it. The finders appeal was then dismissed. The owner of the wreck is the state of Finland. The Court also saw that the wreck is not in actual danger and there is no need to salvage the wreck and its cargo.

After this decision, both stakeholders asked for permission to take the case to the Supreme Court. The complainants still claimed the salvage right and reward. The National Board of Antiquities argued that also the Maritime Act can be applied to an ancient monument and underwater cultural heritage. In November 2005 the Supreme Court refused to leave an appeal and the decision of the Turku Court of Appeal is standing.

Vrouw Maria in international Courts

In 2006 the finders took the case into European Court of Human Rights and claimed that the State of Finland had violated their rights to the ownership of the *Vrouw Maria*. They also demanded monetary compensation for the lost investment or property. The European Human Rights Court made their decision and rejected the case on February 2010. The wreck belongs to the state of Finland, and Finland did not violate the divers’ rights by forbidding them from raising the shipwreck or salvaging the cargo (European Court of Human Rights 23. 2. 2010).

Legislation and good practices concerning underwater cultural heritage in Finland

Finnish cultural heritage legislation *Antiquities Act* was enacted in the year 1963. There were several remarkable shipwreck finds in the late 1950’s in Northern Europe, like the Swedish *Vasa* and a Dutch type of merchant ship, which was later identified as *St. Michael* found in the Finnish Archipelago in the late 1950s. According to the Antiquities Act, the wrecks of ships and other vessels discovered in the sea or in inland waters, which can be considered to be over one hundred years ago, or parts thereof, are officially protected. In this chapter it is also said, that objects discovered in wrecks or objects originating in such contexts, shall go to the state without redemption. The finder of a wreck shall immediately report the discovery to the The National Board of Antiquities, who is responsible for the management, research and preservation of them.

In 2002 the *Antiquities Act* was defined so, that in the section concerning ship finds was added a subsection, where ship findings (shipwreck or a part of it) that can be interpreted as being rejected by the owner belong to the state (<http://www.finlex.fi/fi/laki/alkup/2002/20020941>). In 2007 Finland made a reservation not to apply the provisions of the *International Convention on Salvage* when the property involved is maritime cultural property of prehistoric, archaeological or historic interest and is situated on the sea-bed (<http://www.finlex.fi/fi/sopimukset/sopimussarja/2007/20070040.pdf>). If this reservation had been done before the discovery of the *Vrouw Maria*, the court hearings may not have happened.

International charters and conventions for underwater cultural heritage

The ICOMOS Charter on the Protection and Management of Underwater Cultural Heritage was ratified

by the ICOMOS general assembly in Sofia, Bulgaria in 1996. This charter is meant to encourage the management and protection of underwater cultural heritage. Underwater cultural heritage is considered international by its character. For example shipwrecks are often distance long way from their destination or origin, sometimes in international waters where local legislation might not ensure their protection. That is why international charters and conventions are needed. Several human activities like underwater construction work, fishing by bottom trawling and illegal diving activity like looting may threaten such underwater cultural heritage. In order to prevent this, all measures taken on the historical underwater sites must include high – quality archaeological research. In the charter preserving the sites *in situ* is the first option, but it does not mean that archaeological intrusive methods are forbidden – there must be a good plan and also resources for that, and the finds and results must be accessible for the public.

One of the greatest threats is commercial exploitation of the cultural heritage. Lately there have been disagreements between foreign salvage companies (or treasure hunters) and governmental bodies in Spain and South – East Asia. In the United States the Smithsonian Institute was asked to cancel an exhibition of maritime archaeological artefacts, which most likely were looted from Indonesia and sold in an auction. So, charters like ICOMOS are meant to raise public awareness and a common responsibility for cultural heritage. In Finland the contents of the ICOMOS charter were accepted and it is seen as one of guidelines for good practices for the management and protection of underwater cultural heritage. The charter was translated into Finnish in 1997 and there is also a Finnish member in ICUCH, the ICOMOS International Committee on the Underwater Cultural Heritage. (http://www.international.icomos.org/under_e.htm; <http://www.npr.org/2011/05/04/135956044/from-beneath-a-smithsonian-shipwreck-controversy>, Tikkanen 2007, 53–54)

The UNESCO Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage was adopted by the UNESCO General Conference in 2001 based on the ICOMOS Charter and measurements conducted by ICUCH. It's intention is to enable better protection to the underwater cultural heritage for the states. According to the UNESCO convention, the underwater cultural heritage means all traces of human existence having a cultural, historical or archaeological character which have been partially or totally under water, periodically or continuously, for at least 100 years. Even though the state of Finland has not ratified the UNESCO Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage and is not a "State Party" of the Convention, it is still supported in Finland and is considered as a guide for good practices. There have been negotiations concerning the ratification of the convention for several years.

The meaning of ICOMOS Charter, UNESCO Convention and COPUCH is to preserve underwater cultural heritage, to prevent commercial exploitation of this heritage, to promote training in underwater archaeology and to raise public awareness and recognition of underwater cultural heritage. One of the general principles of the convention is the *in situ* preservation

of underwater cultural heritage before any measures are taken (Carducci 2006, i–ii; Grenier 2006, x–xi). The United Nations' International Law of the Sea was introduced in 1982, and it took almost 20 years to adopt the Convention. The scientific committee dedicated to the protection to the protection and management of underwater heritage, ICUCH, was founded in Australia in 1991. Finland has a member in this committee. Finland also participates in the Monitoring Group on Underwater Cultural Heritage in the Baltic Sea States. In 2008 the group published the Code of Good Practice for the Management of the Underwater Cultural Heritage in the Baltic Sea Region (COPUCH). It has no legal authority, but it is specially adapted to the Baltic Sea region to be used as a guideline. Promoting the COPUCH is part of raising awareness about underwater cultural heritage. COPUCH is also a basis for cooperation in the Baltic Sea area. Already in 2001 and 2005 the cultural ministers of the Baltic Sea region have made declarations about the importance of the underwater cultural heritage. The idea of strengthening cooperation in the Baltic Region was strongly emphasized in the Bergen declaration in year 2005 (<http://mg.kpd.lt/LT/7/Underwater-Heritage.htm>).

Cultural heritage cannot be replaced and it shall not be commercially exploited according to the UNESCO Convention. Also ICOM and other international conventions must be taken into consideration when we are talking about cultural heritage. All actions must be planned carefully and performed by professionals, and there must be a justified reason and enough resources for lifting artefacts, conservation and putting them into collections of a museum. In Finland, maritime archaeological artefacts belong to the collection of the Maritime Museum of Finland, which is part of the National Museum of Finland. Both of the museums are part of the organization of the National Board of Antiquities.

The future of the *Vrouw Maria*

The former minister of culture made an official statement that the wreck will be preserved *in situ*, but the options and possibilities of the future of this site are still under discussion. During the MoSS – project the *Management Plan of Vrouw Maria* was done, and it is updated regularly. The safeguarding of the *Vrouw Maria* is done in co-operation with the owner of the Southwestern Archipelago National Park area, Metsähallitus (a Finnish state organization) and the National Board of Antiquities. These organizations made a contract of a special protection area, where diving and anchoring are prohibited. The wreck is located in a special protection area also for the nature protection grounds. Because of the location in a nature preservation area, even archaeological fieldwork must be planned so, that there is no disturbance to the nesting of seabirds and seals living in this undisturbed area, where human activity is kept to a minimum. Also the Finnish Coast Guard is participating to the protection, the *Vrouw Maria* is located in a camera surveillance area, and the Coast Guard is managing it. The threats to the shipwreck are deterioration and the slow collapse of the structures including corrosion of the metal parts. Also the possibility of looting must

be taken into consideration, even although the area is quite well protected. (Alvik 2004, 11–2).

In situ – or ex situ – preservation?

If *in situ* preservation is the first option for preservation of the *Vrouw Maria*, and the disturbance is kept to a minimum, it might cause a contradiction between management policy and scientific research. The *Vrouw Maria* raised high public interest after she was found, and she still is one of most well known underwater sites in Finland. How shall we respond to that interest so that the research and preservation will be performed in satisfactory way? Resources needed for maritime archaeological fieldwork at a site like *Vrouw Maria* are quite enormous even if the site would be preserved in underwater conditions. *In situ* –preservation should not mean that the site is left there on her own. It demands regular survey at the site, and very well prepared measures if for example the structures of the hull or rigging start to collapse. The management plan for *Vrouw Maria* should be updated regularly and pros and cons of the *in situ* – preservation and the lifting of wreck should be evaluated again time after time. If the deterioration process continues for a long time, the conservation process will be more difficult and demanding to perform if the ship would be lifted in the future. Also the risk of the loss historical information should be considered. At the moment *Vrouw Maria* is quite stable and preservation of the hull is quite good, so there is time to prepare a good management plan and research strategy.

At the moment the research of *Vrouw Maria* is performed by “*Vrouw Maria Under Water*” project (2010–2), but after year 2012 the archaeological field research might come to its end, if there are no resources for continuing the work. Regular monitoring is still needed to see whether the conditions at the site are remaining stable and no visually detectable changes have happened. Diving and research work is of course one way of causing disturbance, but if there is no research done, interpretation of the site might end up being based on very inaccurate data. It should be evaluated, whether the archaeological data we now have is enough; is it better to preserve the site for future generations for more advanced research methods or for it to be excavated and put in the museum in the near future. All these options contain risks and demand a lot of resources. If we consider this case in a wider context, there are not many places in the world where shipwrecks have been preserved like in the Baltic. Improving the co-operation between the Baltic Countries might be one solution. Education for maritime archaeologists working in the special conditions of the Baltic Sea, common research projects and also investments in equipment are needed.

***Vrouw Maria* in a scene of European cultural heritage**

The *Vrouw Maria* provides an interesting view of trade and culture in Europe in the Age of Enlightenment. The ships origin is Dutch, and so are her owners. Merchants and freighters were of Dutch origin and represented the merchant houses of Amsterdam. According to research done in the archives, some of merchants have a bond to

Russia by ancestors, like the owner of the silver, Ludovic Hovy. *Vrouw Maria* had visited St. Petersburg several times before the accident, so the route and the ways of trading were familiar to the shipmaster. After the shipwreck, *Vrouw Maria* became involved with Sweden (Finland was part of Sweden then). Swedish authorities took care of the salvage operation, and the people participating in this were local inhabitants of Finnish Archipelago, like fishermen. These kinds of actions were part of their livelihood then (Gelderblom 2003, 97–101, Kaukiainen 2006, 22–36). Now, according to the legislation of Finland, it is property of state of Finland. In a wider perspective, there are several viewpoints to evaluate the value of *Vrouw Maria* and consider her position in a European perspective.

The value of the ship find can be evaluated on a local, national and international level, and it has several perspectives. The *Vrouw Maria* is part of underwater cultural heritage of Finland, but also a part of Dutch seafaring and trade tradition in the Baltic. In a wider perspective, the *Vrouw Maria* was also a part of European and even worldwide network of trade. Many items of the cargo of the ship are colonial: sugar, dyes, tobacco, tea, coffee and silver are transported from Asia and South-America. Often the history of these products consists of lot of political and economical issues. Cultivation of dyes, sugar, coffee, tea and spices demands suitable land and environmental conditions and lots of labour. The Slave trade and using also prisoners as work force in very harsh conditions was common in the production chain. Sometimes the rival of agricultural land and commercial expansion was very cruel to the natives living in these areas. The *Vrouw Maria* has also a connection to European art history and rivalry between European emperors and empresses. Art collections and masterpieces were worth competing for also. The paintings bought from the auction in Netherlands are of well-known painters and masterworks at their time. So *Vrouw Maria* has also an art-historical connection. It would be interesting to know how the paintings were packed and in a wider perspective, art collections, art trade and auctions and transportation of art are very interesting research topics.

As a well preserved shipwreck, the *Vrouw Maria* can also be researched as an evidence of shipbuilding tradition at the 18th century. From that viewpoint, she also has aesthetic value. Lying there in the seabed, with the lower parts of the two masts still standing and almost intact hull, she is astonishing example of a sailing ship from the past. Today the wreck is part of its underwater landscape and also an artificial reef for several species living in cold waters of the Baltic. To make this view of the wreck available to the public, it is important to improve the accessibility by showing video, photographs, models and illustrations in public places like museums and also internet. Even social networking has been involved, *Vrouw Maria* has its own Internet – blog which is updated daily during the field work.

There has also been criticism in the media towards the authorities and their decision making. Sometimes the accusations concern putting so much effort in *Vrouw Maria*, sometimes the authorities are too slow and do not make decisions some stakeholders would have wanted, like lifting the wreck. Several newspapers

have published articles and plans for lifting the ship, and also some Russian parties have shown interest in this. Lifting the ship and putting it into a museum will be a huge effort, the estimated value of this process in between 80–100 million Euros. Even if *Vrouw Maria* was lifted, what would be needed that this kind of museum would attract thousands of hundreds of visitors annually? If we compare this find to Swedish *Vasa* and the British *Mary Rose*, these wrecks have high national value as kings' flagships. The value of *Vrouw Maria* is more international, as part of the Baltic trade in an interesting era. This kind of museum should have very wide perspective and it should renew the research topics presented time after time. Most of *Vrouw Maria's* cargo was quite common colonial merchandise. The remarkable paintings have most likely suffered severe damage, even if they are found from the cargo hold. It is mostly part of Dutch, Russian and Swedish – Finnish history. These issues were handled in November 2009 in "Vrouw Maria workshop", where international group of professionals in maritime archaeology, marine biology and conservation discussed about this case for two days. At the moment *Vrouw Maria* is not in immediate danger, and the degradation process is very slow, so there is no need for immediate actions or hesitation in this matter.

Does a find like the *Vrouw Maria* represent all Europeans? My personal view is that it is possible to use this site as an example of how trade has developed and how seafaring still is a very important way to get access to food products, raw materials, energy supplies and many other items. The state borders in the 18th century are not the same as now, and we should see also the development of Europe in this case.

The story of *Vrouw Maria* continues after more than 200 years silence. At the moment there are discussions of international co-operation concerning her research, like co-operation in the archive research and analyses, and perhaps researching these Dutch shipwreck sites in a larger perspective. In the territorial waters of Sweden and Finland there are many remarkable sites to survey. Still, there are a lot of questions how should we manage, research and preserve this unique and very informative, but slowly deteriorating underwater cultural heritage, which is not visible? How could we make it a common European cultural heritage, which has a value for all the citizens? The *Vrouw Maria* is a remarkable example of a historical site, which has complete story and also involves historically known people in Europe and Russia. By telling their story we can raise awareness towards underwater cultural heritage to European citizens and combine the history of several European countries together.

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16 | Invisible heritage: (Re)construction of Historical Topoi in the Urban structure of Rijeka

Ana Bezić and Marina Vicelja

Abstract: This paper addresses the process of reconstruction of material heritage in an urban setting and how it applies to the ideas of public archaeology and by doing so, considers the aims of public archaeology and their specific application to Roman Tarsatica in Rijeka, Croatia. If public archaeology is going to be open and inclusive, we need to begin to think of the ways in which multiple voices are possible and encouraged, where conservation moves from frozen moments in time to include histories of objects in the *longue durée*, and where presentations move from static visual imagery in the museums to employing new technologies and media on site.

Introduction

Archaeological excavations in cities change our everyday routes. We can be angry about it or, as we most often do, peek through the fence in the anticipation of a discovery. As an archaeologist and an art historian, we cannot help but wonder what would have happened if we just opened this fence? What kind of knowledge would come out of a dialogue between those institutions interested in conserving/preserving/interpreting/presenting (in short reconstructing) the past and the wider audience (the public) for whom this past is being reconstructed for consumption in the first place?

The two processes, (re)construction and consumption of the past belong to the ongoing debates of heritagization of the past. In other words, what and how the past is being reconstructed is intimately entangled with how the past is going to be consumed (Walsh 1998). Heritage is always a selective project, for a choice has to be made among innumerable relics of the past whereby other histories and stories are left out. This decision-making process of heritagization is multilayered and highly networked, consisting of various institutions, but also policy documents, publications and presentations whose ultimate goal is to raise awareness, and present the past and the richness of diversity of past human experience to the public for educational, social and cultural needs. Most national heritage policy documents select those assets of objects that can assert the uniqueness of the communities while at the same time these documents emphasize communities' inherent interest and care towards the physical continuity of its fabric and form. Such techniques of internationalization of heritage, governed largely by UNESCO and ICOMOS and followed by the national laws, have been criticized as perpetuating politics of difference and conflict. Such techniques are also often at odds with each other when heritage is faced with urban policies (Byrne 1995; 2011). As towns change and develop, decisions are being made which past to reconstruct and which to 'destroy/cover'.

The old part of the city of Rijeka provides an opportunity to explore this matter further. This presentation explores the process of heritagization surrounding the

past that is not yet visible and incorporated into daily life and as such lacks visibility in print, publications, public awareness and ultimately funding. The accent is on plurality, multivocality and fluidity of varied types of knowledge acting on the physical traces of the past. Our contention is that the struggle to interpret, present and manage the archaeological past in an urban setting resides between different and often competing discursive formations.

Historical overview

The present visual perception of Rijeka is that of a modern, industrialized city on the north of the Adriatic coast. Most of its rich urban history that goes far into the past has been concealed by modern architectural layers and by the needs of the town to adapt its *facies* to the changes in the everyday life of its inhabitants. Its historical center rises above the remains of the Roman town of Tarsatica, but almost nothing is visible today from the ancient and medieval period apart from the remains of the medieval walls. The Roman settlement formed gradually during the last centuries B.C. (Faber & Matejčić 1969; Suić 1976; Margetić 1988; Novak 1995; Blečić 2001; Starac 2004) as a smaller merchant colony transformed in the municipality in the 1st c. A.D. (Wilkes 1969; Margetić 1988, Starac 2000, Blečić 2001). During the peaceful and fruitful period of *Pax Romana*, the town flourished which can be identified in the urban development confirmed by archaeological research (Matejčić 1982, Blečić 2001). Tarsatica was a spacious town irregularly shaped, with city walls with four entrances. One can still distinguish the proper arrangement of streets, with prominent *cardo* and *decumanus*, *forum* and elegant town houses with atriums, wells and granaries along the *decumanus* (figs 16.1, 16.2). The town had an elaborate system of baths which were excavated during an archaeological campaign in 1967 (Matejčić 1968). It was a sensational discovery that supported the theory of an important urban center whose harbor was situated at the mouth of the river Rječina. Archaeologists could open only

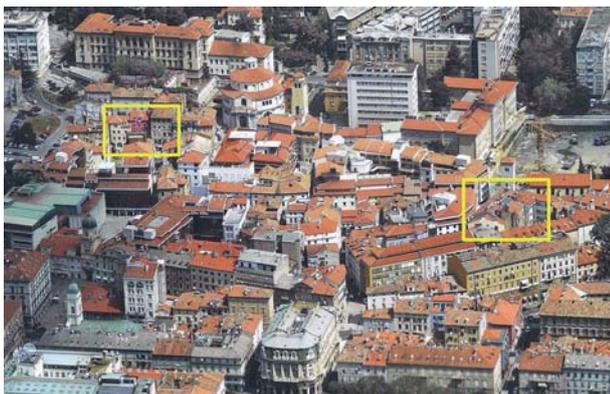


Fig. 16.1: View of the Old Town with two archaeological zones *Principia* and Pul Vele crikve square highlighted in yellow.

part of the *thermae* since the rest lay under buildings which were built in recent centuries. Three spacious chambers were dug out and the remains of a *hypocaust* which was preserved in a number of small pillars built of circular tiles (fig. 16.3). The complex was supplied with water from the adjacent stream and had no particular sculptural decoration or traces of mosaics on the floors of the chambers, unlike the *thermae* all of the representative buildings in the town were decorated with mosaics (fig. 16.4). During the turbulent period of barbaric invasions which started in the mid 2nd century, a special defensive system was created, known as *Praetentura Italiae*. The region of Tarsatica became a special province – *Liburnia*, with the task of securing the border towards the Appenines (Medini 1980; Starac 2000; Blečić 2001). In the 3rd century the Empire was struck by a severe crisis and the army had to adapt to the new circumstances by increasing the number of auxiliary units which had greater mobility and were apt to react promptly in case of the attack at the *limes* (Bernardi 2007). At that time Tarsatica became an important strategic point rebuilding and adjusting the town for the military unit that was situated within its walls. This included the reinforcement of the walls, the construction of the military headquarters – *Principia* – and all the facilities necessary for the life of the soldiers. During the 4th century and due to new threats, the defensive system of the *Praetenturae Italiae* was reorganized in the chain of walls and permanent

Fig. 16.3: Roman baths (*thermae*), (excavation in 1967).

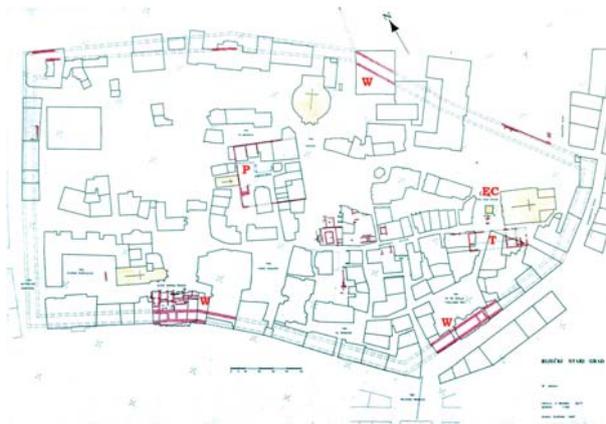
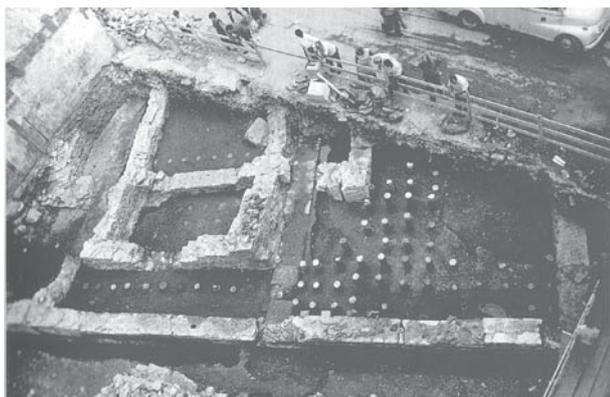


Fig. 16.2: Map of the Old town – parts in red are archaeological remains partially visible: P = *Principia*, T = *thermae*, EC = early Christian complex, W = walls.

garrisons under the name of *Claustra Alpium Iuliarum*. Tarsatica was at its east end and was considered a significant military site mostly because of its strategic position and the fact that it had a harbor (Blečić 2001; Višnjčić 2009). Despite its fortifications and reinforced walls Tarsatica was destroyed at the end of the 4th or the beginning of the 5th century. The traces of fire and burning recovered archaeologically testify for a violent demolition which was probably performed by Visigoths as they moved towards and back from Italy (Margetić 1988; Bernardi 2007). Certainly, from the beginning of the 5th century there is a cessation of the inflow of coins, which was the money sent for the soldiers' salaries. Also, the *Principia* was destroyed, abandoned and never rebuilt again which confirms the end of Tarsatica as a military center. The town recovered at the end of the 5th century, during a period of prosperity on the Adriatic and the theory that Tarsatica declined during the war between the Goths and Byzantines seems unlikely. One of the very few sources from that period, *Cosmographia* by Anonymous of Ravenna, dating from the 7th century, describes this area as *Liburnia Tarsaciensis*, referring to the still vivid and important role of the town in the region (Margetić 1988, Blečić 2001) (fig. 16.5). After a two-century silence in the documents, Tarsatica was then

Fig. 16.4: Mosaic in a tryclinium in Užarska street 28–30 (excavations in 1998).



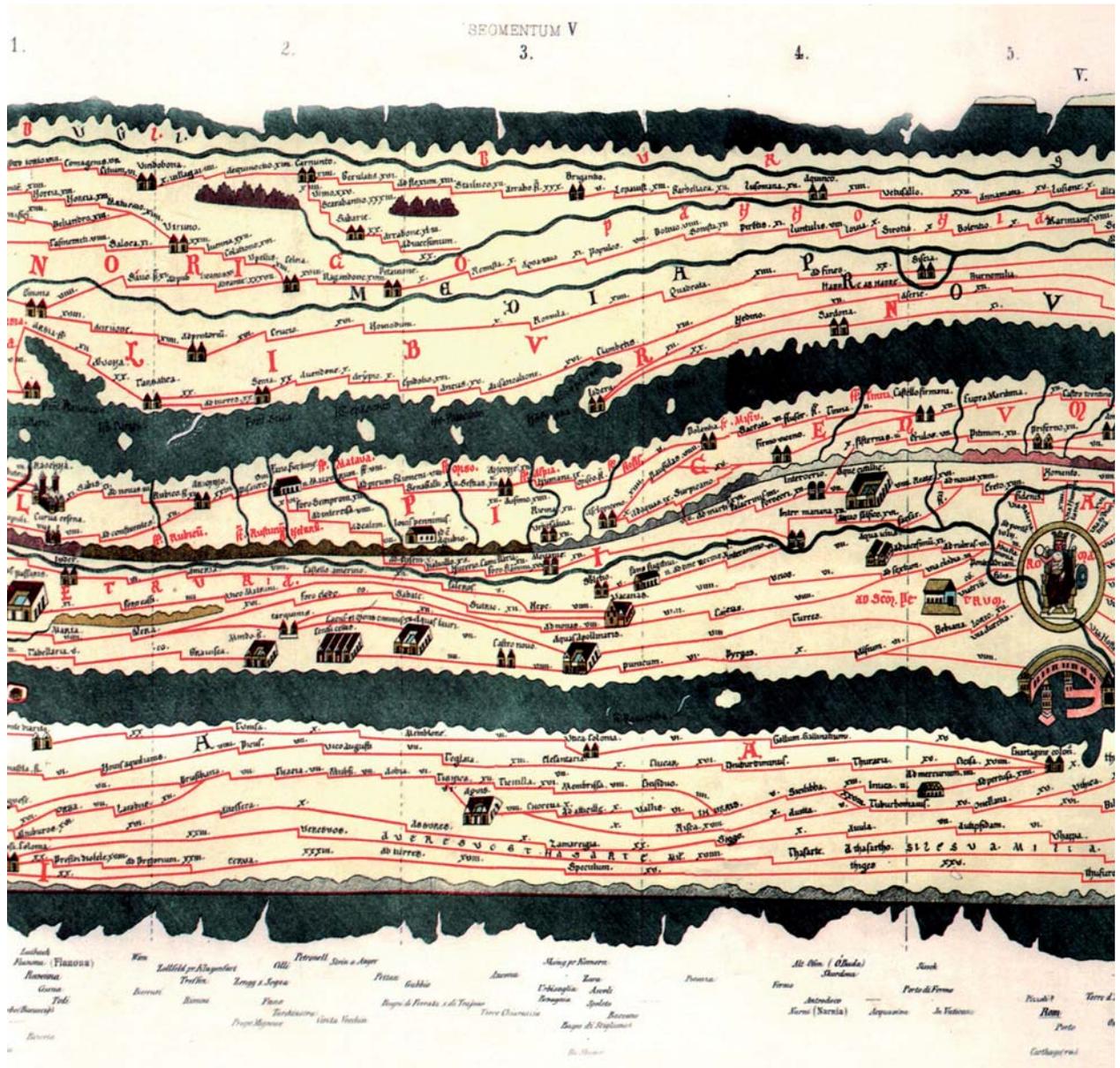


Fig. 16.5: Tabula Peutingeriana with indicated position of Tarsatica (1st–4th century; facsimile edition by Conradi Millieri, 1887/1888).

mentioned in a Frankish source from the beginning of the 9th century in the account of the assassination of the duke Eric by the inhabitants of the town in 799. The town was probably penalized by some kind of destruction or other forms of punishment but it obviously did not regain its importance for centuries to come. In 966 the German emperor Otto III founded the bishopric in the town (Hauptmann 1951, Klen 1988). During the early Middle Ages, life was confined to the small and modest settlement but the continuity of town should not be questioned. Not until the late 13th century did Tarsatica begin its rise to be recognized as a spot for trade that resulted in a high inflow of inhabitants. During the Middle Ages the town experienced periods of growth and decline due to wars, plague, plundering and arson. When in 1530 the Habsburg emperor Ferdinand I signed the *Statute of Rijeka* and confirmed the City government the town experienced a flourishing economy and developed into one of the biggest and most important ports of the Adriatic. The new prosperous centuries,

namely the 18th and 19th, changed the look of the old city, although many of the modest late medieval or early modern dwellings remained standing until the second half of the 20th century.

Urban archaeology in Rijeka

As historic architecture all over Europe got destroyed to an unfathomable degree, post-war urban renovation projects aimed at preserving and restoring the remains of the historic town centers. In addition to the post-war rebuilding projects, some projects of modernization were at the opposite end of the post-war restoration/preservation agenda. Setting up the water pipes in the 1960s was one such project that ran through the historic town center of Rijeka and cut through the Roman town of Tarsatica. This campaign partially destroyed Roman mosaics. Bringing fresh water to every house outweighed the value of the Roman mosaics and



Fig. 16.6: Mosaics of the Early Christian basilica damaged by the infrastructure.

thermae recovered (fig. 16.6). Croatia is a signatory of numerous conventions directed towards protection of heritage and as conventions are only guidelines, the politics and policies of renovation, restoration and modernization in the 1960s ran hand in hand with destruction. The changing concept of value has since then changed and it still remains to be seen the ways in which the pipes (modernity) and mosaics (the past) can continue to coexist within a discourse of heritage protection and management in Rijeka today.

Many of the coastal cities in Croatia have grown out of earlier 'rural' settlements and have been engaged to direct influences from the Greek and later Roman culture and development. The remains of the Roman past are mostly visible in today's city structure and ever since the late 19th century and excavations in Salona (modern day Solin, near Split), archaeological excavations have been part of the daily life in the cities. Since then, the topographies as well as urban complexes and development of the cities such as Dubrovnik, Zadar, Pula, Nin, Trogir, Vis etc, have been studied and published in detail (Buzov *et al.* 1999; Suić 1976).

Most of the knowledge connected to the historical development of the city of Rijeka, based on the archaeological excavations, dates to the second half of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century (Blečić 2001). The interest for the archaeological history of Rijeka was related to the linguistic interpretations of the name Tarsatica which was erroneously assigned to the settlement on the hill raising above the town, called Trsat (Kobler 1896; Margetić 1990; Novak 1993a; Starac 2000). Already in the 17th century we read about the first

interpretations of the Roman inscriptions from Tarsatica (Blečić 2001), whereas in the 18th century scholars were focused on the analysis of the Roman arch, the most distinct archeological remains in the town (Blečić 2001) (fig. 16.7). In the 19th century the interest for the archaeology in Rijeka was intensified due to the diligent works on the infrastructure and (re)construction of the city. Because of the growth of the town and insufficient perception of the importance of its history as well as the lack of the organized archaeological campaigns, many of the archaeological deposits or areas were destroyed. The first scholarly approach to the archaeological heritage began at the beginning of the 20th century with Cimiotti, Depoli and Gigante, the latter of who produced the first archaeological topography of the town (Cimiotti 1913; Depoli 1925; Gigante 1944). It became a fundamental source for all future research of the town's archaeology and history, which enumerated known sites and findings, providing ground for the first academic interpretations. The late sixties of the 20th century were the years of the intense urbanization of the old town which gave impetus for the new archaeological excavations. Radmila Matejčić had a leading role in that research that resulted in new interpretations of the urban development and new knowledge of the thermal system, fortifications and *necropoleis* (Matejčić 1968, 1982, 1985, 1988a,



Fig. 16.7: Roman arch.



Fig. 16.8: *Principia* today – archaeological site.

1988b). Unfortunately, the local government did not recognize the values of the earlier historical periods so that, under the idiom of “safety, prospect, modern” many of the medieval and early modern parts of the old center were demolished and lost forever. Having replaced them with modern structures, with basic or no archaeology performed at all, the urban politics had for a long period limited or obstructed the possibility to reconstruct the past. Most of the archaeology in Rijeka in the late 20th century was in the frame of protection and conservation, not as a systematic research, it did, however, produce interesting new facts about the military headquarters, the early Christian ecclesiastic complex as well as other medieval structures in the town (Novak 1984, 1988, 1993b, 1995, 1999). The most recent archaeological research has, on the contrary, been organized and planned, as the beginning of systematic urban archaeology being introduced to Rijeka. The local government charged the Croatian Conservation Institute from Zagreb in 2007, to conduct research of the Roman military headquarters, *Principia*. The excavations lasted from June to September and resulted in many material findings which shed new light upon this important part of the Old Town, as well as, producing suggestions and guidelines for solutions for its conservation and presentation. The area excavated is situated in an isolated and neglected part of the Old Town that inhabitants used as a garbage disposal until 1970s, when a modern building was constructed and a part of the Roman structure was severely damaged (Bekić 2009). The remaining area of 488 m² was carefully cleaned and excavated, revealing the stratification layers and units that have been documented, such as

walls, middens, wells and canals as well as the remains of the structures built in the last 300 years which had to be removed (fig. 16.8). Since this area was intensely used during Middle Ages many layers were cutting through each other testifying for a dynamic interchange of the historical periods and continuity of life. This is why many small finds from the Roman times were not found in their original position. The *Principia* was entered through the arch that is still well preserved and in its original position. The central part was occupied by an open yard, tiled in stone, surrounded by higher platforms. The western and eastern platforms were occupied by utility rooms, with plastered floors and walls, which were probably painted. In the northern part of the square, according to the remains and the location, a basilica was standing, with the entrance in the axis with the main entrance to the *Principia*. The stairway has been preserved partly and on the outer surfaces of the preserved front walls fresco decoration was found. Unfortunately not much of the remaining structure has been found in the archaeological level. Many *tesserae* testify for a rich decoration of the building (Višnjić 2009) (fig. 16.9).

Excavations conducted at Pul Vele crikve square during 2008–9 followed the scheduled replacement of the previously mentioned water pipes. The local government employed, again, the Croatian Conservation Institute from Zagreb to conduct research of an area of approximately 1100 m², in front of the Church of the Assumption, the ex-cathedral of Rijeka (fig. 16.10). During the investigation interesting, immovable and movable archaeological finds were collected and amongst the most valuable ones was a Late Antique sarcophagus. They are in the process of expert analysis, restoration and descriptive documentation. An additional difficulty during the excavation was the fact that the square is a frequented area of the pedestrian zone of the Old Town, so that at all times passages for pedestrians had to be assured through the work site. That enabled the inhabitants to closely observe the methodology of excavation and to become active participants in the process of research. This, as well as the need to ensure the stability of the surrounding objects (primarily the Leaning Tower) could not allow for the opening of larger portions of the excavated



Fig. 16.9: Reconstruction of *Principia* (Višnjić 2009).



Fig. 16.10: Pul Vele crikve during the excavations of 2008–9.



Fig. 16.11: Burials next to the church of Assumption.

area, so that after the research and documentation every few quadrants had to be covered, and new ones opened. The research area included a part of the baths, a burial area next to the church (fig. 16.11) and the part of the old basilica that lies outside of the perimeter of the existing church. The Early Christian basilica was lavishly decorated as was indicated by the beautiful mosaics found in the narthex and the main nave (fig. 16.12).

The concerns raised at the time of the excavations were several: excavations were tailored to the needs of the construction works, the site had to be provided with a permanent pedestrian passage, while larger areas under excavations could not be left open due to the stability of the surrounding buildings (see Cataj 2011). These concerns left little space and time for engaging with the public and to formulate adequate research questions and long term goals, the benefits of which

Fig. 16.12: Early Christian mosaics.





Fig. 16.13: Project for the reconstruction of the *Principia* site (view to the East).

may be seen in a more sustainable and public oriented practice. While the excavation at the Pul Vele crikve offered a different experience for inhabitants and engaged public more work is needed to create a truly engaging relationship between them and archaeology. It is believed that the archaeological research could contribute to the identity of the city and to Rijeka's recognisability as a city of culture and urban tourism.

Rescue archaeology is about expedience in fear of material being lost/destroyed, and "not because we have formulated questions for which we think it is relevant" (Faulkner 2000, 28) to excavate. Neither of these sites has been recognized as active and ongoing archaeological locations with clearly identified research questions, rather as the finished presentable projects that will serve the public needs: The *Principia* as a new city square, a place for events, a meeting spot; (Obersnel 2009) (fig. 16.13), and Pul Vele crikve as an interesting historic spot whose presentation is still to be decided upon. The organisation and purpose of the two areas are defined not by the public but from the archaeological, urban, conservation and local government points of view. This point of view had frozen one moment in time in order to conserve it for presentation purposes. Such an approach continues with a traditional, essentialist's notion of object's 'true nature' (see Eastop 2004) and material based perspectives.

Both sites have a potential role in adding to the city's new identity, one that could incorporate antiquity into its already well-established industrial heritage. These two sites also depart from the usual nationalistic identities so much in vogue all over Europe since the 1990s (Ashworth & Larkham 1994, 1–2) and may have a potential contribution to the growing ideas of "new European" identity as Roman antiquity cuts across current national boundaries connecting wide areas of Europe as one of the goals was to introduce city's "rich historical heritage with Roman roots" (Meder 2009, 14). However, at both sites, the opportunity was missed for the archaeological research to become multi period long-term investigation of the whole sequence of human occupation and their lives – including pre-Roman and medieval periods which have been established on these locations and in Rijeka in general, but very little is known about. As urban archaeology is about the continuity of urbanisation and urban identity these questions could have been traced from the earliest periods. A contemporary urban

life and the ancient remains in the urban setting meet at these places and it is up to us to make this meeting as productive as possible. It remains to be seen whether the proposed presentations of these sites will complete the task.

Furthermore, conservation and protection, the two tenets of archaeology, can no longer be considered as an objective alone – according to European Cultural Heritage, these have to be redefined as essential tools for making concrete the global objective of sustainable development of society, at the economic, social and cultural level (Carman 2002, 90). The doctrine of sustainability emphasizes that people can have different values and ideas – meaning there can be more than one version of truth – and that the state authority over the past should be shared with local perceptions of it (cf. Thomas 2004, 195). Could this be a recipe for having more engaged and interested audience?

Croatia is a signatory of both the ICAHM Charter (International Committee on Archaeological Heritage Management) and the Venice Charter both of which emphasize depositional context and original form and fabric of archaeological sites. These charters assume that there is universal interest towards the material past (but see Merriman 1991) and a universal way to conserve this past (for more detail discussion see Byrne 1995). As our questionnaire was able to show, there is very little knowledge about the Roman past of Rijeka and a lot of interest in learning more about it. One could ask, can education and training raise this enthusiasm further?

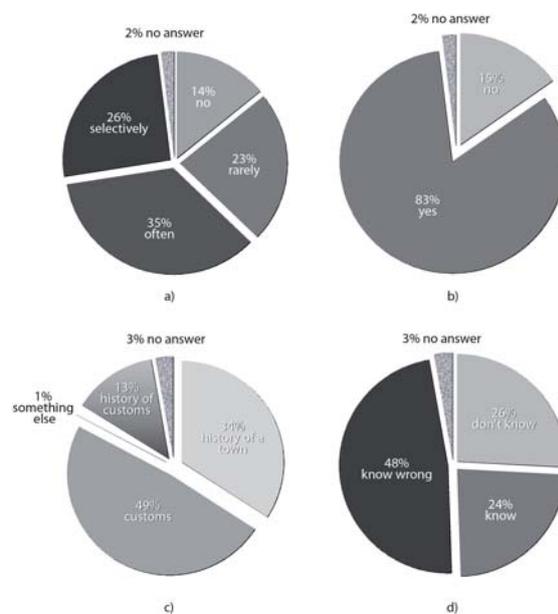
Heritage as education?

"To conduct educational actions with a view to rousing and developing an awareness in public opinion of the value of the archaeological heritage for understanding the past and of the threats to this heritage" (Art 9. [i] European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage, Valetta 1992)

As material heritage faces continual destruction throughout the world, more and better public participation is being encouraged – one that will promote involvement, awareness and understanding as well as a dialogue among the various stakeholders (e.g. UNESCO World Heritage Education Programme; also see Merriman 2004; Carman 2002; McManamon 1991). Archaeology as a discipline is seen at the forefront of these debates (cf. Meskell 1998; Hodder 1998; Carman 2005) and yet our relationship with the public is still under construction (but see Stone & MacKenzie 1990; Merriman 1991). It is believed "that better public understanding about archaeology will lead to more preservation of sites and data, less site looting and vandalism, greater support for the curation of the archaeological collections and records, and a demand for yet more archaeological interpretation and participation by the public" (McManamon 1991, 121). Furthermore, there is an ongoing discussion about how this understanding is to be achieved. Should we be

Fig. 16.14: Survey questions:

- 14a) How often do you visit museums and exhibitions?
 14b) Would you be more interested in Tarsatica if new technologies and media were used in the presentation?
 14c) Are you more interested in history of a town or people customs?
 14d) Do you know where Tarsatica is?



telling 'them' or should we directly engage with the non-archaeological other in a debate between bureaucratic style of archaeological practice (McManamon 2000) and the one that subverts this practice (Leone & Potter 1992). Productive and successful dialogues are seen at various archaeological sites (see for example Hodder 1998; Faulkner 2000; Leone *et al.* 1995). This article is the beginning in thinking about the engagement with the public and the role of archaeology in Rijeka. As archaeology in Rijeka works through institutions, it is through them that we begin our quest. The one that has the most visibility among the public when it comes to heritage matters is the Maritime and History Museum that houses a collection of archaeological findings from Rijeka and also from the whole county region.

The Museum building was not meant to be a museum initially, it was Governor's palace, the former residence of the Hungarian governor built in the 19th century as a representative and residential manor. Today, the first floor is used for temporary exhibitions while on the second floor the permanent exhibition of furniture, armory, painting and ethnographic collections is organized. The palace is also used for different events: receptions, weddings, concerts etc. The majority of callers visit the museum during *the Night of the museums*, an event that takes place once a year, and for which occasion a new exhibition is put on display. Most of the rich archaeological collection is not on display and cannot be seen regularly, since the collection is under development. The art history students from Rijeka University, working on the project within the elective course on the *Selected topics of Ancient art* visited the Museum with the aim to be escorted by the curator to the storage area in order to see some of the finds from the excavations in Rijeka that, until that point, they knew only from photographs. However, the Director decided that the students needed special permission and they were not permitted into the knowledge vaults. Furthermore, the students were informed that most of the finds from the recent excavations were in the Conservation Department in Zagreb, with the exception of Early Christian sarcophagus found at the Pul Vele crikve square that was exhibited in the yard in front of the Museum.

Protect, preserve, and display are the *mantras* that belong to the traditional framework of a museum as a temple. Museums today are well aware of the changing technological, but also social and ideological conditions, and they see the need to adapt and change themselves (Planel 1990; Turnbirdge & Ashworth 1996; Carman 2002; Butler 2006). Museums are no longer just storehouses or a substitute for travel (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, 132), rather they are places that can contribute to theory building and knowledge production about the past (cf. Pearce 1989; Hooper-Greenhill 2000). Museums of today, or post-museums,

as Hooper-Greenhill calls them, should be conceived not as sites of authority, rather as places of process or experience or in her words: "the post-museum must play the role of partner, colleague, learner (itself), and service provider in order to remain viable as an institution" (Hooper-Greenhill 2000, xi). Museums embedded desire is to catalogue, conserve and display objects in contrast to engaging with the public and becoming socially responsible. We should begin to view museums as, what Clifford (1997) calls, social and political "contact zones" (Clifford (1997, 192) (the idea of equal exchange) not as static containers of objects. Ultimately, they are about people not things (Feldman 2006, 254).

The students' experience in one of the leading museum institutions in Rijeka made them raise questions about the place, function and communication role of a museum in the city. It made them discuss the problem of the perception of a museum by the citizens. A questionnaire conducted by one of the students was able to show that people are not so inclined to visit museums (fig. 16.14a; the following figures have been selected from the larger questionnaire based on a survey conducted by the Department of Art History, Rijeka). They prefer open air exhibitions and exhibitions which use new technologies in presenting the past (fig. 16.14b). The visit to the museum resulted in a classroom brainstorming – where could all those finds, which otherwise collect the dust in the storage rooms, be exhibited and how to incorporate them into the current situation/space of the museum building. One of the ideas struck us as a very productive way of bringing objects into the light of day. A group of students suggested using the existing display as a scenography setting/*mise en scene* for exhibiting those "invisible objects." Today, we don't even have to travel to visit museums to see their collections. The Google Art Project provides virtual tours of seventeen world museums where visitors can examine works up close and wonder freely through the galleries. The museum in Rijeka (and in Croatia in general) has yet to make that

shift from the presentation of objects to the production of experience (but see Hein 2000).

As part of the course curriculum, students were asked to write a final paper, one that would bring theory into conversation with an empirical topic. Furthermore, they were also asked to creatively engage in the ways in which their chosen object of research would be presented to the larger audience. For their topic they could choose between the two archaeological sites and the archaeological finds recovered from these excavations. One of our students wrote a paper about medical instruments recovered from the excavations. These finds were used in discussing medical heritage and its long-term history. Another student wrote a paper about oil-lamps. The theme of history of human uses of light could have been extended to include both medieval and modern periods. Both of these large topics may one day become part of the presentation at both *Principia* and Pul Vele crikve as it is the lives and customs of ordinary people that interests the most our interviewees (fig. 16.14c).

Through this course our intention was to open a discussion of the theory and practice between those disciplines which engage in a heritage discourse. Concerns of students: that art history is not archaeology, that becoming interdisciplinary art history will lose its identity. We have covered the topic of heritage from various points of view – archaeological, anthropological, architectural, tourism, laws. More importantly, this course was not about prescribing what the past should look like nor were we searching for some external form of ‘truth’. Rather, the idea was to equip students with knowledge and critical thinking to be able to make informed judgments, and evaluate different forms of evidence and competing claims to come to their own conclusions.

Towards public archaeology

“To promote public access to important elements of its archaeological heritage, especially sites, and encourage the display to the public of suitable selections of archaeological objects” (Art. 9. [iii] of the European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage, Valetta 1992)

The Maritime and History Museum is only one of the institutions involved in a dialogue about Rijeka’s past. The key institution in Rijeka, when it comes to its archaeological heritage, is the Conservation Department for Cultural Heritage protection. The institute, according to the national law and principles in the discipline, defines heritage, how something is to be presented, excavated and published, manages archaeological research and stores the finds that are awaiting their final placement. The institute thus acts as a guardian of the past and its objects that are both for the “public good” (Fowler 1984, 110) and preserved “in the public interest” (Cleere 1989, 10) for the future when these can be ‘properly’ exhibited. The question remains: what do we mean by the public?

It seems that “the public” is the owner of heritage (that is largely unknown) and yet they have very little control over it. This public is perceived as an “abstract, institutionalized and rhetorical” (cf. Carman 2005, 48)

body that has to be thought how to appreciate, protect and understand the past by the public officials. In other words, we have public institutions which assume the role of speaking for the public and acting in the public interest and one question becomes especially pertinent: “how to ensure that the state takes into account the views of the public, and is held properly accountable to the public for its actions” (Merriman 2004, 2; for detailed discussion see Thomas 2004). On the other hand, we have the public that can be described as a wide group of people (age, sex, ethnicity, citizens, tourists, etc) and “encompasses debate and opinion, and is inherently unpredictable and conflictual” (Merriman 2004, 2). Today, the notion of the public is more in line with the notion of the citizen that is “active and individualistic rather than passive and dependant” (Rose 1992, 4). Following from this, the public in public archaeology may be thought of as: what happens to archaeology when it enters the real world and political and economical conflicts and struggles (cf. Ascherson 2000, 2) to encompass educational archaeology, ethics, heritage debates, etc.

There is a great interest to learn about Ancient Tarsatica. Although most of the interviewees who took part in the questionnaire pass by it every day, very few know where it was. Is this the ignorant public or is it the public institutions’ (archaeologists included) lack of communication skills? Communication has been attempted through the local media (*Novi List* newspaper, local TV and radio) and for the duration of the archaeological excavations the media provided the information of what was taking place in downtown Rijeka. This communication consisted of basic information: who was working at the site, what were the main findings (the mass burial from the medieval period, and mosaics and sarcophagus from the 5th century), informing the public about the call for the preliminary design for presenting the *Principia*, informing how much money was spent, which design was accepted etc. Communication has also been attempted through the publication of archaeological investigation at *Principia*. Publications of archaeological excavations and finds can be categorized from short reports in specialized journals and volumes with detailed finds descriptions to publications in popular magazines and non-fiction books depending on the targeted audience. The publication of the archaeological excavations at the *Principia* (including the medieval and modern period) was published by the City of Rijeka. This is the first such publication to scholarly present the history, values, archaeological research, methods and finds in the urban context of the town. It is also the first to present that Rijeka not only represents 19th century heritage but has to be placed on the archaeological map of the eastern Adriatic as one of the most important towns of ancient times. The volume, with its richly decorated pages and numerous colored photographs and reconstructions was meant for wider audience, too. However the text utilizes professional terminology and descriptions that can hardly ignite imagination and interest of non-archaeological public into reading in more detail. Our questionnaire demonstrates that it is the people, and their customs, the way they dressed, ate, lived and worked, that is of an interest in learning about all of which is missing from the general knowledge and presentation of the town’s history. This publication

provides general background about the excavations, and descriptions and interpretations of material finds, from pottery, metal, coins, to glass finds including the animal remains. This is an excellent primary step, the necessary foundations for the future interpretations in which the reconstruction of life from Roman, medieval and modern time Rijeka will be included.

In public archaeology, the assumption is that the public is merely the consumer of archaeological knowledge production (on consumerism see Miller 1987; Baudrillard 1996; Dant 1999; Meskell 2004). Matsuda (2004) suggests that an in-depth study of the public is needed, one that would “clarify how the public work with and negotiate archaeological information, as well as how they assimilate or reject it according to their social circumstances” (Matsuda 2004, 73). If public archaeology in Rijeka strives to be for the public, open and participatory, more diverse sets of projects are needed that would integrate the public back to their past and with archaeology.

Afterword

It comes as no surprise that very few citizens of Rijeka are aware that in their everyday chores they are walking over, what was once, a bustling Roman town (fig. 16.14d). The public interests, their understanding and interpretation of the past, are hardly known by the archaeologists, art historians, urban planners, and city officials in Rijeka. This situation is helped neither by the publication nor future presentations, both of which are directed towards a professional audience and knowledgeable public. There remain the unavoidable questions: who is this past for and what is its real purpose?

The European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage, Valetta 1992, suggests that public awareness is promoted through educational actions, access to and display of archaeological heritage to the public. Lack of presentation and accessibility of archaeological heritage in the city have resulted in a poor public awareness. We have yet to see how access to and display of the *Principia* and Pul Vele crikve square influences public awareness. “Educational actions”, on the other hand, could potentially have longer impact by creating a community of care. One way to rectify this relationship is to begin with a pro-active outreach that would include more varied publications, workshops, conferences, but also questionnaires as there are not so many questionnaires carried out to date worldwide (but see Feder 1984; Pokotylo & Mason 1991; Merriman 1991) and this was certainly the first one of its kind in Rijeka.

The image of Ancient Tarsatica is being shaped by archaeological description of it. It is the world of architecture, pottery, amphoras, coins, glass objects and animals. This knowledge appears objective and ethically neutral, as it does not touch upon national histories (see Bond & Gilliam 1994). But every interpretation is couched on our previous knowledge, ideas, approaches and questions (see Hodder 1997) and influences the way we interpret, ‘conserve’ and present the past. We need to begin to think of the interpretation and presentation as “fluid, flexible and momentary” (Hodder 1997) where multiple voices are

possible and encouraged; conservation that moves from the frozen moments in time to include histories of objects; and presentations which move from static visual imagery in the museums to employing new technologies and media. Public archaeology can open a discussion not only about “archaeological products (museum displays, educational programmes and site tours) but the processes by which meaning is created from archaeological materials in the public realm” (Merriman 2004, 5). It should also move away from a narrow definition as cultural resource management to allow inclusion of the diverse audiences and the diversity of views (cf. Thomas 2004), multiplicity of past, conversation between archaeology and the public (rather than presentation or education) which encourages “informed imagination” (Merriman 2004, 11). If we were to begin a more productive communication with the public we should also start thinking of the ways in which we can bring people into the past and when possible instead of “faceless blobs” (Tringham 1991, 94) to talk about individuals. Maybe then, when the public get asked in a poll to choose between a children’s playground and an archaeological presentation instead of ignoring the poll, the city officials would become more open to actively engage with the public in matters of ‘public’ concern.

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17 | Landscapes of memory: the heritage of the First World War in Flanders

Luc Vandael

Abstract: On the eve of the centenary of the First World War (1914–18), Flanders has set up a unique commemoration project in which heritage occupies a key position. The paper focuses on the landscape heritage of the First World War in the Westhoek area, the westernmost tip of Flanders, where four years of bloody trench warfare was fought. The paper explores the importance of this landscape, it will then discuss the challenges of dealing with this landscape, next it will explain the heritage strategy that Flanders is developing in response to these challenges and it will end by discussing two actual projects that illustrate this strategy.

Introduction

On the eve of the centenary of the First World War (1914–18) Flanders has started preparations for a unique commemoration project, first of all to commemorate the victims of this conflict, but also with the intention to raise the public awareness on social themes like peace, reconciliation and international cooperation. Flanders believes that the centenary of the First World War should not only be a history lesson but also a lesson for the future.

To achieve this goal, different policy areas are involved in this commemoration project and heritage occupies

a key position in it. Tangible traces of the First World War are still numerous and widespread in Flanders, especially in the Westhoek area, the westernmost tip of Flanders, where four years of bloody trench warfare was fought. The omnipresence in this region of trenches, bomb and mine craters, bunkers, pillboxes and dugouts, memorials, monuments and military cemeteries, but also the many human remains and the large quantities of unexploded ordnance that are being recovered to this day, still testify to the intensity of the battles of World War One (WWI) in Flanders (fig. 17.1).

Fig. 17.1: Map of the Western front of WWI. The red areas are the so called 'red zones' where the original landscape was completely destroyed. The front of the Westhoek is highlighted in dark grey (Flanders Heritage).

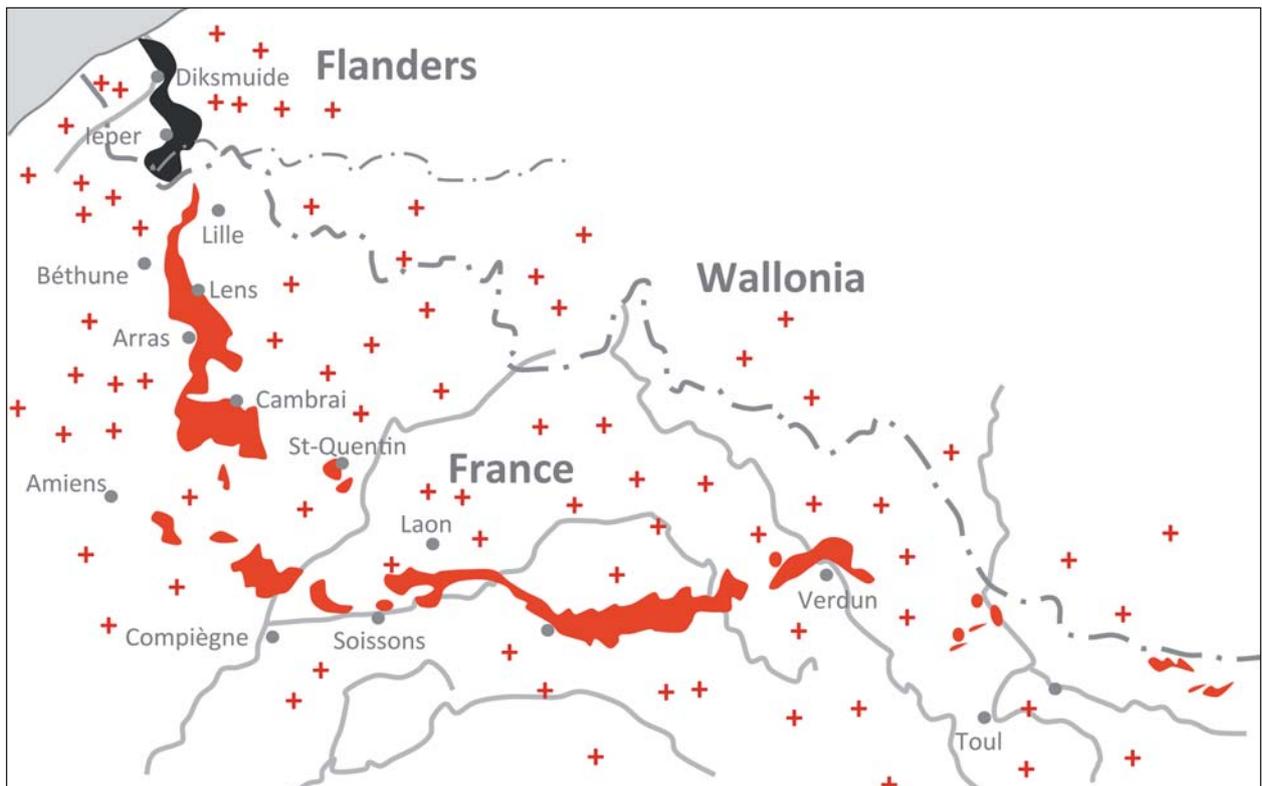
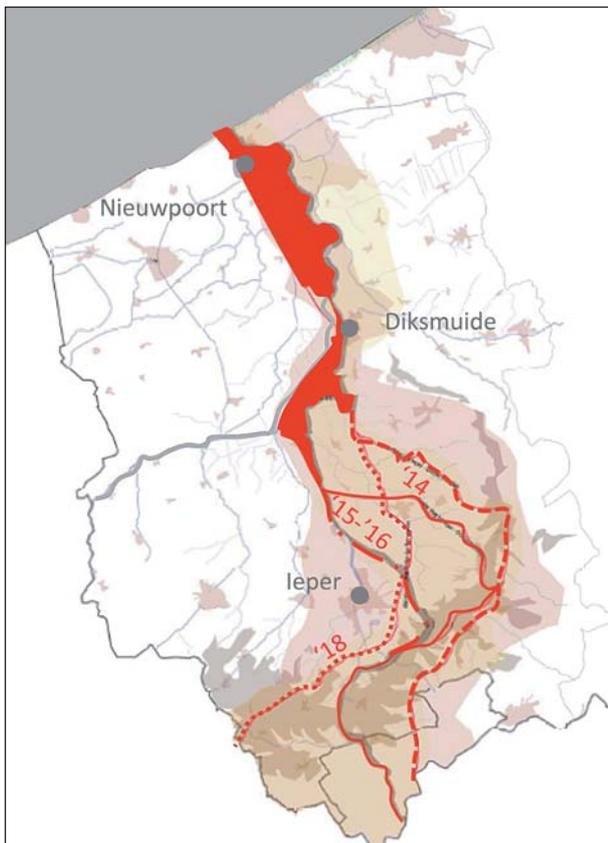




Fig. 17.2: This scenic image of the rural landscape of Heuvelland (Belgium) cannot hide the omnipresence of the war in the Westhoek: the pond is actually a mine crater (O. Pauwels for Flanders Heritage).

From 2002 onwards a programme was launched which focused on the research and protection of WWI heritage. This has led to an inventory of over 1300 traces of the war and the protection by law of nearly every preserved built construction related to WWI. Recently attention has shifted to the landscape heritage of WWI and its associated archaeological heritage. This paper will focus on the interesting, but also very complex,

Fig. 17.3: Map of the Westhoek with the frontlines of WWI in red, clearly showing the static 'no-man's-water' in the northern sector and the shifting 'no-man's-land' in the southern sector. The shifting frontlines are also a measure of the intensity of the battles that took place and the number of casualties (Flanders Heritage).



debate around what are quite literally known as the "Flanders Fields". It will first discuss the importance of this landscape, it will then sketch the challenges of dealing with it, and then it will explain the heritage strategy that is being developed in response to these challenges and it will end by discussing two actual projects that illustrate this strategy (fig. 17.2).

Importance

The landscape created the conditions and circumstances in which four years of trench warfare were fought. The strategic framework of the war was shaped by large-scale geographical features. The northern sector of the Westhoek, the so-called Yserfront, was dominated by the deliberate flooding of the polders, the low-lying tracts of land behind the coastline. Combat in the southern sector, an area best known as the Ypres salient, was determined by and revolved around a succession of undulating ridges (fig. 17.3).

From a tactical perspective small landscape elements shaped the battlefield. A ditch became a trench, a farm became a dressing station, a small elevation became an observation post or a row of trees became an artillery position. Once completed these structures were included in the ever-expanding infrastructure of war, even after the original landscape features had disappeared as a result of successive waves of destruction.

Fig. 17.4: Landscape, war and memory in one image: Tyne Cot cemetery in Zonnebeke (Belgium), the largest Commonwealth military cemetery of the world, was first a small battlefield cemetery next to an advanced dressing station set up in a German bunker captured during the third Battle of Ypres (1917), commonly known as 'Passchendaele'. The design of the cemetery incorporates several bunkers of the German 'Flanders l' defence line constructed on one of the strategically important low ridges around the city of Ypres (Milo-Profi Photography for Visit Flanders).



Today the war is most notably visible through a myriad of memorials, monuments and military cemeteries. These post-war monuments and cemeteries were on their turn grafted on the infrastructure of war and thus on the landscape. Following a succession of military cemeteries means following the trail of medical facilities, monuments were put up on the sites that also defined the course of the war.

The landscape, the conduct of the war and the post-war commemoration coincide. As such, the landscape of the Westhoek is more than purely a physical and visual territory, it is also a privileged witness of history, some might even say an accomplice, and it acts as a direct link for our memory. It's an anthropological landscape that brings together many aspects of the war that are both tangible and intangible. 'Flanders Fields' are the ultimate bridge between past and present. They are the "*lieu de mémoire*" (Nora 1984) of WWI. A strategy for managing the landscape heritage of WWI is therefore a strategy par excellence of '*lest we forget*' (Kipling 1899) (fig. 17.4).

Challenges

A heritage strategy for this landscape full of history and memory faces specific time, space, form and content related challenges that go beyond the traditional interpretation of the concept "heritage".

The heritage of WWI shifts the time frame within which heritage operates to the turbulent 20th century. It opens the door to a charged debate about recent, perhaps too recent heritage. This time element also immediately implies an ethical challenge. The heritage of WWI is a constant reminder and a universal warning of the imperfections and limits of our own society.

Besides these collective issues, the heritage of WWI also raises ethical questions on an individual level. Despite the mechanical mass slaughter, WWI has for many people a personal dimension embodied in the war diary of a grandfather, the grave of a great-uncle, but also a poem by the Canadian war poet John McCrae (1872–1918), or a documentary about Harry Patch (1898–2009), the last surviving British soldier known to have fought in WWI. Entering the landscape is thus also an existential confrontation on an individual level (fig. 17.5). In addition, the landscape of WWI is but a part of a dynamic cultural landscape created by the complex interplay of natural, cultural, spatial and social processes and developments. The landscape of the Westhoek is



currently undergoing many radical transformations. The intensification and enlargement of agricultural land use, the siting of industrial zones, an expanding housing stock, and large scale infrastructure works such as new motorways, wind turbines, and power pylons have all blurred the landscape heritage of WWI. Dealing with this landscape means balancing international expectations with local needs. The heritage is situated geographically in Flanders, but it was caused by a global conflict and the memory today is shared and kept alive by an international heritage community.

Strategy

If a strategy for the heritage of WWI wants to be successful, it has to integrate these challenges and multiple actors. It has to be a heritage strategy that is not only directed at protection and preservation but also at durable and sustainable development.

To enable this dynamic process Flanders has developed a future-oriented, integrated and broad based heritage strategy on four tracks to realize a lasting and sustainable embedding of our WWI heritage.

Scientific research lays the foundation for the other tracks. This research into WWI heritage has already led to an inventory of 1300 visible and architectural traces of the war. A second study focusing on archaeological and landscape heritage has led to the identification of 28 landscape sites which are historically significant for WWI and where the mutual relations between landscape, war and commemoration can still be experienced today. On these 28 landscape sites both inhabitant and visitor can still literally '*go over the ground again*' (Blunden 1928) (fig. 17.6).

A second track deals with protecting and embedding WWI heritage. For the spatial embedding of larger areas an integrated vision is being developed that reconciles conservation with development and is based on broad local support. Preferably, these are projects and processes that are largely initiated by local actors such as provincial or local government planning initiatives. If that's not possible Flanders works with planning processes in which continuous feedback from and structural participation with other sectors and actors are assured.

The protection of the World War I heritage is fitted within the third track: a comprehensive management vision which focuses on the qualitative and sustainable development of the protected heritage. This includes management in terms of restoration, maintenance and public access to WWI heritage (fig. 17.7).

Last but certainly not least, the fourth track is aimed at securing the national and international community's support and commitment for the heritage of WWI. The synergy of these four tracks (research, protection, management and recognition) protects the heritage

Fig. 17.5: The "grieving parents" of the German artist Käte Kollwitz overlook the 25.000 graves of the German military cemetery of Vladslu in Diksmuide (Belgium). Amongst them is the grave of her 18 year old son Peter Kollwitz. A personal and individual connection with WWI which has become a universal appeal against war (Kris Vandevorst for Flanders Heritage).



Fig. 17.6: As part of the landscape research, in 2010 and 2011, 32 trial trenches were dug on 18 sites to gain an insight on the state of conservation of archaeological traces of WWI. This trial trench in Messines (Belgium) revealed well preserved remains of trenches and a bunker (Kris Vandevorst for Flanders Heritage).

of WWI in an integrated way and passes it on to future generations in prime condition.

Projects

This strategy for WWI heritage is realized through a multitude of projects. One of these projects is the Remembrance Park 2014–18 (*Herinneringspark 2014–18*). This project is situated within the third track (management). The Remembrance Park 2014–18 is a master plan for an integrated and comprehensive cultural-tourism project for the former frontline in the Westhoek.

The blurring of the landscape features of the “Flanders Fields” by development activities altered the perception and experience of this landscape. The Remembrance Park tries to let visitors and inhabitants rediscover the landscape as a determining and binding factor. An aspect that has always been there, but somehow we

Fig. 17.8: Map of the Westhoek showing the concept of the Remembrance Park (TV Park 14-18).



Fig. 17.7: The landscape of WWI integrated in the new permanent exhibition of the In Flanders Fields Museum in Ypres (Belgium). Through interactive displays the visitor can discover the landscape of the Westhoek before visiting the actual sites (Milo-Profi Photography for Visit Flanders).

have forgotten. *“Something we’ll understand if only we know how to look”* (Schama 1995).

The winner of the international design competition, organized by the Flemish Government Architect, for this project is a multidisciplinary Dutch-Belgian team which consists of Geurst & Schulze architects located in The Hague (NL) and Lodewijk Baljon landscape architects in Amsterdam (NL), assisted by scenographer

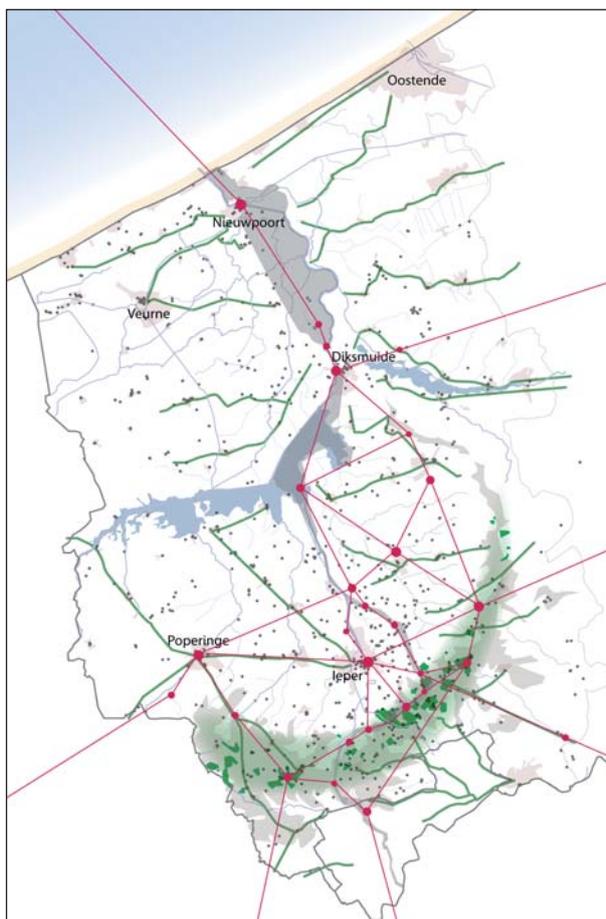




Fig. 17.9: The French military cemetery on the Kemmelberg in Heuvelland (Belgium); current situation (TV Park 14-18).



Fig. 17.10: A simulation of the same military cemetery in the Remembrance Park master plan. By trimming the shrubs and trees behind the cemetery, the direct relation with the landscape where the soldiers buried here fought and died is restored (TV Park 14-18).

Terenja van Dijk from Antwerp (BE), urban planner Jan de Graaf from The Hague (NL), anthropologist Johan Meire from Halle (BE), and Pieter Uyttenhove, professor of town and rural planning and development from the University of Ghent (BE).

Based on a very thorough analysis of the historical and present-day context, this team has developed a simple but powerful overarching concept. Important landscape sites are being developed and incorporated into a network. This network enables many story lines that each tells one of the many stories of the war and the landscape (fig. 17.8).

To strengthen the connection between the sites the design team has worked out general overarching principles that cover the whole Westhoek area. On the sites, a landscape scenography is generated, with its own unique style, through limited changes to the landscape, such as the opening up of sight lines, the construction of pathways, or the erection of information boxes, offering a greater insight and better experience of the war in relation to the landscape (figs 17.9 and 17.10).

The result of this project is an overall master plan, a general vision for the whole region. The principles of this master plan will in the future be used as a reference or guide for new projects. As such the master plan will function as an operational tool and framework for related projects.



A second project is situated within the fourth track: the strengthening of a heritage community. Flanders would like to broaden the support from the national and international heritage community by submitting a proposal to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) for the recognition of the 'memorial landscapes and sites of the First World War' as a world heritage site.

This UNESCO World Heritage nomination will not be based on the historical battlefields, but rather on the contemporary memorial landscapes and sites which have arisen from the conflict, and more specifically on the universal values that these landscapes and sites propagate. This is an important nuance, because it shifts the focus from the war onto the international remembrance practices and the universal values linked to them. Flanders believes that this is a very powerful concept, in line with the objectives of UNESCO, despite some reluctance from the World Heritage Committee towards the recognition of conflict-related heritage.

The commemorative and memorial landscape that came into being on the battlefields of WWI is both unique and valuable: it is the result of a global conflict without precedent that completely redesigned the world, it has been created and shared by an international community across the five continents and it propagates an appeal for universal values such as lasting peace, reconciliation, international cooperation and human rights (fig. 17.11).

To draw attention to and to strengthen the universal value of this UNESCO World Heritage nomination, Flanders is collaborating closely with Wallonia and

Fig. 17.11: A group of school children visits the Irish Peace Park in Messines (Belgium). This highly symbolic tower serves as a memorial in honour of Irishmen of all denominations who died during the First World War. The inauguration of this monument on November 11, 1998, by Queen Elizabeth II and the Irish president Mary McAleese was the first public event ever attended by both a British monarch and a president of the Republic of Ireland (Westtoer).

France to set this up as a multinational dossier (with the possibility of adding sites in other countries at a later point). This UNESCO World Heritage nomination is the culmination of an integrated heritage strategy of research, protection and management with the view of a lasting and durable protection of the heritage of WWI.

Conclusion

The landscape heritage of WWI deserves our special attention because it occupies a key position in preserving, protecting and linking collective and personal stories and memories about WWI. Due to its specificities and the many actors involved, the landscape heritage of WWI needs an all-embracing approach. To cope with these challenges Flanders has developed a heritage strategy based on the synergy of four tracks (research, protection, management and recognition) and realized through a multitude of projects. This strategy will pass on the landscape

heritage of WWI and its associated values in prime condition.

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18 | A First World War “heritage” as a lever for multiple processes of identification in a local, national, European and global perspective: the example of “De Westhoek”, (i.e. “Flanders Fields”, Belgium)

Piet Chielens

Abstract: The First World War left a substantial mark on Belgium. Today the heritage of the war is most present in the Westhoek, the Western corner of Belgium, where a myriad of monuments and cemeteries constitute a true war landscape, visited by tourists from all over the world. This landscape reflects official commemoration and common remembrance and how they differ. In the last 30 years there has been a search for reconnecting official and common remembrances. We look now on the war landscape as an anthropological concept of human behaviour and sense-giving.

Today's success of 'In Flanders Fields' is not always shared by the local population. As we expect even bigger visitor numbers, during the centenary years 2014–18, we must look back at the fundamental meaning of the history of the war, and of its commemoration for the present communities of “Flanders Fields” and those far beyond. At the core of this is the concept of identity.

“De Westhoek”, an infamous battlefield of WW1 on the Western Front

When on the 4th of August 1914 Belgium was invaded by four Armies of the German Empire, it was obvious that Belgium's small army could not successfully defend the territory. Despite French and British troops coming to the rescue, within two and half months about 90% of the country had fallen into enemy hands. In September after the German advance was stopped on the Marne and the Aisne the main battlefield turned back to the North. The final gap in the immense front line from the Swiss border to the North Sea, was soon only left wide open in Flanders, on the Yser plain, and in the gently sloping and hilly garden landscape around Ypres. It was there that the final battles of the war of movement took place from mid October to the end of November 1914. At the end of these battles the Western Front was hermetically closed off. Four years of trench warfare followed which were packed with numerous offensives without any decisive breakthrough of the frontline systems. But the sacrifice was immense and the loss of human life reached Malthusian proportions, while the fire power of an industrial war reshaped the front-zone in West-Flanders into a lunar landscape of utter destruction. In the war the whole of Belgium had seen destruction, loss of life (military and civilian), harsh occupation and wide scale emigration, but the quintessential nature of this plague reached its summit in “De Westhoek”, as it is locally known, for it is indeed literally the country's Western corner¹. An area of 75 km

long by approx. 20 to 30 km wide was completely destroyed. Administratively it became known as “Les régions dévastées/De Verwoeste Gewesten” (fig. 18.1) – the destroyed region.

Its population was on the run, its survivors shocked by the raging violence which had cost over half a million human lives from over 50 different nations and/or cultural backgrounds.

Remembrance and Reconstruction

Almost immediately after the end of the war, from the Spring of 1919, the first inhabitants were coming back from exile. With very few means and little help they tried to set up their lives again, living in bunkers, in abandoned army huts, or in self-made squats built from the debris of the battlefield. At the same time the first visitors (relatives, veterans, official delegations) arrived in the war struck zone. At first a lot of visitors had a personal connection with the region, but a “common interest” was also reason enough to go to Flanders. Most visitors came from where the armies had come especially from the Allied side.

This changed gradually when official commemoration started and changed the nature of the war-zone. In December 1920 the French assembly voted a law for possible repatriation of all those “mort pour la France”. Many bereaved families in France seized the opportunity to have their dead sons and husbands near home, thus taking away their reason for visiting

¹ The term “Westhoek” translates badly. To the armies of WW1 this sector of the battle was known as “Flanders, Flandre, Flandern”, or more in detail as two distinct sectors: the Yser and the Ypres Salient. In today's tourist communication, the term “Westhoek” is only used for interior use, for others “le

front des Flandres” (F), “Flanders Fields” (E) and “Flandern” (G) are used.

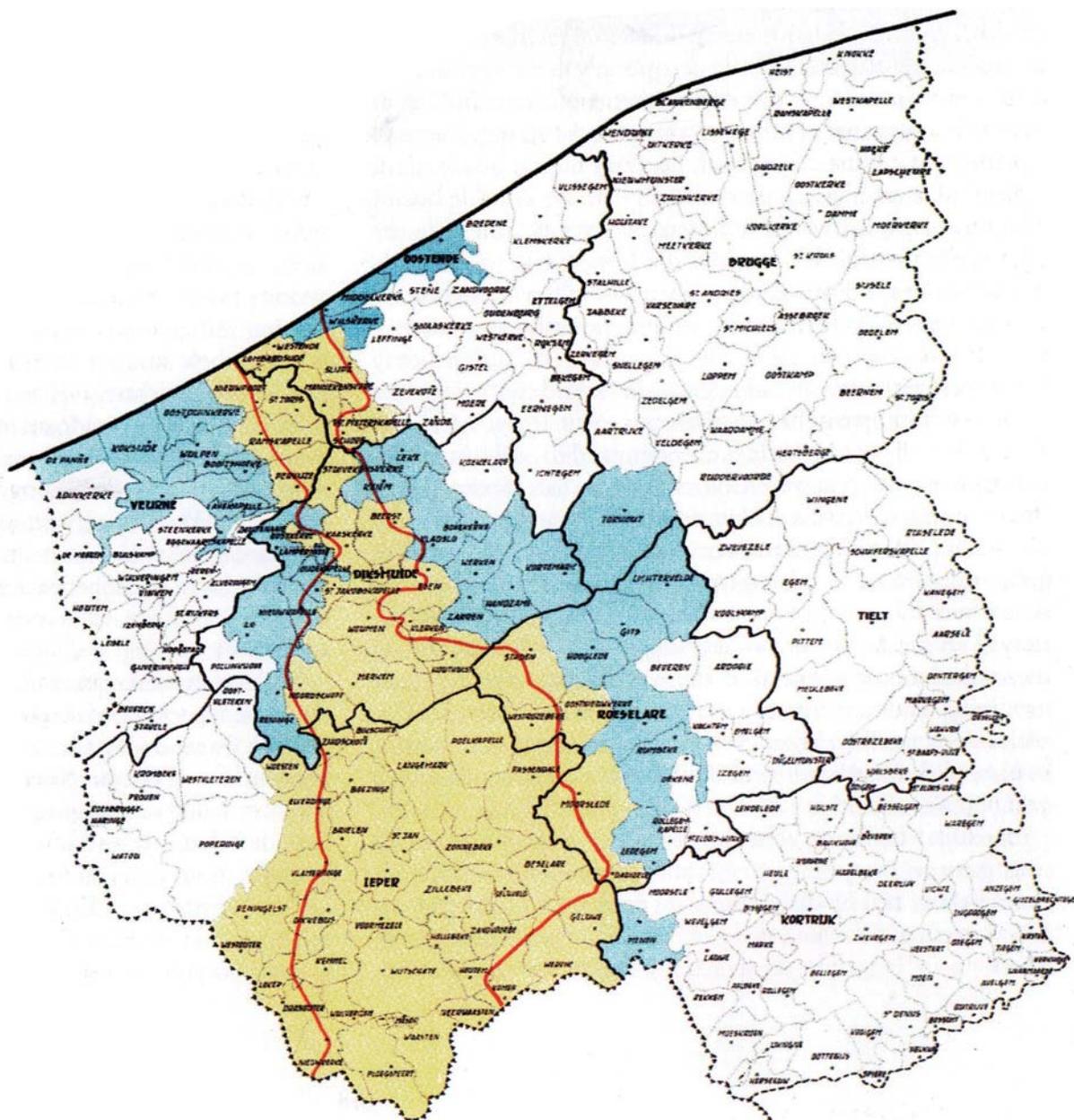


Fig. 18.1: Destruction of the former battle zone in West-Flanders, 1919. Blue: partly destroyed housing; Yellow: completely destroyed housing; Between red lines: area of completely destroyed agricultural land (A.Viaene & IFFM).

the battlefields in Flanders. The Belgian government soon agreed to do the same. The nations of the British Empire (later to become the British Commonwealth) on the other hand, through the efforts and regulations of the Imperial (later Commonwealth) War Graves Commission, had not accepted repatriation from early 1915 on. They didn't change this policy after the war was over. From 1920 an almost endless series of cemeteries and monuments was being built and inaugurated. With 30% of all its fatalities in Flanders, on a battle sector not larger than 10% of those where the Commonwealth armies had been active, the Ypres Salient (the southern half of the front in Flanders) quickly became one of the great symbols of the immense British sacrifice in the Great War. Winston Churchill thus said of Ypres that "a

*more sacred place for the British race does not exist in the world*².

All this happened while the local population had not even fully returned. Up to the mid 1920s families from the former war-zone remained in exile³. This was largely due to a lack of money being put into temporary dwellings and into the reconstruction of the area. Still, by 1927 most houses had been rebuilt and agricultural

² Winston Churchill, 8th Meeting of the Imperial War Graves Commission, 21st January 1919.

³ In some areas where Belgian refugees had gone to, like in the agricultural areas of Normandy, the forced immigration turned out to be successful, and after the war people rebuilt their lives there. For a small city like Ypres it meant that 50% of its pre-war population never returned, and that it was not until the 1960s that the pre-war number of inhabitants was equalled.

Fig. 18.2: Ypres, Menin Gate, 1927. Constructing the first memorial to the Missing (IFFM).

activity returned to an acceptable degree of normality⁴. It was also the time when the first of the large national memorials had been opened.

The official commemoration

In the aftermath of the war, the nation states had put up a large programme of national commemoration. The dominant rhetoric of that commemoration was (and remains to this day) national. For the Allied countries it meant that the Central Powers were blamed as the only guilty party for the war, and that the nation was to be eternally grateful for the heroic deeds of those who had been killed in a war for *a just cause* and who had therefore “willingly given” their lives. The nation needed to mark this heroism with fitting respect and solemnity. First attention was given to the organisation and construction of the burial grounds. Already during the war the Imperial (later Commonwealth) War Graves Commission had decided that the bodies would remain where they had been buried originally. A cemetery was built wherever this happened, by the end of the war at least 40 graves had been laid together. Added to these graves were the isolated graves (and all those groups smaller than 40), as well as the unburied bodies that were found during the clearing of the battlefields. Thus a number of large cemeteries were created, mostly marking legendary battlefields like at Passendale (Tyne Cot Cemetery, Passchendaele New Military Cemetery), the Menin Road (Hooge Crater Cemetery), the Pilkem Ridge (New Irish Farm Cemetery) or Sanctuary Wood (Sanctuary Wood Cemetery). Despite the great efforts put in by the commission responsible for these re-burials, it soon became obvious that there was another major problem. Due to the long stalemate, most fighting zones, and even cemeteries, had been shelled over and over again. In consequence a large number of graves were unidentifiable. A great number of victims had also never had a known grave; they had sunk down in the ground where they had fallen. When they were found and exhumed most of the bodies were unidentifiable.

To commemorate all those unfortunate men (for the Westhoek this adds up to 45% of all Commonwealth fatalities), the War Graves Commission created the new concept of the Missing Memorials. It now seems obvious and automatic, but was, at that time, only adopted by the Commonwealth. The Missing Memorials commemorated in name those without a known grave, at or near the area where they had fallen. All other nations were also confronted with a great number of missing, but never decided to build specially designed Missing Memorials. Occasionally the missing of a local battle or of one particular unit would be listed, but an overall approach was never adopted. In most countries the missing were commemorated through the concept



of the Unknown Warrior. It consisted of a unique ritual whereby one unidentified body was taken from one of the battlefields and reburied with national honours in the capital city to be commemorated in eternity⁵. This happened in the early 1920s in Great Britain, France, Belgium, Russia, the USA and Italy, and only much later (in the 1980s and 1990s) also in Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

The first of all of the 28 Missing Memorials of the Imperial War Graves Commission on the Western Front was the Menin Gate Memorial to the missing in Ypres (fig. 18.2). In its design and as from its inauguration (on 24th July 1927) it was a missing memorial as well as a national monument. For those who died “*Pro Patria*” and “*Pro Rege*”, but also who had not had “*the fortune of a known grave*”. It was (and is) on the one hand a (very long) list of names carved in stone on a huge monument. But the monument also happened to be a triumphal arch. It gave the bereaved families a place to go to (“*he is not missing, he is here*”, Field-Marshal Sir Herbert Plumer said in his inaugural speech) and it added to the national and solemn respect the fatherland was due for this sacrifice.

The creation and inauguration of the Menin Gate was part of many creations and inaugurations of monuments of national importance (as compared to official monuments of divisional or regimental denomination). After the British the Canadians would soon follow, as would New Zealand and (in France) Australia and South Africa. National and regional pilgrimages to these monuments were organised. And after the royals, the clergy and the politicians, organisations of veterans, and Veteran Affairs, would lead these organised visits.

⁴ Up to then economic activity had been dedicated to the clearing of the lands of war debris, and to the reconstruction. In 1925 over 25% of the active population in Ypres worked in the reconstruction itself.

⁵ The USA already commemorated the unknown dead of the Civil War, but during the First World War the French first thought of an unknown warrior. Already in 1916 the idea of finding a location for the tomb was discussed. Still, it would be Great Britain who in November 1920 first conducted a search for an unknown soldier. On 8th November they picked an unknown British soldier from the four main battlefields of the Western Front (from Ypres, Arras, the Somme and the Aisne). One of them was reburied along with ground from the battlefields of the Ypres Salient at Westminster Abbey on the 11th November 1920. The same day the French would do the same. They had picked one from nine unknown French bodies on 9th November 1920 and buried him under the Arc de Triomphe in Paris on Armistice Day. The other nations soon followed in the years following.



Fig. 18.3: Ypres burning during the Second battle of Ypres, late April 1915 (IFFM/Dietrich Freiherr von Kanne).



Fig. 18.5: Boezinge, 1919. Temporary inhabitation in former shelters (IFFM).



Fig. 18.4: Poperinge, 1922. The first official pilgrimage to Lijssehoek Military Cemetery (IFFM).



Fig. 18.6: Boezinge, 1920. Temporary inhabitation in squads from Battlefield debris (IFFM).

This also happened in the commemoration of the French and the Belgian victims. After the repatriation of an important number of the bodies, the remaining graves were regrouped in especially designed cemeteries. They are only a very relative representation of the actual number of casualties. Of 42,000 Belgian military dead, almost 26,000 are still commemorated in military cemeteries today. Of the estimated 70,000 French dead in Flanders, only 12,000 have known graves in the area⁶.

Regional Commemoration

To these predominantly military monuments, two important regional monuments were added. In Boezinge, just North of Ypres, pilgrims from Brittany visited the Breton victims of the first gas attack on 22nd April 1915 (fig. 18.3). The pilgrimage started in 1919, and was a traditional visit to the graves of the fallen (fig. 18.4). But by 1923 most graves had disappeared from the Boezinge battlefield, as many families had seized the



Fig. 18.7: Carrefour des Roses, 1926. Installing the Breton Monument (IFFM).

opportunity offered by the French State to repatriate the bodies, and the remaining graves had been concentrated into the one French *nécropole nationale* that was left in the area, which was not in Boezinge but at St. Charles de Potyze in Ypres (figs 18.5, 18.6). In order to continue their pilgrimage to a historically fitting "place to go to" a small field at Carrefour des Roses (fig. 18.7),

⁶ The figure has to be an estimate while the calculation of all casualties of the Great War in Belgium (all parties and both military and civilians) is still continuing. This List of Names (see further) should be completed by August 2014.

Boezinge was turned – by addition of a *Calvaire breton*, a dolmen, and an apple tree – into a “corner of a foreign field that is for ever *Britanny*”⁷.

This initiative was taken by the veteran families themselves. The dolmen came from a veteran’s land, the calvaire from a parish in the diocese of St.Brieux, where the bishop had also served in Flanders. The annual pilgrimage to “les pères de Boesinghe” continued until the early 1970s. It was only in the late 1960s that at the “official” cemetery at St.Charles another (this time official) Calvary was added.

The second regional monument in the area also emerged in consequence of the absence or the removal of graves, but had a much more political character. This was and is the Yser Tower in Diksmuide built in 1930, and again (a reconstruction) by 1967. In this paper I cannot go into the wider story of the Flemish language question and the role WW1 played in it⁸. In short, when in the early 1920s the Belgian military cemeteries were designed and built, a number of grave markers of a specific Flemish design that had been erected during the war, were destroyed to be replaced by a Belgian design headstone. This type of “blasphemy” led to obvious reactions by Flemish nationalists and especially the Flemish nationalist veterans association. The Yser Tower, the monument that resulted from this, was meant to commemorate the Flemish dead of the Great War, but became from the start a catalyst of Flemish demands and political action. The experience of Flemish soldiers in the war was a major source for finding a ground to spread on a wide scale the views of already long existing Flemish pleas, but it was the commemoration of the Flemish soldiers who had died, and the perceived contempt the Belgian state had shown for it, that turned this predominantly intellectual movement into a manifestation of a large section of the Flemish community.

The private commemoration

In a lot of ways this massive movement of rejection reflected the way many bereaved families felt about the official commemoration. The massive mourning for millions, the unified military cemeteries, the symbolic “fields of honour”, the canonisation of “their name liveth for evermore”, the solemn rigid rituals, the substitute graves offered by missing memorials and tombs of the unknown warriors, were as far removed from the traditional, intimate, private, (and religious) rituals of mourning, that were by definition rites of passage and close-by, as the official sense-giving of the war (its necessity for the nation, its eternalizing mythology) was removed from the general disillusion about the (conduct of) war by the European populations at the end of the conflict.

The “just cause” was cast in bronze and cut in stone for eternity, and multiplied for and by all. To the concerned

families the individual sacrifice of their loved one(s) felt (ab)used a second time. After their son/husband/father had been killed by the nation’s going to war, his memory was now also taken from them by the official commemoration. While grieving should be something entirely private, it had to become an experience shared by the whole nation; while it was meant to pass in time, it was to become a continuing process to prove the country’s *right* in eternity. The dead of WW1 therefore became unique in history. Never before had death been produced on a more industrial scale, and never before was the memory of the dead to last forever⁹.

In this difficult zone of conflicting emotions, grieving relatives, and also veterans, started their own, non-official rituals and sometimes also built their own “non official” monuments. The rituals were very often almost immaterial. They were to be found and recognised in story telling, in certain habits, in private relics, often never to be decoded by outsiders. Occasionally they can be traced, like certain customs finding their way in common practice or superstition (e.g. not lighting three cigarettes with one match, or *lucifer* – to use the WW1 term), or by entering common language (in English: *salient points*, *over the top*, in Australian English: a *furfey*, a bad rumour named after the manufacturer who produced water carts for the AIF in the war), like family portraits of the 1920s where the deceased, the “missing”, are “present” in the photograph being represented by a portrait on the background wall. Their bodies may have been resting in foreign lands, or on unknown battlefields, but they were present, i.e. represented in daily life, on the mantelpiece of the living room by a photograph, a cemetery register with their name, a diploma or death certificate framed on the wall, a souvenir piece of trench art sent from the front before they were killed, or often by more gruesome and certainly more private “personal objects”: the talisman they were wearing, golden teeth, the bullet or shrapnel that had killed them, a lock of hair...

But since the deceased were also part of the official commemoration, the artefacts of this remembrance were also used to be re-personalised, e.g. by ordering and saving the deceased’s war medals, by widows, mothers and daughters wearing the medal-reductions on certain days like Armistice Day, and for those who could afford it, by going on a pilgrimage, to a grave or memorial on foreign fields. Sometimes, to the world of the official monuments, they added their own. Private monuments, elaborate tomb stones, commemorative plaques, resting seats, cast iron gates of cemeteries, statues of the dead hero, were erected on or near the place where the loved one had fallen.

The ultimate and most sublime of all these public-private memorials is Käthe Kollwitz’ group *Trauernde Eltern* (Grieving Parents, 1930), sculpted after her own and her husband’s features, and erected by the side of the grave of their youngest son Peter. It took Kollwitz fifteen years to conceive and sculpt the figures, to come to terms with this specific kind of remembrance herself, but the work became public overnight, when she erected the two statues at the Roggenveld

⁷ An easy reference to Rupert Brooke’s 1914 phrase about the British soldier’s grave: “a corner of a foreign field that is forever England”.

⁸ See also: Chielens, P. 2006: *The End of a War. National and Private Monuments Commemorating the Great War in Flanders*, in Devoldere, L. (ed): *From the Low Countries: Arts and Society in Flanders and the Netherlands*, Rekkem, 121–135.

⁹ As early as 1915 Sigmund Freud had stated that where early 20th Century man was used to trying to forget the dead, he should now prepare himself for an eternal commemoration (in: *Considérations actuelles sur la guerre et sur la mort*, 1915).

cemetery in Esen where Peter was buried¹⁰. The quality of the work is such that it appealed to universal, human feelings of parental love and mourning, and as such has transcended all national connotations to the commemoration of war¹¹.

In the Westhoek of Flanders where I was born and grew up in the 1960s, I witnessed a similar (though far less spectacular) transcendence in the stories that were told by the survivors. These survivors were a mix of veterans and bystanders, mostly non-professional soldiers as well as civilians who had lived in the back areas through the whole or most of the war. My experience was that their stories had lost the concept of enemy and enmity; what remained was an all human approach. War was the only true enemy, to all men and women involved. In 1974 this was beautifully expressed when local singer-songwriter Willem Vermandere wrote a song wherein all victims of the war became “*always someone’s father, and always someone’s son*”, indiscriminate of nation, cause or reason.

Reconnecting the official commemoration and common remembrance

It was the start of a period when finally the voice of the former war area started being structured and communicated to the outside world. In 1978 the *Elfnovembergroep* (the collective of the 11th November) started collecting interviews from the survivors. This led to the theatre piece *Nooit brengt een oorlog Vrede* (Never war brings peace), staged by a mix of amateurs and professional theatre people, heavily leaning on the genius of Dario Fo’s masterpiece *Mistero Buffo*, and of the *Bella Ciao* tradition. Over 50 of the interviews were published in *Van den Grooten Oorlog* (Of the Great War, 1978), and the volume is still for sale today.

Meanwhile at the Menin Gate, where since 1928 a daily ceremony of the *Last Post* is being held, protests were heard against present day wars, in Vietnam, Biafra, or against the deployment of USA Cruise Missiles in Belgium. In the national manifestations, the Westhoek organised itself in very large numbers behind two photographs, the Square in Ypres before and after the War, with one slogan: ‘*one time is enough!*’

The one off production by the *Elfnovembergroep* was never able to repeat itself due to a complex mix of circumstances. But the idea of using a stage and music as a means of linking emotions about a very heartfelt topic from a region’s own past and identity, was resurrected between 1992 and 2007 by a series of international concerts called *Vredesconcerten Passendale*, (Peace Concerts Passendale) where musicians and songwriters from all the countries involved would meet and join hands to create new concerts. In 15 years 20 concerts were created, 12 CDs released and in all over 70 new songs or compositions created. Some concerts were

attended by up to 4,500 people at an outdoor location (i.e. the huge Tyne Cot Cemetery in Passendale).

Shortly after the Pope’s visit to Belgium in 1985, and his wake at the Menin Gate, praying for world peace, the city of Ypres declared itself a City of Peace, which 25 years on has resulted in the seat of the European secretary of the worldwide grass-roots movement *Mayors for Peace*, in the creation of the *Ypres Peace Prize*, and in the opening of the *In Flanders Fields Museum* in 1998.

This particular voice of internationalism and pacifism had and has a great following, but is basically floating with trends in society. I would say that it is now much less to the foreground than a decade ago. Still, fundamentally the same phenomenon has occurred: this voice came from a major undertone in society; it was capturing and organising the private, particular counter-voice against the official one, exactly like the private, everyman, common commemoration had been in the years following the war. And although it highlighted some of the differences between the official and the private, it was also a start of reconnecting both sides of the spectre.

The material and immaterial culture of remembering, the In Flanders Fields Museum

There is another way of looking at these moments of connecting and disconnecting opposing memories. Rather than saying: these were just *the signs of the time*, one can state that all this was also the result of a process wherein a profoundly altered view on the use of the material and immaterial culture of the war and of its remembrance and of its representation developed.

The material culture consists of objects, military and civilian, documents, images, but also of the features in the landscape itself, with its artefacts of commemoration, like cemeteries, monuments, relics, sites of former battlefields and military installations, visible above ground as well as archaeologically, and it consists also of the features of the landscape itself, in as much as these features add to the understanding of the war itself. The polder-land in the North of the Westhoek enabled the inundations of 1914, whereas the high grounds around Ypres created its Salient, the semicircle of frontlines concentrating on that high ground, in the struggle as to who could hold this favourable position. In the immaterial culture we look at witness accounts, at stories and story-telling, literature, music, art and oral history. The immaterial culture is the direct link to the personal relations to the war and its aftermath.

Both the material and the immaterial culture make up the representation of the war in its commemoration. They shape (among many other things) the identity of the West-Flanders’ region as a former war landscape, where acts of remembrance meet and drift apart and come back together, accepting that they are all part of the same human activity, i.e. trying to come to terms with a horrific past which marked the region and its people.

In 1998 the **In Flanders Fields Museum (IFFM)** was created. In the centre of the reconstructed city of Ypres, within its most symbolic building, the reconstructed Cloth Hall, a museum about the history of the First World War in Flanders was created (fig. 18.8), by mixing all these material and immaterial cultural references. In

¹⁰ The statues were removed together with the grave when the Roggenveld cemetery in Esen ceased to exist. The human remains, and the statues following, were consequently concentrated into the German Friedhof of Vladslo-Praetbos in 1956. There they stand at the centre of the back row, not just for Peter’s grave nearby but for all 25,000 German soldiers buried there.

¹¹ For further reading: Chielens (P), op. cit.



Fig. 18.8: Ypres, February 1919. The ruined Cloth Hall (IFFM).

doing so the museum explored the fact that the First World War was “the first democratic war”, wherein everybody was involved, from all over the world, and from all groups in society. This opened unique opportunities to connect the personal histories to the general history, the local stories to that of the world. It used “the voice of a region”, as defined above, and thus formed a bridge between the official and private commemorations, and it capitalised on the motto, expressed by poet, composer and soldier Ivor Gurney (1890–1937), that “*beauty is the only comfort*”, i.e. that the emotions evoked by this history is best transcended by artistic voices, who reconnect past and present.

This approach proved to be very successful. From the mid 1990s onwards, new museums, visitor attractions and events were created, making a more or less conscious use of this approach. It created a renewed interest and visitor flow, larger than ever before, with a huge economic impact on the entire region.

The example of the IFFM still stands. In 1998 it was built for 140,000 visitors a year, but had on average 210,000 visitors per year. Now, enlarged and refurbished, almost 15 years later, the annual attendance has risen by yet another 25%.

Despite the continuing success a lot has changed. This is especially the case for the public of the museum. When in 1998 the Queen of Great Britain visited, 12 veterans were present. In the same year 65% of the museum visitors expressed that they still had had personal contact with people of the Great War generation. Today all those veterans have died, and that percentage has shrunk to less than 35% – one cannot win from time.

The First World War, like all historic events, has shifted (or is shifting) from personal memory (“*I did, I saw...*”) to personal internalisation through contact with personal witnesses (“*I knew someone who did, who saw...*”) to history (“*I am told that someone who did, who saw...*”). If the First World War is now (becoming) history it means that the second phase, the chance of internalisation, of establishing authentic emotional relationship with a subject, is under threat. As long as the generation of the First World War was still around one could establish this through personal encounters. It was a genuine exchange between one’s own experiences and those of who had lived the conflict personally. That moment of ‘true meeting’ with a historical event or with history itself through the means of a personal encounter, is forever lost, and with it the process of internalisation.

Because of this change the museum set out to find a new medium to reconnect its audience with the subject, with the chance of internalisation, i.e. with the same level of authenticity, with the same spirit of personal encounter as before.

New museographies, the landscape as final witness, creating a transcendent language of universal commemoration

We have been thinking that only the war landscape itself could do this. In 2006 the museum launched a temporary exhibition called “The last witness”. It tried to emboss the present-day landscape with the content, with the stories, the people and the images of the war. In a way we were saying that all this material and immaterial evidence of the war that we collected and used in our museum galleries, turned the landscape where all this had happened, into an eternal meeting place of coming to terms with the facts of war. The war landscape of the Westhoek was considered to be an **anthropological landscape**, a place of human behaviour where meaning and sense-giving meet.

In the new permanent exhibition, which opened in June 2012, the collections are used to upload the historical content of the war landscape. Consequently, this content can be used by visitors afterwards, as they go out to explore the war landscape itself. Then and there they are ready for a similar authentic encounter with history, and with themselves.

This focus on the *genius loci*, the sense of place, or as we have expressed since the temporary exhibition of 2006, the **war landscape as last witness**, tries to postpone the fact that the First World War would be ‘just’ history. By going to places where historical events took place, one can experience the sense of that historical event, even many hundred years later. What is needed is that one is able to read or understand the place that we are visiting today for its genius, for its true, multi-layered historical meaning or sense.

The new permanent exhibition has included in its new scenography a number of tools to help today’s visitors to be able to read / understand places. With stories, personal and more general ones, through images, of place, from the ground, in panoramic view, in birds’ eye view, vertically and oblique, and through other representations of place, such as reports, drawings, maps, accounts, models of places we ‘upload’ the historical content of a place for visitors in the museum, hoping that he or she shall be able to ‘download’ its true meaning when the place is visited and consequently a new authentic meeting with history occurs.

Reconnecting tourists and local population: Tourism Plus, a process of addressing local, national, European, Global (and “universal”) layers of identity.

In the new IFFM one of the major features is a display called “In Flanders’ Earth”, that shows that the war

just didn't pass, but is still present in the landscape underneath its renewed/reconstructed surface. It's just a matter of flicking back through time to see it.

An interactive display of thousands of aerial photographs "georectified" and as a GIS-layer draped over a present-day orthofoto of the area, establishes that passage through time. With a few easy moves the visitor can see and compare moments in time, within the same landscape.

A second application that helps to read the landscape is a double film we made about the "Ypres Salient". Starting from the present day landscape which reveals its identity as a war landscape only through relics (craters, trenches, bunkers), monuments and cemeteries, we evoke its *genius loci* (fig. 18.9). The present day's landscape was filmed from a helicopter and visually linked in the editing suite with historical images, documents, maps, sketches, ground photographs, panorama and oblique photographs, reports and stories. Mostly purely visual stories were used. Aerial photography also played a role here, but as a visual tool, not as an exact source of information that could be transformed into a GIS-layer. The visual similarities between today and yesterday in both displays serve the same purpose: they upload the deeper meaning or *sense* of a place so that one can feel and address this when we are in that place, thus provoking a genuine historical encounter

These displays mean to reach out to the local population as well as to visitors from elsewhere.

It seems strange that the great visitor numbers of recent years have deepened an already present alienation between the tourist and the local inhabitant. As we are challenged with even wider visitor numbers, in the light of the centenary years 2014–18, we must try and reconnect the visitors, the tourists, with the inhabitants. We will only succeed if we can make everybody look back at the fundamental meaning of the history of the war, and of its commemoration for the present communities of "Flanders Fields" and of those far beyond.

We need to convince the local population that there is a good reason why people from all over the world want to come here, one should learn to understand why that is, and take if not a certain pride in it, at least a responsibility over it. A heritage of war is always an undesired heritage, and therefore it seems natural to try and forget and move on, but it is also a universal



heritage, a black page in human history, that we all need to read and share.

Tourist boards and offices in West-Flanders should believe that people don't just come because they want to have a good time, but also because they want to discover this history that we share, wanted or not. It's not tourism but "Tourism Plus", a sharing of a past and its commemoration and representation. The main reason is that the history of the First World War touches very fundamental human qualities and emotions. It identifies who we are as people. It defines our identity, this means the way in which we are identical, or at least very much alike. It is an intercultural identity. This experience is shared across the world. Identities are like the layers of an onion, they overlap: the war lends identity to the area where it happened, but also to all the nations and cultures that took part in it, and to the people who came to be part of it. The First World War was also the war that touches on our fundamental rights. The way by which human lives were spilt reached its highest point in the summer of 1917, during the Third Battle of Ypres, which became known as Passchendaele – or to the English speaking world: *Passion Dale* – the valley of human suffering. This suffering showed that such betrayal of fundamental human rights could not go on. Although the UN Declaration for Human Rights saw only the light of day in 1948, some of its authors were veterans of the First World War. The most important of them, French jurist René Cassin, had been heavily wounded in the First World War, and suffered from its consequences for the rest of his life. As such understanding the history of the First World War has also a huge present day meaning. If we want to understand the European past, and so the European future, if we want to understand our universal rights as humans, we need to understand the history of 1914–18 and what followed. An undesired heritage may therefore, as a representation of our shared history, become extremely valuable for a desired future. And even more universal, it points out who we are as human beings, fighting the demons of war and violence.

In years to come, two main tasks lie ahead of the museum and all who are responsible for the heritage of the war. The first is to try and save as much of the outdoor landscape as is possible, without giving the people who live there the feeling that they have become natives in a reservation. If we want to send out people outside of the museum, there must be something left out there, and it must be more than just cemeteries or monuments. It must encompass all the layers of history.

The second thing to do is reach out to the local population with a programme that will restore their knowledge, their common lore of the place and its war. This "grass roots mobilisation" could result in a dynamic and integral solution. At the core of all this is the concept of identity. We must understand and address the importance of the history of WW1 for all layers of identification, from local to universal, in a world where identities are crucial for the survival of its communities.

Fig. 18.9: Huge mine craters of the 1917 underground war fare near Wijtschate (IFFM).

19 | Archaeology and monuments in 3D in Europeana

Daniel Pletinckx

Abstract: The current 3D hype creates a lot of interest in 3D. People go to 3D movies, but are we ready to use 3D in our homes, in our offices, in our communication? Are we ready to deliver real 3D to a general public and use interactive 3D in a meaningful way to enjoy, learn and communicate? The CARARE project is realising this within Europeana for the domain of monuments and archaeology, so that real 3D of archaeological sites and European monuments will be available to the general public by 2012.

Europeana brings European cultural heritage to the living room or office of every interested citizen by providing an ever expanding amount of high quality images, texts and video about European culture on the Internet. This portal not only provides easy access to high quality digital copies of European cultural objects for the European citizen and everybody in the world but also allows the discovery of how our European culture is closely interlinked and has evolved over time as a common entity, regardless of the current national borders. Europeana provides the evidence of the existence of such a European culture, accessible through its many languages.

1. Introduction

Europeana is the European Digital Library for Culture. It is structured as a portal with the content itself residing on national servers. By using a metadata standard (EDM) for all European organisations that contribute to Europeana, this portal allows searching for cultural resources over all collections in Europe. One of the objectives of the European project CARARE is to integrate 3D representations and VR (virtual reality) of monuments, historical buildings and archaeology into Europeana for tourists, educational users, scholars and the general public. CARARE makes a first step towards integration of a wide range of high quality, validated 3D/VR data in an international digital library/museum/archive context. CARARE is also the first project to use the new EDM metadata standard that supersedes the older ESE metadata standard that was used during the start-up phase of Europeana.

2. 3D for the layman

CARARE focuses on representations of archaeological and architectural objects, so 3D/VR within CARARE refers to 3D representations of such objects. This includes 3D models of a monument or landscape or archaeological object as it survives in the present day through 3D digitisation by laser scanning, image modelling (Nilsson *et al.* 2007) or other techniques, reconstructions of such monuments (Pletinckx 2007) or landscapes (Pletinckx 2008) as they appeared at various times in the past through a manual virtual reconstruction process, or digital restorations of archaeological objects or monuments through editing of 3D digitised models (Pletinckx2011). Each of these three forms of 3D has its own specific requirements and

properties, which play an important role when we want to make these 3D models available to a general public. When providing a 3D model instead of an image or movie of an object, we need to create a clear advantage for the user. This advantage can be for example that the complex structure of the building or object can be understood or appreciated better, through specific viewpoints or cross sections or alterations of the current situation. Another advantage is to visualise and experience spaces that are difficult to access such as caves, or simply don't exist anymore such as destroyed buildings or ancient landscapes which can be represented as virtual reconstructions.

In most cases however, 3D wants to be more than just visualisation only. 3D models can be used as an interactive user interface to attach information to objects, so that the 3D model becomes an explorative environment. If we virtually reconstruct a Roman villa, we may be clicking on a wall painting to see how it looks today, or click on a zone to find out how that room was used and by whom. We might like to see how the siege of a medieval castle developed, how the attacking party could breach or undermine walls or how the defending party could cope with attacks from the siege towers. But we might also want to know how archaeologists discover the past in analysing and comparing archaeological remains. Studies have shown that learning happens faster and better, with more persistent results, if it is based upon personal decisions and interaction at a personal pace. The richness of a 3D model allows the storing of much more information inside than an image, so that personal interaction creates a closer psychological bond with the subject than other media.

In other words, we need to use 3D when the visualisation, the animation and exploration capabilities of 3D help us

to create added value through better understanding, better memorising or being more appealing. It is exactly this added value that makes interactive 3D outperform the current multimedia tools in tourism, education and research, hence this makes the using of 3D visualisation in Europeana worthwhile.

For meeting the goals of CARARE and Europeana, we are convinced that the focus of 3D should be on resource exploration, just like with the other formats (text, images, video and sound) that are currently available. This means that we consider the linking of information to the 3D model as most important, while autonomous and interactive behaviour are considered too far-fetched for the start-up phase of 3D in Europeana. This means also that aspects such as photorealism or a high degree of detail are in fact of secondary order, while content, interactivity and linking to other content are the most important in this initial phase.

As we start however a long-term process of creating 3D resources for general and professional use in cultural heritage, we need to be sure that the choices we make now allow a further evolution and richer functionality in the near future. In other words, in the CARARE project, we need to focus on creating a first batch of about 3000 high quality 3D objects, and enabling the content providers to do this in a coordinated and uniform way, without going too far in functionality and sophistication of the 3D objects (which can be implemented in a later stage, when the workflow is well defined and established). But we are convinced that the possibilities of the approach, as we outline here in this text, are far richer and potent than will be used in the CARARE project itself. Nevertheless, they will be taken into account for inclusion in workflow descriptions to allow the deploying of this extra functionality in the near future by any cultural heritage organisation that wants to publish 3D resources in Europeana.

In other words, 3D in Europeana means high quality data that allows a certain degree of interactivity and exploration capabilities (through different techniques). The difference with other repositories such as Google 3D Warehouse is the quality of the data (see chapter 9) and especially metadata (see chapter 8) that is guaranteed by the cultural heritage organisation that has created the 3D data. The metadata of the 3D model provides a rich context that helps the user to understand, assess and explore the object, and situate it within a larger historical and cultural framework.

3. 3D requirements

Europeana requires that formats to deliver content are open and standardised, and can be sustained in the long term (this means in practice also that the format at least must be used by a sufficient number of users, otherwise the market will not provide the necessary tools to maintain the format or migrate it to other formats).

But 3D is more than the format only. As visualising 3D is not trivial, we also need to take into account requirements concerning the 3D visualisation process. For maximising the number of users that can be served, Europeana requires that the 3D viewer is available on all the major platforms (Windows, Mac OS, Linux) and is free.

For maximum user comfort when using 3D, Europeana requires also that the 3D viewer is already present on nearly all computers (in other words, has a high market penetration) and is available within all major browsers. In other words, most people will not have to install software or plug-ins.

For maximum sustainability, Europeana also requires that the 3D viewer has a proven track record, is mature in functionality and is provided by multiple companies. Europeana focuses on resource exploration. This means that the 3D viewer needs to support URLs and links to other documents, to provide linking to other resources and allow continued exploration. This also means that the 3D viewer needs ways to embed text and images to allow the users to understand the 3D they are visualising and exploring.

Besides the general public, CARARE focuses mainly on domains such as education, tourism and research. This means that the 3D visualisation process needs to have functionalities that support use in these domains.

As we need to support the concept that Europeana only refers to a 3D resource, while showing a thumbnail representation, the real 3D data sits on the national servers of the aggregators. This means that we need to come up with a solution that is to a certain extent standardised and uniform on all national resource servers, so that the user does not get confused or puzzled when searching for 3D content.

4. PDF as 3D format

When analysing all currently available 3D viewers, there is only one technology at this moment that matches nearly all of these requirements, which is PDF. Since 2005 (Acrobat version 7), PDF has been extended with 3D capabilities. Currently we have Acrobat version 10 and 6 years of maturing technology.

PDF definitely has a proven track record. PDF (Portable Document Format) was developed in 1993 and is the de facto standard for exchange of digital documents and forms. It is also an open format since the full PDF format (version 1.7) has been accepted in 2008 by the International Organisation for Standardisation as standard ISO 32000-1. This ISO standard does include the 3D capabilities of PDF. Extensions to this standard are open and published, the Acrobat version 9.1 for example produces PDFs with extension level 5. The goal of this standardisation is of course to ensure long term preservation of PDF documents. An update of the ISO standard (i.e. ISO 32000-2) that includes these extensions has been accepted (also known as PDF version 2.0). The availability of PDF as an ISO standard also means that third parties can develop applications that read or write PDF without having to pay royalties to Adobe. Several companies are already providing such applications and currently several new companies and applications have emerged, which is very good news for the long-term support of PDF as a format and a technology.

PDF readers are available on all major platforms (Windows, Mac OS, Linux) and are available for free. Adobe, the company that created PDF, claims that its Acrobat PDF reader is present on 89 % of all computers. This number is considered by experts to be accurate. The reason that this number is not higher is probably that

Apple provides an alternative image and PDF viewer (called Preview) that is preinstalled. For Windows, most computers come with the Acrobat PDF reader preinstalled, so most people don't have to bother to install a PDF reader. As Preview does not visualise the 3D parts of a PDF file, users need to install the free Acrobat Reader on Mac platforms. Preview in fact has some older PDF authoring capacities (extracting pages, merging PDFs, encrypting, ...) but lacks the more recent functionality including visualisation of 3D. Preview on the other hand has functionality to visualise Collada 3D files (for example from Google 3D Warehouse) directly. 3D PDF functionality has been integrated in Acrobat Reader since 2005. This means that even older computers, that haven't been updated since years, are capable of displaying 3D PDF, as long as we limit ourselves to the basic 3D PDF functionality that is supported by that version (PDF version 1.6). To deal with older computers, we could create Acrobat version 7 compatible 3D PDF files, which is in most cases not penalising at all. To comply with the ISO 32000-1 standard however, we recommend creating PDFs that are compatible with Acrobat version 8 (PDF version 1.7) that was released in 2006.

3D PDF can be visualised within most browsers on most platforms. The recent PDF plug-in for Mac OS X Intel for Firefox, provided by Mozilla, however does not support 3D yet. In this aspect, PDF fails to meet all requirements on this one issue, but there is simply no alternative today and most people download PDF files anyway instead of opening them in their browser, so this non-compliance to the requirements above does not look to have severe drawbacks.

PDF supports all European languages, and much more. This looks obvious, but the language support of 3D applications has always been very weak, and until today, strange behaviour or bugs occur in most 3D applications when using non-ASCII texts, part names or descriptions.

Since the end of 2010, Adobe has moved its 3D development to a separate company, called Tetra 4D. As this company is a co-operation with Tech Soft 3D, a specialised 3D company with a long track record, this move allows a much more focused development for and support of the different market segments that use 3D PDF. This needs to be seen as a very positive move and marks a transition for 3D PDF from "early adopter phase" to "mainstream product". This also has resulted in the 3D PDF Consortium, uniting companies that are active in producing authoring tools for 3D PDF. This consortium sees historical, archaeological and cultural content as one of the target domains of 3D PDF (see 3D PDF Consortium 2013)

The appearance in the last years of good third party software for the authoring of 3D PDF also can be seen as a positive sign of a maturing technology. Assigning 3D PDF as the platform for 3D in Europeana should fit perfectly in this evolution.

The 3D PDF creation process deals with most available 3D file formats resulting from both digitisation and virtual reconstruction processes. Internally, the 3D model within the PDF is stored in a U3D or PRC format. U3D is the Universal 3D file format, standardised as ECMA-363 by ECMA International, the (American) industry association founded in 1961 dedicated to the standardization of Information and Communication

Technology (ICT) and Consumer Electronics (CE). PRC (Product Representation Compact) has been developed by Adobe to provide a compact and versatile format for CAD/CAM/CAE data (for the domains of computer aided design, manufacturing and engineering). PRC is an open format that realises high compression rates for CAD/CAM/CAE data and is in the process of becoming an ISO standard for such data.

For cultural heritage purposes, U3D however is the best choice. Tests on many cultural heritage 3D files have shown that the compression capabilities of U3D are typically better than PRC (over 4 case studies, U3D yielded a file reduction to 46,2% of the original file size against 77,2% for PRC), while U3D provides better possibilities for animation. Currently, 3D PDF uses U3D version 3 (U3D version 4 has been available since June 2007).

5. 3D workflow

Not all of the 3D resources, that are created today within the context of cultural heritage organisations, are suited as such for use in Europeana, where a published item resides as a single object, armed with the appropriate metadata to be discovered and semantically linked to related objects. This problem arises because of three major issues.

The first issue is that a 3D resource, unlike most other Europeana resources, can be explored in itself, so it provides other exploration mechanisms than the typical resource exploration mechanisms that are present and planned in Europeana. Exploration is a natural, intuitive thing to do with 3D sites and buildings, so we should not put this opportunity aside.

A second issue is that most 3D has a high 'information load', in other words, a lot of information is connected to the 3D resource, much more than to a typical Europeana resource. So we need to provide easy and intuitive ways to find this information, linked to the natural exploration possibilities that a 3D resource provides.

A third issue is that most 3D resources, that represent spaces, are in fact not one object but a collection of highly interconnected parts that each have specific information. Even if the object is perceived as one single object, we currently don't have the technical framework within Europeana to attach information to different spatial regions of the 3D resource, so we would be forced to divide the object into different components that each have specific metadata. But for aesthetical and conceptual reasons, we don't want to divide the 3D resource into separate objects, each with their specific metadata as we would do with museum objects, belonging to a museum collection. So we rather want to establish mechanisms that allow resource exploration within the 3D model, so that the 3D model can remain undivided and preserves its nature as representation of a space.

In other words, the design of resource exploration for 3D Europeana objects, especially if they represent buildings and landscapes, needs to allow a part of the resource exploration to happen *within* the 3D resource, in addition to the resource exploration mechanisms, based upon metadata, *outside* of the object. In other words, a small part of the content metadata needs to be



Fig. 19.1: Statue from Ath, Belgium, before restoration.

can be structured as a text document, containing one or more 3D windows plus some text, images or URLs that help to explore and understand the 3D data.

In the first case (objects), the visualisation capabilities of PDF are in most cases sufficient for interacting with such objects. In the creation of the PDF, standard views such as front, left, right, top, back can be added automatically for easier evaluation of the object. The added value of the 3D is the interactive visualisation of the object from all sides, like you would have it in your hand. This approach certainly has added value as most archaeological objects cannot be viewed like this, and some are even not on display at all. In the online CARARE 3D PDF Resources, you can find museum objects and building parts, in which the object can be inspected from all sides, while the toolbar allows to visualise (orthographic) standard views (top, left, front,...) that have been created automatically at file import (fig. 19.1 shows such an object from the restoration labs of the Royal Heritage Institute in Belgium).

In the case of museum objects and building parts, we can – when appropriate – also use the available 3D PDF authoring tools in the form of software libraries (see for example PDF3D 2010) to add some metadata (title, short description, basic parameters or information) automatically in the PDF. In this way, the PDF is not only a nice 3D visualisation tool but the PDF file also becomes a useful standalone resource that can be printed, shared for educational use amongst students or taken to field on a laptop by archaeologists. For example, the CATA archaeological reference collection of Iberian pottery (CATA) can be automatically turned into a set of one page PDFs, each containing a 3D model of a certain

integrated within the 3D resource, to allow an intuitive 3D resource exploration that preserves the nature of the 3D resource.

The balance between the outside and inside metadata depends on the nature of the 3D resource and on the skills of the organisation that creates the 3D resources to integrate some of the metadata in the interactive design. For archaeological museum objects or parts of a building, all of the metadata can be outside the 3D resource. In other words, the 3D resource only requires interactive visualisation from all sides, as if you have the object in your hand. For buildings, archaeological sites, man-made structures and landscapes, we need to integrate some of the content metadata into the 3D resource to support resource exploration within the 3D resource.

Practically, this means we end up with two types of 3D PDF, one for objects and one for spaces (see CARARE 3D Resources 2011). A 3D PDF representation of an object or building part can be seen as a pure file format conversion from the original 3D file format to PDF, in which 3D PDF is only a 3D visualisation tool, where the provided metadata is sufficient to identify the object, learn about it and find related objects or context information. A 3D PDF that shows spaces (buildings, archaeological sites, man-made structures, landscapes)

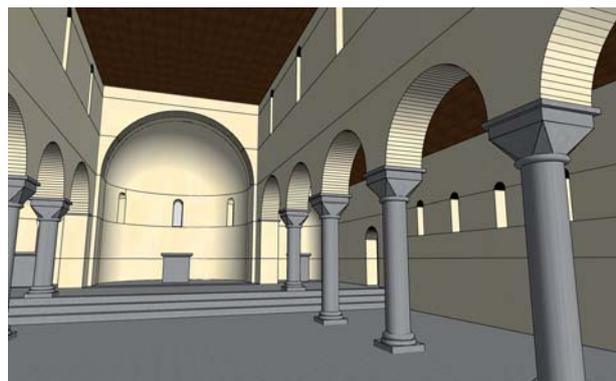


Fig. 19.2: 3D virtual reconstruction of the inside of the church of the Saint John Abbey, Biograd na Moru, Croatia in *solid* (above) and *shaded illustration* (below) rendering mode.

vessel, together with some basic information that is taken automatically from the database.

In the second case (spaces), it is sufficient to add a few paragraphs of text and a few images to the 3D to create the appropriate exploration mechanisms. More precisely, PDF authoring allows the linking of keywords in the text to specific views in the 3D resource, so that clicking on those keywords produces the right view in the 3D window. This simple VR behaviour is easy to author but provides a very powerful navigation tool with a very low user threshold, as demonstrated in the CARARE 3D PDF online resources (2011), such as the 3D virtual reconstruction of Saint John Abbey, Croatia. This VR behaviour includes several navigation modes such as *spinning* (rotating an object but keeping it vertical) or *walking*, but also different rendering modes that can show for example the structure of a building (see fig. 19.2 for the layered structure of a church building).

6. PDF authoring

An important technical aspect is the file conversion to 3D PDF. Here we need to distinguish between the file format in which the 3D data has been originally made, the open file format for long-term preservation of this 3D data, the metadata and the 3D PDF file.

Good news is that the 3D PDF authoring process has a large variety of file formats that it can start from, both from the 3D digitisation, the 3D design and the 3D digital preservation domains. So we need to decide which format is available and most suited to convert to 3D PDF. There are however some issues here.

First of all, a few important file formats are currently missing from the list of potential input formats, such as X3D (which is a quite popular open format for 3D files). This has no technical background but has everything to do with the ongoing strategy game and alliances between the major 3D players. Good news is that 3D files can be imported from digitisation processes (which typically use vertex colours, and can be inputted through VRML) and creation processes (which typically use texture mapping, and can be inputted through formats such as Collada, OBJ, 3D Studio, ...). It is useful to test the conversion process before starting major 3D projects to get optimal results and easy workflows.

The second issue, that is related to the choice of file format to convert from, is the differences in coordinate system. 3D systems that originate in the domain of surveying and CAD/CAM/CAE use the convention that the horizontal plane is parallel to the XY-plane (the positive Z-direction is up). 3D systems that originate in computer graphics on the other hand consider the XZ-plane as horizontal (the positive Y-direction is up). PDF uses the first system, so the latter formats need a simple 90 degrees rotation around the X-axis before conversion to PDF. It is important to observe the correct vertical direction in 3D PDF as some interaction modes (such as the *walking* mode) only move the camera in the horizontal plane.

The third issue is the completeness of the 3D data when doing conversion to PDF. PDF does package all required information in the file itself, while most other 3D file formats do not store the required information in a single file but in a set of files: the shape information, the material information (which are sets of parameters

for material definition, colour image files for texturing, grayscale images for bump mapping or displacement mapping), font files, Having such a set of files is fine in a production environment that generates images as output (stills, video, ...) but this system is very vulnerable. For example, some 3D packages use absolute path names for material files, which is a problem when transporting the files to another environment. As the conversion of the 3D data to PDF can happen on another computer than the one that generated the 3D data, it is necessary to check and validate the available 3D data. Once successfully converted to PDF, the user does not have to worry as PDF encapsulates all required information in the PDF file itself to ensure portability. Also, each PDF file does behave exactly the same on every computer, this is also the case for 3D, as this is the key element of the portability concept that PDF realises.

A fourth issue is internal compression within the PDF file. Although we recommend using U3D, there is currently an issue with 3D digitisation files using vertex colours, for which no compression can be used with the U3D internal format (otherwise, colour information gets lost). If file size matters, PRC can be used as internal format as PRC compression does not harm the vertex colours.

Another important technical aspect is the resolution of the 'professional 3D file', which can be too high for use by the general public, as it exceeds their requirements and the capabilities of their computers and becomes too large to be transferred easily over internet. So the 3D resolution of the 'professional files' from digitisation efforts needs to be reduced to a level that is much smaller but still remains aesthetical and functional. More and more, this functionality is integrated in the 3D digitisation production workflow, as reduction of the number of polygons is one of the standard features of professional digitisation software, and it helps the 'professional' users at the cultural heritage organisation to use the 3D data, for example on their laptop. On the other hand, free open source solutions (such as MeshLab) are becoming available that have high-end texture fitting and polygon reduction algorithms that can do the job, as for Europeana 3D resources, we want to have a minimal polygon count with a high quality texture map.

A final technical aspect is the accessibility of the 3D data. In most cases, cultural heritage organisations don't want the 3D data that is stored in the 3D PDF to be used for other purposes than viewing by the Europeana users. As 3D data can be exported from the 3D PDF (this feature is used a lot in the engineering applications of PDF), this can be prohibited explicitly by setting the 3D status to 'read only' when creating the file.

7. Visualising complex 3D model

3D PDF is however not the ultimate solution for all 3D aspirations that Europeana could have. There are some cases in which this solution falls short: when the object is *too large or too complex*, when we want or need to have *higher quality of 3D visualisation* than provided by the typical PDF reader software, when we use *special render software* such as ray-tracers (to visualise glass, reflections, gems, ...), volume renderers (to show for

example tomography data of museum objects) or landscape renderers (that show terrain, vegetation, bathymetry, ...), when we want to *show evolution over long periods of time* of building complexes, sites or landscapes, when we want to use *advanced animation techniques* such as the use of avatars or particle systems. For example, if we reconstruct landscapes or large cityscapes (such as Rome Reborn, showing Rome in 320 A.D., showing 7000 highly detailed buildings with shadow), the amount of 3D data that we want to visualise exceeds by far the capabilities of the computer of the average Europeana user.

Another issue is the somewhat limited capabilities of the interactivity that is provided by 3D PDF. When walking through complex structures or buildings, 3D PDF does not have the notion of a floor or walls, so one cannot automatically descend stairs or stay within the walls of a corridor. If such functionality is important, we cannot use 3D PDF.

In most of these cases mentioned above, we can fall back on other image based visualisation techniques that allow the 3D content to be visualised interactively, or on other more specialised 3D visualisation software. In the past, one of the most popular image based applications was QuickTime VR, which has been discontinued by Apple in 2010. QuickTime VR provides in fact only 'pseudo 3D' as it can show only pre-rendered still images from predefined points of view (object mode) or a panorama of an environment (there are two modes, a cylindrical panorama relies on one long image, a cubic panorama or 'bubble' relies on 6 square images, organised as a cube). For a QuickTime VR object, smart organisation of the images however can create great interactivity, with capabilities to link images, URLs, text and other objects. Although such an object nearly feels like interactive 3D, it is simply based

upon a large amount of pre-rendered images, hence it's only pseudo-3D.

Currently, QuickTime VR functionality is being replaced by Flash and Java based solutions (Easypano2010) that provide the same possibilities as QuickTime VR (panoramas and VR objects). In most cases, we will need VR object functionality to provide the interactive exploration we want to achieve. If we want to show for example a digital restoration of a glass object that has been found in an excavation, we need to use a VR object or animation to visualise the glass properly, 3D PDF does not even comes close to a decent visualisation of glass objects. If we want to create 4D exploration (space plus time to show evolution) of a site or landscape (Pletinckx 2008), we need to use a VR object as the amount of data will exceed by far the capabilities of 3D PDF. For example, the 4D visualisation of Ename, Belgium (fig. 19.3), that shows the evolution of the complete village from 1020 until 2004 through 12 historical periods, represents in total over 1 GB of 3D data and 800 hours of rendering time (as detailed vegetation simulation and shadows are used), so a VR object with pre-rendered imagery is the only way to visualise this interactively.

When visualising complex spaces (where the notion of a floor level and walls is required) or when visualising animated objects (for example avatars), we can fall back on serious games platforms, such as Unity 3D, or on animated sequences in video format.

8. Metadata

But there is more than the 3D data and the content only. On one hand, there is a lot of related information that needs to go into the *metadata* that gets attached to the 3D PDF file. On the other hand, some of the metadata

Fig. 19.3: 3D virtual reconstruction of Ename in 1065.



can be duplicated in the 3D resource itself for better exploration (as explained in section 5 of this paper).

Metadata for 3D is still very much a research domain, which is in development, especially for virtual reconstructions. Also, cultural heritage resources in real 3D for a general public are brand new, so we need to go through a process of validating the current 3D metadata insights.

The CARARE metadata scheme, which has been developed in close consultation with the partners that are involved in the 3D strand of CARARE, distinguishes clearly between the metadata for the 'heritage asset' (object, building, landscape...) and for the 'digital resource' (the 3D PDF) which is linked to the heritage asset. Most 3D content providers not only deliver 3D data but also a lot of other resources, such as related images, video, excavation reports, ... It is important that the right relationships are established between these elements so that old engravings of historical buildings or excavation photographs of its remains can be linked for example to a 3D virtual reconstruction, or that a museum object can be linked to the site where it has been found, so that the archaeological site and the museum object are both represented as 3D model. The proposed CARARE metadata scheme allows for the establishing of these relationships, except for the exact place of certain information within the 3D model, but this can be easily solved by linking this information as images or text to specific views in the 3D model (as explained in section 5).

Concerning metadata, it is also important to highlight that the concept of 'collection' is also present in 3D objects representing spaces, with the additional requirement that a visualisation of the full space is provided. For example, if we visualise the Forum of Pompeii, we will need an overview 3D object plus a set of 3D PDF files, one per building on the Forum. It is obvious that the overview 3D object needs to link to each of the 3D PDFs that show the buildings, but also to 2D historical iconography that depicts the ruins in the 18th and 19th century. These links need to be represented by the metadata, that is attached to the overview 3D object and to the 3D resources that present the Forum buildings, but also by some links or compositions in the 3D objects themselves (fig. 19.4).

For the resource exploration of virtual reconstructions, it is even more important to link the different sources that were used to create the virtual 3D model, so that it

becomes clear how the virtual model has been derived from the sources (fig. 19.5).

One important piece of information that also links digitised and reconstructed 3D models to the real world is the geographical information. Unfortunately, most archaeological information is quite sloppy about the height coordinate and the orientation, so it could require some manual intervention in the aggregation phase to get this information correct.

Putting some metadata also in the PDF itself would make the 3D resources more suitable for use as standalone resources (for example, a teacher providing Europeana 3D PDFs to the students for study and homework).

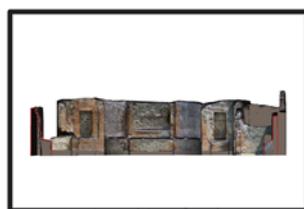
We are convinced that the creation of *metadata* needs to be part of the 3D data creation process within the cultural heritage organisation, which is completely focused on the professional use of those 3D files. This metadata then gets mapped (hence reduced) into the CARARE repository. Mapping towards Europeana will cause another reduction of the metadata. In other words, the only thing we need to do is give directions to the data providers for capturing the required metadata in their internal 3D creation process, so that the required metadata can be present at CARARE and Europeana level.

9. Quality

One of the characteristics that sets apart Europeana from other resources is *quality*. We need to see 3D not as just a technological gimmick but also as an opportunity to deliver content in a better and more efficient way. This means that, like in many innovative creation processes, we need to put "content first", hence the focus on the quality and effectiveness of the 3D resources we create. Studies have shown that in many cases, photorealism and good visualisation are only secondary to the perceived quality, which has more to do with 'presence', 'learning processes' and 'enjoyment'.

This means that we need to build *validation* processes into the 3D creation workflow to safeguard the *scientific accuracy* of the 3D data and the provided context information, and the *completeness of the required files* to ensure *correct and optimal visualisation and interactivity*

Fig. 19.4: Screenshot of 3D PDF with floating window.



riches, the apse and the side, as shown by Figures 40 and 41 of his publication *Excavations in the East* (New York, 1910). Stairs and side support columns belonging to shrines-arcades standing on the angular pilasters and containing the statues.

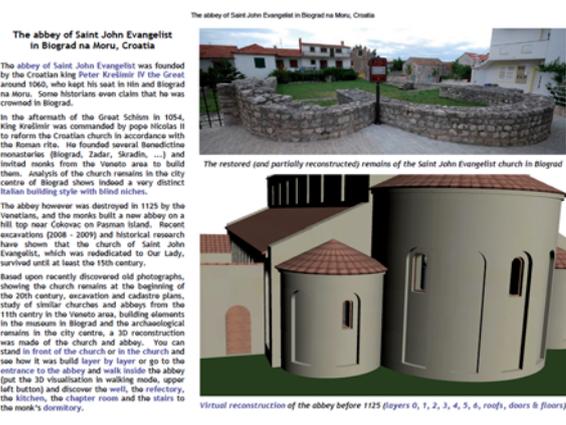
The excavative restoration of the forum by Léon Jaussely (*Paris, Excav. Enl. 1910-20*) is more recent; it goes beyond the archaeological reconstruction. His frontal view of the eastern side of the forum, dating in 1910, shows a one floor Corinthian Porch, surrounded by an entablature richly decorated by statues. The Porch is closed by gates, placed between the columns on all of the sides, in order to preserve the precious furniture. This drawing is just an exercise of architectural design inspired by the ruins of Pompeii. Nevertheless, it illustrates the role which the ancient city played in the training of architects and artists and in the education of gentlemen, as well as in the imaginative world, still in the 20th century.

Jaussely's reconstruction was influenced by the hypothesis of the archaeologist August Mau. Mau detected a niche running along the inside of the structures, projecting out in correspondence with the bases in the



Mau (1898), cross sections of reconstruction of Sanctuary

Fig. 19.5: Screenshot of 3D PDF.



The abbey of Saint John Evangelist in Biograd na Moru, Croatia

The abbey of Saint John Evangelist was founded by the Croatian King Peter Krešimir IV the Great around 1060, who kept his seat in sea and Biograd na Moru. Some historians even claim that he was crowned in Biograd.

In the aftermath of the Great Schism in 1054, King Krešimir was commanded by pope nicolas II to reform the Croatian church in accordance with the Roman rite. He founded several Benedictine monasteries (Biograd, Zadar, Šibenik, ...) and invited monks from the Veneto area to build them. Analysis of the church remains in the city centre of Biograd shows indeed a very distinct Italian building style with blind niches.

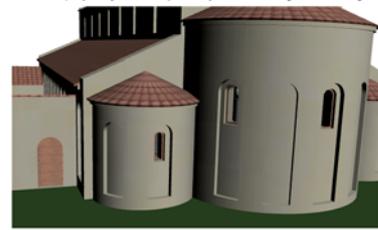
The abbey however was destroyed in 1125 by the Venetians, and the monks built a new abbey on a hill top near Čokovac on Pašman Island. Recent excavations (2008 - 2009) and historical research have shown that the church of Saint John Evangelist, which was rededicated to Our Lady, survived until at least the 15th century.

Based upon recently discovered old photographs, showing the church remains at the beginning of the 20th century; excavation and cadastre plans, study of similar churches and abbays from the 11th century in the Veneto area, building elements in the museum in Biograd and the archaeological remains in the city centre, a 3D reconstruction was made of the church and abbey. You can stand in front of the church or in the church and see how it was built layer by layer or go to the entrance to the abbey and walk inside the abbey (for the 3D visualisation in walking mode, upper left button) and discover the well, the refectory, the kitchen, the chapter room and the stairs to the monks' dormitory.

The abbey of Saint John Evangelist in Biograd na Moru, Croatia



The restored (and partially reconstructed) remains of the Saint John Evangelist church in Biograd



Virtual reconstruction of the abbey before 1125 (figures 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, roof, doors & floors)

CARARE 3D case study

Created by Visual Dimension Italia, February 2011

10

and to *maximise the opportunities for exploration, education and enjoyment*. Further validation procedures need to be performed on *correctness and completeness of the associated metadata* and on translations of the resource in different languages, if provided.

We need however to realise that an important part of the 3D data, that will be made available through Europeana, is legacy data, existing data that has been archived and in which the link with the creators can be broken or for which no funding is available to update the data. Therefore we need a *validation procedure* that checks the 3D data, that verifies if the data (as a whole or parts of it) have the required quality level, that defines the actions to be taken if the quality level is insufficient, and that plans the additional processing of the data before harvesting (making it multilingual, translating it in up to date file formats, establishing long-term digital preservation, ...).

Finally, there is also the marketing side of the story. 3D in Europeana needs to differentiate itself from Google 3D Warehouse and many other free 3D repositories by its quality and depth of content, which are obtained through this validation process and the know-how of the content provider.

10. Evolving technology

It also needs to be clear that the current 3D hype will produce new visualisation opportunities in the near future that will comply with the requirements stated above. HTML5, that is expected to reach W3C (World Wide Web Consortium) Candidate Recommendation in 2012 does promise much better 3D rendering within browsers, the 3D part would be based upon the ISO-standard X3D. As the games world is very interested to have this (AppStorm 2010), there is quite a pressure on the market to get this up and running. On the other hand, other players are trying not to lose their market share. Adobe has decided to discontinue the development of its own Flash technology, in favour of HTML5. We need to see however where the market will go. The battle has definitely started, for example Apple refusing to use Flash technology on its platforms for many years results from this HTML5 battle behind the scenes. At this moment, it looks like HTML5 will become a persistent reality in the coming years. Currently, there are already good solutions on the market (for example Unity3D) that are multiplatform (including mobile devices) and provide great functionality, even including avatars, but they do not have the open and standard character that Europeana requires.

It would be great to have in Europeana interactive, intelligent walk-through of virtual scenes or digitised buildings, as an avatar with other non-player characters showing how people lived and worked, like has been implemented for example in the Via Flaminia application (VHLab 2007) in the National museum in Rome. However, the only fully reliable and deployed 3D environment that we can use today is 3D PDF. More sophisticated 3D visualisation tools will soon become available and maybe they will make it into Europeana. Another major evolution that we see happening today is that the use of digital files in digital form is finally maturing. The availability of platforms such as the iPad and iPhone has dramatically improved the way we deal

with digital data. A few years ago, a PDF file was still seen as suitable for printing only, now we are starting to learn how to use it in a digital form, to read, discuss, exchange ideas and remarks, present, learn... The use of PDF files in, for example, education will dramatically change once teachers and students learn to use them in a digital form, including new capabilities such as 3D. PDF (and especially its 3D capability) has already carved out some interesting digital niches such as training, digital manuals and engineering. We are convinced that PDF resources have a major future in a wide range of domains such as education, tourism and cultural heritage research. In other words, we are convinced that the choice of PDF as a cultural heritage data resource is a valid choice with long-term potential. The evolution of the marketplace and the technology will show what other kinds of resources will also appear that have the same potential.

11. Conclusion

Images of 3D models are used frequently in all domains, including cultural heritage. Providing 3D models to a general public however is new and cannot be done without clear goals and methodology.

We have opted here for encapsulating 3D models in a PDF file, as this format is known by nearly every Internet user, a large majority of Internet users have a PDF reader already installed and it is available and stable on all major platforms. PDF is a standardised and open format, with several software companies providing authoring systems and readers. 3D models from a large variety of formats can be translated easily into PDF, with all required information and files (shape information, textures, materials, ...) encapsulated inside the PDF file, which provides a robust and easy way of delivering 3D data.

PDF also provides a large set of possibilities to create VR (3D plus behaviour) to improve the exploration and learning capabilities of the 3D data. It provides also tools for collaboration and knowledge exchange. This makes PDF a suitable platform for education and tourism, but allows also developing professional applications in 3D for research, training, restoration, site management in cultural heritage.

3D in Europeana, as provided by CARARE, distinguishes itself from other 3D repositories by the quality of the 3D data and its metadata, providing a reliable source of information and allowing a much better resource exploration. 3D PDF files can incorporate additional information in addition to the 3D (such as text, photographs, iconography, URLs, ...) to improve the exploration of the 3D resource (especially when it depicts explorable spaces) but also to produce unique resources for education, tourism and research. The link between text and 3D (as demonstrated by the examples above in this text) provides a VR behaviour that is easy to create but also yields interactive 3D with a near to zero learning curve that will appeal to all users of Europeana. We hope that in this way, the uptake of 3D cultural resources through Europeana will be easy and smooth for all users, from children to experts. Finally, 3D is an excellent way to make cultural heritage – and especially monuments and archaeology – more accessible and enjoyable for the general public

but also for researchers and cultural heritage experts. Europeana, as the largest cultural project in the world, provides access to our European cultural heritage for all citizens and we are convinced that 3D will be a useful tool in this democratisation of cultural heritage.

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20 | Virtual museums: from the Italian experience to a transnational network

Sofia Pescarin

Abstract: The paper presents an analysis of the evolution of the Virtual Museum domain in Italy in the last 10 years, taking into consideration the Italian National Council of Researches experience. The great potential of the new approach, represented by the development and use of Virtual Museums, has increased significantly the examples now available in Europe. On the other side many drawbacks have also pointed out the immaturity of this sector. For these reasons, in 2011 the European Commission, under the Seventh Frame Programme, decided to finance a network of excellence, V-MUST.NET, with the perspective of creating a new way to make Europeans aware of their different histories and heritage, through the narratives and interactivity of digital reconstructed environments.

Virtual Museums

What is a Virtual Museum? This apparently simple question isn't so easy to be answered, due to the common, contradictory and diffuse use of the word "virtual" and its connection with the term "museum".

The original perspective of a museum from the 19th century from many points of view is still valid. *"In the 19th century, the museum materialized the need to show objects coming from great private collections (paintings, sculptures, art objects and archaeological artefacts) in order to create an encyclopaedic knowledge covering progressively all the cultural fields (fine arts, ancient civilizations, ethnography, natural history, etc.) and to spread this knowledge gradually to the largest number of people within the 19th century context of the political evolution of the European states"* (Djindjian 2009, 13). Today people often use the term "museums" as referring to places where objects can be exhibited and collections of paintings, sculptures, art objects or archaeological artifacts, aimed at conserving and communicating heritage to visitors can also be seen.

Moreover in the digital era, the term "virtual museum" has appeared mostly being used by non-experts in the digital domain, even solicited by the press, simply to indicate *on line versions* of real museums. Nevertheless although today in the scientific community, since its beginning, a "virtual museum" was intended in a stricter way, as digital interactive three-dimensional application, in the virtual heritage field it is intended in a wider sense, as a concept that includes all forms of digital experience regarding our heritage.

The projects developed in the last decade in this domain, have strengthened the idea that Virtual Museums can really be powerful and new models of communication aimed at creating a personalized, immersive, interactive way to enhance the understanding we have of the world around us. As described above, Virtual Museum is a "short-cut" used to identify different digital creations (i.e. Virtual Realty applications, Computer Graphic animations, Immersive stereo movies, multimedia, web-based 3d presentations, Augmented Reality or Natural Interaction applications, etc.). Due to these characteristics, there are several types of virtual

museums. Which types of virtual museums exist? How can we understand when a virtual museum is successful or not?

Moreover the recent discussion, within the international community and particularly within the "London Charter" (www.londoncharter.org) and the "Seville Principles", around the importance of keeping in the digital domain a "transparent" as possible for the scientific community and for expert users, underlines the responsibility of those who are in charge of content creation and communication (Beacham *et al.* 2006).

Virtual Museums, as formulated at the beginning of the 90s, are aimed at creating a bridge between the remains of our past and their knowledge, helping visitors to experience them. A fundamental requirement is therefore the focus that they should have on users. Virtual Museums are strongly based on communication strategies, developed on top of different technologies (Antinucci 2005). A Virtual Museum should make people experience the future of their past.

This peculiarity makes them, potentially, a perfect communication instrument to bring European citizens inside their history, to make them aware of their origins and their common character. The proposed approach in fact enable users to participate actively in history, instead of just watching or studying it or having it explained, bringing them inside immersive environments where they can meet characters, stories, places. Although story-telling may be based on ideologies, with the result of offering an opaque version of our history, this aspect can be avoided by introducing interactivity (Turkle 1997, 20–40). Interactivity in fact let users go "behind the curtains" and verify data accuracy and reliability: how information has been deducted, how reconstructions have been created. In Cultural Heritage this is really crucial when it becomes Digital Heritage, and looses substance.

On the other side there are several problems that are still open and that need to be faced in the next years. One of these regards the life-cycle of a virtual museum. Most of them, in fact, are financed by public institutions and are related to cultural heritage, which, we may say,

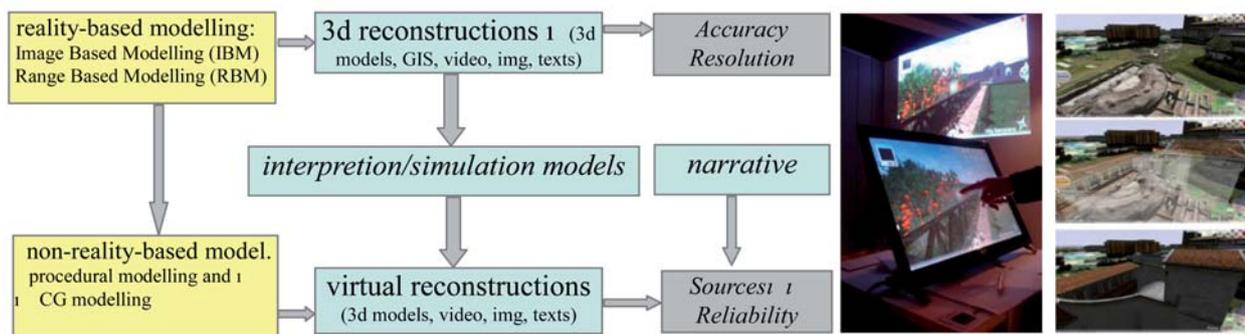


Fig. 20.1: A workflow related to the development of a virtual museum (the use case of *Aquae Patavinae VR*, developed by CNR ITABC in cooperation with University of Padova) <http://www.vhlab.itabc.cnr.it/archeovirtual/acquaeapatavinae.htm>.

belongs to the national and worldwide community. Too often we have seen in the last decade, wonderful projects that didn't survive more than 3 years, sometimes less. The risk of losing digital heritage, but also the public access to this heritage, is high and it should be avoided as much as possible.

For this reason in February 2011 a four-years Network of Excellence has been financed by the European Commission, under the 7th Framework, dedicated to Virtual Museums: V-MUST.NET (Virtual MUSEum Transnational NETwork)¹. Goals of this network, participated by 18 partners (12 European countries, 1 Mediterranean country) and 35 associated members, are the definition of evaluation criteria for the different types of Virtual Museums and the dissemination of good practice and tools to make those projects more sustainable, re-usable, exchangeable for the future benefit of national and European communities.

The Institute of Technologies Applied to Cultural Heritage (ITABC)² of the Italian National Council of Researches (CNR) is coordinating this network, due to its involvement in the domain since the end of the 90's, experimenting and developing researches in this field at its Virtual Heritage Lab (VHLab). From 2006, within CNR national reorganization, this research activity has been institutionalized and named "Virtual Heritage", including researchers coming from various CNR Institutes (such as the Institute of Science and Technologies of Cognition-ISTC, the Institute of Architectonic and Monumental Heritage-IBAM and recently the Institute of Technology applied to Education-ITD). CNR ISTI³ is the other institute involved in the project, due to its long-lasting experience in Computer Graphics and 3d digital acquisition.

Although the typical activities of the lab have been focused on archaeological data acquisition and post-processing with integrated technologies, what characterizes the VHLab mission is the attempt to communicate and disseminate virtual heritage through interactive 3d applications. Virtual Heritage goes beyond the digital reconstruction/reproduction of a cultural heritage, but it implies the entire cybernetic process of acquisition, reconstruction, simulation and validation. Following this process it is possible to

obtain a cognitive increase of the heritage, reaching different potential realities, through the combination of various models, ecosystems, communication styles interactivity level, immersivity level, etc. The entire work starts from the field, acquiring data through a reality-based modelling approach.

The acquisition process, therefore, is a part of the whole virtual heritage simulation process, and implies the use of integrated technologies. Post-processing, on the other side, requires a massive work of optimization, in order to enable huge datasets to be handled in real-time immersive systems, and in accordance with the chosen communication format. Multimedia and 3d assets are then processed and inter-connected following a specific communication style and output (fig. 20.1).

One of the first activities of V-MUST has been a first attempt of identifying categories and types of virtual museums, a necessary base for a semantic approach and for any future evaluation. The result, published in the first deliverable of the project⁴, has identified 8 main categories that can be used to identify a virtual museum:

1. Content: archaeology virtual museum, history virtual museum, natural history virtual museum, etc.
2. Interaction Technology: interactive virtual museum (device-based virtual museums, natural interaction virtual museums) and non-interactive virtual museum.
3. Duration: periodic, permanent, temporary.
4. Communication: dramatization, exposition, narration.
5. Level of Immersion: high-immersive, low-immersive, non-immersive virtual museum.
6. Sustainability level: re-usable, partially re-usable, non-reusable virtual museum.
7. Format: distributed or non-distributed virtual museum.
8. Scope: educational (EDC), edutainment (EDT), enhancement of visitor experience (EXP), entertainment (ENT), promotional (Prom), research (RES).

¹ Grant Agreement 240707. website: <http://www.v-must.net>

² <http://www.vhlab.itabc.cnr.it>

³ <http://vcg.isti.cnr.it>

⁴ http://v-must.cineca.it/sites/default/files/D2.1a_V_Mustnet_terminology.pdf

Italian Virtual Museums: transparency and identity

What follows is a description of different examples developed in the last ten years (2001–11). I will not go in detail into the different virtual museums, but I will focus on exemplary case studies, rather well known since they have been developed by the CNR ITABC VHLab. Following the London Charter 2nd principle (“A computer-based visualisation method should normally be used only when it is the most appropriate available method for that purpose”), after a short description, information is provided on motivation, the technical solution adopted and the results. The solution adopted to make data transparent is also explained (London Charter, Principles 3 and 4 “In order to ensure the intellectual integrity of computer-based visualisation methods and outcomes, relevant research sources should be identified and evaluated in a structured and documented way”, “Sufficient information should be documented and disseminated to allow computer-based visualisation methods and outcomes to be understood and evaluated in relation to the contexts and purposes for which they are deployed”). How the virtual museum could have addressed issues regarding identity is considered and finally open problems are described.

After a survey I’ve carried out in the last years, it is possible to count around 40 virtual museums developed in Italy or regarding Italian Heritage (some of them, in fact, have been developed by foreign institutions).

Although we might say that the origin of virtual museums can be seen in the 90’s with the Ename 974 Project and the Ename Charter, we can state that Italy has been quite productive in experimenting with virtual museums and creating installations inside museums, exhibitions and on line. One of the first examples is the Scrovegni Chapel Virtual Museum, that has won several prizes since it started in 2003, and that is still visible today for the visitors of the Eremitani Museum in Padova. The idea of creating such a virtual museum, came after the paintings were restored and the decision was made to keep visits to this important Italian monument restricted to a limited number of visitors (groups of no more than 15 people each time)

and for a limited period of time (no more than 15 minutes). The solution to this problem was to create a specific space, a multimedia room, inside the Eremitani museum, dedicated to the monument, the painter and the historical period. In the room the visitor can get more information through a sequence of passive (movies) and interactive moments (multimedia DVD systems and a virtual reality installation completely dedicated to the frescoes, created in OpenGL language). The data transparency issue was for the first time faced by developing a “cybermap” representing the entire maps of contents of the application (fig. 20.2). Regarding identity, the entire project was really useful for educational purposes and to strengthen the link between the citizens and their history.

The “Appia Park Narrative Virtual Museum” was created in 2005 by the same lab of CNR ITABC. It is an interactive VR device-based application, focused on Roman Archaeology and specifically on one of the largest archaeological parks in the southern part of Rome. The project was developed in 2003–4 with the goal of testing narrativity and story-telling inside interactive 3d environments, such as the reconstructed archaeological monuments inside the park, which were unknown to the Roman citizens themselves. Developed to be further improved and become a permanent off-line not distributed installation, it could not proceed. Unfortunately it has been exhibited just a couple of times during temporary exhibitions, such as the “Building Virtual Rome” expo in 2005 at the Trajan Markets Museum in Rome. The result is that this virtual museum remains *de facto* only accessible to those who have created it, inside the lab. It can be therefore considered as a Research Virtual Museum. Various possibilities relating to making digital processes transparent have been experimented with: a 3d menu appearing close to the reconstructed monument, videos summing up the entire digital process and technologies used in the reconstruction, the possibility to interactively switch between reconstructed and unreconstructed monuments to enhance and compare different potential realities (fig. 20.3). In terms of identity, one of the goals of the project was to re-

Fig. 20.2: Scrovegni Chapel Virtual Museum: the installation in Padova and the cybermap.

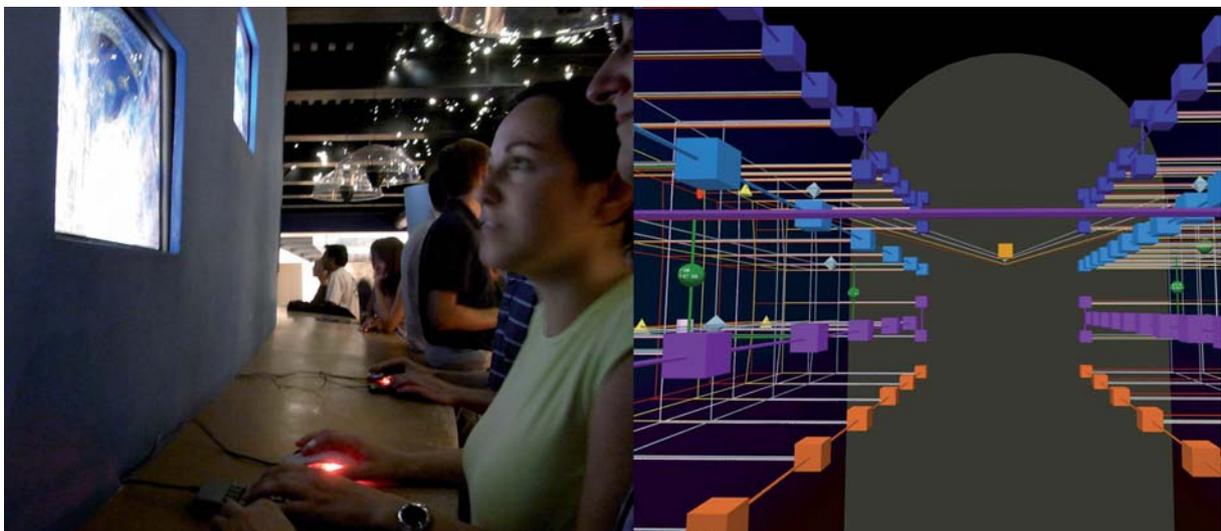




Fig. 20.3: Appia project: a video shows the acquisition process close to the reconstructed model inside the VR environment (left) and the desktop-device interactive application (right).

create a connection between the citizens and their territory, involving them in a sort of interactive game where history was described using narrative.

A new project was started immediately after the Appia one and it was opened officially in 2008: the Virtual Museum of the Ancient Via Flaminia, an installation open to the public at the Roman National Museum, Terme di Diocleziano, Rome. It is an Archaeological Virtual Museum, a multi-user on-site interactive (Device-based interaction) and immersive (stereo vision) environment, based on narrativity, whose scope is edutainment (www.vhlab.itabc.cnr.it/flaminia). One of the best experiences available to a visitor, is to be able to explore dynamically the famous Villa of Livia (Augustus's wife) at Prima Porta (Rome) and, after he has discovered a few hints, travel back in time in the reconstructed Villa to meet the emperor and his wife. Even in this case, the virtual museum has been partially developed for research purposes. We wanted to test, in fact, a different and a more collaborative and participative installation inside a museum, that usually one does not visit alone. The work done in the

reconstruction of the entire archaeological complex during the early imperial age, forced us to find new and more communicative way to inform the visitor also about the level of accuracy and reliability of the reconstructions and the sources used (fig. 20.4). The installation has remained open for four years until the middle of 2011) and it is currently in the progress of porting into another VR engine. Its complexity and also duration (more than 2 hours of show), in fact, could not fit in with the day-by-day management of the museum. After the Flaminia project, we ask the question if it was better to have only one complex installation that several visitors can together explore, or to have several different smaller installations and applications more focused in term of content and users? In 2010 we have therefore developed "Teramo Virtual City", following the second approach. The project includes 4 different applications: two accessible at the archeological museum (Teramo, Italy), one is a very simple on-site installation and finally a mobile app for I-Pod, downloadable from I-Store (fig. 20.5). "Teramo Virtual City" came from a municipality request itself and the idea of

Fig. 20.4: Virtual Museum of Ancient Via Flaminia. The installation at the museum (left) and two types of transparency strategies adopted (center and right).





Fig. 20.5: Teramo Virtual City: different applications developed.

working on the creation of a common ground for the citizens of this city, where archaeological remains are only vaguely visible, though narration and entertainment.

In the same year, 2010, we started to experiment with another kind of installation, focusing more on the creation of an immersive experience, for non-expert visitors, more than on complex and detailed content. Inside Giotto's Colour (I colori di Giotto) is a natural-interaction and art-history virtual museum, created by CNR ITABC for a temporary exhibition in Assisi (www.icoloridigiotto.it/sala_interattiva.html). The visitors have the impression of entering into a Giotto's scene (fig. 20.6), which has been reconstructed in 3d, using simply their body to move into the scene (natural interaction). Unfortunately after the closing of the exhibition this virtual museum has remained inaccessible.

"Etruscanning" project is somehow the perfect sequel of "Giotto's Colour". Etruscanning is another natural interaction virtual museum, developed in 2011–2 within the European Program Culture, by Allard Pierson Museum, CNR ITABC and Visual Dimension, and exhibited during "Etrusken" exhibit in Amsterdam and Leiden (<http://etrusken.info/en/>). In this case, an Etruscan tomb has been reconstructed and the objects

now at the Vatican museum has been re-located inside. The visitors can enter the tomb with their bodies and hear the voices of the two owners telling stories about their life, through their objects (fig. 20.7). Even in this case the narrative register has helped pretty much to create a bridge between this ancient culture, the Etruscans who were originally from Italy, and a distant place and time (Netherlands today).

The last example I'd like to discuss regards an open source archaeological on line virtual museum, still under development, dedicated to the reconstruction of a peculiar ancient landscape (Montegrotto, Padova) characterized by thermal water that was used for medical reasons from the Iron Age onwards. *Aquae Patavinae* has been developed as a research project dedicated to the use of an open source pipeline – with fully re-usable digital assets created with Reality Based Modelling – to make historical information available for the community through an on line interactive environment (www.aquaepatavinae.it). The project is based on a previous work, *Virtual Rome* (Calori *et al.* 2009). Here users can interactively explore archaeological sites, loading on top of them volumetric transparent models (results of the interpretation process) and fully reconstructed models. Another goal

Fig. 20.6: Inside Giotto's Colours natural interaction application.



Fig. 20.7: Etruscanning natural interaction application.





Fig. 20.8: Aquae Patavinae, the different models a user can upload on the scene, improving his knowledge by comparing modern and interpretative information.

was to strengthen the connection between citizens and their territory and to make tourists aware of the cultural value of the landscape which goes far beyond the thermal modern services available in the many hotels.

Although it is not thought to be an immersive application, the interaction is device-based, and we have also experimented with a couple of new types of natural-interaction (touch-screen and gesture based interaction) which led us also to modify the application by adding “portals” as new game-like details to be crossed.

sustainable (re-usable, exchangeable), more accessible and visible in public spaces or on line. V-MusT.net will study and assess the current technologies and methodologies for VMs future preservation and the impact on the lifecycle of VMs, trying to bring digital preservation to a more practical level. The main expectation of V-MusT.net is to create a wide consensus, that will be a “stimulus” for the creation of the next generation Virtual Museum. The wide consensus will be based on the sharing of a common language and of a common practical experience, acquired “on the ground” during a challenging 4-years of experiment (Interactive Lab).

V-Must.net

V-MusT.net will try to make next generation Virtual Museum more communicative and effective, more

Table 20.1: List of the considered Italian examples

Title	Location (of the virtual museum)	Content	Interaction	Duration	Communication	Immersion	Sustainability	Format	Scope	Transparency	Data acquisition	public access	Identity
Apa discovers Bologna	Genus Bononiae Museum (BolognaIT)	History, Archaeology	NoInt	Per	N	HI	R	NDs	EDT	NO	RBM	YES	Creation of a link between citizens and their history through cartoon
Appia archaeological park Virtual Museum	VHlab CNR (Rome)	Archaeology	I > DBI	T	N	LI	PR	NDs	RES	YES	RBM and IBM	NO	Creation of a link between citizens and their territory
Aquae Patavinae	on line	Archaeology	I > DBI, Natl	Per	E	NoIm	R	Ds	EDT	YES	RBM and IBM	YES	Creation of a link between citizens and their territory
Ara Pacis Virtual Tour	on line		I	Per	E		?	Ds	Prom	NO	unknowkn	YES	
Art Project by Google: Uffizi	On line	Art History	I > DBI	Per	E	NoIm	NR	Ds	Prom	NO	google street view	YES	unknown

Title	Location (of the virtual museum)	Content	Interaction	Duration	Communication	Immersion	Sustainability	Format	Scope	Transparency	Data acquisition	public access	Identity
Casal De' Pazzi	Museum of Casal De' Pazzi	Archaeology	NoInt, Natl	Per	N	NoIm	PR	NDs	EDT	NO	GIS	YES	
Cenobium	on line	Art History	I > DBI	Per	E	NoIm	R	NDs	RES	NO	RBM	YES	Creation of a link between citizens and their territory
Certosa of Bologna Virtual Museum	on line	History	I > DBI	Per	E	HI, NoIm	PR	NDs	EDT	NO	RBM	YES	Creation of a link between citizens and their territory
Daily Life in Medieval Age	Parma	History	Natl	T	D	LI	NR	NDS	EXP	NO	NreBM	NO	Creation of a link between citizens and their history
Ducati Virtual Museum	on line	Industrial Design	I > DBI	Per	E	NoIM	NR	NDs	ENT	NO	unknowkn	YES	History and development of a famous Italian brand
Etruscanning	Amsterdam	Archaeology	Natl	T	N	LI	PR	NDs	EDT	YES	RBM	YES	Creation of a link between objects on exhibit and VR reconstruction of original context. visitors experience the tomb and to know stories about owners.
Inside Giotto's Colours	Assisi	Art History	Natl	T	N	LI	NR	NDs	EDT	NO	NreBM	NO	Involvement of visitor inside the Giotto scene "L'approvazione della regola francescana"
Matera Tales of a City	Matera	History, Archaeology	NoInt, Natl	Per	N	NoIm	PR	Ds	EDT	NO	NreBM	YES	
MAV	Ercolano (Naple)	Archaeology	NoInt, Natl	Per	D	LI	NR	NDs	EXP	NO	unknowkn	YES	Several kind of interactive installations, virtual reconstruction and informations on archaeological sites of Pompei, Ercolano Baia Stabia Capri.

Title	Location (of the virtual museum)	Content	Interaction	Duration	Communication	Immersion	Sustainability	Format	Scope	Transparency	Data acquisition	public access	Identity
Mercati di Traiano. Museo dei Fori Imperiali	on line	Archaeology	I	Per	E	NoIm	NR	NDs	ENT	YES	IBM	YES	
Museo delle Pure Forme	Pisa	Art History	I	Per	E	HI	NR	NDs	Exp	NO	RBM	NO	Haptic perception of objects (sculptures), useful for researchers and blind people.
Museo Galileo	On line	Art History	I > DBI	Per	E	NoIm	NR	NDs	EDT	NO	unknowkn	YES	Digital catalogue of Galileo's inventions and projects
Museo virtuale degli strumenti musicali italiani	On line	Art History	I > DBI	Per	E	NoIm	NR	NDs	EDT	NO	unknowkn	YES	
MUVA museo virtuale online - mostre di architettura moderna	on line	Architecture	I > DBI	Per	E	NoIm	NR	NDs	ENT	NO	unknowkn	YES	
NuMe (New Museum of the City of Bologna)	On line	History	I > DBI	Per	E	LI	R	Ds	RES				
Piazza dei Miracoli 3D	on line	History	I > DBI	Per	E	NoIm	NR	NDs	EDC	NO	RBM	NO	Exploration of Piazza dei Miracoli monumental complex during the centuries, to establish a link between current and past aspects of the area.
Roman Forum AR	Amsterdam	Archaeology	I	Per		NoIm	?	Nds		?	unknowkn	YES	
Roman Villa at Boscoreale	KVL	Archaeology	I > DBI	Per	E	NoIm	?	Nds	EDT	YES	unknowkn	NO	
Roman Villa at Oplontis	KVL	Archaeology	I > DBI	Per	E	NoIm	?	NDs	EDT	YES	unknowkn	NO	
Rome MVR	I-Phone / I-Pad		I	Per			?	Ds	EDT	NO	unknowkn	YES	
Rome Rewind	Rome	Archaeology	NoInt	Per	D	HI	NR	NDs	ENT	NO	RBM	YES	
Satricum AR	Amsterdam	Archaeology	DBI	Per	E	NoIm	?	NDs	EDC	?	unknowkn	YES	

Title	Location (of the virtual museum)	Content	Interaction	Duration	Communication	Immersion	Sustainability	Format	Scope	Transparency	Data acquisition	public access	Identity
Teramo Virtual City	Archaeological Museum (Teramo)	Archaeology	I > DBI	Per	N, E	LI	PR	NDs/Ds	EDT	YES	IBM	YES	
The Virtual Museum of Iraq	On line	History, Archaeology	I > DBI	Per	E	NoIm	NR	NDs	EDT	NO	RBM	YES	keep information about Iraq National Museum (destroyed during the war) and cultural heritage available for the public.
Theatres at Pompeii	KVL	Archaeology	I > DBI	Per	N	NoIm	?	Ds	EDT	YES	unknowkn	NO	
Tiber Valley Virtual Museum	Rome	Archaeology	I > DBI	Per	N	NoIm	PR	NDs/Ds	EDT	YES	IBM, RBM	YES	Creation of a link between young and their past history through narratives
Uffizi Touch	mobile	Art History	I	Per	E	NoIm	?	Ds	EXP	NO	unknowkn	YES	
Virtual Arrigo the 7th		Art History	I	Per	E	NoIm	R?	NDs	RES		RBM	NO	Connection between data and original context.
Virtual David		Art History	NoInt	T	E	NoIm	R	NDs/Ds	RES	NO	RBM	NO	
Virtual Exhibition of Renaissance Frescoes	not accessible	Art History	I	T	E	NoIm	?	Ds	RES	NO	Unknowkn	?	
Virtual Museum of Ostia Antica	On line	Archaeology	NoInt	Per	E	NoIm	R	Ds	RES	NO	NO	?	
Virtual Museum of Palazzo Valentini	Palazzo Valentini (Rome)	Archaeology	NoInt	Per	E	LI	NR	NDs	EXP	NO	unknowkn	YES	
Virtual Museum of the Ancient Via Flaminia	Roman National Museum: Terme di Diocleziano (Rome)	Archaeology	I > DBI	C	N	LI	PR	NDs	EDT	YES	RBM and IBM	NO	
Virtual Museum of the Scrovegni Chapel	Eremitani Museum (Padova)	Art History	I > DBI	Per	E	NoIm	NR	NDs	EDT	YES	IBM	YES	Connection between 300 and nowadays history
Virtual Rome	on line	Archaeology	I > DBI	Per	E	NoIm	R	Ds	RES	YES	RBM and IBM	NO	

Conclusions

To summarize we can say that in the last ten years there have been an incredible increase of virtual museums in Italy. 2008 has been the most important year, with many examples created, around 40 cases have been developed, but only 50% are still accessible. Since one of the problems of the domain is the duration of its life-cycle, it is interesting to notice that of the 19 accessible examples, they are all “new” (from 2010) projects (28%) or/and on line (34%). While among the oldest projects (before 2009) only 23% are still visible and accessible. But if we count only those cases developed to be permanently installed inside a museum or a visitor center (not on line), the percentage is even lower: 15%.

The majority of the so-called virtual museums, 82%, are interactive installations, with different degrees of interaction, from device-based to natural-interaction. Most of them (79%) are developed to be permanently installed and used, while 13% are for temporary exhibitions and only 8% are for periodic events.

Virtual Museums developed until now have used most of all exposition as communication style (60%), 23% preferred a narrative style and only 2% used dramatization. Since just three of the examples analyzed have followed a narrative approach before 2009, we can say that this approach is more and more preferred in recent projects.

If interactivity is the characteristic of most of the Virtual Museums, the lack of a high level of immersivity is another specific aspect, perhaps due to maintenance or cost reasons. 63% of the cases are not immersive, 23% have a low level of immersivity (either big screen or stereo vision or stereo audio), while 13% are highly immersive (wide screen stereo projection and stereo audio). It would be very interesting in the future to understand more closely the connection between the use of immersive environments, the communication style chosen and the type of experience perceived by the users.

Regarding the possibility to re-use the virtual museums, one of the key factors of their life-cycle, although it was impossible to know this specific aspect in 36% of the cases, we can summarize the results of the remaining cases: 31%, the majority, are not-reusable at all (nor the digital assets, nor the software and set-ups), 21% are partially re-usable (either the assets or the software or the setups) and 10% are reusable. Despite the common understanding that virtual museums are mostly on line, the survey has underlined that the 70% of them are not distributed (on site), while only 30% are distributed (on line or mobile). Nevertheless this last category is increasing rapidly in the last years.

Regarding the scope, the 48% of the examples are focused on edutainment, underlining the importance of the learning process through gaming mechanisms. Other aims of a virtual museum are: research (15%), enhancement of visitor experience (13%), entertainment (10%), promotion (7%) and education (5%).

In the last few years, there has been an increasing interest and attention on how to communicate virtual heritage correctly, allowing both the scientific community and/or the general public to understand the entire acquisition, processing and interpretation process. This trend, started with CVRO and was then

carried out with the London Charter and the Seville Principles. The survey has therefore considered if and how “transparency”, a term used in the London Charter, was used in a virtual museum. The percentage is still very low, in comparison with the international debates that shows the importance of this topic. 63% of the examples considered in fact, do not deal with transparency issues, while only 31% try to face the problem. Most common solutions in these cases are the use of:

- transparent models which appear on top of reconstructed models,
- volumetric models,
- models with different colors as to indicate the level of reliability or the chronology,
- cyber-maps,
- pop-up windows for detailed or metadata information linked to the models,
- 3d videos or 3d menu that appear in the real time environment close to the reconstructed model,
- different level of interpretation loadable by the user interactively on top of the site as it is today,
- blog site built together with the interactive application where the developers register the entire process step by step,
- notes on reliability level on screen, connected to each reconstructed model.

Since transparency is still not exploited enough, it was difficult to have more and detailed information related to the acquisition and processing or to the connection of multimedia assets with the story. Among the 58% of known projects, 31% use Range Base Modelling, 15% Image Base Modelling (in many cases the two techniques are used in combination), while in 7% of the cases the models are developed starting from maps, plans, GIS data or they are not modelled starting from reality.

Although virtual museums are increasing and will increase more and more in the next future, there are several problems related to a short life-cycle, even due to the lack of maintenance and re-use and exchange policies that need to be solved (see the case study of Troia VR: Jablonka *et al.* 2003). Moreover some potential of this domain must be further explored, such as the use for fully educational or for promotional purposes. Another potential use of this kind of ICT applications is related to the exploitation of the identity concept. Many virtual museums have already faced it, especially choosing the narrative style both for interactive and non-interactive projects. Through narration, in fact, it has been easier to:

- create a link between citizens and their history through cartoons,
- create a link between citizens and their nation, bringing them inside the history and development of a famous Italian brand to be proud of,
- create a link between objects on display and the virtual reconstruction of the original context. Offer the opportunity for the visitor to experience an Etruscan tomb with its furniture and to know stories about its owners,
- involve visitors bringing them inside artworks, such as in the Colour of Giotto project,

- involve visitors letting them to know a famous Italian and his successes, such as in the case of Galileo and his inventions,
- create a link between objects and blind people using haptic perception,
- explore monumental complexes establishing a link between current and past aspect of an area of the territory,
- create of a link between young and their past history through narratives,
- use high resolution images to enhance vision of details and increase understanding,
- connect archaeological objects and their original context, increasing knowledge through involvement,
- create a connection between past history and nowadays through narration.

Moreover, since one of the characteristics of a virtual museum should be the communication to a user, it is not acceptable that so many projects remain unaccessible. There is no museum in fact without visitors. Several strategies should be addressed and followed in the future, even thanks to a project such as V-MusT.net:

- better use of interaction, more closely connected to the level of knowledge of the user,
- political support,
- full involvement of Cultural Heritage institutions,
- development of projects that are content-driven more than technology-driven,
- creation of new professionals inside our museums or increasing of the knowledge of the existing staff,
- increasing of re-usable and exchangeable digital assets,
- development of new business models,
- increase of digital preservation,
- disconnection between research and industry,
- increasing of knowledge on what can be done with a virtual museum.

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21 | Cradles of European culture: a Culture 2007–2013 project that aims to link local and European ambitions

Dirk Callebaut

Abstract: In 2010 the European Commission selected the five-year project “Cradles of European Culture” (CEC) within the framework of the Culture 2007–2013 programme. The aim of this project is, first of all, to bring to the attention of the public a lesser-known part of European history, namely the historical territory of Francia Media. Starting from this case the CEC project wants to examine experimentally if heritage really has the necessary impact to persuade the broad public of the European idea. In order to succeed local heritage from 10 countries was interwoven in a network that specifically focuses on the European theme of Unity and Diversity. The investigation of archaeological, architectural and environmental heritage is structurally linked to public outreach. A Community-based approach is a key element in all of this.

Excavations in Ename (Belgium): the starting point of an extensive EU project

The European project “Cradles of European Culture” originates in Ename, a rural village situated in the valley of the Scheldt in Belgium.

During a very short period – from the year 960 until 1050 – this place played an important role in the early medieval history of at least three European nations: France, Belgium and Germany. The determining factor was its strategic location along the River Scheldt, which, from A.D. 925 onwards, formed the border between Francia Occidentalis, the French kingdom, and Francia Orientalis, the Ottonian Empire.

The Ottonian emperor developed Ename first to guarantee the economic profits of the Middle Scheldt region and, later on, around the year 1000, to safeguard the political border along the Scheldt with the margravian centres of Antwerp, Ename and Valenciennes. The site was managed by Godfried of Verdun and Mathilde Billung. Both belonged to the high nobility, respectively the Lorraine and Saxon aristocracy. Their son, Herman of Verdun, would develop the place into one of the important centres of the duchy of Lorraine, a territory stretching from the North of the Netherlands to the Swiss Alps (fig. 21.1).

This glamorous period lasted until the year 1050, when the site came into the hands of the opponent on the other side of the Scheldt, the count of Flanders. He demilitarized the place by founding a Benedictine abbey which remained until the French Revolution.

From 1982 the National Service for Excavations and its successors, the Institute for the Archaeological Patrimony (1989) and the Flemish Heritage Institute (2004), conducted an extensive multidisciplinary investigation in collaboration with universities and the Department for Monuments and Landscapes (Callebaut 1991, 2010). The result was an intensive heritage project that approached the investigation of the archaeological, architectural and environmental heritage as a whole and linked the research structurally to an innovative public outreach. Increasing government support was essential for the Ename project and grew into an intergovernmental collaboration between the Flemish authorities, the province of East Flanders and the town of Oudenaarde. This led to innovative research and the generation of new presentation techniques, the foundation of a trend-setting provincial archaeological museum and the development of Ename into a veritable heritage village with respect for its historical landscape and its monumental and archaeological patrimony. Also because the local population was involved in the global project from the beginning and actively participated in the whole plan, the project received international recognition. In 2007 Ename was awarded the European Heritage Label and the heritage operations themselves formed one of the points of departure for the ICOMOS Charter for Presentation and



Fig. 21.1: Reconstruction drawing of Ename around the year 1020. The castrum with its keep and prestigious aula and the two stone churches dedicated respectively to Saint Salvator and Saint Laurentius dominate the margravian centre (Daniel Pletinckx - Visual Dimension bvba).



Fig. 21.2: Ename. The present Saint Laurentius church has preserved its original architecture to an important extent (Daniel Pletinckx - Visual Dimension bvba).



Fig. 21.3: Reconstruction drawing of the Ottonian Saint Laurentius church situated in the present churchyard (Daniel Pletinckx - Visual Dimension bvba).

Interpretation of Cultural Heritage sites, also commonly known as the ICOMOS Ename Charter (Callebaut 2012). We will begin by discussing the important find that helped to create the EU project “Cradles of European Culture”. This was a unique monument from about the year 1000, when the margravian centre of Ename flourished. The castrum was located in a meander of the Scheldt and was a prestigious setting with a stone keep and an aula with capella. The adjoining settlement was dominated by two churches, dedicated to Saint Salvator and Saint Laurentius. Research showed that the Saint Laurentius church had been very well preserved and this discovery would greatly influence the future development of the Ename project. The building is remarkable because of its architectural concept as well as because of its well-preserved interior. It is a basilical church with an east and a west choir, which is quite unusual in Flanders (fig. 21.2; fig. 21.3). The east choir in particular with its two altar floors and rich incidence of light is striking (fig. 21.4). The architectural ornamentation inside is dominated by blind niches that give a strong rhythm to the walls of both choirs. Blind arches also decorate the outside

of the east choir. The interior elements that have been preserved are of exceptional value, such as the graffiti and the murals and, in particular, the *Majestas Domini* in fresco. The wall painting dates from the first quarter of the 11th century and has a form language inspired by Byzantium.

The iconological study sheds light on the deeper motives of the patron, Herman of Verdun. During his rule the border between the French kingdom and the Ottonian empire was hotly disputed. And Ename had a foremost strategic position. A historical text puts it very clearly: Ename had to withstand enemy attacks “for the stability of the realm and the loyalty to the emperor”. To symbolize this fidelity Herman of Verdun chose a building programme that was designed to show the direct bond between the commissioner and the imperial authority. Hence the two choirs, just like in the great imperial churches. The east choir can be interpreted as an architectural quotation of the Carolingian palace chapel in Aachen. The blind arches are an architectural form language derived from, among other examples, buildings in Ravenna, the anchorage place of the Ottonian emperors in Italy. From the end

Fig. 21.4: Ename. The eastern part of the Saint Laurentius church during the investigation before the restoration.



Fig. 21.5: The restored east choir with two altar floors and the Byzantine inspired *Majestas Domini* (Daniel Pletinckx).



of the 10th century onwards blind arches appear in important Ottonian centres and may be considered to be an “imperial hallmark”. Also the patron saint, Saint Laurentius, referred to the ideology of the emperor. In order to highlight the elite character of the construction even more, top-level artists that had mastered the Byzantine style were called in to paint the interior.

Because the Saint Laurentius church was conceived as a stone identifying mark of fidelity to the emperor, the monument is an exquisite example of early medieval imported architecture in Flanders.

These surprising results of the investigations determined the restoration that took place in 2000–2 (fig. 21.5). Because of the recognisability and the originality of the early medieval building the central axis of the church was restored to its primitive state. The aisles were left with the later interventions. This restoration concept was selected by the European Commission as a model project in view of the conservation of the European architectural heritage. This recognition was a stimulus to situate the church in a broader context. Moreover, the architectural references to Aachen and Ravenna, two anchor sites in Francia Media, the Carolingian Middle Realm, were important. Local architecture suddenly proved to be linked to European architecture. This led to the idea of situating the local aspect of an early medieval site along the river Scheldt within the story of Francia Media.

Francia Media and Europe

The history of Francia Media starts in A.D. 843, when Charlemagne’s realm is divided among his three grandsons by the treaty of Verdun. Louis the German was given Francia Orientalis (the future Germany), Charles the Bald obtained Francia Occidentalis (the future France) and Lotharius inherited the imperial crown and Francia Media, the Carolingian Middle Realm (fig. 21.6). To an important extent rivers demarcated this territory: the western frontier was, by and large, formed by the Rhône, the Saône, the Meuse and the Scheldt, the eastern border by the Rhine. The unity of this part of the realm was broken after Lotharius died in A.D. 855, as the region was, in its turn, divided among his three sons. Louis II became emperor and obtained the

kingdom of Italy, Lotharius II inherited the northern part that was called Lotharingia after him, and Charles got the kingdom of Provence and large parts of Burgundy. One by one these territories would be annexed by the East Frankish realm that had evolved into the Ottonian Empire: Lorraine in about A.D. 925, Italy in A.D. 963 and Provence/Burgundy in A.D. 1033. All these complex divisions make it understandable that the broad public is rather unfamiliar with the history of the Carolingian Middle Realm, however mistakenly so.

The European middle strip of Francia Media formed a central entity that stretched from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, from Friesland to Flanders, Italy, Slovenia and Croatia. It was the most important north-south connection in early medieval Europe as far as culture, communication, technology and economy were concerned. In this transit zone the Latin, Germanic and Slavic world confronted one another, resulting in great cultural diversity which, among other things, shows in the rich variety of languages. Sadly enough it was also in this region that nationalistic conflicts dramatically came to a head in the 20th century.

Even today, the historical territory of Francia Media is of the utmost significance. It is characterized by an intensive urbanization, a rich cultural differentiation and a strongly developed business life. Here the “European Idea” was launched after World War II. Among the 7 politicians who are generally considered to be Europe’s Founding Fathers only one does not originate from the former Francia Media region: Jean Monnet, who comes from Cognac. The countries that signed the treaty of Rome in 1957 were all part of the Francia Media territory, either completely or partially. And the centres of government of the European Union, such as Brussels, Strasbourg and Luxembourg, are situated in the northern part of Francia Media that was formerly known as Lorraine, the homeland of the Carolingians.

To explain the significance of Francia Media to the broad public from its early medieval period as well as from its current topicality a large-scale European project was started, which initially focused on scientific research. Two colloquiums were organized in 2006. The first was organized in Metz, Luxembourg and Trier under the direction of Michèle Gaillard and Michel Margue. Its theme was “*From the North Sea to the Mediterranean: Francia Media, a region at the heart of Europe, c 840 – c 1050*” (Gaillard et al. 2011) and the political, institutional, economic and social history were dealt with. The second colloquium was managed by Xavier Barral i Altet and Alain Dierkens and took place in Brussels, Ghent and Enam. “*Francia Media: culture and cultural exchanges at the heart of Europe, 850–1050*” concentrated on culture, languages, art and architecture.

This scientific interest in Francia Media persuaded the scientific committee of CLUDEM (Centre Luxembourgeois de Documentation en d’Études Médiévales) to devote the 14th Journées Lotharingiennes in 2006 to “*La Lotharingie en question: identités, oppositions, intégration*”.



Fig. 21.6: The division of the realm of Charlemagne into three parts, with Francia Media as the central part (Tom Nevejan).

If there was quite a lot of scientific commitment to obtain new insights concerning Francia Media, there were also initiatives needed to bring this knowledge to the broad public. One option was an international exhibition, so European opportunities were considered to tell the story of the Carolingian Middle Realm in an innovative way. The European Culture 2007–13 programme fitted perfectly. The objective of this programme is “to celebrate Europe’s cultural diversity and enhance our shared cultural heritage through the development of cross-border co-operation between cultural operators and institutions”. The project “*Cradles of European Culture*” (CEC) was submitted and selected by the European Commission at the beginning of 2010. CEC is supported by 28 heritage institutions, universities, museums and scientific institutions from 10 countries: Slovenia, Croatia, Italy, Slovakia, Czech republic, Germany, France, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. It runs from 1 November 2010 till 31 October 2015. The Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia (Jelka Pirkovič and Špela Karo) manages the project. The scientific coordination is handled by Francia Media East Flanders (pam Ename, pam Velzeke & Ename Center Francia Media: Dirk Callebaut).

“Cradles of European Culture”: a challenge for heritage presentation

The main purpose of the CEC project is to make the citizens interested in European history and more specifically in the slightly forgotten part of European history which is Francia Media. Via this newly acquired historical knowledge the project intends to make them aware of the fact that Europe is more than just rules and duties, but that there is also such a thing as a common and shared European culture. History then becomes a foothold for the acceptance of one’s own European culture, which, in its turn, can lead to the recognition that, whatever one’s own nationality, one can feel oneself truly European.

Of course, the question is how we will realize this ‘Europe feeling’ concretely with the help of Francia Media’s heritage. And this is also the biggest challenge: what methodology are we going to use to make the story of Francia Media meaningful socially for today’s Europeans?

We have three points of departure:

- Local heritage forms the basis for the story of Francia Media;
- The past is considered from topical questions;
- A community-based approach is a must.

A creative combination of extensive research of the archaeological, architectural and environmental heritage, up-to-date data retrieval and presentation of heritage, innovative technology, cultural education and participation are the tools we will use to tell the history of Francia Media. The eye-catchers will be a travelling international exhibition and an innovative Francia Media heritage route (www.cradlesec.eu).

Local heritage forms the basis for the story of Francia Media

European culture is characterized by a strong stratification embedded in an intense variety with frequent overlapping. This specific stratification evokes the image of an archaeological profile. Also there we notice how occupation phases, working levels, stagnation phases, burial layers and reconstruction levels have accumulated through time and have cut into one another. Therefore these profiles are important boundary stones that testify in an objective way to the great revolutions, from prehistory until the 21st century, that Europe has experienced socially, politically, economically and religiously.

The layer that the CEC project extracts from this archaeological-historical package is the level of Francia Media, covering the period A.D. 843–1033. Because we attach an almost iconic significance to the specific stratification of the archaeological profile, what it now comes down to is to select a number of heritage sites that are representative in order to rescue Francia Media from oblivion (fig. 21.7). Precisely because of this representativeness the sites have to meet the following criteria.

- The site is characterized by the presence of archaeological, monumental and Environmental heritage.
- The site has transnational significance and is thus relevant for European culture at large.
- Heritage will be scientifically studied and interpreted at the site.
- There is government support for the development of the site into a Public space.

A survey of the selected sites.



Fig. 21.7: Map showing the sites that are part of the Francia Media heritage route (Tom Nevejan).



Fig. 21.8: Biskupija (Croatia). View of the excavations at the archaeological site of Crkvina, seat of the Croatian court bishop and the Croatian King (MHAS).

Biskupija (Croatia)

The archaeological site of Crkvina is located in the village of Biskupija, which used to be known as Kosovo and also as the villa regalis. The connection with the Croatian royal dynasty has been confirmed by the discovery of five Pre-Romanesque churches, of which the church of St. Mary, the largest, was a royal mausoleum in the 9th century (fig. 21.8). Its roots go back to the Pre-Christian Slavic period in the late 8th century, in the form of a cemetery with about 10 graves of chieftains containing arms and luxurious horse equipment of Carolingian provenance. In the first half of the 9th century, a new basilica with a western block was erected, excelling in size all other churches on Croatian territory. In the 11th century, Kosovo (Biskupija) became the seat of the Croatian court bishop and Croatian king. As one of the key monuments of the Croatian past, Crkvina has been subject to intense research and publication for well over a century (Gunjaca 1953 & Petrinc 2009).

CEC partners: Rijeka University & Museum of the Croatian Archaeological Monuments, Split.

Gradišče above Bašelj (Slovenia)

The place designates a steep elevation rising up 873 meters above sea level in the foothills of the mountain called Storžič. The archaeological site extends over the rocky hilltop, steep slopes and several terraces. The excavations undertaken by the archaeological team of the National Museum of Slovenia in 1998 have established the existence of a settlement from the 5th–6th century and uncovered another layer with numerous archaeological finds from the period between the end of the 8th century and the beginning of the 10th century (fig. 21.9). The profusion and abundance of finds turns the place into a reference site, not only in Slovenia, but also in a wider European context (Knific 1999)

Fig. 21.10: Kostalany (Slovakia). View of the church of Saint George whose wall paintings are the oldest preserved in Central Europe (first half 11th century).



Fig. 21.9: Gradišče above Bašelj . (Slovenia). Excavations in the early medieval settlement that spanned the fascinating period from the 5th till the 10th century (National Museum of Slovenia)

CEC partners: Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia; National Museum of Slovenia.

Kostľany (Slovakia) – European Heritage Label

The Saint George church of Kostolany is exceptional because of its magnificent wall paintings. The building itself dates from the first half of the 11th century and was a very simple one-nave church with a rectangular choir (fig. 21.10). The murals in the interior belong not only to the eldest and best preserved in the Slovak Republic, but in the whole of Central Europe.

The preserved parts of the composition show an underlying uniform and complex scheme for the decoration of the whole church. The wall paintings belong to the international style around A.D. 1000, the roots of which reach back to Italy and Rome (Maříková-Kubková & Baxa 2009).

CEC partners: the Monuments Board of the Slovak Republic.

Praha (Czech Republic) – UNESCO World Heritage site

Prague Castle is located on a long ridge along the left bank of the Vltava (fig. 21.11). A settlement and a cemetery with a warrior's grave and a possible cultic centre are the first witnesses of permanent occupation from the last quarter of the 9th century onwards. The various churches founded by the rulers on the site in the





Fig. 21.11: Prague (Czech Republic). View from the Moldau of Prague Castle, which dominates the city.

10th century are remarkable. It seems that the balance of power changed after the mid-10th century. The ridge with its impressive buildings became the seat of a diocese and grew into the spiritual center of Bohemia in the course of the 11th century. During the following centuries Prague castle evolved into the centre of power of the political as well as the religious authorities of the Premyslid principdom and later Central European states (Maříková-Kubková & Herichová 2009).

CEC partners: Institute of Archaeology of the AS CR, Prague & National Museum of Prague.

Ingelheim (Germany)

One of the most special imperial palaces of Charlemagne can be found in Ingelheim. It is a semi-circular complex with an impressive aula regia, a royal hall, of which

Fig. 21.12: Ingelheim (Germany). The sector of the Kaiserpfalz with the existing building remains completed by digital reconstruction of the other buildings.



important parts are still standing (fig. 21.12). The whole complex refers to the Roman villa and palace architecture and is therefore a beautiful example of the Carolingian idea of *Renovatio Imperii Romanorum*, the ambition to revive classical culture. As a matter of fact, the CEC project pays particular attention to this theme. Louis the Pious, son of Charlemagne, died in Ingelheim in 840. Charlemagne's palace complex was a favourite residence of the Ottonian emperors and they renovated and extended the buildings. During the past decade the town council invested in the opening-up of the Kaiserpfalz to the public (Holger 2001; Holger 2011).

CEC partners: Roman-Germanic Commission of the German Archaeological Institute, Frankfurt, & Museum bei der Kaiserpfalz, Ingelheim.

Nijmegen (The Netherlands)

The Valkhof is situated on the steep edge of a hill facing the river Waal, in the oldest city of the Netherlands. The strategic location caught the attention of, among others, the Romans, who built a castellum there. Charlemagne constructed a royal palatium on the hill, where he celebrated Easter in A.D. 777. Charlemagne's successors, the rulers of Francia Media, visited Nijmegen regularly. After partial destruction by the Vikings, the imperial residence continued to receive important visitors, including the Empress Theophanu, who died at the Valkhof on 15 June 991 (fig. 21.13). Recent investigations by Dr. Elizabeth den Hartog make it likely that her son, Otto III, had the chapel of Saint Nicholas built at the Valkhof in honour of his mother and after the example of the palace chapel in Aachen (Thissen 1995, Willems & Enckevort 2009).

CEC partners: City of Nijmegen, Dept. of City Development, Office of Archaeology & CLUE, interdisciplinary research institute for the Heritage and History of the Cultural Landscape and Urban Environment.

Fig. 21.13: Nijmegen (The Netherlands). The Valkhof, housing one of the important residences of Charlemagne. In front are the remains of the Saint Maarten chapel, the so-called Barbarossa ruin, at the back the Saint Nicolaas church. This church was possibly built by Otto III in memory of his mother, Theophanu, who died in Nijmegen on 15 June 1991.





Fig. 21.14: Velzeke (Belgium). The Saint Maarten church, of which the east choir is an important remnant of the Ottonian imperial church (third quarter 11th century) (pam Velzeke).

Velzeke (Belgium)

Excavations of the past 30 years have revealed an important Roman vicus. The junction of an east-west road and of a road coming from Bavay boosted the spatial and economic development of the village during the 1st and 2nd century. Roman occupation lasted till the third quarter of the 3rd century. In the middle of the 10th century, a monumental church arose in Velzeke in an architectural style that can be called typically Ottonian (fig. 21.14). This imperial church was owned by Godfried van Verdun, who ruled Ename with his wife Mathilde Billung. His son, Herman of Verdun had very strong ties with Velzeke because two of his children, who died prematurely, were buried in the Saint Martinus church of Velzeke (Rogge & Deschieter 2007).

CEC partners: Provincial Archaeological Museum of Velzeke – pam Velzeke.

Ename (Belgium) – European Heritage Label

The Ottonian site with its castrum, adjacent settlement and Saint Laurentius church has already been explained earlier. We just want to emphasize that the

Fig. 21.15: Ename (Belgium). The Provincial Heritage Centre built in the archaeological park of Ename (Belgium) offers a new forum for European, national, regional and local heritage activities (Tom Nevejan, Digital Cordon Bleu bvba).



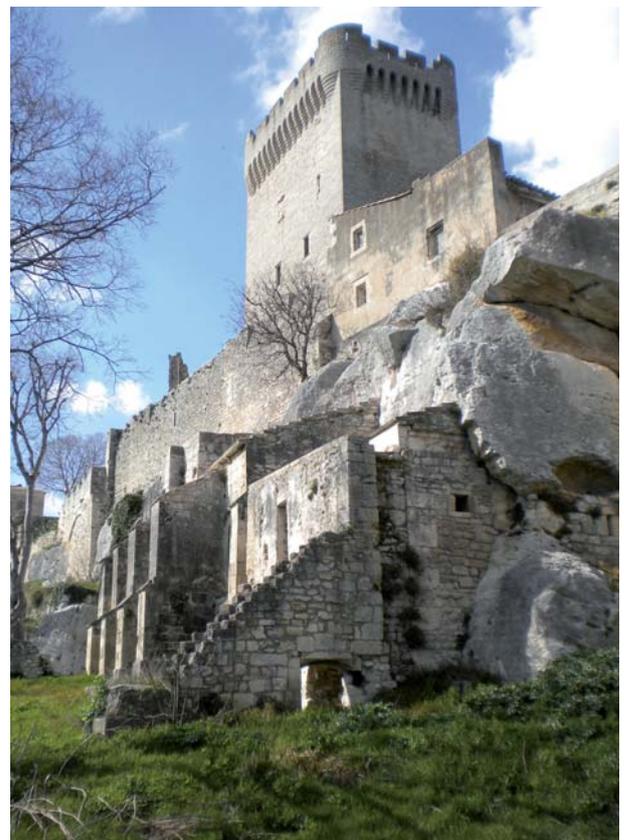
intensive collaboration between the Flemish region, the government of the province of East Flanders and the town of Oudenaarde enabled a temporary excavation to develop into a government project that, in itself, became an argument to consider the research of the archaeological, architectural and environmental heritage as an entirety. It is clear then that this global approach only makes sense socially if the public outreach is structurally linked to scientific studies. The new Provincial Heritage Centre that was officially opened in 2010 offers a magnificent opportunity to develop this view on heritage care (fig. 21.15).

CEC partners: Provincial Archaeological Museum of Ename – pam Ename & Ename Expertise Centre Francia Media.

Montmajour (France) – UNESCO World Heritage site

At the entrance of the Rhône valley and near the Mediterranean the region of Arles and the Alpilles was an important 'border area' of Francia Media, open to trade but also exposed to crises. Between A.D. 850 and A.D. 1050 radical political, social and economic changes took place around the city of Arles. The advent of feudalism drastically restructured the landscape inherited from Antiquity. Located two kilometres from Arles, the Benedictine abbey of Montmajour epitomized this renewal. Founded in 948 with the

Fig. 21.16: Montmajour (France). Partial view of the monumental patrimony of the Benedictine abbey, one of the most exceptional monasteries in the Provence (Nicolas Lamoureux, Aix-Marseille Université-LA3M).



support of the leading aristocracy, it became one of the most important monasteries of the Provence (fig. 21.16). The site will be the centre of a systematic and archaeological study extended to the Arles/Alpes region during the 9th–12th centuries (Soares-Christen 1999, Mazel 2002).

CEC partners: Université d'Aix-Marseille

Ravenna (Italy) – UNESCO World Heritage site

This city of art and culture is an ancient place that 1600 years ago became a capital three times: of the western Roman empire, of Theodoric, king of the Goths, and of the Byzantine exarchate. The magnificence of this period has left a great heritage of historical buildings that are of the utmost importance for Western European art history. Ravenna keeps within its ancient walls the richest heritage of mosaics dating from the 5th and the 6th centuries (fig. 21.17). It was there that Christian iconology originated, a mixture of symbolism and realism, of Roman and Byzantine tradition that influenced European art and culture for many centuries (Carile 1991, Mauskopf 2010)

CEC partners: Istituto Beni Culturali – Regione Emilia Romagna & Università degli Studi di Padova – Dipartimento di Storia delle Arti Visive e della Musica.

All these sites have been linked up via a heritage route, which not only traverses the actual Francia Media territory, but also reaches outside its historical borders and explores other adjacent regions such as Francia Orientalis (Ingelheim), Bohemia (Prague), Slovakia (Kostol'any), Slovenia (Gradišče above Bašelj) and Croatia (Biskupija – Crkvina). By involving these areas in the project there is a richer palette of European cultures, as every site is truly a jewel in the European heritage crown. Hence the project was appropriately named *"Cradles of European Culture"*.

The selected heritage sites are the beacons within this complex European story and form its leitmotiv. They are not only important because of the heritage value of the locality itself, but chiefly because they truly function as centres of interpretation that can be relevant regionally as well as nationally and on a European level, all within the spirit of the ICOMOS Ename Charter. Therefore the development of these centres will be based on a structural collaboration between scientific and heritage



institutions, tourist offices and other institutions that are involved in public outreach concerning heritage.

The past is considered from topical questions

The second important pillar of the CEC project, besides the heritage route, is the international travelling exhibition. It shows a synthesis of the knowledge the aforementioned Francia Media sites have provided and of the scientific research that was carried out concerning Francia Media in recent times.

However, how to make this history relevant for the contemporary European is a question that is not easily answered by any public historian. Looking for accidental similarities between today and the past, as so often happens, is no real solution, certainly not so for a huge project as *"Cradles of European Culture"*.

We started from a different point of view and asked ourselves: what interests Europeans today? On the one hand it is the fact that Europe has become an integral part of their daily life, even to the extent that they are confronted with Europe in their own kitchens. On the other hand, the call for national and regional identity has become louder and louder, partly because of the present crisis. In other words, at the moment diversity comes to the fore more strongly than unity. The confrontation between both is not just a contemporary phenomenon in Europe. On the contrary, the division of the realm of Charlemagne in A.D. 843 is a splendid example of this. At the time Carolingian Europe was divided in power blocks that developed their own policies, which we feel are still relevant for European policy today.

To explain to the visitor of the exhibition that this tension between the pursuit of unity and the emphasis on a national or regional identity is deeply rooted in European history, we use the Francia Media theme as a model case.

The exhibition clearly shows the diversity of communities by referring to the differences in geography, climate, landscape, political structures, administrative and linguistic borders. It is therefore important that attention is not only paid to the Carolingian Middle Realm, but that also a part of Central Europe and Southeast Europe is involved in the whole. The sites of the Francia Media heritage route will then explain specific themes such as economy, landscape, social stratification, urbanization, mobility, art and religion.

The visitor will be surprised to find that the rulers at the time, just like nowadays, also used culture besides governmental policies to realize a certain degree of 'solidarity' within these very different and self-conscious communities. The leverage they used consisted of, among other things, the use of Latin as an official language, the propagation of Christianity as a spiritual umbrella for social life and the reversion to classical civilization as a source of inspiration for various artistic realisations.

Fig. 21.17: Ravenna (Italy). The choir of the Saint Vitale church. The building decorated with unique mosaics (6th century) is an extraordinary monument in European art history and was a source of inspiration for the palace chapel Charlemagne had built in Aachen (IBC_SCA6940 Photo: IBACN - Andrea Scardova).



Fig. 21.18: A remarkable case of intercultural relationship: the sarcophagus of duke Borna found in the church of Saint Mary in Biskupija (Croatia). He was the first Croatian duke mentioned in documentary sources. His stone coffin was a Roman sarcophagus. A Christian cross was carved on its cover (MHAS).

The exhibition provides new insights in these cultural mechanisms and shows where the borderline was between the particular and the common (figs 21.18, 21.19).

Not only solutions and successes from the past will be shown, but also failures. The endeavours of the 9th–10th century were not really successful because the counties and duchies became more and more independent in a later period.

But the dream of unity somehow stayed alive. The visitor will therefore be introduced to the ambition of the Burgundian duke, Charles the Bold, who wanted to restore Lorraine, the core of Francia Media, to its former glory. His death in A.D. 1477 during the memorable battle of Nancy finally destroyed all his plans for unification.

Also the figure of Napoleon and his ambition to conquer Europe will be discussed.

In 2014 Belgium and Europe intend to commemorate how World War I started a hundred years ago. At the time an important part of the western front was situated in the former Francia Media area. This is no coincidence. Indeed, the age-long struggle between France and Germany originated precisely in the division of Charlemagne's heritage, with the transit zone of Francia Media as a highly desirable region. The struggle would ultimately only stop at the end of World War II in 1945. This aspect of Francia Media's past too will be explained to the visitors in a captivating way: the Carolingian Middle Realm as a European conflict zone originating with the treaty of Verdun in A.D. 843. The public will also be made clear how this treaty was misused by Hitler in a devious way to justify his ambition of a Nazi Europe.

Fig. 21.20: Open-air theatrical performance amidst the excavations in Enneme. Three plays were staged at two-year intervals. The massive interest in the performances brought the village closer to the research project and convinced the authorities of the province of East Flanders to develop a heritage park in the village centre and along the Scheldt (Dirk Callebaut).



Fig. 21.19: Duke Borna, who died in 821, was a Frankish vassal. In his tomb Carolingian spurs adorned with crosses were found and also Byzantine coinage (MHAS).

Finally, the exhibition continues on the same line into the 21st century, showing the milestones of Europe's evolution after World War II: from a project that focused on "Nie wieder Krieg" to today's large-scale operation of which one of the particular objectives is to look for a European identity based on the individual culture of the various member states.

Charlemagne died on 28 February A.D. 814. In 2014 – 1200 years later – the CEC exhibition titled "The Heritage of Charlemagne 814–2014" will start in the Provincial Heritage Centre of Enneme. It will be adapted to the region it will be shown in and travel further to Ravenna, Marseille and Prague. Moreover, every site of the Francia Media heritage route will be able to present the essence of the exhibition on site.

EU president, Herman Van Rompuy, is chairman of the committee of patrons of the exhibition. As far as Flanders is concerned, minister-president Kris Peeters, minister Joke Schauvliege and deputy Jozef Dauwe are also members.

A community-based approach is a must

One of the basic principles of the ICOMOS Enneme Charter is the involvement of community groups in the opening-up of heritage sites. We experienced how important this principle is while developing the Enneme project. At the beginning the excavations on site were



considered to be a rather strange event. The change came when we approached the local community by organizing guided tours, putting up information panels, staging open-air theatrical performances amidst the excavations and, particularly, by publishing the Ename 974 newspaper thrice a year (fig. 21.20). The inhabitants of Ename and the surrounding area started to look upon the heritage project as something they knew about personally. The consequence was that they became more and more involved in the whole project and that their ideas and proposals were taken into account in its development. The provincial archaeological museum, situated in the village centre of Ename, became as it were the 'personal' museum of the villagers and people started to donate family heirlooms. There was a growing awareness that Ename has an identity of its own, based on a fascinating past. And this understanding revived the village. The 'Feeste t'Ename' is the annual village fair. It was a vague recollection of the medieval annual kermis that included an important horse fair. This custom had died out a long time ago, but because Ename's past had become socially relevant thanks to the thorough research and the public outreach, it was decided to organise the horse fair again. It was a symbolic deed: Ename had evolved from a quiet and peaceful village by the Scheldt into a lively and modern 'lieu de mémoire'. Detachment had changed into participation of the community, and this evolution was made possible by informing the people about the village's past in a captivating and attractive way, also referring to Ename's relation with the outside world ranging from the local surroundings to the duchy of Lorraine and the Ottonian empire.

If a local site wants to grow into a 'lieu de mémoire' for its own population, an ample transfer of knowledge is an absolute condition. That is why the people responsible for the different Francia Media heritage sites pay a lot of attention to this particular aspect of community approach: to present public history on a high qualitative level. The Czech (Prague) and Slovakian (Kostoľany) teams have developed a methodology that streamlines the build-up of knowledge concerning a site. Each heritage site is analysed regarding place, space and time in a way that makes it possible to determine, for instance, common principles for the origin of the sites and to explain analogies in the economic and cultural functioning of centres and in their interactions.

By approaching sites that way and by explaining them with sufficient public outreach, local inhabitants as well as travelling Europeans will become more aware of the proper value of a heritage site and they will be supplied with adequate knowledge to make the necessary connections within the rich and differentiated cultural heritage that is so characteristic for Europe.

When sites have been analysed regarding place, space and time and have been compared to one another, it is most probable that the diversity of the regions and their respective roles in that great European heritage story will be understood concretely and will be better received. The CEC project wants to build up expertise in this specific approach. That is why heritage sites within the former Francia Media and the adjacent regions in Central and Southeast Europe have been grouped around specific themes.

Gradišče above Bašelj and Biskupija are studied by the Slovenian and Croatian teams respectively and the public-oriented presentations take early medieval frontier societies as a starting point. Slavonic, Carolingian and Byzantine influences turned the region into a melting pot of cultures, which still has its impact today.

The Czech and the Slovakian teams examined **Prague and Kostoľany** from the viewpoint of the transversal world of the western Slavs of Central Europe, a world that started looking towards Francia Media and especially Northern Italy after the Christianisation around the end of the 9th century.

For the French team **Montmajour** is the point of departure to tell the story of the Provence, the Mediterranean gateway leading to Francia Media. With its local and interregional exchanges and its landscape in transformation, the region is symbolic for the transit zone the Carolingian Middle Realm in fact was.

The Belgian, Dutch and German teams bring the northern part of Francia Media to life with **Velzeke and Ename, Nijmegen and Ingelheim**. They chiefly focus on the sweeping economic and political developments that eventually turned the tribal land of the Carolingians into a meeting place as well as a conflict zone up to the 20th century.

Ravenna, the cultural 'capital' of Francia Media is used by the Italian team as a model example of the *Renovatio Imperii Romanorum* strategy of the Ottonian emperors, who in that way expressed their longing for the return of the Roman empire.

This short survey of the content of the history of Francia Media gives an idea of how the past of the Carolingian Middle Realm will be approached, starting from the local heritage site as well as from the more general European context in the exhibition. And the people managing the development of the heritage sites as well as the people responsible for the exhibition are well aware of the fact that they need to involve the communities in all of this as closely as possible.

The possibilities are innumerable. For instance: a website is being developed for the Francia Media heritage route that is specifically addressed to children and that will try, via games, to keep their interest alive for the cultural-historical route and the sites that are part of it.

In connection with the theme of the *Renovatio Imperii Romanorum* a programme will be developed during the school year 2013–2014 concerning *The role of the classical legacy in contemporary Europe*. The project is geared to schools, museums, students and teachers and will use different lines of approach to give the classical heritage once more a place in the life of the young.

The exhibition "*The heritage of Charlemagne 814–2014*" will also address the young via educational programmes and will invite the broad public for public debates during which today's Europe and the Europe of the future will be discussed openly with European representatives and national and local authorities.

A final consideration

Sustainability is one of the very important mainstays in cultural-historical project development. Hence the

question: what will remain after “Cradles of European Culture” has come to an end in 2015?

The project brochures and publications certainly will. There will be a catalogue of the exhibition and a book on the Francia Media heritage route, in which the heritage sites are presented in an attractive and interesting synthesis. There will also be the CEC Methodological Handbook in which the different ways of realizing the heritage experience are compared and examined. Linked to the expertise acquired in the course of the CEC project it will be a useful guide for the development of future projects.

These are the certainties. But there is more.

In an interview the famous Dutch public historian Geert Mak said that history is all about laying a never-ending mosaic of new stories, time and again. This beautiful image shows precisely what makes history so fascinating. “Cradles of European Culture” has encapsulated the dynamism of continually telling new stories in its core: the Francia Media heritage route. Indeed, the sites that are linked up to one another by the route want to be more than just tourist spots. In relation with their surroundings they are stimulated within the CEC project to develop into interpretation centres where local history is linked to the great European story. And because this is a never-ending story, the Francia Media sites hold in themselves the beautiful promise of a sustainable future for the “Cradles of European Culture”.

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EUROPE Le pouvoir d'une idée collective

1 | Archéologie, hommes des cavernes, mégalithes et la formation des identités européennes

Ulf Ickerodt

Les archéologues, en tant que scientifiques et en tant que membres d'institutions de protection du patrimoine archéologique, sont, en ce qui concerne leur travail quotidien, partagés entre les exigences de la recherche scientifique et leur mandat administratif. Néanmoins, en temps normaux, ils perçoivent leur champ d'investigation comme une science pure et simple. Pourtant les sites archéologiques et les artefacts ont une fonction d'inspiration sociale (Leitbild) et contribuent ainsi à (notre) identité sociale. Dans le cadre de cette contribution, étudiée en fonction de la situation en Allemagne, il est nécessaire de s'interroger sur la valeur « d'identité » sociale de l'archéologie et comment ces éléments archéologiques sont utilisés comme médiateurs de valeurs sociales et d'autre part quels effets ceux-ci génèrent sur l'appréhension du passé. En abordant ces questions nous devons tenir compte d'un aspect important : Quelles sont les responsabilités qui découlent de ce savoir.

2 | Archéologie, le public, et l'europanisme. Coïncé entre le marteau et l'enclume

Alexander Gramsch

Le patrimoine peut-il servir à créer un "sentiment européen"? Doit-il être utilisé à cette fin ? Il n'y a pas de réponses simples. Non seulement nous devons envisager les sites patrimoniaux mais également prendre en considération leur présentation au public, les personnes impliquées tout comme leurs agendas et la signification politique et culturelle de ce patrimoine. Il y a une dizaine d'années, j'ai critiqué les essais de création d'une identité européenne sur base culturelle et historique parce que jugée exclusive et séparative. Pourtant, l'europanisme n'est pas seulement un sujet propre aux années 1990 quand des mutations politiques et l'expansion de l'Union européenne requerraient un soutien culturel et historique. Aujourd'hui, l'Europe est une marque, mais relier des textes historiques à cette marque banalise trop facilement ce que nous avons à dire. Comment peut-on faire face à la complexité des sites et à leur histoire à long terme, aux identités et aux différents acteurs et leurs récits ? La gestion du patrimoine archéologique est littéralement assise entre deux chaises: elle fait partie du secteur « public », essayant de transmettre sa vision du passé et entre ainsi en compétition avec d'autres disciplines qui produisent et font circuler la

connaissance – des histoires pertinentes pour le présent mais qui, en même temps, doivent affronter les critiques au sujet des constructions identitaires, de nationalismes et d'europanisme. Une approche communautaire est présentée qui pourrait offrir des voies alternatives aux récits identitaires et d'appartenance au lieu.

3 | Montrez-moi le patrimoine culturel qui symbolise l'Europe!

Roel During

Le concept d'une Europe des régions a comme conséquence que les différentes régions renforcent leur identité culturelle et régionale au sein d'une Europe unifiée. 'Unité dans la diversité' est la devise et des piliers importants sont le patrimoine culturel et l'identité régionale. Mais que se passe-t-il réellement dans de nombreux projets subventionnés par l'Europe dans laquelle les régions ont comme défi de soumettre leur patrimoine à l'Européanisation' en général mais aussi de renforcer leur propre identité en particulier ? Le patrimoine, dans ces projets, contribue-t-il plus particulièrement à l'unité ou à la diversité ? A cette question suit une analyse des revendications idéologiques, stratégiques et territoriales liées au patrimoine.

4 | Patrimoine européen commun : réinventer l'identité à travers le paysage et le patrimoine ?

Sarah Wolferstan et Graham Fairclough

Le Conseil de l'Europe considère ses tâches comme faisant partie d'une « contribution spécifique au développement des sociétés démographiques, tolérantes et pacifiques » (Conseil de l'Europe 2005, 5–6). Son objectif premier dans cette tâche est d'« ériger une diversité de territoires comme sources de force et de valeur » (ibid). Son but est de renforcer le patrimoine européen qui met en valeur la diversité. Pourtant, construire une identité en relation avec le passé est fortement sujet à caution. Cette contribution reconnaît l'importance durable de la recherche des origines de l'Europe. Il situe cette recherche au centre de l'histoire des relations entre l'archéologie, l'ethnologie et l'héritage des nationalismes au sein de la discipline archéologique. La Convention de Faro et la Convention du Paysage européen sont autant d'éléments de la réponse du Conseil de l'Europe à un défi plus large sur le plan moral et éthique auquel les gouvernements européens doivent faire face.

5 | Qu'y a-t-il d'européen dans le paysage ?

Thomas Meier

Les institutions européennes, lorsqu'elles abordent le patrimoine et le paysage, ont tendance à mettre sur le même pied patrimoine européen et diversité locale, mais semblent peu conscientes de la tension existant entre les deux. La pratique du paysage actuel se concentre entièrement sur des aspects locaux et régionaux et sur leur potentiel identitaire. Si le paysage crée en effet l'identité, nous devons trouver un paysage européen qui contribue à la formation d'une identité européenne commune. Identifier un paysage européen soulève la question des critères du terme « européen ». Des définitions formelles, fonctionnelles et historiques font défaut, une approche discursive produit des résultats trop diffus. C'est pourquoi j'ai opté pour une approche non historique et politique, définissant l'Europe comme une pratique spécifique, en accord avec les valeurs européennes communes (respect des droits de l'homme, de la démocratie, des lois, de la paix). Dans ce cas, le paysage européen est un paysage dont la gestion est en accord avec les valeurs européennes communes. La participation dans la vie culturelle, la liberté de parole, la liberté de mouvement, la protection des minorités, la participation démocratique, l'administration et les débats en sont des aspects particuliers. La participation à la vie culturelle combinée à la liberté de mouvement entraîne un droit d'accessibilité qui est en forte contradiction avec le droit à la propriété qui, à l'heure actuelle, est interprétée comme droit individuel. Si l'on suit cette définition d'un paysage européen en tant que pratique spécifique, de tels paysages seront en grande partie la tâche des politiciens du futur car aujourd'hui, peu ou pas de paysages ne correspondent à de tels critères.

L'usage du patrimoine dans l'action économique, sociale et politique

6 | Nationalisme, histoire canonique et archéologie dans les Pays-Bas : Vers une alternative transnationale

Jos Bazelmans

En 2006, une histoire officielle des Pays-Bas fut commandée par Maria Van der Hoeven, ministre hollandais de l'éducation, de la culture et des sciences. Une cinquantaine de 'fenêtres' présentent un aperçu de toutes les personnes, textes, œuvres d'art, objets, phénomènes et processus qui ont joué un rôle significatif et témoignent de l'évolution des Pays-Bas afin d'aboutir au pays que nous habitons de nos jours. Afin de vous donner un aperçu de cette histoire officielle, je voudrais attirer votre attention sur deux exemples pris au hasard: la 'fenêtre' 22 intitulée « A la recherche de la vérité » concerne le philosophe d'origine portugaise, Benedictus de Spinoza né à Amsterdam (1632–1677) et la fenêtre 47 « les dilemmes que posent le maintien de la paix » évoque le massacre de Srebrenica de 1995. De tels sujets raccrocheurs de l'histoire hollandaise furent choisis dans le but de jouer un rôle important au niveau de l'éducation et de l'intégration des allochtones.

Mais en n'attribuant que deux fenêtres – Mégalithes néolithiques (hunebedden) et les Limes romains – l'archéologie des Pays-Bas est reléguée à un rôle de second plan. Ces deux fenêtres ne rendent pas justice à une connaissance de base de l'archéologie moderne. Partant plus sérieusement de l'idée d'histoire officielle et des 'fenêtres', ce texte se veut une tentative pour définir cinq fenêtres alternatives sur la préhistoire et la protohistoire. Elles donnent l'exemple d'une perspective décentralisée transnationale.

7 | Les Slaves, la Grande Moravie et nous

Jana Marikova-Kubkova

Il y a presque vingt ans, après la chute du communisme, la Tchécoslovaquie se scinda en deux états indépendants. D'une part, tous deux entrèrent au sein de l'Union européenne, mais d'autre part, chacun recherche actuellement ses racines séparément. La Grande Moravie fait référence principalement aux Slovaques et aux Moraves. Des nouvelles traditions sont créées, de nouveaux bâtiments sont érigés et l'interprétation de l'histoire médiévale est sujette à des controverses politiques. Archéologues, historiens, historiens d'art et linguistes jouent une part importante dans cet effort et nous devons nous demander dans quelle mesure ils sont conscients de leur implication dans la formation des identités culturelles en cours. Cet exemple est non seulement important pour l'interprétation du patrimoine culturel d'une certaine partie de l'Europe centrale, mais pour l'Europe toute entière.

8 | Tous dans le même bateau. Les Vikings en tant qu'Européens et le patrimoine mondial

Søren M. Sindbæk

Ce texte présente un aperçu des contextes et des lieux où la présence des Vikings est couramment mise en évidence au titre de patrimoine culturel européen. Il considère également la manière dont ce patrimoine est présenté, et la raison de cette présentation. Actuellement l'aspect le plus important au niveau du patrimoine viking est la proposition de le considérer non plus comme le symbole ancestral de la Scandinavie, ni comme un ramassis de barbares entreprenants mais sans pitié, mais comme un patrimoine européen significatif sur le plan historique et archéologique en relation avec l'expansion maritime mondiale durant le haut moyen âge. En tant que tels, les 'Vikings' sont les champions historiques d'un modèle culturel qui supplante le concept d'une identité romaine perdue, ruinée par la notion de 'moyen âge'.

9 | Local, régional ou international ? Le rôle du patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO dans les mutations des perceptions locales concernant la valeur patrimoniale du nord-est de l'Angleterre

Kirsty Norman

Le nord-est de l'Angleterre est une région possédant une forte conscience de son histoire régionale et de son identité distincte au sein de la Grande Bretagne. Il existe une fierté naturelle sur le fait que la région

possède plusieurs sites patrimoniaux mondiaux, qui n'est pas accompagnée par l'acceptation de partager ce patrimoine, ne fut ce que avec les régions adjacentes. Ce texte analyse quelques-uns de ces facteurs : fierté locale et sens de la propriété, aspirations régionales et reconnaissance internationale. L'hommage international que confère le statut de patrimoine mondial a-t-il changé les attitudes locales face à « leur » patrimoine ? Le site du Mur d'Hadrien (qui fait actuellement partie du site patrimonial mondial des frontières transnationales de l'Empire romain), et la nomination en 2011 au patrimoine mondial de la Grande Bretagne des monastères jumeaux de Wearmouth et Jarrow datant du 7^{ème} siècle après J.C., seront utilisés comme cas d'études dans cet examen des résultats et des opportunités présentés par la nomination et la gestion de sites locaux évalués sur base de leur signification internationale.

10 | Ambivalences identitaires du patrimoine monastique et des réseaux internationaux : le cas des Cisterciens et des Trappistes

Thomas Coomans

Dans notre monde postmoderne et sécularisé, le patrimoine monastique porte des valeurs complexes et parfois contradictoires. Cet article examine le cas d'un des ordres religieux les plus renommés, celui des Cisterciens, qui ont célébré le 900^{ème} anniversaire de leur existence en 1998. Plusieurs réseaux religieux et réseaux internationaux laïques – associations de propriétaires, centres d'étude, routes, mouvements spirituels – ont été fondés durant ces deux dernières décades pour protéger et promouvoir différents aspects du patrimoine cistercien et trappiste, incluant la spiritualité, la culture et l'art, mais aussi la fabrication de nourriture et de boissons alcoolisées. Cette approche fort large conduit à des ambivalences identitaires et parfois à des conflits entre idéaux religieux et économie touristique. En un mot, le processus de « patrimonisation » basé sur des réseaux médiévaux idéalisés, des authenticités monastiques ou des constructions identitaires (inter) nationales actuelles aboutit à un carrefour et nécessite quelques réflexions critiques.

11 | 'Pas que des os': Une histoire culturelle et politique d'exhumations des charniers en Espagne

Lore Colaert

Dans cet article, j'analyse les exhumations des charniers contenant les restes de ceux qui décédèrent au cours de la guerre civile espagnole (1936–1939) et de la dictature (1939–1975) en tant que lieux où se forme le processus d'attribution significatif et je propose une thèse provisoire sur la manière dont la signification culturelle et politique découle du travail du légiste lors d'exhumation au sein des charniers. J'attire l'attention sur la portée de ces exhumations auprès du public, ou pour le dire avec les mots de Johannes Fabian, je considère la mort comme 'une date première de communication' (Fabian 2004). J'argumente que la vérité médico-légale n'est pas le seul but de ces exhumations, mais aussi l'élaboration d'une vérité, en

tant qu'un processus de reconnaissance publique et d'identification avec la mort.

12 | Parallèles. La construction et la reconstruction du patrimoine de guerre dans le paysage urbain de Sarajevo. La seconde guerre mondiale et le conflit de 1992–1995.

Maja Musi

Le Traité de paix pour la Bosnie et la Herzégovine, ratifié à Dayton en 1995, a permis la création d'une commission pour la sauvegarde des monuments nationaux. Dans la ville de Sarajevo, 95 monuments nationaux ont été désignés jusqu'à présent par cette commission, cependant aucun d'entre eux n'est en relation avec le conflit de 1992–95. Quelles sont les implications de ce qui semble un oubli ? Que représente le label 'monument national' dans un pays fragmenté institutionnellement et politiquement où toute référence à la mémoire est toujours hautement contestée ? Cet article présente deux 'sites monumentaux' à Sarajevo – l'un en rapport à la seconde guerre mondiale, l'autre au conflit de 1992–95 – afin d'envisager les implications de leur reconnaissance (ou l'absence de celle-ci) en tant que monuments nationaux et d'explorer les processus de construction monumentale par rapport à une reconstruction du patrimoine culturel. En reliant les études de cas aux modes et conventions internationales dans le domaine du patrimoine, je suggère ensuite, dans cet article, la pertinence de l'exemple bosniaque par rapport aux notions de patrimoine européen et du rôle que cet exemple occupe dans le cadre de l'après-guerre tout comme dans la promotion de la diversité culturelle et du dialogue interculturel.

13 | L'archéologie de la mémoire. Les dissonances européennes au sujet de l'Holocauste à l'est et à l'ouest

Rob van der Laarse

Depuis la seconde guerre mondiale, l'intégration politique européenne est basée sur la présomption d'un patrimoine culturel commun et sur la mémoire de l'Holocauste. Pourtant, un tel patrimoine mutuel et une telle mémoire collective existe-t-il réellement ? Malgré les racines communes de la culture européenne, les nations européennes partagent essentiellement une histoire composée de guerres et de conflits. Néanmoins, les horreurs dévastatrices de deux guerres mondiales ont stimulé durant les dernières soixante années un processus d'unification spécifique. Les millions de soldats tués, les massacres de civils européens et l'extermination des Juifs ont déterminé, par un acte de négation, l'identité humaniste européenne de l'après-guerre. La politique de la mémoire et des oublis jouent un rôle crucial dans ce processus. Pourtant, j'argumente qu'après la chute du mur de Berlin (1989), la présomption de l'Holocauste en tant qu'expérience européenne commune et formant désormais partie de la base identitaire européenne de l'après-guerre, suscite quelques objections critiques. Le paradigme Holocauste est battu en brèche par le terme 'Génocide double' ou par un paradigme Occupation, résultant dans une profonde incompatibilité d'opinions entre le peuple occidental et oriental concernant

l'impact, l'interprétation et la compréhension des guerres mondiales ou de la guerre froide. Cela exige de nouvelles interprétations, intégrant (et confrontant) des expériences européennes du XX^{ème} siècle à une nouvelle réflexion fondamentale sur la politique de la mémoire dans l'après-guerre.

Identification et présentation du patrimoine

14 | Choisir notre patrimoine : deux exemples en Ecosse

Noel Fojut

L'Ecosse aspire au multiculturalisme. Mais la manière dont nos minorités culturelles réagissent à « leur » patrimoine varie grandement. Quelles significations ont les valeurs patrimoniales immobilières au sein de la construction d'identités modernes. Nous aident-elles à comprendre des liens communs, ou soulignent-elles les différences ? Que pouvons-nous apprendre de notre expérience nationale qui permettrait de construire une identité patrimoniale européenne? Le premier exemple montre les liens entre l'Ecosse et la Pologne. Une longue histoire d'échange de population à échelle réduite est suivie par une présence polonaise massive sous forme de troupes au cours de la seconde guerre mondiale. Ils laissèrent un patrimoine construit modeste et un nombre considérable de personnes (dont le père de l'auteur) qui ont choisi de s'installer en Ecosse après la guerre. De nos jours, l'Ecosse accueille une nouvelle fois une génération d'étudiants et d'ouvriers polonais : ces nouveaux venus éprouvent-ils de l'attachement aux communautés polonaises établies depuis longue date, au patrimoine matériel existant ou aux relations établies dans le passé ? Le second exemple est le patrimoine écossais celtique/gaélique indigène, où l'ancienne majorité linguistique et la tradition culturelle est détenue actuellement par une minorité, considérée comme menacée, et qui jouit d'un solide soutien politique et financier: Ya-t-il un patrimoine archéologique gaélique distinct, et si c'est le cas, a-t-il une valeur dans la construction de l'identité culturelle ? L'Ecosse elle-même représente une minorité au sein d'un territoire plus grand, la Grande Bretagne, et nous nous sommes construits une identité nationale à l'usage de la Grande Bretagne et au-delà. Les exemples de patrimoine minoritaire au sein d'un ensemble plus large en Ecosse nous permettent-ils de comprendre la manière dont l'Ecosse tend à construire une identité nationale unie par le biais de ses patrimoines minoritaires locaux ?

15 | L'épave de Vrouw Maria – Un trésor englouti ou un patrimoine européen commun ?

Riikka Alvik

Le Vrouw Maria était un navire hollandais de marchandises, dont le dernier voyage débuta à l'automne de 1771, à Amsterdam, son port d'attache en direction de Saint Petersburg. S'étant égaré lors d'une tempête, il coula au long de la côte rocheuse de la Finlande. La plus grande partie de sa cargaison

était composée de sucre, de vêtements, de tissus et de nourriture, ainsi que d'objets très précieux comme des peintures, des miroirs, des bulbes de fleurs et autres objets luxueux destinés à la noblesse russe. Quelques-uns de ces objets luxueux et d'art ont été sauvés du naufrage, mais les peintures achetées par Catherine II furent perdues en mer, en même temps que le bateau. Voilà pourquoi la réputation de Vrouw Maria est celle d'un bateau trésor et les tentatives pour retrouver l'épave ont débuté dès les années 1970. Celle-ci fut retrouvée après une fouille systématique réalisée par divers équipes de volontaires, en 1999, à une profondeur de 41 mètres, dans l'archipel finnois.

16 | Patrimoine invisible : (re)construction des topoi historiques au sein de la structure urbaine de Rijeka

Ana Bezić et Marina Vicelja

Cet article s'attache au processus de reconstruction d'un patrimoine matériel au sein d'un emplacement urbain et à la manière dont il s'applique à une archéologie publique, lui conférant ainsi son but et plus particulièrement à son application spécifique à la Tarsatica romaine, actuellement Rijeka, en Croatie. Dans la mesure où l'archéologie publique devient accessible et inclusive, il est nécessaire de réfléchir et de l'encourager dans diverses voies, où la conservation se déplace de monuments figés dans le temps, pour inclure des objets dans une vision à longue durée, où les présentations évoluent d'un imaginaire visuel statique au sein de musées vers l'intégration de nouvelles technologies et médias au site lui-même.

17 | Paysages et mémoire : le patrimoine de la première guerre mondiale en Flandre

Luc Vandael

À la veille du centenaire de la première guerre mondiale (1914–1918), la Flandre a mis sur pied un projet de commémoration unique où le patrimoine occupe une position de premier plan. Cet article met l'accent sur le patrimoine paysager de la première guerre mondiale dans la région du Westhoek, le point le plus à l'est des Flandres, où durant quatre années, des combats sanguinaires se sont déroulés dans les tranchées. Cet article explore l'importance de ce paysage, et présente les défis qu'offrent ces paysages, ensuite il explique la stratégie patrimoniale que la Flandre développe en réponse à ces défis et termine par la présentation de deux projets actuels qui illustrent cette stratégie.

18 | Un « patrimoine » de la première guerre mondiale comme levier pour de multiples processus d'identification dans une perspective locale, nationale, européenne et mondiale : l'exemple du « Westhoek » (i.e. « Flanders Fields, Belgique)

Piet Chielens

La première guerre mondiale a laissé une empreinte profonde en Belgique. De nos jours, le patrimoine issu de la guerre est fort présent dans le Westhoek,

partie occidentale de la Belgique, où une myriade de monuments et de cimetières, visités par des touristes du monde entier, constituent un véritable paysage de guerre. Ce paysage est le reflet des commémorations officielles et de souvenirs communs et dissemblables. Au cours des trente dernières années, des recherches ont été menées afin de mettre en relation souvenirs officiels et particuliers. Nous considérons actuellement ces paysages de guerre en tant que concept anthropologique portant sur le comportement et la signification de l'humain. Le succès actuel de 'In Flanders Fields' ne trouve pas toujours un écho favorable auprès de la population locale. Comme nous attendons encore plus de visiteurs au cours des années 2014–2018 commémorant le centenaire du conflit, il s'avère nécessaire de s'interroger sur le sens fondamental de l'histoire des guerres et de ses commémorations, pour les communautés proches de « Flanders Fields » mais aussi pour les autres. Et le concept d'identité se trouve au cœur de cette recherche.

19 | Archéologie et monuments en 3D dans Europeana

Daniel Pletinckx

La mode actuelle de la 3D suscite un grand intérêt dans la synthèse d'image tridimensionnelle. Les gens vont au cinéma en 3D, mais sommes-nous prêts à utiliser la 3D dans nos maisons, dans nos bureaux, dans notre communication ? Sommes-nous prêts à offrir de la 3D à un large public et à utiliser la 3D interactivement, de façon sensée, pour se détendre, apprendre en communiquant ? Le projet CARARE œuvre à ce projet au sein d'Europeana, dans le domaine des monuments et de l'archéologie, pour que les 3D réels des sites archéologiques et des monuments européens soient accessibles à un large public en 2012. Europeana fait entrer le patrimoine culturel européen dans les salons ou les bureaux, chez chaque citoyen concerné et propose un nombre d'images d'une qualité de plus en plus haute, ainsi que des textes et des vidéos concernant la culture européenne sur internet. Ce portail ne propose pas seulement, au citoyen européen et à n'importe qui dans le monde, un accès aisé à des copies digitales de très grande qualité d'objets culturels européens, mais permet également de découvrir comment la culture européenne est liée de manière étroite et de quelle manière elle a évolué, au cours des temps, comme une entité commune, ne

tenant pas compte des frontières nationales actuelles. Europeana rend évident l'existence d'une telle culture européenne, accessible par ses multiples langages.

20 | Musées virtuels : l'expérience italienne face aux réseaux transnationaux

Sofia Pescarin

Cet article présente une analyse de l'évolution du domaine du musée virtuel en Italie durant la dernière décennie, prenant en considération l'expérience du Conseil national italien de la recherche. Le fort potentiel de cette nouvelle approche, représenté par le développement et l'usage de musées virtuels, a permis d'augmenter de manière significative les exemples accessibles actuellement en Europe. D'autre part, de nombreux déboires ont démontré l'immaturation de ce secteur. Pour ces raisons, en 2011, la communauté européenne, sous le septième programme-cadre, a décidé de financer un réseau d'excellence, V-MUST.NET, dans le but de créer une nouvelle manière de rendre l'Européen conscient des différents aspects de son histoire et de son patrimoine, au moyen de textes et d'environnements interactifs reconstitués digitalement.

21 | Berceau de la culture européenne : un projet de Culture 2007–2013 qui a pour but de concilier les ambitions locales et européennes

Dirk Callebaut

En 2010, la Commission européenne sélectionna le projet quinquennal «Berceau de la culture européenne» (CEC) au sein du programme Culture 2007–2013. Le but du projet est, tout d'abord, d'attirer l'attention du public sur une partie moins connue de l'histoire européenne, notamment le territoire historique de la Francia Media. En partant de ce cas d'étude, le projet CEC essaye d'examiner de manière expérimentale si le patrimoine a réellement l'impact nécessaire pour persuader un large public d'une idée européenne. Pour le démontrer, le patrimoine local de dix pays sont rassemblés dans un réseau qui analyse plus spécifiquement les thèmes européens d'unité et de diversité. L'étude du patrimoine archéologique, architectural et environnemental est lié structurellement au grand public. Une approche communautaire est l'élément-clé du projet.

Zusammenfassung

Tomáš Mařík

Europa als Kraft einer kollektiven Idee

1 | Archäologie, Höhlenbewohner, Megalithen und europäische Identitätsbildung

Ulf Ickerodt

Archäologen sind als Wissenschaftler und als Mitarbeiter von Denkmalpflegeinstitutionen was ihr Alltagsgeschäft angeht zwischen ihrem akademischen Selbstanspruch und ihrem denkmalpflegerischen Auftrag hin und her gerissen. Sie nehmen ihre Arbeit zumeist als reine und wertfreie Forschung wahr. Dessen ungeachtet kommt archäologischen Fundstellen und Funden auch die Funktion eines sozialen Leitbildes zu und sie tragen daher auch zu (unserer) Identitätsbildung bei. Im Rahmen dieses Beitrags, der einer deutschen Perspektive heraus verfasst wurde, wird der Frage nach dem „Identitätswert“ von Archäologie nachgegangen und wie archäologische Bilder genutzt werden, um gesellschaftliche Werte zu vermitteln und im Gegenzug, welche Wirkung dieses auf die Wahrnehmung der Vergangenheit hat. Bei der Beantwortung der Frage muss darüber hinaus ein weiterer Aspekt berücksichtigt werden: Welche Verantwortung resultiert aus diesem Wissen.

2 | Archäologie, Öffentlichkeit und Europäismus. Erwischt zwischen zwei Stühlen?

Alexander Gramsch

Kann Kulturerbe gebraucht werden, um ein „Europa-Gefühl“ zu schaffen? Sollte es dazu verwendet werden? Auf diese Fragen gibt es keine einfachen Antworten und wir dürfen nicht einfach nur Kulturdenkmäler heranziehen, sondern müssen auch ihre Darstellung in der Öffentlichkeit, die Darsteller, ihre Programme sowie die politische und kulturelle Bedeutung des Kulturerbes berücksichtigen. Vor zehn Jahren kritisierte ich Versuche, auf kulturellen und historischen Grundlagen eine europäische Identität zu schaffen, als exklusiv und separierend. Europäismus war offensichtlich nicht nur in den 1990ern ein Thema, als politische Veränderungen und die Expansion der EU kulturellen und historischen Rückhalt brauchten. Heute ist „Europa“ eine Marke, auf sie bezogene historische Stoffe stereotypisieren jedoch allzu leicht, was wir sagen wollen. Wie kommen wir mit der Komplexität von Denkmälern und ihrer langzeitigen Geschichte, mit Identitäten, verschiedenen Darstellern und ihren historischen Stoffen? Das Management archäologischen Kulturerbes sitzt zwischen zwei verschiedenen Stühlen: Es ist selbst Teil der „Öffentlichkeit“, in Streit mit anderen, die Wissen produzieren und verbreiten, beim Versuch, ihre Auffassung von der Vergangenheit zu vermitteln, Stoffe,

die für die Gegenwart von Bedeutung sind, gleichzeitig jedoch mit der Kritik der Identitätskonstrukte, dem Nationalismus und Europäismus konfrontiert sind. Ein gesellschaftsbezogener Ansatz wird vorgestellt, der alternative Wege zum Erzählstoff der Identitäten und dem Ortsgefühl bietet.

3 | Zeig mir das Kulturerbe, das Europa symbolisiert!

Roel During

Das Konzept der Euroregionen sollte zur Stärkung der kulturellen und regionalen Identität der Regionen innerhalb des vereinten Europa führen. „In Vielfalt geeint“ ist das Motto, Kulturgut und regionale Identität ihre wichtigen Pfeiler. Was passiert aber wirklich bei den zahlreichen von der unterstützten EU-Projekten, die die Regionen dazu herausfordern, ihr eigenes Kulturgut der „Europäisierung“ im Allgemeinen dienstbar zu machen und im Besonderen ihre eigene Identität zu stärken? Trägt das Kulturgut bei diesen Projekten mehr zu Einheit oder Vielfalt bei? Diese Frage wird anhand einer Analyse der ideologischen, strategischen und geographischen Ansprüche an das Kulturgut eingehend erörtert.

4 | Gemeinsames europäisches Kulturerbe: Wiederfindung der Identität durch Landschaft und Kulturerbe?

Sarah Wolferstan und Graham Fairclough

Der Europarat sieht seine Arbeit als Teil einer „specific contribution to the development of democratic, peaceful and open societies“ (Council of Europe 2005, 5 f.). Vorrangiges Ziel dieser Aufgabe ist es, „to raise diversity of territories as a source of strength and value“ (Ebd.). Seine Absicht ist es, europäisches Kulturerbe, das Vielfalt aufwertet, zu stärken. Identitätsbildung durch jegliche Auffassung von Vergangenheit ist allerdings äußerst umstritten. In diesem Beitrag wird die anhaltende Bedeutung der Suche nach dem Ursprung in Europa gewürdigt. Diese Suche wird in der Geschichte des Verhältnisses zwischen Archäologie und ethnischer Zugehörigkeit sowie dem Erbe des Nationalismus im Fach Archäologie umrissen. Das Faro-Rahmenabkommen sowie das europäische Landschaftsübereinkommen sind Teil der Antwort des Europarates auf eine breitere „moralisch-ethische“ Herausforderung, der die europäischen Regierungen gegenüberstehen.

5 | Was ist europäisch an der Landschaft?

Thomas Meier

Beim Thema Kulturerbe und Landschaft wird von den europäischen Institutionen in gleicher Weise gemeinsames europäisches Erbe wie lokale Vielfalt betont, sie sind sich jedoch der Spannung zwischen den beiden nicht bewusst. Die gegenwärtige Praxis konzentriert sich auf lokale und regionale Aspekte sowie ihr Potential für die Identitätsbildung. Falls die Landschaft tatsächlich Identitäten schafft, müsste es möglich sein, eine europäische Landschaft zu finden, die bei der Formung einer gemeinsamen europäischen Identität hilft. Zur Identifikation einer europäischen Landschaft bedarf es jedoch Kriterien für den Begriff europäisch. Formale, funktionale und historische Definitionen sind in gleicher Weise defizitär, ein diskursiver Ansatz würde zu äußerst diffusen Ergebnissen führen. Deshalb spreche ich mich für einen ahistorischen politischen Ansatz bei der Definition Europas als einer spezifischen Praxis mit Rücksicht auf gemeinsame Werte (Einhaltung der Menschenrechte, Demokratie, Herrschaft des Rechts, Frieden) aus. In diesem Fall ist jene Landschaft europäisch, die mit Rücksicht auf diese europäischen Werte verwaltet wird. Von besonderem Interesse ist die Teilnahme am Kulturleben, Redefreiheit, Bewegungsfreiheit, Minderheitenschutz, demokratische Teilnahme, Verwaltung und Vollstreckung. Die Teilnahme am Kulturleben in Verbindung mit Bewegungsfreiheit ermöglicht die Ableitung des Zugangsrechts, das in scharfer Spannung zum Besitzrecht steht, welches tatsächlich als individuelles Nutzungsrecht interpretiert wird. Aufgrund dieser Definition der europäischen Landschaft als spezifischer Praxis wird die Definition solcher Landschaften vor allem zu einem politischen Unterfangen in der Zukunft, da heute diesen Kriterien kaum eine Landschaft gerecht wird.

Der Gebrauch von Kulturerbe bei wirtschaftlichen, sozialen und politischen Handlungen

6 | Nationalismus, Geschichtskanon und Archäologie in den Niederlanden: Der Weg zu einer transnationalen Alternative

Jos Bazelmans

2006 wurde von der holländischen Ministerin für Unterricht, Kultur und Wissenschaft, Maria Van der Hoeven ein niederländischer Geschichtskanon in Auftrag gegeben. Fünfzig sogenannte „Fenster“ (fig. 6.1) bieten einen Überblick „aller bedeutenden Völker, Texte, Kunstwerke, Objekte, Phänomene und Prozesse, die zeigen, wie die Niederlande zu dem Land geworden sind, das wir heute bewohnen“. Um einen Eindruck von diesem Kanon zu vermitteln, möchte ich nur auf zwei zufällig gewählte Beispiele hinweisen: Fenster 22, „Auf der Suche nach Wahrheit“, handelt von dem in Amsterdam geborenen Philosophen portugiesischer Herkunft, Benedictus de Spinoza (1632–1677) und Fenster 47 zum Srebrenica-Massaker von 1995 heißt „Die Dilemmas der Friedenserhaltung“. Es wurde gehofft, dass diese „Blickfänge“ holländischer

Geschichte eine wichtige Rolle bei der Erziehung und Integration von Ausländern spielen würden. Mit nur zwei Fenstern – neolithische Megalithen (auf Niederländisch *hunebedden*) sowie Römischer Limes – wurde die Archäologie der Niederlande auf eine Außenseiterposition degradiert. Die letztgenannten Fenster werden den Erkenntnissen der modernen Archäologie nicht gerecht. Wenn wir die Idee des Kanons und der Verwendung von „Fenstern“ ernst nehmen, so ist dieser Beitrag ein Versuch, aus einer trans-national „de-zentralisierten“ Perspektive heraus für die Vor- und Frühgeschichte fünf alternative Fenster zu definieren.

7 | Die Slawen, Großmähren und wir

Jana Maříková-Kubková

Vor fast zwanzig Jahren wurde die Tschechoslowakei nach dem Sturz des Kommunismus auf zwei unabhängige Staaten aufgeteilt. Einerseits traten beide der EU bei, andererseits suchen nun beide getrennt nach ihren Wurzeln. Großmähren und alles, was damit zu tun hat, findet vor allem bei den Slowaken und Mähren Anklang. Neue Traditionen werden gebildet, neue Modelle aufgestellt, und die Interpretation mittelalterlicher Geschichte ist Gegenstand politischer Kontroversen. Archäologen, Historiker, Kunstgeschichtler und Sprachwissenschaftler spielen bei diesem Unternehmen eine wichtige Rolle und wir müssen uns fragen, in wieweit sie sich bewusst sind, wie sehr sie bei der gegenwärtigen Identitätsbildung instrumentalisiert sind. Dieses Beispiel ist nicht nur für die Interpretation des Kulturerbes eines bestimmten Teils Mitteleuropas, sondern für ganz Europa von Bedeutung.

8 | Alle im selben Boot. Die Wikinger als europäisches und globales Kulturerbe

Søren M. Sindbæk

Dieser Beitrag bietet eine Analyse des Zusammenhangs und der Stellen, an denen Wikinger als europäisches Kulturerbe hervorgehoben werden, und erörtert, wie und warum dieses Kulturerbe so präsentiert wird. Es wird vorgeschlagen, die größte gegenwärtige Bedeutung des Wikinger Kulturerbes nicht als Bild der Vorfahren oder Inbegriff erbarmungsloser und dabei handeltreibender Barbaren zu sehen, sondern als Europas distinktives und archäologisches Erbe mit Bezug zur weltweiten Expansion zu See im Frühmittelalter. Als solches sind die „Wikinger“ historische Champions in einem Kulturmodell außerhalb des Gesichtsfelds einer verlorenen römischen Identität, wie sie das Konzept des „Frühmittelalters“ impliziert.

9 | Lokal, regional oder international? Die Rolle des Weltkulturerbes in gewandelten lokalen Perzeptionen des Wertes des Kulturerbes in Nordostengland

Kirsty Norman

Der Nordosten Englands ist ein Gebiet mit sehr starkem Sinn für seine eigene separate Geschichte und Identität

innerhalb des Vereinigten Königreichs. Es gibt einen natürlichen Stolz darauf, dass die Region gleich mehrere UNESCO-Welterbestätten vorzuweisen hat, jedoch ist nicht notwendiger Weise von Zustimmung begleitet, dass diese Allgegenwärtig sind und man ist nicht einmal bereit, sich um sie mit den Nachbarregionen zu teilen. Dieser Aufsatz wirft einen Blick auf manche dieser Faktoren: Lokaler Stolz und Besitzansprüche, regionale Bestrebungen und internationale Anerkennung. Hat die internationale Auszeichnung mit dem Weltkulturerbestatus lokale Auffassungen des „eigenen“ Kulturerbes verändert?

Der Hadrianswall (heute Teil des transnationalen Weltkulturerbes „Grenzanlagen des Römischen Reiches“) sowie das 2011 nominierte Doppelkloster von Wearmouth und Jarrow aus dem 7. Jahrhundert n. Chr. dienen als Fallbeispiele, die die Probleme und Möglichkeiten bei Nominierung und Verwaltung lokal geschätzter Stätten aufgrund ihrer internationalen Bedeutung aufzeigen.

10 | Identitätsambivalenzen des monastischen Kulturerbes und internationale Netzwerke: Das Fallbeispiel Zisterzienser und Trappisten

Thomas Coomans

In unserer postmodernen und säkularisierten westlichen Welt vermittelt monastisches Kulturerbe komplexe und manchmal auch gegensätzliche Werte. Der vorliegende Beitrag untersucht den Fall eines der berühmtesten religiösen Orden, dem der Zisterzienser, das 1998 seinen neunhundertsten Geburtstag gefeiert hat. Mehrere kirchliche und Laiennetzwerke sind in den letzten zwanzig Jahren gegründet worden, um verschiedene Aspekte des Zisterzienser- und Trappistenerbes, einschließlich ihrer Spiritualität, Kultur und Kunst, jedoch auch Ernährung und alkoholischer Getränke, zu schützen und zu fördern. Dieses breite Spektrum führt zu Identitätsambivalenzen und manchmal auch zu Konflikten zwischen religiösem Ideal und Touristenwirtschaft. Kurz gesagt befindet sich der Prozess der Erschaffung von „Kulturerbe“, gegründet auf einem idealisierten Netzwerk, monastischer Authentizität und gegenwärtiger (inter)nationaler Identitätsbildung an einem Scheideweg und bedarf auch so mancher kritischen Reflexion.

11 | „Nicht nur Knochen“. Eine kulturelle und politische Geschichte der Exhumation von Massengräbern in Spanien

Lore Colaert

In diesem Beitrag analysiere ich die Exhumationen von Massengräbern aus dem Spanischen Bürgerkrieg (1936–1939) sowie der Franko-Zeit (1939–1975), als Orte, an denen eine Attribuierung von Bedeutungen stattfindet, und schlage eine vorläufige These vor, wie kulturelle und politische Bedeutungen durch die Ausführung forensischer Exhumationen von Massengräbern gebildet werden. Dabei konzentriere ich mich auf die Zuweisung von Bedeutung zu den Exhumationen in der öffentlichen Sphäre, oder, um es mit den Worten Johannes Fabians zu sagen, Ich halte den Tod für „eine grundlegende Größe der Kommunikation“ (Fabian

2004). Ich vertrete die Auffassung, dass nicht nur die forensische Wahrheit Objekt von Exhumationen ist, sondern auch die „Herstellung“ der Wahrheit als Prozess der öffentlichen Anerkennung des Toten und Identifikation mit den Toten.

12 | Parallelen. Die Konstruktion und Rekonstruktion des Kulturerbes des Krieges in der urbanen Landschaft Sarajevos – Zweiter Weltkrieg und der Bosnienkrieg 1992–95

Maja Musi

Der 1995 in Dayton geschlossene Friedensvertrag für Bosnien und Herzegowina rechnete mit der Gründung einer Kommission zum Schutz nationaler Kulturdenkmäler. In der Stadt von Sarajevo hat die Kommission bisher 95 nationale Kulturdenkmäler bestimmt, davon jedoch keines, das dem Konflikt von 1992–95 geweiht wäre. Was ergibt sich aus dieser offensichtlichen Nachlässigkeit? Was bringt die Marke „Nationales Kulturdenkmal“ für ein institutionell und politisch fragmentiertes Land mit sich, in dem das Gedächtnis immer noch heiß umstritten ist? Der vorliegende Beitrag präsentiert zwei „Denkmalstätten“ in Sarajevo, eine ist dem Zweiten Weltkrieg geweiht, die andere dem Krieg von 1992–95, um die Auswirkungen ihrer Bestätigung (bzw. dem Fehlen dieser) als nationales Kulturdenkmal zu betrachten und den Prozess der Denkmalkonstruktion vs. Re-Konstruktion des Kulturerbes zu erkunden. Wenn wir diese Fallstudien auf internationale Trends und Konventionen im Bereich des Kulturerbes beziehen, so weist dieser Beitrag auf die Relevanz der bosnischen Erfahrung mit Rücksicht auf europäische Auffassungen des Kulturerbes und seine Rolle in den Nachkriegsverhältnissen als auch für die Förderung kultureller Vielfalt und intellektueller Dialoge hin.

13 | Gedächtnisarchäologie. Europas Holocaust-Dissonanzen in Ost und West

Rob van der Laarse

Seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg ist die politische Integration auf der Annahme eines gemeinsamen Kulturerbes und dem Gedächtnis des Holocaust gegründet. Ist jedoch das gemeinsame Kulturerbe und kollektive Gedächtnis real existent? Trotz gemeinsamer Wurzeln europäischer Kultur nehmen Europas Nationen vor allem an einer Geschichte von Kriegen und Konflikten Anteil. Trotzdem haben die vernichtenden Schrecken des Zweiten Weltkriegs in den letzten sechzig Jahren einen einzigartigen Prozess der Vereinigung stimuliert. Millionen gefallener Soldaten, massenhaftes Abschichten europäischer Zivilisten und die Vernichtung der Juden haben durch einen Akt der Negation Europas humanistische Nachkriegsidentität bestimmt. Die Politik von Gedächtnis und Vergessen spielen eine entscheidende Rolle in diesem Prozess. Allerdings vertrete ich die Meinung, dass nach dem Fall der Berliner Mauer (1989) die Auffassung des Holocaust als einer gemeinsamen europäischen Erfahrung und damit eines Grundbestandteils der europäischen Nachkriegsidentität einige kritische Einwände nach sich zieht. Dem Holocaust-Paradigma steht ein neues

„Doppel-Genozid“ bzw. das Okkupationsparadigma gegenüber, das zu einer tiefen Inkompatibilität zwischen den Auffassungen der Völker West- und Osteuropas über die Auswirkung, Interpretation und Bedeutung der Weltkriege und des Kalten Krieges führt. Dies ruft nach komplett neuen Interpretationen, die die äußerst verschiedenartigen europäischen Erfahrungen im 20. Jahrhundert integrieren (und konfrontieren), sowie einem grundlegenden Überdenken der Nachkriegspolitik des Gedächtnisses.

Identifizierung und Präsentation des Kulturerbes

14 | Die Wahl unseres Kulturerbes: Zwei Beispiele aus Schottland

Noel Fojut

Schottland strebt den Multikulturalismus an, jedoch sind die Wege, auf denen unsere kulturellen Minderheiten mit „ihrem eigenen“ Kulturerbe interagieren, äußerst verschiedenartig. Wie wichtig ist der Reichtum an immobilem Kulturerbe für die Konstruktion moderner Identitäten? Helfen sie uns, die gemeinsamen Beziehungen zu verstehen, oder betonen sie einfach nur Unterschiede? Gibt es Lektionen, die wir aus unserer nationalen Erfahrung lernen können und die uns helfen, eine auf europäischem Kulturerbe aufgebaute Identität zu konstruieren?

- Das erste Beispiel betrachtet Beziehungen zwischen Schottland und Polen. Eine lange Geschichte des Austausches kleiner Bevölkerungsgruppen war gefolgt von einer massenhafteren polnischen Anwesenheit in Form von Truppen während des Zweiten Weltkrieges. Dazu gibt es ein kleines Vermächtnis an Baudenkmälern und eine beträchtliche Anzahl von Leuten (einschließlich des Vaters des Autoren), die sich nach dem Krieg in Schottland anzusiedeln entschlossen haben. Heute heißt Schottland eine neue Generation polnischer Studenten und Arbeiter willkommen: Empfinden diese Neuankömmlinge irgendeine Zugehörigkeit zur bereits früher gegründeten polnischen Gemeinde oder zum dinghaften Erbe vergangener Verbindungen?
- Zweites Beispiel ist Schottlands indigenes keltisch/gälisches Kulturerbe, wobei die frühere Vorherrschaft der sprachlichen und kulturellen Tradition heute zu einer kleinen Minderheit reduziert wurde, die nun als bedroht angesehen wird und Subjekt einer starken politischen sowie finanziellen Unterstützung ist: Gibt es ein distinktives gälisches archäologisches Kulturerbe, und wenn ja, leistet dieses irgendeinen Beitrag zur Konstruktion gegenwärtiger kultureller Identität?
- Schottland selbst stellt eine Minderheit im Rahmen eines größeren Staates dar, des Vereinigten Königreichs, und wir haben eine nationale Identität für den Gebrauch innerhalb des Königreichs und darüber hinaus entwickelt. Helfen die hier dargestellten Beispiele von Kulturerbe der Minderheiten im Rahmen der größeren Gemeinde Schottlands beim Verständnis der Art, auf welche Schottland auf seine verschiedenen internen Kulturerbschaften der

Minderheiten bei der Konstruktion und Vereinigung nationaler Identität Anspruch erhebt?

15 | Das Schiffswrack der *Vrouw Maria* – Ein versunkener Schatz oder gemeinsames europäisches Erbe?

Riikka Alvik

Die *Vrouw Maria* war ein niederländisches Handelsschiff, dessen letzte Reise im Herbst 1771 vom Heimathafen in Amsterdam nach St. Petersburg führen sollte. Das Schiff verirrte sich im Sturm und sank an der felsigen Küste Finnlands. Die Ladung bestand größtenteils aus Zucker, Stoff, Färbemittel und Nahrung, jedoch befand sich auch sehr kostbare Ware an Bord, wie Gemälde, Spiegel, Blumenknollen und andere Luxusartikel für die russische Nobilität. Einige der Luxus- und Kunstgegenstände konnten nach dem Unfall gerettet werden, jedoch gingen die für Katharina II. eingekauften Gemälde mit dem Schiff verloren. Deshalb hatte *Vrouw Maria* den Ruf, ein Schatzschiff zu sein, und Versuche, das Wrack zu finden, begannen bereits in den 1970er Jahren. Das Wrack wurde schließlich 1999 nach einer systematischen Suche freiwilliger Taucher in einer Tiefe von 41 Metern im finnischen Schärenmeer gefunden.

16 | Unsichtbares Kulturerbe: (Re)konstruktion historischer Topoi in der Stadtstruktur von Rijeka

Ana Bezić und Marina Vicelja

Dieser Beitrag ist mit dem Prozess der Rekonstruktion materiellen Kulturerbes in urbanem Zusammenhang befasst, wie sie auf die Idee der öffentlichen Archäologie bezogen werden kann, unter Berücksichtigung der Absichten der öffentlichen Archäologie und ihrer spezifischen Anwendung auf das römische Tarsatica in Rijeka, Kroatien. Wenn öffentliche Archäologie offen und inklusiv sein soll, dann müssen wir Wege finden, auf denen mehrere Stimmen gleichzeitig ermöglicht und unterstützt werden, wobei keine Festpunkte in der Zeit konserviert werden sollen, sondern Geschichten von Objekten in der *Longue durée* enthalten sollen, und wo sich die Präsentation von einer statisch visuellen Bilddarstellung in den Museen zur Anwendung neuer Technologien und Medien vor Ort entwickeln sollte.

17 | Landschaften der Erinnerung: Das Kulturerbe des Ersten Weltkriegs in Flandern

Luc Vandael

Am Vorabend des hundertsten Jahrestags des Ersten Weltkrieges (1914–1918) hat Flandern ein einzigartiges Erinnerungsprojekt gestartet, in dem Kulturerbe eine Schlüsselstellung einnimmt. Der Beitrag widmet sich dem Zeugnis des Ersten Weltkriegs in der Landschaft der Westhoek, dem westlichsten Ausläufer von Flandern, wo vier Jahre lang ein blutiger Stellungskrieg ausgegetragen wurde. Der vorliegende Beitrag untersucht die Bedeutung dieser Landschaft und es werden die Herausforderungen für die Beschäftigung mit dieser Landschaft diskutiert. Die in Flandern entwickelte Denkmalpflegestrategie wird als Antwort auf diese Herausforderungen erklärt und wir schließen mit

Überlegungen zu zwei aktuellen Projekten, um diese Strategie zu illustrieren.

18 | Ein „Kulturerbe“ des Ersten Weltkriegs als Hebel mehrfacher Prozesse der Identifikation aus lokaler, nationaler, europäischer wie globaler Sicht. Das Beispiel der „Westhoek“ (d.h. „Flanderns Felder“, Belgien)

Piet Chielens

Der Erste Weltkrieg hat Belgien grundsätzlich gezeichnet. Heute ist das Erbe des Krieges am meisten in der Westhoek spürbar, in der Westecke Belgiens, wo eine Unzahl an Denkmälern und Friedhöfen eine wahre Kulturlandschaft formt, besucht von Touristen aus aller Welt. Diese Landschaft spiegelt das offizielle Gedenken wider, die allgemein verbreitete Erinnerung sowie den Unterschied zwischen beiden. In den letzten 30 Jahren wurde nach einer Wiederverbindung zwischen offizieller und allgemeiner Erinnerung gesucht. Heute betrachten wir die Kulturlandschaft als ein anthropologisches Konzept menschlichen Verhaltens und Sinnggebung.

Der heutige Erfolg von „Auf Flanderns Feldern“ wurde von den örtlichen Bewohnern nicht geteilt. Da wir für die Jahre 2014–2018 noch höhere Besucherzahlen erwarten, müssen wir zur Grundbedeutung der Kriegsgeschichte und ihrer Erinnerung für die gegenwärtigen Gemeinden von „Flanderns Feldern“ sowie für die weiter entfernt liegenden zurückkehren. Im Zentrum steht das Konzept der Identität.

19 | Archäologie und Denkmäler in 3D in Europeana

Daniel Pletinckx

Der gegenwärtige Medienrummel bewirkt ein großes Interesse für 3D-Filme. Menschen sehen 3D-Filme, sind wir aber wirklich schon so weit, 3D zu Hause, in unseren Büros und bei der Kommunikation zu verwenden? Sind wir schon so weit, reales 3D der breiten Öffentlichkeit zu präsentieren und interaktives 3D auf eine sinnvolle Weise für den Genuss, zum Lernen oder für die Kommunikation zu verwenden? Das CARARE-Projekt ist um die Erfüllung dieses Konzepts im Rahmen der Europeana für den Sektor „Denkmäler und Archäologie“ bemüht, damit reales 3D archäologischer Fundstätten und europäischer Denkmäler der Öffentlichkeit bis 2012 zugänglich gemacht werden kann.

Europeana bringt europäisches Kulturerbe ins Wohnzimmer oder Büro jedes interessierten Bürgers durch eine stetig wachsende Anzahl hochwertiger Bilder, Texte und Videos über europäische Kultur über Internet. Dieses Portal bietet nicht nur einen einfachen Zugang zu hochwertigen digitalen Fotografien europäischer Kulturobjekte für den Europäbürger und

überhaupt jeden auf der Welt, sondern führt auch zur Entdeckung, wie eng europäische Kultur verbunden ist und wie es sich als gemeinsame Größe entwickelt hat, ohne Rücksicht auf die gegenwärtigen nationalen Grenzen. Europeana liefert einen Beleg für die Existenz einer durch ihre zahlreichen Sprachen erschließbaren europäischen Kultur.

20 | Virtuelle Museen: von der italienischen Erfahrung zu einem grenzüberschreitenden Netzwerk

Sofia Pescarin

In diesem Beitrag wird – unter Bezugnahme auf die Erfahrungen des **Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche** – die Entwicklung im Bereich virtueller Museen in Italien in den letzten 10 Jahren analysiert. Das sich aus der Entwicklung und Verwendung virtueller Museen ergebende große Potential dieses neuen Ansatzes führte zu einer erheblichen Steigerung der nun in Europa verfügbaren Beispiele. Andererseits weisen zahlreiche Missstände auf die Unreife dieses Sektors hin. Aus diesem Grunde hat sich die europäische Kommission 2011 entschieden, im Rahmen des 7. Forschungsrahmenprogramms das Exzellenznetzwerk V-MUST.NET zu finanzieren, mit der Perspektive einen neuen Weg zu schaffen, um das Bewusstsein der Europäer von ihrer verschiedenen Geschichte und ihrem Kulturerbe durch Erzählungen und die Interaktivität der digital rekonstruierten Landschaft zu verbessern.

21 | Cradles of European Culture: ein Projekt im Programm Kultur 2007–2013, um lokale und europäische Ambitionen zu verbinden

Dirk Callebaut

2010 wurde von der Europäischen Kommission im Programm Kultur 2007–2013 das fünfjährige Projekt „Cradles of European Culture“ (CEC) gestartet. Anliegen dieses Projekts ist an erster Stelle, die Aufmerksamkeit der Öffentlichkeit auf einen Teil der europäischen Geschichte zu lenken, und zwar auf das historische Gebiet von Francia Media, das Reich Lothars. Ausgehend von diesem Fallbeispiel will das CEC-Projekt experimentell überprüfen, ob Kulturerbe tatsächlich die notwendige Einflusskraft hat, die breite Bevölkerung von der europäischen Idee zu überzeugen. Das Kulturerbe aus zehn verschiedenen Ländern wurde zu einem Netzwerk verbunden, das besonders auf das europäische Thema von Einheit und Vielfalt konzentriert ist. Die Analyse des archäologischen, architektonischen und Landschaftserbes ist strukturell auf den Kontakt mit der Öffentlichkeit bezogen. Eine Schlüsselstellung kommt eben der gesellschaftsnahen Einstellung zu.



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