

Transnationality in heritage

An analysis of the presentation of the Roman Limes in the Netherlands and Germany



Photos on titel page:

Top left: Reconstruction at Meinerswijk, Arnhem. Photo taken on 08-07-2016.

Top right: Castellum Hoge Woerd, Utrecht. Photo taken on 06-07-2016.

Middle: Park Matilo, Leiden. Photo taken on 10-07-2016.

Bottom left: Roman remains in Remagen. Photo taken on 17-08-2016.

Bottom right: Exhibition at the LVR-Landesmuseum in Bonn. Photo taken on 21-08-2016.

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Introduction

Heritage is a hot topic. This is proven in multiple ways. The amount of scientific papers written on it is growing and the number of World Heritage Sites (WHS) on the World Heritage List (WHL) of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) is growing steadily (UNESCO, World Heritage List, s.d.). This means that heritage is becoming more and more institutionalized. It also shows that heritage is very much alive among the people. Recent events in Palmyra, Syria, have shown that some heritage is rightfully considered *World* Heritage. The destruction of multiple sites in Palmyra by ISIS spurred reactions of disbelief and grief from all over the world (see figure 1), not only of the people who live near to it.

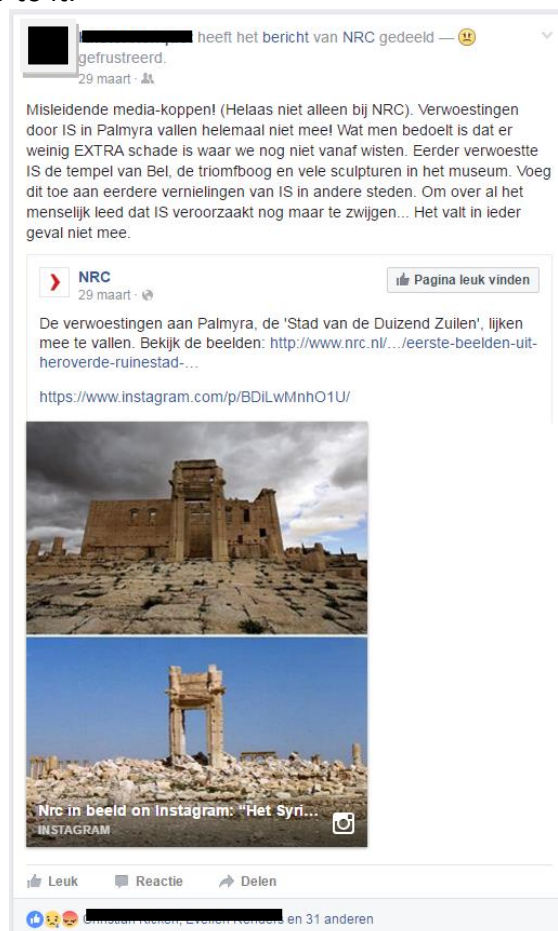


Figure 1: Facebook-status of a Dutch student, reacting on the news update on the Palmyran destructions

Abovementioned developments show the relevance of cultural heritage to our society. Heritage has, since people have started to research it, been seen as something that is closely connected to the creation of identity. How this functions is not, however, completely clear. Therefore, the creation of identity through heritage will be researched in a field that has not yet had very much attention: Transnational heritage. To what identity does heritage, that belongs to two nations or more, contribute? By looking at the mechanisms at play, our understanding of the creation of heritage can grow as well.

The role of heritage within the creation of national identity has been researched. Little attention has been paid, however, to transnational heritage, i.e. a heritage site that is

located in a border region and thus part of two (or more) nations. There is currently a gap in this scientific field which this thesis shall initiate to fill. Since it is beyond the scope of a master thesis to examine all heritage sites in border regions, I will focus on one case study, namely the Roman *Niedergermanische Limes* (Lower German Limes) that ran through the Netherlands and Germany. This case is particularly interesting, because the Netherlands and Germany are working together on a project to nominate the Lower German Limes for the World Heritage List. This is quite a large project and is mostly financed with public funds. Therefore, it would be good to investigate the reasons for and the process of this nomination, to better inform the public. It might be assumed that the countries, given their cooperative relation, will less focus on their national identities and perhaps even stimulate a transnational one. Next to that, the Roman Limes is Roman heritage, which makes it highly relatable for a large audience, since the Roman Empire extended throughout the complete Mediterranean region (De Blois & Van der Spek, 2001). Considering the current situation with refugees, the Roman heritage is a very good possibility to include these groups as well, since the Roman history is something shared by both the current members of the European Union and the countries most refugees come from. This leads to the following research question:

“What is the intended identity the Roman Limes contributes to both in the Netherlands and in Germany and what power relations are expressed thereby?”

Based on the literature read until now, I have formulated some subquestions. These contribute to the scientific debates as come forward from the analysis of the academic literature and give partial answers to the main question. The subquestions are:

“Whose identity is displayed in the Roman Limes: A national, regional or transnational?”

“What sort of approach is used in the project of the Limes?”

The thesis has the following structure. The first chapter elaborates on the theoretical framework. In this section, I discuss the main themes - heritage, identity, memory and placemaking - and their theoretical debates. The questions mentioned above are based on these debates. In the second chapter I give a regional overview of the case. The third chapter elaborates on the methodology and the various sources I will use. Chapter four describes, analyses and interprets the sources for the Netherlands. In the end of that chapter, all findings are summarized in a provisional conclusion. Chapter five does the same but then for the German sources. Chapter six is the conclusion, in which I compare the findings from chapters four and five, answer the research question and give my recommendations, both for further research and for presentation of the Limes.

Chapter One

Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, I will elaborate on the theoretical concepts which are important for answering the research question:

“What is the intended identity the Roman Limes contributes to both in the Netherlands and in Germany and what power relations are expressed thereby?”

The key concept is heritage, and closely connected to it are identity, memory and placemaking. Therefore, I will elaborate on heritage and also explain the other concepts, although mostly in relation to heritage. I will sketch the theoretical debates around these concepts and to which this thesis will contribute. These contributions will be placed at the end of this thesis. I will formulate a couple of questions at the end of this chapter, which, by answering them, will contribute to answer the research question.

Heritage

The history of heritage is a never ending story. From the most ancient times onwards, people have looked back on older stories and objects to make sense of the present and to devise a destiny for the future. Harvey (2008) gives the case of the prehistoric site of Avebury as an example for the development of heritage. Avebury is a pagan religious site in the United Kingdom which was probably used first for fertility ceremonies. The site was rediscovered by John Aubrey in 1648 and he saw it as something prior to the Roman era. This raised the idea of a national and ancient community, thus giving a nationalist sense to it. William Stukeley argued a couple decades later that it should be seen as a predecessor of anti-Catholic sentiments and tried to link the heritage to Protestantism. At the start of the nineteenth century, heritage was becoming attractive for a broader audience and less merely something for the elite. Henry Browne, under the smoke of the upcoming industrial revolution, wrote the book *An Illustration of Stonehenge and Abury in the County of Wilts* in 1823 in which he argued that because of the heritage of Avebury, Britain was privileged and should bring its civilization to other places as well. Heritage was used in the nineteenth century in social struggles as well, both by conservative parties as by progressive ones. Both argued that the narrative of heritage supported their claim. It was during the nineteenth century that the concern for the protection of heritage emerged as well as the popularization of the past through heritage, with the emergence of many museums. The amount of museums tripled in the period between 1860 and 1914 in Great Britain. This was usually closely connected to the notion of the nation-state, since museums and heritage were used to raise the idea of a shared history to the people to create an imagined community (Harvey, 2008).

At the start of the twentieth century, there was a tendency to make heritage as authentic as possible, thereby removing all later additions, for example those of the medieval period in the case of a Roman structure. In the mid-twentieth century, the

presentation and practices of heritage – selection of sites for example – became more democratic, but the educated and privileged elite was still in control. In the second half of that century, heritage changed into the heritage industry, mostly because of the bigger scale and the idea that heritage is something for leisure. The sector has slightly changed its position during the last two decades of the twentieth century. First, the nation became less important as a container of identity and the personal, local and global identities gained importance. Second, the goal is not merely conveying a message anymore, but also about provocation: People are triggered to interact. Third, it is not only about tourism anymore, but there is more attention for the fields of education and social cohesion (Harvey, 2008). Finally, heritage can be used to demarcate a territory as specifically belonging to one group. This makes clear for outsiders that they enter a territory which is not their own, and it can exclude groups who live inside it but do not form part of the cultural marker. Heritage is thus a process that draws on the past and it is connected to the requirements of identity of the present. It is manipulated for all sorts of reasons, such as reinforcing the current status quo or to contest it (McDowell, 2008).

Heritage is a very complicated concept, which people usually use to refer to grand and ancient structures. This is, however, not a correct way to look at heritage, since heritage is much more than merely the great and ancient buildings. Heritage is not necessarily a building or something tangible, but can also be intangible such as languages or customs. It is now agreed upon that most heritage does not have much intrinsic value, but rather that value is given to it in the present. This is done because people find it important for various reasons, such as nationality, religion, gender or class. Not all the past is heritage nor is all culture, as stakeholders select elements that are important to them and demarcate them as heritage. Stakeholders can be various groups, such as governments, experts or local inhabitants. This also leads to the difference between official heritage, which is marked as such by experts and the government, and unofficial heritage, which is seen as heritage by other groups but not the authorities (Graham & Howard, 2008). This variety means that what is signaled by some as heritage, is not perceived as such by all and that minorities can appoint their own heritage.

Heritage always involves some forms of contestation and dissonance. Dissonance in heritage means that the site is understood and valued differently by different people. This is especially the case whenever a group feels left out of the common heritage message. The predominant values of the heritage will be contested by views of minorities, who are left out of the identity and values which are communicated through that particular heritage. This is also highly political: Heritage can be used as a political instrument to legitimize who is in power or to strengthen the majority's identity. Ashworth and Tunbridge (1996) argue that dissonance is intrinsically something of heritage, Smith (2006) proposes that all heritage is contested up to a certain level. A very recent example is the case of *Zwarte Piet* (*Black Pete*), the helper of *Sinterklaas* (the Dutch version of Santa Claus), in the Netherlands. Many of the Dutch people see Black Pete as part of the Dutch heritage. Many immigrants see Black Pete as a racist caricature of black people and are often offended by him. Therefore, they want to get rid of Black Pete and this leads to fierce discussions.

Graham and Howard (2008) and Porter (2008) give several reasons for the contestation of heritage. They propose that this has to do with the economic side of heritage, which means that heritage is consumed by many tourists, while it is also a place for the local inhabitants. Local communities can become alienated from places when companies and the government try to make it more broadly applicable for consumption. Tourism can

also create difficulties for the locals to get access to their previously quite personal places. This can be due to large groups of tourists, who make access more difficult because of their sheer numbers or because of certain provisions that are needed to preserve the site. Conflicts may also arise over the stewardship, i.e. who has a saying in what to do with the place and who benefits from it. Finally, conflicts may arise over the representation of the site, which can be debatable.

Heritage has in most cases a zero-sum character, which means that heritage is exclusive: Heritage belongs to someone or to one particular group, and not to someone else. Aside from the questionable nature of heritage belonging to one group, the nature of heritage can also lead to the removal of heritage of minorities, because this does not fit into the general identity of the larger group (Graham & Howard, 2008). Think of the recent events in Syria, where ISIS is destroying all sorts of cultural heritage. They do this because that heritage does not fit into the ideology of ISIS and therefore they destroy it (Welby, 2015).

One of the most important notions of heritage, is the Authoritative Heritage Discourse (AHD). This is the discourse that at the moment decides what is heritage and what is not. This is a very powerful one, which is in place because the heritage experts, archaeologists and historians, benefit from it. They gain a lot of esteem, work and power from it, because they 'know' what heritage is. This also means that they are the ones who are looked at whenever the decision needs to be made whether or not something is heritage. This creates a vicious circle, since they are the experts on what they have appointed as heritage themselves (Smith, 2006).

Identity

In this thesis, I will only be talking about the identity of people. Identity is perhaps an even more slippery concept than heritage and has to do with belonging. Identity is about being part of a group. People have layered identities, which means that they can feel part of more than one group. These identities also do not have to be reinforced by monuments or other forms of grand heritage (Smith, 2006). People can be both a *Limburger*, Dutch and European, but also an academic, an athlete or a craftsman. This makes it extremely difficult to grasp the concept of identity. Graham and Howard (2008) point out that identity refers to how certain features such as language, heritage, religion and ethnicity are used to create a sense of belonging and of in- and excluding certain groups into communities and what makes these groups unique. Those who are not part of your group and your identity are called the 'Other'. The Other is important in this concept to be able to define one's own identity, because the Other is always something you yourself are not. The work of Anderson (1983) on imagined communities is very interesting. Everyone feels that he or she is part of some group(s), while (s)he does not know the entire group. Nonetheless, this person feels connected with the other ones in this particular group. Anderson calls this imagined communities, because people feel connected with each other based on shared characteristics and history, although they may not know each other. Therefore, the community is imagined.

History and heritage play an important role in creating identity. First of all, it creates the idea of continuity and gives the present community some sense of respect for something ancient. Second, certain artefacts within the landscape connect the present with the past.

This creates a link between who live there now and who used to inhabit the land. This contributes to the creation of an identity. Thirdly, it gives a group of people the sense of having a shared history and heritage, which reinforces the idea of an imagined community. Finally, it marks what has ended and thus creates the opportunity to build forth on that. This enables people to position themselves against history and provides legitimization for certain actions in the past (Graham & Howard, 2008). How they reinforce each other has, however, not been thoroughly researched. A lot of research has been done on how heritage has legitimized nationalism and national ideologies. The monumental and impressive have most often been identified as representing the national identity. Billig (1995) however has made clear that also the everyday can represent this quite well.

There is still a focus on the national scale when considering heritage and identity. This is nowadays becoming more and more compromised by local, regional, personal and transnational identities. There has been more attention to specific classes, to how ethnic identities are defined, how gender is identified and how local communities create some form of identity. This research shows that there are many other forms of identity and heritage to be found, which can be in contrast to the national identity and are generally overlooked by the older literature. Heritage can give authority to the construction of certain identities, especially if the government legitimates the heritage officially by conserving and managing the site (Smith, 2006; Graham & Howard, 2008).

The representation of multiple identities within society and within heritage can be done in several ways. Tunbridge (2008) has pointed out five different forms: Assimilation means that the identity of the minority is not acknowledged. The minority's own identity is suppressed. Language is typically a feature for this scenario. Then, there is the melting pot scenario, in which the multiple groups and identities are mixed into a new one. The society needs to be open for minority immigration. The United States used to be a good example, since the US consisted previously of various smaller groups who created together a new culture and identity. This is, however, no longer applicable, since it is no longer a melting pot and they are not as welcoming to minorities as before. The core-plus model means that the identity of the minority is accepted and it can be viewed as something positive. The majority still feels secure with its own identity. The pillar model means that there are several groups living within one society. These groups have their own identity, but also share a common heritage and a common identity. This means that the society or nation as a whole might be less stable, but the separate groups can live together. One could think of the Catholics and Protestants in the Netherlands, although this example is probably a little outdated at this moment, since the majority of the population has become less religious. Finally, there is the salad bowl idea. This means that the society is composed of different groups which have their own identities and there is no (strong) common identity. What can be done in this case is looking for universal values in the heritage, which makes it better applicable for minorities as well (Tunbridge, 2008).

Memory

All modern societies have the habit of representing memory through the demarcation of a place where something memorable or tragic has happened. People can connect to these places, although these places usually have meaning for a particular individual or group. Because these places are important for certain groups, they create a feeling of belonging and

identity. Memory is connected to the heritage process. Memory can be understood in various scales and forms, such as national, personal or communal memory. The national memory is mostly regulated by the nation-state, who can steer the national memory through education, for example. For a group to have shared memory, they have to share the idea of how the group was formed over time. Mostly there is agreement on the important turning points of the group's history (McDowell, 2008).

Maurice Halbwachs (1950) makes the important distinction between individual and collective memory. The individual memory is, as the name suggests, the memory of an individual, it is a personal memory. The collective memory is the memory of a group or of a society. This is constructed by all the group members and it is mostly something about which no debate exists. These memories do not have to be the factual reality, but are usually reformed in the imagination (Halbwachs, 1950).

Place plays an important role in collective memory. The place reflects certain characteristics of the group of people who inhabit the place and only the inhabitants understand all those features completely. Whenever these places are changed, people who feel connected to them will resist. This is applicable to all scales. The demolition of one house will be a tragedy for only the family or the person who lives there. Bigger groups will only be affected by it, when they attach value to that particular house (Halbwachs, 1950). One very important question lingers: For whom is this place?

Remembering is important because it is tightly linked to our sense of identity. When it comes to memories, the discourse is selective in what they in- and exclude, just like heritage and identity. This also means that people interpret the past events differently when living in different times or places. Heritage and memory are very sensitive to power and thus highly political. They can represent the ideas of those in charge and those who choose what to represent. The rulers usually do so in order to legitimize the present social order. In the case of nations, they usually use heritage and memory to stimulate the national identity. There are, however, often other groups who contest these official narratives. When this leads to conflicts, there are usually other difficulties at play as well, for example the repression of one group (McDowell, 2008).

Aline Sierp and Jenny Wüstenberg (2015) state that memory is locally grounded, i.e. it is tied to a place. They see, however, a new trend in which politicians and scholars are talking about the universalization and transnationalization of memory. Since this is quite a new subject of inquiry, not much work has been done in this field. Sierp and Wüstenberg (2015) argue that there are a lot of case studies, but there have not been many in-depth investigations of characteristics and strategies of transnational memory politics. By looking at a particular transnational case study, like I do, it might be possible to discern some of the mechanisms the current state of research is lacking (Sierp & Wüstenberg, 2015).

Places and placemaking

When talking about heritage, one is usually also talking about places where this heritage is situated. Doreen Massey points out in her article (1995) that places are always constructions. What we consider specifically Italian for example, is something that has been placed in Italy at a certain moment for the first time and was then considered new. So places are always created out of social relations, both in the place itself and in contact with other places. She also notes that many places face certain developments which (may) harm the

typical character of the place in the near future, by adding dissonant features or by destroying typical ones. These views seem to forget that places are always in flux and therefore the identity or character of the place change as well. We need to keep in mind that certain features are absorbed more easily than others. The identity of a place is very much connected with the histories that people tell about this place, how they are told and which history becomes dominant (Massey, 1995).

The history of a place can be present in several ways. First, there can be physical remains which are still visible. Next to that, there can be reminders of its history for example by the names which are given to the streets or the neighborhood. This connection between the past and the present works both ways. The markers of the past are visible in the present, as described above. But when people see these glances of the past, they construct their mental image of the past. This is of course very personal, but can be steered a little by how the past is represented in the present (Massey, 1995).

Massey (1995) points out that there is always a struggle to create a certain identity of a place. By claiming not only a particular place, but also underlining a specific period and forgetting the other periods, various groups try to make their claims more legitimate. By trying to define a certain character to a place, decisions are made concerning what span of time is chosen to support that character. She also points out that characterizing a place is done mostly in a negative way, by saying what the place is *not*. Massey argues that this is not a good way to look at it and that it would be better to keep in mind that all places are connected with others and therefore should not be focusing totally on themselves, but attention should be paid to the external relations as well (Massey, 1995).

This is more or less the same as Van Limburg (2012) points out. Placemaking is not only creating a place physically, but also about adding value to it for humans by involving relevant stakeholders in the process and by making use of all kinds of information. This can be done both bottom up, which means that certain places get a certain value because of how the people use the place, but it can also be done top down. In the last case, those in power try to guide the behaviour of people by creating certain types of facilities which encourage the use of a place in a particular way. Van Limburg (2012) argues that placemaking is always about creating value (Limburg, 2012).

This placemaking, of which heritage is evidently part, poses one central issue, i.e. *whose heritage are we preserving?* Tunbridge (1984) notes that the conservation of heritage can also lead to the exclusion of others. These are not necessarily the ethnic or social minorities, but it can very well be the majority which is left out. It can also be a matter of literally losing access to certain places or that those places lose their previous function, which makes them useless for their previous users. This question is still relevant today (Tunbridge, 1984). As we have seen above, until a few years ago, most scholars agreed on the fact that most heritage was used for the support of the identity of the nation-state. Nowadays, scholars tend to see a shift towards more local and regional identities and heritages being created. This thesis can shed new light on this question, by looking at a transnational heritage site and thus investigating whether it is the national identity which will be reinforced or the regional. Or is a new, transnational identity created?

Mahyar Arefi (2014) mentions three different forces that lead to placemaking: Needs, opportunities and assets. By needs, he means that the people ask the government to create for example new neighbourhoods to live in. So the government needs to keep record of the needs of its people. Opportunities occur whenever the circumstances are benign for an investment to pay off. The approach of assets suggests that the community is willing to

invest in its capacities, capabilities and potentials, so it tries to enhance its position. The government sets goals for itself which it tries to achieve. These goals can be of different natures, such as social or economic (Arefi, 2014). All three approaches can be used in heritage management as well.

Arefi discerns three dichotomies: Public versus private goods; expert knowledge versus local knowledge; and the site versus place debate. Public goods should be non-exclusive and non-rival. This means that all people should be able to enjoy those goods and the fact that some people use it, should not reduce the possibility for other to use it. There are four categories to be discerned when talking about public and private goods: pure private goods are excludable and rival and are supplied in the market. Common goods do not exclude but are rival. A crowded street is a good example, since no one is excluded, but the use of many makes it more difficult for others to use it. Club goods are the third category, which means that the goods are excludable, but non-rival. So people need to be part of a club (exclusion), but can use the facilities (non-rival). Finally, there are pure public goods, such as parks. Arefi argues that places are public goods, but that governments do not always treat placemaking as a tool for creating public goods. All sorts of political arguments (such as the prices of housing) may drive politicians to making decisions which do not treat places as public goods (Arefi, 2014).

The second dichotomy is about the expert knowledge versus the local knowledge. The experts have their knowledge because of many years of training and experience, whereas the locals have their expertise because of living and experiencing the place for a long time. Currently, the debate is very much questioning experts who place their ideas and rules on locals, thereby seemingly overruling their experiences and wishes. In the past decades, this has led to a decline in the social capital, i.e. the value of a place because of all the social connections which have grown over time. During the last years, people have been involved more often in the process of placemaking, but this was often little more than incorporating some of their wishes in greater, preconceived plans (Arefi, 2014).

The last dichotomy is about site and place. This comes down to the question of standardization. In many cases, standardization means regulation and is thus a form of guarantee of quality. The big question is, whether this is the case with placemaking as well. This debate can be seen as part of the second dichotomy, since the questions are mostly about to what extent experts should play a role in placemaking and to what extent can locals do so? The difference between a site and a place is the difference between multiple and single narratives. Furthermore, places are social constructs. Currently, the literature suggests that the local and expert knowledge are mutually exclusive (Arefi, 2014).

The debates

Several interesting points come forward when reading the academic literature on this topic. I will formulate several subquestions based on this literature and the theoretical debates which I will touch upon in this thesis. First of all, Smith (2006) argues that all heritage is contested. Most of the cases investigated are from quite recent times (Graham and Howard, 2008; Smith, 2006). Since the history attached to heritage is still very much in the memory of the people involved, it is quite natural that there are people in favor and against the construction of that particular heritage site. Although this is true for many forms of 'recent' heritage, it is questionable whether or not this is also true for older forms, say from the

Roman age. Would people still feel so strongly connected to it? And if not, would there then still be contestation and if there was, how fierce would it be? Not much work has been done in that field and new research on these forms of older heritage may shed new light on this debate.

One exception is the case study of Hadrian's Wall in the United Kingdom. This has been researched by Divya Tolia-Kelly. In two of her articles (2009; 2010), she argues that the discourse which forms the popular image of Hadrian's Wall is incomplete. It is usually perceived as a pure border, dividing civility from barbarism and keeping the barbarians out. Furthermore, it is seen as something purely military. She shows that these ideas are incomplete, since the Wall's main function was to regulate the influx of people instead of merely keeping them out. Although the Wall had military features, there were many more aspects from civilian life there as well. She also elaborates on the functions the Wall has had after the Roman period and how people have perceived it after that (Nesbitt & Tolia-Kelly, 2009; Witcher, Tolia-Kelly, & Hingley, 2010).

Tolia-Kelly makes another interesting point in her article from 2011. She points out that there have been Africans and other Roman citizens from all parts of the Empire at Hadrian's Wall in the Roman era as well, but this has never been communicated properly. This has led to the popular image of a homogeneous and white society in the Roman period, which is false. Furthermore, the Roman history has been used in the United Kingdom to draw parallels between the UK and the Roman Empire both in terms of imperial power and military prowess. Just as the Romans civilized the tribes they conquered, so did the British Empire. In the same way, the achievements of Emperor Severus, who had African roots and who repaired the Wall significantly and kept the Chalcedonians out, have been occluded. This way, the Roman era seems to transform smoothly into the English history without interference from the 'others'. By bringing in a narrative other than the usual one, both the perception of the Roman period in Britain as well as the image of Britain today change (Kelly-Tolia, 2011). The critique Tolia-Kelly mentions can also be very relevant for the Roman Lower German Limes, since there is also the possible danger of focusing too much on the military and Roman aspect of the Limes, thereby forgetting the multiculturalism of the border and the later periods of the Limes. These aspects are not only applicable for Hadrian's Wall, but for all Roman borders and even non-Roman borders. Therefore, this research can reveal up until which point Tolia-Kelly's critique is heeded.

Another major trend discernible is the discussion of whose heritage (and thus whose memory) is preserved? In the fields of heritage, identity and in the field of memory studies, this question has become more important in the last decades. The literature argues that the nation-state has been very important in constructing heritage and memory in order to sustain its position and the national identity. Nowadays, there are, however, more authors who argue that, although the nation-state is still the biggest player, regional and transnational identities and movements of minorities are becoming more important as well (Smith, 2006; Graham & Howard, 2008; McDowell, 2008). This research will fit into this picture quite neatly, since it investigates how a heritage site in a borderland is used by authorities.

The question of identity is a very hot topic, especially in Europe. Many authors discuss the European identity, especially as how it is created by the European Union (EU). (Sassatelli, 2002; Boedeltje & Van Houtum, 2011; Paasi, 2001; Agnew, 2005; Guérin, 2008; Caligaro, 2014). To explain this, a brief history of the EU has to be given. The European Union first started its involvement in the field of culture in the 1970s. The basis for the

legitimization of the EU was previously based mostly on the economic cooperation and the welfare this brought. But in the 1970s, the economy collapsed due to the oil crisis and people lost faith in the economic strength of the EU. In search for legitimization, the EU turned its attention towards identity. The Union tried - and still tries - to create the feeling that all people in the EU are part of the same group by creating the idea of a common European culture and European citizenship. At first, the focus lied mainly on common values, such as democracy, law and human rights, but these cannot be seen as merely European. So in the following years, the EU started to create a 'European' heritage. They tried to achieve this by subsidizing the preservation and restauration of certain monuments which could be seen as materializations of the above mentioned values (Sassatelli, 2002).

In the treaty of Maastricht of 1992, it is written that the Union should advance and promote the cultures of its members. Two things were important there. First, national and regional particularities were respected. And second, common features would be highlighted. By doing so, the EU hoped that a European identity would take hold. By using the slogan "Unity in Diversity", the EU tried to tackle the problem of having so many different identities and cultures (Sassatelli, 2002).

This is, however, not the only instrument which the Union has borrowed from the corpus of the nation state. The European Union, in trying to present itself as a single entity, has used various 'national' symbols in order to construct its own identity. Some examples are the flag of the European Union, the European hymn and the use of the origin myth of the abduction of Europe (Boedeltje & Van Houtum, 2011). Next to the symbolic initiatives mentioned above, the EU has other means, such as the students exchange programme and subsidy campaigns, all within one European Cultural Programme which is aimed at creating a European identity (Sassatelli, 2002).

This promotion of the European citizenship has, however, not affected many citizens. (Agnew, 2005). The national sentiments are too strong at the moment and this makes it difficult to promote the European identity, since this could work adversely. The cultural differences are too big to create one strong European identity (Paasi, 2001). This can explain both the motto 'Unity in diversity' and the latest development in the cultural discourse of the European Union. The focus has namely shifted towards an 'intercultural dialogue', which means that although there are significant differences between groups, they still share some common ground (Caligaro, 2014). This seems to coincide very much with the motto of 'Unity in diversity'. So the cultural policy of the EU first focused on common values. Later, this shifted to common cultural heritage. After that, minorities and regional cultures were included, which led to the 'Unity in diversity'.

To stimulate the cooperation across borders, the EU has started the Interreg-program. This program supports all sorts of cross-border projects and also cultural projects. These cultural projects usually express the common cultural traits in the border-region. Local actors are thus financially supported and work together with colleagues across the border which hopefully leads to the feeling of being a European. One of the possible consequences may be that these projects undermine the national identity (Guérin, 2008). One could argue that the Roman Limes would be a perfect project for the European Union to finance since it is about a frontier of an empire that unified almost the entire territory of the EU. There is probably no image more powerful to portray the European unity imaginable than this. It would also be very convenient for all the parties to get additional European funding. Is the current representation of the Limes suited for a European identity? This question and the discussion above lead to the following subquestion:

Whose identity is displayed in the Roman Limes: A national, regional, transnational or European identity?

The preservation of a heritage site is a form of placemaking. As we have seen, two important questions arise. First, for whom is this heritage site? Is it purely public, or can we see certain features of exclusion or rivalness in it? And furthermore, how is this placemaking taking place? Is it a top-down approach, or are there efforts to include the local knowledge?

What sort of approach is used in the project of the Limes?

Furthermore, there has been little research in the field of transnational heritage and memory. By taking a transnational case study, it might be possible to discern some of the mechanisms at work and thus to make a valuable contribution to the current debate.

Lastly, most of the authors cited above are not from the European continent. Many of them come from the other side of the world, such as Canada (Tunbridge), the US (Arefi, Graham, Porter) or Australia (Smith) and some from the UK (Howard, Kelly-Tolia, McDowell). This means that they all have a particular vision on the world and the field of heritage which influences the cases they chose and how they interpret their data. Therefore, it can be a valuable addition to the current debates to see whether or not the theories as formulated by them are also applicable to the European continent or if they should be adjusted given the outcomes of this research. Even though there are also European authors on the topic of heritage and identity, the difference in numbers with the Anglophone authors is huge.¹ The reasons for this large number of non-European authors can be various. First, the translation of “cultural heritage” is not always clear. This alone does not, however, explain the huge difference between English and non-English publications, even when you bear in mind that many European scholars write in English.² Perhaps other terms might be used in other languages to refer to the same phenomenon. Second, the Anglophone authors usually refer to other Anglophone scholars, probably because it is easier for them to read their work. The recent trend that more and more scholars, also internationally, adopt English as the scientific language can be seen as both an advantage and a disadvantage. This development enables more people to be able to read academic work, but scholars who do not write in English will be overlooked more easily, even though their work can be very important. This does not stimulate scholars to (be able to) read in other languages, which is, from my personal point of view, a shame. All this, however, is not a satisfying explanation for the great difference between the number of Anglophone and non-Anglophone authors.

¹ When using RUquest (the search engine of the Radboud University) and entering the words “cultural heritage” and “identity”, 19.158 English hits appear, against 744 French and 324 Spanish. Checked on 28th of July, 2016.

² When using RUquest and entering the words “*patrimoine culturel*” and “*identité*”, “*Kulturerbe*” and “*Identität*”, “*patrimonio culturale*” and “*identità*” or “*cultureel erfgoed*” and “*identiteit*”, none of these generates a number of hits that comes even near the 19.158 English hits (512 French, 42 German, 69 Italian and 70 Dutch). Checked on 28th of July, 2016.

Chapter Two

Methodological Framework

In this section, I briefly explain what sources I will use and how I will use them. I will also briefly elaborate on the internship where most of the research has been conducted.

Questions and Methodology

In order to answer my research question, I have formulated three sub-questions, based on the academic literature. These questions should be answered for both the Netherlands and Germany, in order to answer the research question. To answer these questions, I will examine three types of resources. The first source consists of Dutch and German policy documents and the website www.romeinselimes.nl, i.e. a website set up by the *Stichting Romeinse Limes Nederland* (Dutch Roman Limes Foundation), several German websites. I will elaborate on the choice of websites in chapter five. The second type of source consists of interviews with policymakers who are responsible for the project of the application for the WHL. In the Netherlands, I will interview Tamar Leene, program manager of the application for the Limes, and Cees van Rooijen, account manager of the Roman Limes at the Cultural Heritage Agency. I will speak with Thomas Otten on the German side, head of the *Archäologischen Zone mit Jüdischem Museum* at Köln and responsible for the application for the WHL of the Limes on the German side. The last source consists of the sites themselves. These are in the Netherlands the castellum Hoge Woerd in Utrecht, Meinerswijk in Arnhem and park Matilo in Leiden. I will elaborate on each of the sources briefly.

Policy documents and website

What is written in the policy documents is very relevant, since this shows why the site is so important (and probably to whom). The reports several committees and commissions have written on the selection of sites are highly relevant, explaining why they made a particular choice. Also the Interpretation Framework, in which the general story of the Limes is told, is significant. Furthermore, several documents on the progress of the application can be relevant. A public Dutch brochure of the nomination of the Roman Limes is included.

I will analyze the website www.romeinselimes.nl. This website is used by the foundation that was set up to make the Limes more well-known. Therefore, this website is exactly the representation the policymakers would like the audience to see.

I will analyze and interpret the documents and website and give an interpretation of the data by critically looking at it. After that, I will let the argument be checked by others, to see whether or not my line of argumentation is valid or not. I will have to keep in mind that these sources have been produced for another purpose and that they had a different intended audience. Also, it is possible that the data are not completely veracious. This research is, however, about how the site was intended and represented, so this does not have to be a problem, but I have to stay critical (White, 2010).

Interviews

I will have to conduct some interviews with the policymakers responsible for the World Heritage application. I will speak with policymakers both from the Netherlands and Germany, since they can have different motives for requesting the status of WHS. They are also the experts, the ones who know everything about this WHS and the motivations for listing it. Therefore, I use semi-structured interviews, since this gives me the possibility to ask questions which I did not foresee, but also to keep myself to some points I want to know for sure. For this I will make an interview plan (see appendices one, three and five). I will conduct these interviews in Dutch and German, since I want my interviewees to feel no restrictions because of the language. Next to that, I will make a consent form so that the interviewees know I will guarantee their privacy and what the data will be used for (see appendices two, four and six). While interviewing the persons, I will record it, so I can make a literal transcription.

After that, the interviews have to be transcribed. Then I will give an interpretation of the data by critically looking at it. After that, I will let the argument be checked by others. When analyzing the interviews, I might have to keep in mind that the policymakers might not always answer honestly or that they might be constrained by certain social codes, which make them more polite and politically correct. Besides being aware of this and asking more questions, it is difficult to deal with this properly.

The interviewees for the Dutch side of the Limes are Tamar Leene, program manager Limes for the Provinces of Gelderland, Utrecht, Zuid-Holland and the Cultural Heritage Agency, and Cees van Rooijen, consultant cultural landscape and archaeology and account holder Roman Limes at the *Rijksdienst voor Cultureel Erfgoed* (Cultural Heritage Agency) and most involved into UNESCO. Tamar Leene is the head of the project of the application, which makes her the ideal interviewee, given her expert knowledge of both the reasons for applying as well as the process of the project. Cees van Rooijen is heavily involved in the process and may give a different perspective on certain themes. Tamar Leene has already sent me a copy of an earlier interview by Natasja van der Heijden for her Master thesis on civil participation in the World Heritage application. Therefore, I have adapted my interview in such a way to build on that interview and not ask the same questions again.

The interviewee on the German side will be dr. Thomas Otten, who is the head of the *Archäologischen Zone mit Jüdischem Museum* at Köln. He is also responsible for the application for the WHL of the Limes on the German side. He can be considered the Tamar Leene of Germany, thus also knowing all the details of the application and the reasons behind it.

Sites

It is very important to visit the sites both in the Netherlands and Germany. By visiting the sites, I will be able to take notes on what is visible there, which can help me to give an answer to the research question. At the time of writing, there is not yet a definite selection of sites because the process of nomination is still at an early stage, which makes it rather difficult to choose. There is a tentative list of 16 sites in the Netherlands, of which I will visit

three: park Matilo in Leiden, Hogewoerd in Utrecht and Meinerswijk in Arnhem. I have chosen these three for several reasons. These sites will probably stay on the list for application, they are all modern reconstructions and they are in the three provinces which are involved in the application (Zuid-Holland, Gelderland and Utrecht). In Germany, I will visit the site of Remagen and the LVR-LandesMuseum at Bonn. This because of three reasons: First, dr. Polak, archaeologist at the Radboud University and director of Auxilia, the Archaeological Research Bureau of the Radboud University, suggested the site of Remagen amongst others. Second, these sites are in both the *Bundesländer* involved (Nordrhein-Westfalen and Rheinland-Pfalz), thus covering both federal states. Thirdly, dr. Thomas Otten made clear that the site of Remagen had not been changed yet due to the Limes, whereas the museum in Bonn has undergone some changes. This means that it is possible to see how a site is transformed because of the WHL application. Without analyzing the sites and what is visible there, I will miss important information. All the remarkable and noteworthy elements will be photographed, described and interpreted. What is noteworthy and what not, can only be decided there. The criterion will be whether something can be interpreted as creating an identity, e.g. given the information signs at the site.

After I have recorded all the important data, I will describe it (so what do we actually see?). Then I will give a critical interpretation of all the data. After that, I will let the argument be checked by others.

There are certain risks which have to be analyzed, when interpreting visual imageries. These are mostly cultural signs which can have very specific meanings, but you have to be able to perceive them. Some cultural marks can only be seen by people who are part of that particular cultural group. Also, the meaning of these signs can change over time: Something can have a different meaning in a different period. Next to that, seeing cultural signs can mean different things to different persons. Therefore, it is very important to keep in mind that context matters and it is important to find out what the meaning of something is in a particular context and culture. Furthermore, it is good to be aware of the fact that some things remain your own interpretation. By being aware of this and trying to find out as much about the context as possible, these issues can be tackled. It is also important to imagine what audience is being addressed, since this can have influence on the meaning (Bartram, 2010). Most of the troubles outlined above will not be applicable to these sites: I am part of the cultural group of the Netherlands and will thus be the intended audience. The representation of the sites in the Netherlands is relatively new and its meaning will not have changed much. The sites in Germany, however, have been researched much earlier. Already in 1871, an organizational plan for researching the Romans came to be in Germany. All this research has led to many reconstructions, dating back to the end of the nineteenth century as well (Kunow, 2015; Obman, 2015). This means two things: The Germans have a long tradition in making reconstructions which has probably influenced their way of thinking about reconstructions. Secondly, whereas the sites of the Netherlands are relatively new, the German ones are quite old and will have to be adjusted to fit into the story of the Lower German Limes as World Heritage. Finally, the aim of the signs at the sites is probably intended to inform, which will probably make the German signs understandable as well.

While analyzing the documents, media, interviews and sites, I will be paying extra attention to a couple of features. First of all, I will be very alert on words or phrases that explain why the application of the Limes for the WHL is being prepared. These reasons can be both explicit and implicit. Also, much attention will be paid to the question for whom the Limes is

important. There can again be explicit and implicit answers to this. I will pay much attention to the national, regional and international phrases in the data as well, to see which of them comes most to the fore. Finally, I will be attentive to signs of a top-down or bottom-up approach and I will check whether or not other periods and cultures than the Roman are included in the presentation of the Limes.

In the upcoming chapters, I will analyze the sources and answer the questions. I have chosen to treat the Dutch and German part of the Limes in separate chapters, to keep a clear overview. After that, I will compare the results and come to conclusions.

Internship

An internship would be very useful for answering all the questions mentioned above. Therefore, I will do my internship at a Dutch government's department which is currently involved in the nomination, i.e. *Erfgoed Gelderland*. Erfgoed Gelderland is an independent foundation which organizes and supports all sorts of projects to improve the renown of heritage in the province of Gelderland and functions as a centre of expertise of the heritage of Gelderland. It gets most of its funding from the provincial government. They are also member of the *Stichting Romeinse Limes Nederland* (Foundation Roman Limes Netherlands), since the Limes runs through Gelderland. There, I will be able to work further on the concept of heritage and learn from experts in the field. Also, they can help me get in contact with the persons who are responsible for granting the World Heritage Site status. Next to that, they can help me find the right documents which were used for the request for a WHS. Finally, the people working at the nomination are the ones I would like to interview to find out what the conveyed identity is that will be enhanced by the Roman Limes.

Chapter Three

Regional Overview

In this section, I examine the case study more profoundly. What is the Roman Limes in general and more specifically in Germany and the Netherlands? How is the organizational structure for the World Heritage List application? When these matters are concretized, it will be easier to choose the right methods.

The Roman Limes

The Roman Limes usually refers to the outer border of the Roman Empire. At its peak, the border ran from Britain through the Netherlands, Germany, the Balkans, Egypt and the Sahara to Morocco (see Figure 2). This could be both an artificial border, such as Hadrian's Wall in Britain, or a natural border like the river the Rhine or the Sahara desert. The Romans preferred the latter type, because it cost less effort to make the border defensible. The part we discuss here, is called the *Niedergermanische Limes* (Lower German Limes). It ran from



Figure 2. The Roman Empire 117 A.D.
Source: http://www.ancient.eu/Roman_Empire/

Katwijk aan Zee in the Netherlands, where the Rhine ends in the North Sea, to Remagen in Germany, a distance of approximately 400 kilometers (see Figure 3) (Willems, Graafstal, & Van Driel-Murray, 2014; Kunow, 2015).

The Lower German Limes was constructed gradually, following the expeditions of Julius Caesar and Augustus during the second half of the first century B.C. First, forts were erected to coordinate the Roman conquest, which later became the bases from which other forts were constructed. Also watchtowers were built, which indicates that a system of

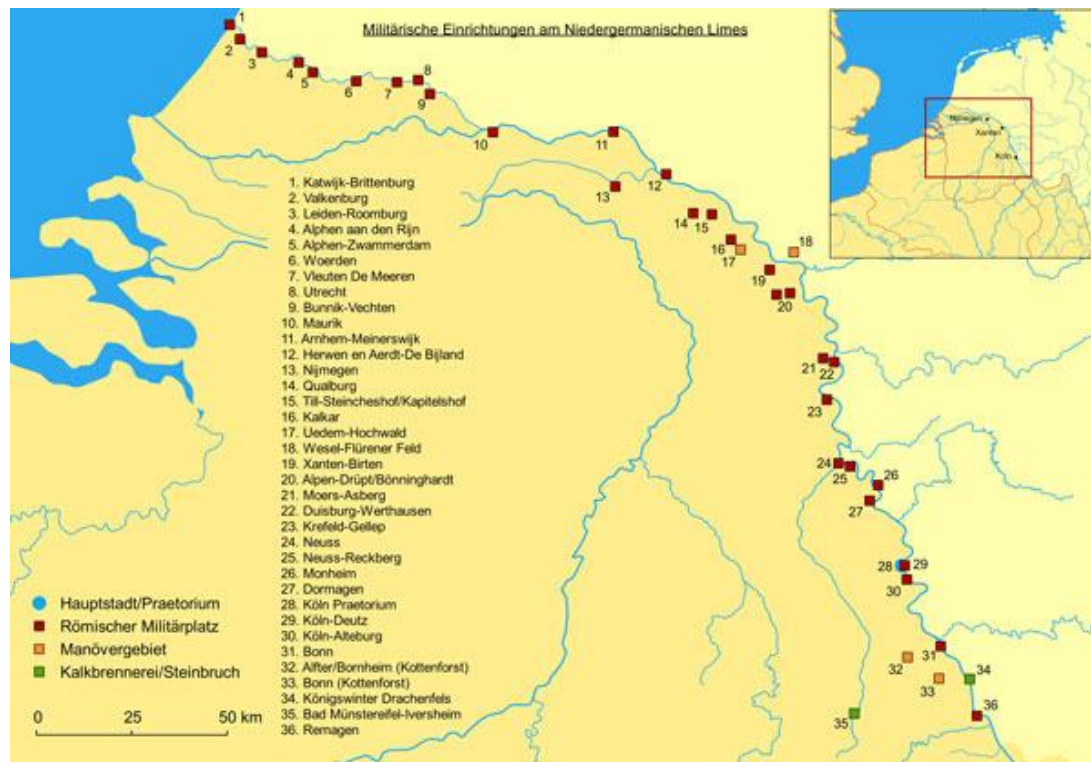


Figure 3. The Lower German Limes
Source: <https://www.krefeld.de/de/inhalt/test/>

border control was created in order to manage the movement and transport along this border and not merely to prevent others entering the Roman Empire. This system of border control was completed in the second century A.D. The Lower German Limes was thus not one long wall which was meant to keep others out. Instead, it consisted of loosely connected forts and towers with some military fortresses in between. There were approximately thirty major military installations between Katwijk and Remagen with approximately thirty kilometers between each of them. The system remained in use until the first quarter of the fifth century as part of the Roman defence system. After the fall of the Roman Empire in 476 A.D., the fate of the fortresses of the Limes differed for every fort: Some were abandoned, others were used by Merovingian kings and became important for the Carolingian period (Willems, Graafstal, & Van Driel-Murray, 2014).

The part which forms the case of this study, is a so-called river-Limes, which means that the Romans used the river as a border. This has two peculiarities which should be taken into consideration. First of all, it makes the work of the archaeologist more difficult, since the flow of the river has shifted multiple times through the course of ages. This means that the Roman remains can be flushed away or have been heavily disturbed. Secondly, many of the Roman settlements at the river have flourished in medieval times and transformed into

modern cities. This also makes the archaeological work more difficult, since Roman remains have been removed, destroyed or built over (Kunow, 2015).

Some parts of the Roman Limes, such as Hadrian's Wall or the Antonine Wall, are already on the World Heritage List under the common name *Frontiers of the Roman Empire*. The Netherlands and Germany are preparing a nomination for the Lower German Limes to become part of this as well (Willems, Graafstal, & Van Driel-Murray, 2014). The structure of how this project works is well presented in the document *Tussenstand Werelderfgoednominatie Romeinse Limes* by the *Nederlandse Limessamenwerking* (The Dutch Limes Association) of 2014. There are several groups involved in the final dossier that will be presented to UNESCO. There are four groups which deliver a nomination dossier. First, there is the *Werkgroep Limes* (Workgroup Limes). This group consists of the Dutch provinces of Gelderland, Utrecht and Zuid-Holland and the Cultural Heritage Agency. The workgroup prepares the nomination file in consultation with the municipalities. This same group, supplemented with the 26 municipalities which are involved, is the *Ambtelijk Limesoverleg* (Official Limes-consultation), in which the agenda is prepared for the *Bestuurlijke Tafels* (Administrative Tables). There are three of these Tables and in each of them is one province with the respective municipalities. They discuss the nomination file, which is drafted by the *Stuurgroep Limes* (Steering Committee Limes), which also maintains contact with the minister of Education, Culture and Science. There is of course also a group which deliberates with the German counterparts and this is called the *Duits-Nederlandse Werkgroep* (German-Dutch Workgroup). Representatives of the German federal states, the *Limeskommission*, the three Dutch provinces and the Cultural Heritage Agency are all included and talk about the nomination file. Finally, the *Stuurgroep Limes* and the German counterpart present one nomination file which will be discussed by German and Dutch representatives and if they approve, it will be sent to the Dutch cabinet which decides whether or not to present it to UNESCO (Nederlandse Limessamenwerking, 2014).

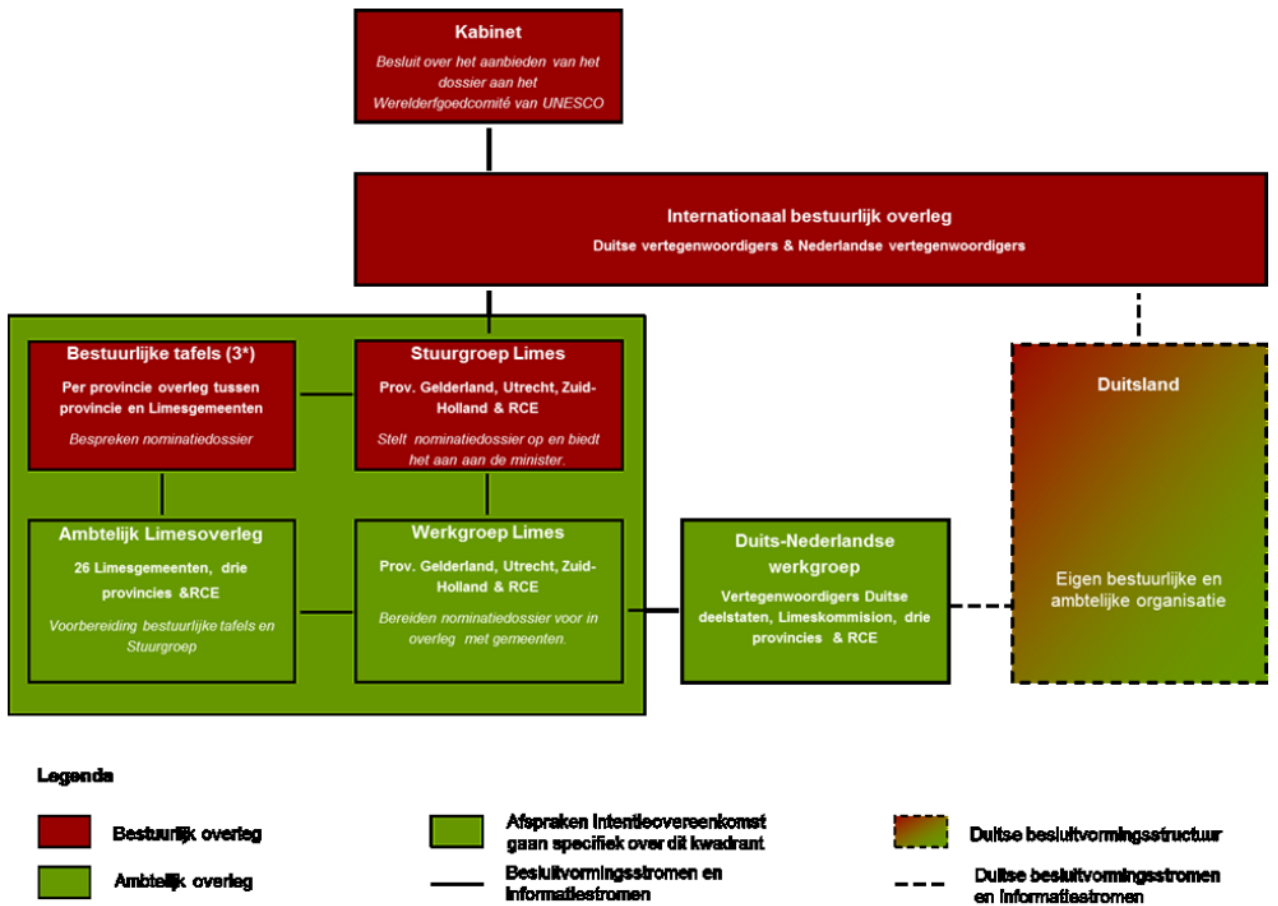


Figure 4 The structure of the Dutch organization for the WHL application. Derived from the Nederlandse Limessamenwerking (2014), page 17.

Chapter Four

Representation in the Netherlands

In this chapter, I will investigate the most important sites, the website of the *Stichting Romeinse Limes Nederland* (Roman Limes Foundation Netherlands) and documents which represent the Roman *Limes* in the Netherlands. The only Dutch website I investigate is www.romeinselimes.nl because this is the official website of the Roman Limes Foundation Netherlands, which is responsible for the promotion of the Roman Limes. This makes the website highly relevant for the presentation of the Limes. By doing so, it will be possible to deduce the global image which is conjured by these documents, sites and website. I will also analyse two interviews held with Tamar Leene, Program Manager Limes for the Provinces of Gelderland, Utrecht, Zuid-Holland and the Cultural Heritage Agency, and one with Cees van Rooijen, consultant cultural landscape and archaeology and account holder Roman Limes. I will start with the documents, then I will analyse the website, then the sites and finally the interviews. In the end follows a provisional conclusion.

Documents

I will analyse the documents in such an order, that the chronological and causal relationships become clear. By doing so, it is easier to understand how the whole process of the application started. The conclusions at the end of this section are merely based on these documents.

Tentative List Unesco World Heritage 2010

The first document I will analyse is called "*Uitzonderlijk en Universeel: Voorlopige Lijst Unesco Werelderfgoed Koninkrijk der Nederlanden 2010*" (*Extraordinary and Universal: Tentative List Unesco World Heritage Kingdom of the Netherlands 2010*). To fully understand the documents analysed in this chapter, it is important to know what led to the creation of the tentative list. In her "*Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (February 2005)*", the Committee of World Heritage asked all who signed the World Heritage Convention to come up with a list of possible sites for application. Therefore, the Dutch government installed a commission of experts to come up with a list. This commission based the list on the principles of the World Heritage Committee of UNESCO and of the Dutch government (Leemhuis-Stout, Bak, Goedkoop, Sijmons, & Stissi, 2010). For the selection, three aspects were important:

1. How does UNESCO define the Outstanding Universal Value?
2. Do the managers of the sites have the will and ability to preserve the site?
3. What do the Netherlands want to achieve with the application? What is the story that the Netherlands want to tell?

The World Heritage List is currently unbalanced. UNESCO wants to create a list that is credible and that represents all sorts of heritage. At the moment, some categories are overrepresented, such as West-European heritage, medieval heritage, historical city centres and Christian heritage. UNESCO is therefore very critical with adding new heritage sites that can be seen as part of those categories. Other categories are underrepresented and UNESCO wants to stimulate proposals of those sites, as they stated in their report *“Filling the Gaps”* of 2005. The Dutch government has thus said that focus should be on heritage on the Antilles and proposals with other countries, since these will have a higher chance of success. The commission has also chosen several themes which they thought to be of great importance to the Dutch history. These are *“The Netherlands Waterlands”*, *“The Dutch contribution to the modernisation”*, *“International”* and *“The Netherlands as a civil society”*. These themes have played a role in the selection as well (Leemhuis-Stout, Bak, Goedkoop, Sijmons, & Stissi, 2010).

The tentative list gives some insights into the motivations for applying for the WHL. The document starts, however, by stating what are *not* the benefits:

“De betekenis van plaatsing op de Werelderfgoedlijst is beperkt. In de eerste plaats omdat Nederland zelf al een omvangrijk beleid kent voor de instandhouding van natuurlijke en cultuurhistorische waarden. [...] De status Werelderfgoed voegt daaraan niets toe. In de tweede plaats omdat de status van Werelderfgoed geen directe financiële of concrete voordelen biedt. Voor de eerder aangewezen Werelderfgoedsites geldt dat die status in de praktijk eerder een waardering voor het verleden betekent dan een garantie voor de toekomst.” (page 11)

So there is no further protection for the site, because this is already properly organized in the Netherlands. There are also no direct financial or concrete benefits. It should be regarded as appreciation for the past, rather than a guarantee for the future. What are then the benefits? Why do the Netherlands apply?

“Niettemin waarderen de betrokken partijen de Werelderfgoedstatus als positief. Zij nemen verantwoordelijkheid voor instandhouding van erfgoed en daarmee wint het belang van erfgoed aan terrein in de dynamiek van economische, ruimtelijke en maatschappelijke ontwikkelingen. Ook de publicitaire en eventueel toeristische waarde van de Werelderfgoedstatus is van belang.” (page 12)

Three things are mentioned here. First, responsibility is taken for the preservation of heritage. One page earlier, the authors stated that this was not the great addition of being on the WHL, so it is strange to put this argument forward here. Perhaps having World Heritage Sites underlines the intention of the Netherlands to preserve its heritage. Second, the importance of heritage grows within the dynamics of the economic, spatial and social developments. Thirdly, the publicity and the potential touristic value of heritage might be important. So the main arguments for applying seem to lie in giving heritage more importance and public (Leemhuis-Stout, Bak, Goedkoop, Sijmons, & Stissi, 2010). The authors talk about a possible touristic value. Is that not, however, almost the same as financial value, which was negated one page earlier? This seems to be contradictive.

The Limes is not on the tentative list, but it is mentioned at the end as a possible site for the list. The Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) is obvious, but there is a lack of

cooperation between the several parties involved in the Limes. There is also no one who is responsible for the Limes as a whole. Therefore, the commission suggests to create some form of collaboration between all the stakeholders in order to get them all on the same page (Leemhuis-Stout, Bak, Goedkoop, Sijmons, & Stissi, 2010).

Outstanding Universal Values

Even though the Roman Limes was, according to the previous document, not ready for an application, the government decided to apply for it in the near future (Rijksoverheid, 2011). Therefore, the *Draft Statement OUV & Comparative Analysis World Heritage Nomination Lower German Limes* was created by Willem Willems, Eric Graafstal and Carol van Driel-Murray (2014). In this document, the authors explain that UNESCO has formulated six criteria for cultural sites to become a World Heritage Site, of which only one has to be met. According to the authors, the Lower German Limes applies to three criteria, namely criteria ii, iii and iv (Willems, Graafstal, & Van Driel-Murray, 2014). The criteria mentioned are formulated by UNESCO as follows:

“ii. to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;

iii. to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;

iv. to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history” (UNESCO, The Criteria for Selection, 2016).

Considering criterion ii, Willems, Graafstal and Van Driel-Murray state in the Draft Statement that the Lower German Limes, because of its long lifespan, reflects all the phases of the Roman Empire in the development of civilian and military facilities. It also displays the different phases from the early Roman conquest in the first century B.C. to the stabilization and the creation of defence systems in later centuries.

The site is unique (criterion iii), because it is the only part of the Limes which has lasted for such a long time. It is also important because it has all different aspects of military occupation, ranging from fortresses to auxiliary naval forces. Lastly, because the Limes coincides with the Rhine here, many wooden structures such as remains of ships and leather artefacts such as shoes have been preserved very well.

Finally, the fourth criterion is met because the Roman Limes bears witness to Roman water management techniques, given the nearby river. Also, this delta area has preserved organic materials and artefacts which give unique information on the border life (Willems, Graafstal, & Van Driel-Murray, 2014).

The criteria mentioned above make clear what the Outstanding Universal Value of a site is, but there are more requirements, concerning integrity, authenticity, protection and management of the site. Integrity means that the site is still complete and that the heritage is intact. The main questions concerning integrity are if the site includes all elements to

express the OUV, if it is large enough to represent all the features and whether it has suffered from neglect. Because the Limes has not been a closed line like the Chinese Wall, it is possible to choose certain areas for the World Heritage Nomination which together reflect the abovementioned criteria. The remains are mostly below the ground, which ensures their integrity, since the remains are best preserved below the ground or under water. By choosing multiple areas, all aspects which make the Limes unique and fitting buffer zones can be included. These buffer zones guarantee that the integrity of the site remains intact. To go short, the integrity also guarantees the authenticity of the site (Willems, Graafstal, & Van Driel-Murray, 2014).

Several factors make this part of the Limes unique in comparison to the parts already on the List. First of all, the other parts of the Limes on the List are artificial, such as Hadrian's Wall. The Lower German Limes consisted also of natural elements, such as the Rhine. Furthermore, the other parts of the Limes only represent a certain stage of the Roman Limes, whereas the Lower German Limes shows a longer period.

The authors also mention why the site is relevant for us today:

“However, the Roman army is culturally relevant to us not just as a military institution but as a living community of peoples of diverse backgrounds. This is why the extensive extra-mural settlements of traders, artisans, shopkeepers and military families (called canabae and vici in the case of legionary fortresses and auxiliary forts, respectively) are an indispensable mirror element in the present nomination, as are the extensive cemeteries that guided these conurbations. Equally important for understanding the cultural exchange and syncretism in Roman frontier communities are the cult sites that attracted a specifically military following, like the sanctuary of Vagdavercustis at Kalkar.” (page 14)

It is stated in this section that the Roman army was a community of different backgrounds, which mirrors our current society. It is suggested that the results of studying how ethnically different people lived (seemingly) peacefully together in Roman times can contribute to solutions to our multicultural society today. The authors do not go into this in detail, so it is unclear how they imagine this process to be.

Somewhat further in the document, the value of the Roman Limes is expressed again:

“Perhaps, the principal contribution of the Roman frontiers to the collective human experience resides in values signaled as under-represented in the existing WH list by the ‘Gaps’ report. On a practical note, the Roman frontiers represent an impressive series of ‘creative responses’ to natural and cultural challenges (terrain, building materials, food supply, local security issues, etc.). The ‘utilization of natural resources’ by the Roman military in a pragmatic and often sustainable fashion is a quality that keeps surprising even the most experienced student of Roman frontiers.

Roman frontiers are all about ‘movement of peoples’, another criterion underlined by the ‘Gaps’ report. What is important here is not so much the obvious regulatory function of limites³, as the ongoing process of incorporation of indigenous communities through service in the Roman army. Through recruitment, occasional redeployments, trade and marriage, the imperial frontiers continuously circulated and

³ Plural of Limes.

integrated people, material goods, cultural forms and spiritual ideas, to form that wonderfully syncretistic culture known as provincial Roman civilization.

Also among the under-represented qualities are monuments as 'expressions of society'. One of the functions of Roman limites was to send a powerful message to the amalgam of provincial populations. Orators like Aelius Aristides likened the frontier works to a giant city wall, guaranteeing the security of the Empire's citizens. In a wider sense, the frontiers of the Roman world have been seen as answering 'a need to define the limits of a hybrid and transformational Roman identity in the particular context of territory outside imperial control that was occupied by 'barbarians'.' (pp. 19-20)

This section starts by explaining the “principal contribution [...] to the collective human experience”. This major contribution is defined by the values which are under-represented in the current WHL and several examples are mentioned. There is no mention of why this is important or relevant for us today. This leads to two possible conclusions: First, preserving something which represents the under-represented values is inherently good, according to the authors. The second conclusion can be that these values are stressed because it enhances the chances to get on the WHL. By pointing out that this site represents values which are not present in many other sites, it is simply more likely to get on the World Heritage List. This raises the next question: Why is it so important to get on the WHL? Next to this, no argumentation is given in this section as to why this site is so important for us today.

Having analyzed this document, a couple of conclusions can be drawn. Most of the document is about the characteristics of the Lower German Limes which make it a valuable addition to the bigger World Heritage Site *Frontiers of the Roman Empire*. The authors also show that they have read the latest developments in their field of research, because they note that the Roman Limes was not just a border to keep people out, but it should rather be regarded as a tool for controlling the flows of migration. They are also aware of the multicultural character of the Limes, since the Roman soldiers came from all parts of the world. Finally, they also hint at the importance of the Limes after the Roman period, although this section is quite concise.

There are two sections that tell us something about the value of the site for us today. First, the site has been a place where people from many different backgrounds lived together. By understanding how this worked, we can nowadays perhaps find ways to live more harmoniously together as well. The second section merely mentions some values the site represents which are under-represented on the WHL and are therefore inherently important. This seems some form of rhetoric to increase the chance of getting on the WHL.

Interpretation Framework

Another important document is the *Interpretatiekader voor de Romeinse limes in Nederland (Interpretation Framework for the Roman Limes in the Netherlands)*. This document is intended as a “tool to improve the public presentation of the Limes” in multiple ways. This has been set up in order to create a more coherent story of the Limes, in which all the local stories can be fit. This way, the general story of the Limes will be the same at different sites

throughout the Netherlands. The interpretation framework is also part of other projects that aim to improve the renown of the Limes (Visser, Hazenberg, Koster, & Hasselaar, 2016). This interpretation framework is a direct result of the tentative list, in which was stated that there should be more coherency between the different sites and that someone should be responsible for the project as a whole.

UNESCO has set two challenges for the Roman Limes which the interpretation framework should tackle: The scientific knowledge on the Limes should be accessible for a large audience and should be moulded into educational projects. Also, the society has to be actively involved in the Limes. What follows is an explanation on how the framework can contribute to those two goals (Visser, Hazenberg, Koster, & Hasselaar, 2016).

First, the interpretation framework suggests that there should be *one* story on the Limes in the whole of the Netherlands, which can be supplemented by information or stories from the local sites. This means that in Utrecht, for example, the general history of the Romans in the Netherlands should be described with the addition of the specific information for Utrecht. This information should be brought to the visitors in relevant themes, so that they will be triggered to contemplate on those themes. The Limes can be used for themes such as water management, multiculturalism and the rule of power (Visser, Hazenberg, Koster, & Hasselaar, 2016).

The Roman Limes is presented in this document as having a local, national and international character. The Limes is mentioned as "internationally significant" (page 4) and the "whole international story" (page 5) should be told. There is, on the other hand, only one paragraph which elaborates on the internationality of the Limes. Other times, the word international is used for statistics of international tourists (Visser, Hazenberg, Koster, & Hasselaar, 2016).

The local story is very important for the Limes, since this can connect the place of the present to the history of that place. This can enhance the experience of the visitor. Therefore, much attention should be paid to it. It can also contribute to the identity of the place and the people living there, by making them aware that "the past underneath our feet is very old" (page 34). This story, however, should always be connected to the greater history of the Romans in the Netherlands (Visser, Hazenberg, Koster, & Hasselaar, 2016).

The national importance of the Limes is not mentioned explicitly, but becomes clear through the many Dutch examples that are given. This is logical, because the title mentions "*in Nederland*". One could, however, question the logic in making such a national interpretation framework. The document is about the *Roman* Limes, which is put forward by both Germany and the Netherlands as *one* application. Why, then, is there no framework for these countries together? The document also stresses the international importance of the Limes, but mostly gives national examples, such as water management (which is "the Dutch pride" (page 34)) or the Limes as transport route like the "Dutch delta still is today" (page 33). This seems to hint at a very national mind-set of the policymakers, who have chosen for this design (Visser, Hazenberg, Koster & Hasselaar, 2016).

It is also worth noticing that the document seems to propose a more top-down approach. The history should be streamlined into one, commonly accepted story which can and should be completed with local stories. Local initiatives should be encouraged and, if possible, connected to the overarching story of the Limes in the Netherlands. Local ideas can thus play a role, but only within the greater story of the Limes (Visser, Hazenberg, Koster, & Hasselaar, 2016).

Finally, there is much emphasis on how the Limes can attract more tourists and visitors. This is not so strange, since one of the challenges posed by UNESCO is that many people should be engaged with the Limes, thereby showing societal support for it (Visser, Hazenberg, Koster, & Hasselaar, 2016). By attracting more visitors, the policymakers hope to show that the Limes is very relevant for the population. Much of the framework is thus concerned with attracting more visitors, mostly for improving the chances of getting on the WHL. This again comes down to the question: Why do they want the Limes to be on the WHL? But there are more motives to be thought of for attracting more visitors. First, there are economical gains. By attracting more visitors, local entrepreneurs can benefit from it. The institutions and organizations connected to the Limes will get more funds, because they can present larger numbers of visitors. Second, when the number of visitors grows, the position of the organizations and institutions will improve because they can say that more people care about the Limes. Thus they will benefit from this increase both financially and influentially.

Advice of the Expert Group for World Heritage Nominations

In 2015, an expert group was summoned for two reasons. First, this group should make the order of the nominees on the tentative list. Second, the first nomination of the list (the Teylers Museum) was not granted and therefore the government wanted to evaluate the chances of the rest of the tentative list to get on the World Heritage List (Van Ufford, Selfslagh, Van Aerschot-van Haeverbeek, Grimbrère, & Enemark, 2015). So, the expert group wrote their advice, called "*Bitter en Zoet. Advies van de Expertgroep; Beoordeling Werelderfgoednominaties*" (*Bitter and Sweet. Advice of the Expert Group; Assessment of the World Heritage Nominations*).

There is not much new information to be deduced from this document, except for one important aspect. The authors say that the central Dutch government is not enough involved in the process of the nomination. Therefore, they advise the government to take more responsibility, because the central government has the expertise, both in content and procedure, to apply successfully for a nomination. The active involvement on a local scale is, however, still essential, both for the nomination and for the management of the site. Therefore, the expert group advises to find a good balance between the involvement of the central and local government (Van Ufford, Selfslagh, Van Aerschot-van Haeverbeek, Grimbrère, & Enemark, 2015).

Brochure World Heritage Nomination Roman Limes

In 2014, the *Rijksdienst voor Cultureel Erfgoed* (Cultural Heritage Agency) and the provinces of Utrecht, Zuid-Holland and Gelderland published a brochure to inform the people about the Limes. Several quotes and passages are interesting here. First of all, there is not much emphasis on the national or local importance of the Limes. Only one paragraph mentions that several characteristics of the Limes in *the Netherlands* are special. For the rest, it is stated that the Limes was a place of cultural exchange and should be seen in a larger, international frame. This frame is explained like the general history of the Limes, both in an objective way.

Two points are interesting. First, one section of the text talks about the protection of the heritage, which can be improved because of the WHL-status, but only if all parties (province, municipality and national government) agree. This is interesting because of two reasons: First, it was stated in the tentative list that the status of WHS would not improve the protection of the site, because everything was already properly organized in the Netherlands. Second, it shows that there is a mix between a top-down and a bottom-up approach. The Dutch government takes the lead, but the local governments also have their say.

Second, there are certain benefits to be gained by becoming a WHS, according to the brochure:

“Plaatsing op de Werelderfgoedlijst biedt ook kansen. Het Werelderfgoedlabel kan worden gebruikt als marketinginstrument en is een uniek middel om bijzondere plekken te profileren en onder de aandacht te brengen van (buitenlandse) bezoekers.”

The only benefit mentioned in the text, is marketing: The label of WHS can be used to attract more (foreign) tourists. Since no other benefits are mentioned, the label of World Heritage Site seems to be interesting only because of economic benefits.

Also remarkable is the section which focuses on the international Limes. It mentions the extent of the Limes and the cooperation with Germany. It explains the connection with Hadrian's Wall and the other parts of the Limes, which are already on the List under the header 'Frontiers of the Roman Empire' and thus creates some awareness among the audience of the international character of the Limes.

Interim report 2014

The *Nederlandse Limessamenwerking* (Dutch Limes Cooperation) published an interim report in 2014 about the state of the process. In this report, the *Nederlandse Limessamenwerking* wrote among others about the users and inhabitants and about the role of the municipalities in the preservation of the heritage. They stated the following on the preservation of the sites:

“Het is de wens van de provincies dat de gebieden die straks voorgedragen worden en gebieden die tot de bufferzone zullen behoren op een eenduidige wijze beschermd zijn. [...] Naar aanleiding van het reeds genoemde beschermingsonderzoek zal in overleg worden getreden met de betrokken gemeenten over eventuele aanpassingen van regelgeving. Ten aanzien van dit punt hebben wij met gemeenten de intentie uitgesproken dat besluiten of maatregelen die eventueel nodig zijn voor een Werelderfgoednominatie, uitsluitend worden genomen wanneer de bij die terreinen betrokken overheden hier overeenstemming over bereiken.” (page 14)

Two things stand out here. First, the central government wants to have a uniformed form of preservation for all the different sites of the Limes. Second, the protection for the sites will be done in a way that all involved municipalities accept it. So there seems to be an interesting approach of both a top-down (the uniformity) and bottom-up (there is no agreement until everyone agrees).

The *Nederlandse Limessamenwerking* wrote about the users and inhabitants the following:

“Wij achten draagvlak onder bewoners en gebruikers van groot belang. Daarom wordt continu gewerkt aan de vergroting van de bekendheid en de beleefbaarheid van de Limes (zie hoofdstuk 7). Speciale aandachtsgroep zijn de eigenaren en gebruikers van terreinen die straks onderdeel van de property zijn of die in de bufferzone komen te liggen. Wanneer helder is welke terreinen we willen voordragen en wat de precieze gevolgen zijn van de Werelderfgoedstatus, zullen we in overleg treden met de gebruikers en eigenaren van de terreinen. Op basis van de uitkomsten van deze gesprekken, zal worden gekeken op welke punten de voordracht al dan niet moet worden aangepast. Aanvullend zal een brede consultatieronde worden gehouden, waarin bewoners, gebruikers en andere geïnteresseerden gelegenheid krijgen om op het conceptnominatiedossier te reageren.” (page 17)

The *Nederlandse Limessamenwerking* states that both the inhabitants and the users are very important. Therefore, the Limes should be more well-known. The people who own properties on the site, will be talked with and based on those conversations, the proposal will be evaluated to see whether or not something should be adjusted. There will also be consultation rounds, during which everyone will get the opportunity to react to the concept nomination file. Again, we see this mix of a bottom-up and top-down approach, in which the experts come with a plan which can still be adjusted by the input of the local inhabitants.

A Pearl Necklace

In 2015, an article was published by Willem Willems, Erik Graafstal and Tamar Leene in the publication of the faculty of archaeology of the Leiden University. This article, titled “A Pearl Necklace: The Lower German Limes World Heritage Nomination”, elaborates on the nomination process. It gives information on the SOUV and the Comparative Analysis, i.e. why the Limes is very different from other sites on the WHL. It also gives a brief summary of how the whole process of the nomination started and mentions three advantages of nominating together with Nordrhein-Westfalen and Rheinland-Pfalz. The first reason is that the whole area was in Roman times one administrative entity, *Germania Inferior*. Furthermore, the gap in the Limes between Hadrian’s Wall and the *Obergermanische-Rhaetische Limes* in Germany would be filled. Lastly, it would increase the chance of success (Willems, Graafstal, & Leene, 2015).

So there seem to be two practical reasons and one historical reason for nominating the Limes together with Germany. The historical reason is that the entire zone was one administrative region in Roman times. The practical reasons are that the gap in the Frontiers of the Roman Empire is filled and that the chance of success will increase. By nominating together, Germany and the Netherlands seem to be trying to kill two birds with one stone, since they would otherwise need to nominate twice.

In Search of the Limes

In 2015, the bureau of *DaF-architecten* published a report that was commissioned by the *College van Rijksadviseurs* (College of Royal advisors). This report had two questions upon which it should focus: How can the Limes be presented as a coherent structure and what is the spatial quality? The first question should tackle the problem of the variety of the Limes throughout the Netherlands and the lack of coherency, the latter should find a solution for the little visibility of Roman remains, given that most of it is still in the ground or in museums (Visser C. , 2015).

Several recommendations stand out here. The bureau suggests that a mixture of entrepreneurs, policymakers and archaeologists will lead to the best projects to promote the Limes. The Limes should be presented in various ways: Every context needs a different approach. All finds and information of the Limes should be catalogued. This facilitates those involved to find the appropriate content for every location. Another suggestion is to create walking, cycling and boating routes, which make the links between the different sites of the Limes clear. International and national maps with extensive information should also be developed, so that it is easier to create a mental map of the Limes. Other suggestions are creating recognisable and universal signs at the sites, organizing more public excavations and creating more opportunities to get in touch with real Roman materials.

It is interesting to see that in this document, two pages are dedicated to the international framework. The interpretation framework as it has been developed in England is used several times as a good example, but there are little references to the German partner. Steve Bödecker is quoted several times, but there seem to be no concrete recommendations which derive from the German partner. Does this mean that no inspirational examples from Germany have been deduced from this research? The main focus on the Netherlands is not so strange, given that the College of Royal Advisors ordered this research, but would it not have been better do conduct such a research for the Netherlands and Rheinland-Pfalz and Nordrhein-Westfalen together? It would probably cost less to conduct one overarching research instead of two separate ones, while the unity of the research would be better then, given that the same people would conduct it instead of different researchers.

When taking the documents discussed above in consideration, several things stand out. First, it is helpful to divide the documents in two types: Those for promotional purposes and those for internal use. The documents for the public, such as the brochure and the interpretation framework, mention the international cooperation and the international character of the Limes. The interpretation framework, as stated above, also stresses the national identity. The other type of documents, the policy documents, show a more national scope. The investigations and research is mostly based on the Dutch sites and process. I find this remarkable, all the more because the same research should probably be conducted in Germany as well. By doing this together, costs can be lowered and the methods of the research will be the same. Possible explanations for the choice made by the policymakers are that the research has already be done in German or that there are organizational obstacles which are too big to overcome.

The documents stress the importance of getting on the WHL and increasing the chances of getting on it, but there is very little information on why that is so important. This

is also one of the reasons to work together with Germany, as stated in the article of Willems, Graafstal and Leene (2015).

The approach of the application seems to be a mixture between top-down and bottom-up. The interpretation framework aims to create an overarching story which should be used at all different places, to which local information can be added. The same goes for the selection of the sites: The experts choose several sites and these are then consulted on a local level.

Finally, Tolia-Kelly's critique is heeded, since there is much attention for the cultural exchange that took place at the Limes. There is, however, little attention for other periods than the Roman.

Website: Romeinselimes.nl

The first hit you find on google when typing the words "*Romeinse Limes*" (Roman Limes), is the website romeinselimes.nl. This website is created by the *Stichting Romeinse Limes Nederland* (The Dutch Roman Limes Foundation) and is intended to create more awareness of the Roman Limes among the Dutch public.

There are several options in the menu (see figure 4). There are four pages under the option *Romeinse Limes*. Three of them give general information about the Roman history in the Netherlands. The information there is quite neutral and there is very little emphasis on the Netherlands, even though the titles (*Nederland in de Romeinse tijd* (the Netherlands in the Roman times) and *Limes in Nederland* (the Limes in the Netherlands)) would suggest something else. There is also a webpage on the Limes in Europe, which gives some information on that topic. There is, however, a remarkable focus on Hadrian's Wall on that webpage. The last webpage of the option *Romeinse Limes* is a copy of the brochure of 2014, which I have discussed above.

The option *Projecten* (Projects) has five pages, each of them with different projects: *Limes Netwerkdag* (Limes Network Day); *Mijn Limes* (My Limes); *Romeinenweek* (Roman Week); Limes Vouchers and the *Interpretatie Raamwerk* (Interpretation Framework). The first four are projects to draw attention to the Limes. The goal of the Network Day is to inform all people interested on the progress of what the Dutch Roman Limes Foundation has done. The Voucher and *Mijn Limes* are more or less competitions to stimulate people and organizations to do something with the Limes, e.g. to create Roman products or to organize Roman festivals. The Roman Week is organized by the *Stichting Romeinse Limes Nederland* and by *RomeinenNU*. There are all sorts of Roman activities throughout the Netherlands during this week. The tone of all these projects is very neutral: It is a description of what the projects were, with very little reference to whatever identity. The webpage of the interpretation framework is different. Its main goal is to involve and enthuse as many people as possible.

"Limes locaties kunnen sterker worden gepositioneerd met een uniek en verrassend verhaal dat past bij wat je er kan zien en beleven en aansluit bij jouw publiek. Met een uitgekende verhaallijn wordt de consistentie van de Limes als geheel verbeterd. Positioneer jouw locatie binnen het regionale netwerk en ga de uitdaging aan om voorbij je eigen plek grotere regionale, nationale en internationale verbanden te leggen."

This shows again the mix in two approaches as mentioned earlier: One framework from the top providing the bigger, international story, supplemented with local input.

The option *Inspiratie* (Inspiration) gives you several webpages on which you can find

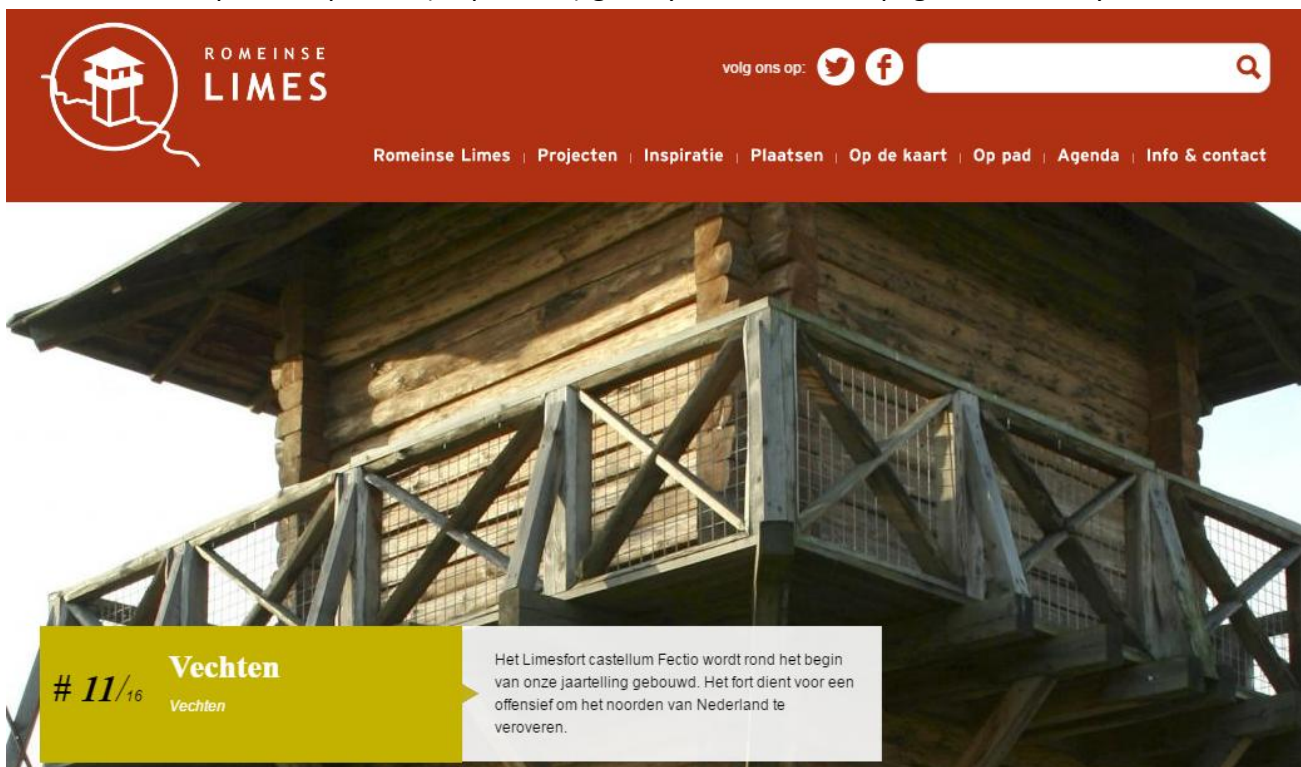


Figure 4: Frontpage of www.romeinselimes.nl. Picture taken on 07-10-2016.

links to all sorts of media, products and apps inspired by the Limes. These are mostly educational tools and are about the Romans in the Netherlands. This means that there is almost in all cases a link to the Netherlands, but given its educational nature, this is explainable. There are, however, also some products on sale and those pages seem to be more like advertisements. There are also some links to websites with an international and local focus, such as the website www.vici.org.

The option *Plaatsen* (Places) gives an overview of the most remarkable sites of the Roman Limes to visit in the Netherlands. The information given is mostly a neutral description. It is not surprising that much of the information is really focused on the local history, since this option directs you to the information of the sites. Therefore, it is logical that there is an emphasis on the local identity.

The same is true for the option *Op pad* (On the road): This is mostly very locally orientated, but that is not strange given the nature of these webpages. There is one difference with the option *Plaatsen*, that is that *Op pad* has a much more commercial character. Many of the webpages are more or less advertisements for products or arrangements.

Given the goal that was formulated, creating more awareness on the Roman Limes among the Dutch public and informing them about it, the website seems to be created nicely to do so. It gives neutral information on the history of the Romans and the Limes. It is only when you start clicking on the buttons of *Inspiratie*, *Plaatsen* or *Op pad* that it becomes clear that there is a strong focus on the Netherlands and the local places. Given the goal of the website, this is not so strange, and the few links to international projects give some nuance

to this image. Furthermore, it is remarkable that the website has so much camouflaged advertising, by recommending many books, movies and arrangements. This can be done to give the public as much information as possible, or just as advertisement or as both. Finally, it would be highly recommendable to add an option to the website to switch it to English. This would be good in two ways: First, it enables the international tourists to find information about the Limes and, second, it would be a step in stressing the internationality of the Limes.

Sites

Having discussed the most important documents and the website, it is time to describe and analyse the sites. As stated in chapter two, I have selected three different sites, given their location in different provinces and the very different nature of the sites.

Castellum Hoge Woerd (Utrecht)

I first visited the castellum in Hoge Woerd in Utrecht on the sixth of July. The castellum is a modern reconstruction, situated in a new district. The reconstruction consists of a central building, representing the barracks, and walls, suggesting the size of the Roman castellum and imitating the castellum's walls (see figure 5). Four organizations are housed there. There are a café, a petting zoo/garden around the castellum, a theatre (inside the central building) and a museum. The museum is both in the towers on the walls as well as in the central structure. There are multiple showcases in the towers, displaying the archaeological finds. There is also information on these showcases, both general as well as specifically about the finds. The general information is mostly about the life of the Romans and the locals. There are also interactive cameras. These display the environment of the castellum nowadays, but by using the touchscreen, you can see what it looked like in the Roman time.



Figure 5: The Castellum Hoge Woerd. Image derived from <http://www.romeinselimes.nl/nl/op-pad/castellum-hoge-woerd-de-meern> on 19-07-2016

The central building has the most important finds, i.e. a large, wooden ship and many wooden tools that are in remarkable good condition due to the very favourable conditions of conservation. Here is again both specific and general information. The specific information is about the finds, the general information is about the history of the Romans in the Netherlands. There is also a short movie about the excavation of the ship. The museum is not completely ready yet, but is already open for visitors.

Several things stand out here, keeping the research question and subquestions in mind. First of all, attention is paid to what has happened after the Roman period. So other periods are included in this site, thereby heeding the critique of Tolia-Kelly.

Secondly, all information is in Dutch. The employees ensured me that there would be audio guides in other languages as well and guided tours. So there will be some information for the international visitors, but in order to understand, they will always need at least an audio guide. This looks like a missed opportunity, both for attracting the international tourists as for underscoring the international character of the Limes. Especially the global information can be something to which many different people can relate to, given the extent of the Roman Empire. Furthermore, the specific information about the finds can show the public how the Romans subtly differentiated between and adapted in different regions.

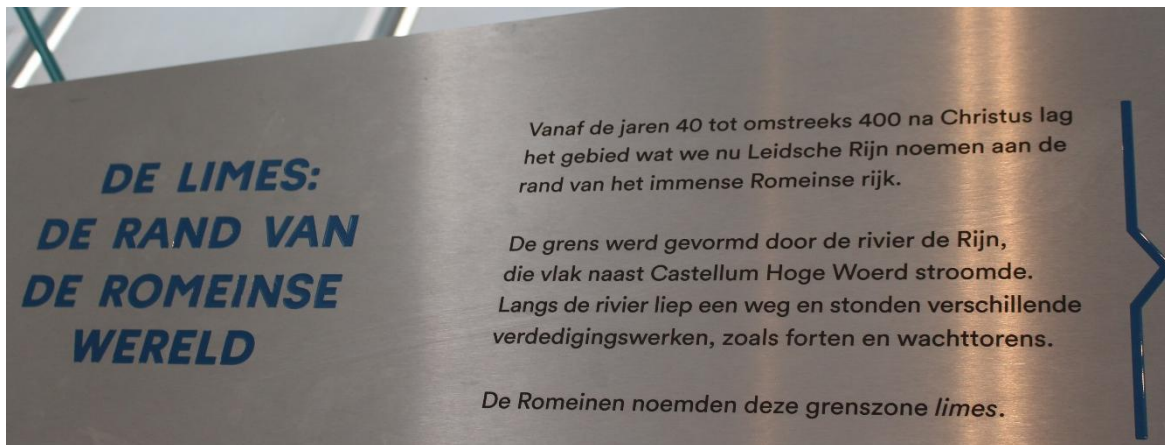


Figure 6: Information sign defining the Roman Limes. Picture taken on 06-07-2016.

The issue of languages makes another point also quite clear. Like in the interpretation framework, there is little emphasis on the international scale of the Limes. Especially the more general information, such as how the Roman army functioned, can be described in a broader context (see figure 6). There is much emphasis on the Romans in the Netherlands and especially in Hoge Woerd. This is not so strange, given that the museum is in Hoge Woerd and the finds are all found in that region, but it seems to contradict with the intentions mentioned in the interpretation framework.

This emphasis on the national and especially the regional significance of the Roman residence there is underscored by the names of the roads around the castellum, such as *Castellumlaan* and *Vicuslaan*. By using these street names and highlighting the importance of the Romans in that region, regional identity is created. By using the Roman history of the place, this relatively new neighbourhood has a story to which people can relate.

Meinerswijk (Arnhem)

Meinerswijk is a natural park in Arnhem, which I visited on the eighth of July 2016. Here was a Roman castellum which has been made visible and this visualisation was officially opened on the eleventh of March 2016 (Arink, 2016). The visualisation of the castellum is done the following way: Some of the contours of the fort have been visualised by making low walls (see figure 7). These consist of a metal cage, filled with three layers. The first layer is black, referring to the Batavian revolt that led to the pillage of the fort. Then a layer limestones, referring to the fort, rebuilt in stone. Lastly, the roof tiles are symbolic for the Roman way of building. This demarcation in the field is made in such a way that it does not obstruct the natural flow of the river the Nederrijn.

Because the site is in a natural park, the visualisation is kept to a minimum. This is also true for the information



Figure 7: Part of the reconstruction. Photo taken on 08-07-2016.



Figure 8: Part of the information sign, both in German and Dutch. Photo taken on 08-07

provided about the fort. Only one sign gives information. The sign has the logo of the *Stichting Romeinse Limes Nederland*. The information is both in German and in Dutch, probably because of the proximity of the German border. The information on the sign starts with a general story on the Roman Limes and has a map of the entire Roman Empire. Then there are several sections that give information on different themes, mostly about the specific site. It also has one section on acculturation (see figure 8).

The site in Arnhem is thus quite neutral, since the information is also available in German and the information conveys the bigger picture as well (see figure 8).

Park Matilo (Leiden)

On the tenth of July 2016, I visited Park Matilo in Leiden. This park was officially opened for public the fifth of September 2013 (Leiden, 2013) and the main place has the form of a Roman camp. The walls are reconstructed by an earthen rampart with trees on it and there are a few reconstructed watchtowers on it. There is a grass field within these walls, upon

which two roads intersect (see figure 9). There are several information signs in, around and in the proximity of the park.

A couple of things should be noticed here. First of all, attention is paid both to the other phases of the site as well as to the acculturation during the Roman period. The other phases are present with information signs showing the history of the monastery of St. Margaretha. There are also information signs telling about the Romans adapting to the local culture and vice versa.

The signs with information about the Roman period are scattered around the site. The information on these signs is mostly quite neutral and general with additions of local rarities. All signs are in Dutch. These two facts give the site a local character.

The streets around the park bear Latin names, such as *Concordiastraat* (see figure 9). These names, with Dutch explanations below them, together with the information signs, can be seen as constituting an identity. These remind the people in a relatively new neighbourhood of the history of their place, thereby giving them something to be able to refer to.



Figure 9: Example of a Latinized street name. Photo taken on 10-07-2016

Having discussed the three sites, several conclusions can be drawn. First of all, the three sites are very different. This is partly due to the location of the site (two in a new neighbourhood and one in a natural park) and the nature of the site (a natural park, a recreational park and a museum),



Figure 10: Park Matilo. Photo derived from <http://www.romeinselimes.nl/nl/plaatsen/leiden> on 11-10-2016

but is probably also because each province and municipality has quite a large say in how to do it. This decentralization leads to variation in how and which information is displayed as well. Meinerswijk does not mention what has happened with the fort after the Roman period, while there seems to be relatively little attention for the cultural mixing of the Romans and the locals in Hoge Woerd. Only Matilo focuses on both.

The international character of the Limes is not represented well in any of the cases. Only Meinerswijk has information in another language (German), which is probably due to the nearness of the German border. The other sites seem to exclude the foreign tourists, based on language. The general story of the Limes, to which almost all Europeans can relate given their mutual Roman history, is not told clearly at the castellum at Hoge Woerd. There are in all cases information signs with general information about the Romans, which would be the same throughout the Empire, but these are all in Dutch and thus not understandable

for international tourists. Therefore, they cannot relate to it. This seems to be in contrast to what is stated in the Interpretation Framework, where it is said that the international tourist is an important target audience. The international significance of the Limes does not become clear in this way as well.

Lastly, the sites seem to create a layer for the local identity. Most information signs link the finds and the history to the local place, thus stressing the age of the site. Since two out of three sites are new neighbourhoods, this heritage gives the site immediately an extra layer of history to which the people can relate. The Latin street names reinforce this, again reminding the inhabitants that they live on the place where the Romans used to live.

Interviews

The information in the sections below comes from three different interviews. The first section is based on two interviews with Tamar Leene. One conducted by Natasja van der Heijden, on the 21st of January, 2016, and the other by myself on the 14th of July, 2016. The second section is solely based on my own interview with Cees van Rooijen, conducted on the 18th of July, 2016. I will analyse the most important quotes, taking the research question and subquestions in consideration.

Interviews with Tamar Leene, Program Manager Limes for the Provinces of Gelderland, Utrecht, Zuid-Holland and the Cultural Heritage Agency

Tamar Leene made several interesting remarks on the significance of the WHL and why there should be an application for the Lower German Limes. She stated the following:

“Zo’n status is aan de ene kant een stukje erkenning en het laat ook richting mensen, die het misschien niet zo bijzonder vinden, zien dat dit Werelderfgoedstatus heeft. Dus erkenning, maar ook een communicatie instrument. Want je kan het aan andere mensen laten zien. En wij denken dat het toeristisch ook wel een kans kan bieden. Wij zien steeds meer toeristen voor UNESCO-sites en monumenten op pad gaan.[...] Je kan het vergelijken met sporten: als je Nederlands kampioen schaatsen bent, dat is hartstikke gaaf, maar als je wereld- of Olympisch kampioen bent, dat is nog wel een stukje gaver. [...] in 2005 is het Duitse Obergermanische-Rhaetische deel op de werelderfgoedlijst geplaatst. En toen heeft de Werelderfgoedconventie die daarover besluit gezegd: “de landen zouden ook eens moeten nadenken of, los van het Duitse stuk en Hadrian's Wall, er niet wordt gestreefd naar een bredere, grotere nominatie van een aaneengesloten erfgoed. [...] Dus daar zit ook een economische spin-off. Of je denkt, nou prima, ik ga met de trein, dan huur ik wel een fiets. [...] om cultuur te bezichtigen zit een heel patroon van besteding heen. Ik denk dat daar ook wat voordeel kan zitten.”⁴

The first thing that stands out, is the reason for applying. This was partially because UNESCO asked its members to think about putting the Limes on the WHL. She also mentions multiple benefits when the Limes becomes a WHS. First, and most importantly, it is a form of

⁴ These quotes are taken from both the interview of Natasja van der Heijden and my own.

recognition from the society. A World Heritage Status makes clear how special the heritage is and how big its influence was. This makes it also a good form of communication, because it makes it easier to explain that the Limes is special, when it is a WHS, especially for people who live near to it. She also states that you can compare it with sport: Becoming a national champion is great, but Olympic champion is even better. Last, but not least, she mentions the economic and touristic aspect, on which she elaborates quite extensively. When asked for whom these benefits are, she answered that these are mostly for the whole society, although local entrepreneurs can also profit from the added touristic value.

She also mentions some of the characteristics of heritage in general and the Limes in particular:

“dat het voor de wetenschap belangrijk kan zijn. [...] Maar ik denk ook dat het gewoon voor de hedendaagse samenleving belangrijk kan zijn, omdat het ook een beeld geeft van hoe je ook in Europa en de wereld kunt samenleven. En dat grenzen zoals we die nu kennen helemaal niet zo vanzelfsprekend zijn en door een soort breder perspectief te schetsen geef je mensen de mogelijkheid om ook op een andere manier naar onszelf te kijken [...] En ik denk dat het ook wel een stukje bijdraagt aan je identiteit. [...] Het verbindt ons met andere landen in Europa, wij hebben iets samen met Bulgarije en Slowakije, we hebben een gezamenlijke oorsprong. Het verbindt ons ook in de tijd, het is niet alleen een geografische verbinding. Als je kijkt naar 2000 jaar geleden en waar we nu zijn zie je toch nog wel een aantal parallellen.”

Heritage connects people and gives meaning to a place. It can also contribute to the identity of people. The Limes connects us, not only geographically with other countries with whom we share this Limes, such as Bulgaria or Slovakia, but there are also temporally parallels visible with 2000 years ago. It can thus help people to change their perspective on all sorts of discussions such as borders and immigrants and help them realize that we live in a multicultural community. Most of these benefits are for the whole society, both in the Netherlands and abroad.

On the process, Leene agreed that it is a mixture of bottom-up and top-down. She states the following:

“Je ziet dat heel veel mensen iets willen met de Limes maar niet weten hoe. Dus wij faciliteren, wij dienen als een soort hulpmiddel. [...] de overheid heeft theoretisch gezien natuurlijk middelen in haar gereedschapskist, maar ik vind eigenlijk dat je daar weg moet blijven. [...] Bij de UNESCO-nominatie gaat het erom dat het een academisch onderbouwd en doortimmerd verhaal is dat we willen voordragen. Je kan niet zeggen eigenlijk zouden het de plekken 1, 2 & 3 zijn maar voor plek 3 hebben we geen draagvlak maar voor plek 5 wel dus doen we dat. [...] Dus we zijn nu druk bezig en dat doen de Universiteit Leiden samen met de Universiteit Nijmegen en een zelfstandig erfgoed consultant om te onderzoeken vanuit de inhoud beredeneerd wat een logische verzameling plekken is om voor te dragen vanuit het Werelderfgoed. En we informeren mensen over het proces. Op het moment dat we die lijst hebben gaan we ze raadplegen over wat vind de mensen ervan. [...] Dit is een proces dat relatief onzeker is. Ons doel is wel heel helder, maar het hangt heel erg af draagvlak. Er is niet in Nederland een vaststaande procedure voor zo doe je een Werelderfgoednominatie. Je ziet ook dat op Werelderfgoedniveau de regels aan het veranderen zijn, zeker waar het gaat om internationale nominaties. Je hebt elk jaar wel van de werelderfgoed een

conventie die leidt tot een aanpassing van de Operational Guidelines. We hebben te maken met andere Europese landen.”⁵

The process is thus indeed a mix of bottom-up and top-down. Initially, it was more bottom-up, by selecting sites for which there was public support. UNESCO, however, demanded that the sites were scientifically underpinned, which led to a more top-down approach. So the experts select the sites, and now people are asked to see whether there is enough public support. The approach is also incremental, which means that there is no fixed plan. There is a deadline and a goal, but the next steps can only be determined after the others are finished, because there are so many unstable factors.

On the questions of why there is not one, common interpretation framework for both Germany and the Netherlands and why only Dutch examples were used, she answered:

“Onze doelgroep is toch wel primair Nederlands. En de mensen die dat hebben opgesteld voor ons zijn ook met de Duitse partners wezen praten [...] ik denk dat als je doelgroep echt primair de Nederlanders is, dus als 95% van onze doelgroep daaruit bestaan, en die mensen moeten straks enthousiast worden voor het behouden van die Limes, dan is het wel belangrijk dat je je ook echt daar op richt. [...] Er is wel sowieso afgestemd. Het is niet geïsoleerd ontwikkeld. [...] Zij [i.e. Duitsland] gaan ons volgen, maar dit is eigenlijk de meest praktische manier. Wij doen het eerst in overleg of in samenwerking met hun, maar wij vanuit Nederland en zij vanuit Duitsland.”

She states that the target audience is primarily Dutch. She also says that the intended Dutch audience should be enthusiastic about the Limes, probably because UNESCO needs to see a certain level of public involvement. This means that there are many Dutch examples because the policymakers expect that most of the public will be Dutch and that this public should enthused. It also becomes clear that, although this does not become clear out of the documents, a lot of deliberation is taking place between both countries and this is working fine. Questions that are closely linked to this topic about the website, the brochure and the information signs at the sites were answered in the following way:

“Die lokale publiekspresentaties worden door de gemeentes gedaan. [...] De site van de Romeinse Limes Nederland gaan we doorontwikkelen en daarvan is het wel mijn inzet dat die ook wordt verengeld en de Werelderfgoedbrochure is specifiek voor het Nederlandse publiek. [...] ik denk dat je je er niet op moet verkijken, dat merk ik zelf als ik zo'n rapport over die terreinselectie, dat Engels is, met de gemeente ga bespreken, dan zie je dat mensen echt moeite hebben met Engels in Nederland.”

She states that the signs at the sites are a responsibility of the municipalities, which means that they decide what sort of signs comes there. She wants to upgrade the website so that it is also available in English. One problem she encountered is that many people on the local and provincial level lack the capacity to understand English easily and many documents are therefore in Dutch. Related to this topic was the cooperation with Germany. Next to frequent consultation on almost every subject, she said:

⁵ These quotes are taken from both the interview of Natasja van der Heijden and my own.

“Dus we doen het samen, maar wij zijn opdrachtgever voor het Nederlandse deel, en zij hebben iemand in Duitsland en zij doen het samen. Dus de structuur is bij ons gewoon anders. [...] idealiter zou je inderdaad zeggen: "Zet er een transnationaal programmabureau neer en we pompen er een slok geld in, maar dat geld is aan deze kant niet beschikbaar en aan de andere kant niet beschikbaar. Dus op deze manier werkt het. Ik denk dat je gewoon te dealen hebt met de voorwaarden die er dan gelden, en in dit geval is het denk ik dat iedereen het wil, maar het mag niet enorm veel geld kosten en het moet met de bestaande mankracht gebeuren. Nou, binnen die randvoorwaarden denk ik dat we een goede structuur hebben. En ja, als je nou allemaal eindeloos veel geld kon overleggen voor het opzetten van een heel programmabureau”

The structure in both countries is different, which makes it difficult to organize some things. There would ideally be one, overarching bureau or organization, but there is not enough money to do so. Given the circumstances and the limited funding, this way functions quite well.

Interview with Cees van Rooijen, consultant cultural landscape and archaeology and account holder Roman Limes at the Cultural Heritage Agency

When asked what the benefits of a the World Heritage status are and for whom these benefits are, Cees van Rooijen answered thus:

“Het belangrijkste is dat de nominatie op zich een soort doel is. Dat leidt tot allerlei samenwerkingen en activiteiten. [...] en dan ben je werelderfgoed en dat heeft wel effect in de zin dat iedereen het kent, het krijgt meer bekendheid en je krijgt dus ook meer mensen die erop af komen. Vooral landelijk denk ik hoor, binnen het land, maar misschien ook wel internationaal. Maar het is de weg erheen, om het te worden, dat vereist wel een heleboel samenwerking en wat je dan ziet is, wat ik zelf wel grappig vind om te zien, [...] dat je ziet dat gemeentes en provincies maar ook de landen onderling heel erg moeten nadenken en samenwerken om te komen tot eenzelfde soort bescherming en structuur, dus het vereist nogal wat samenwerking en afstemming. [...] vooral de kleine ondernemers die langs het hele traject van de Limes wonen hebben er hun voordeel mee kunnen doen [...]
En het is voor een heleboel gemeentes interessant en voor de burgers en mensen in de wijk als ze weten van “nou, hier gebeurt wat en dat is verbonden met de Limes en dat is werelderfgoed”.”

So Van Rooijen says that the most advantages are an increase in all sorts of cooperation, both nationally and internationally. It furthermore makes the site more famous, which can lead to economic advantages for local entrepreneurs. He also states that the audience will mostly be Dutch. But the Limes is also a very interesting project for many citizens and municipalities, if they are interested. Connected to this is the question of prestige and whether this plays a role or not:

“Ja, als je het internationaal bekijkt zie je dat heel erg. Er zijn een paar Europese landen die daar bijzonder erg aan hechten en daar ook heel goed doen om zoveel mogelijk werelderfgoederen te krijgen. Nederland is daar wat bescheidener in”

So it does play a significant role for certain European countries, although it seems to be less important in the Netherlands.

Van Rooijen mentioned that one group, the archaeologists, played an important role in the start of the application and that they benefit from it mostly (*Daar komt de aanvraag in wezen vandaan.*) and confirmed that three factors played a significant role in anticipation of the application: UNESCO who asked its members to think about putting the whole Limes on the WHL; the Dutch government asking to come up with a list of potential candidates for a WHL-application and Germany asking the Netherlands to tag along with the Dutch application. He also explains the reason for Germany to tag along:

“Duitsland sluit zich bij ons aan, Nordrhein-Westfalen en Rheinland-Pfalz, dat zijn de Duitse deelstaten. En dat komt, omdat ieder land mag per jaar één cultureel werelderfgoed voordragen.”

So Germany, like all countries, can only nominate one cultural site for the WHL each year. By applying together with the Netherlands (in which case the latter is the main nominator), they can still nominate another site. Van Rooijen confirms the positive notions Leene has about the cooperation with the German Bundesländer. He makes the problems concerning the different structures very nicely clear:

“Het is heel moeilijk om over grenzen heen te gaan voor allerlei partijen. Dat geldt voor provincies, voor gemeentes en voor het Rijk ook. Omdat de belasting komt uit de gemeente, al je kiezers zitten daar, maar ook al je verantwoordelijkheden en mogelijkheden liggen daar. Dus de provincie kan niks zeggen over de buurtprovincie, en toch moet je daarin samenwerken.”

Because each party has different responsibilities and their authority ends at the border, cooperation is needed but difficult. This is true for the municipalities, the provinces and the nations as well: Their voters, funding, possibilities and responsibilities are restricted to the area for which they are elected. This makes it difficult to work with different parties. The big difference between Germany and the Netherlands is that Germany started with the scientific side of the Limes, whereas the Netherlands started with the politics and worked the other way around. This makes it very difficult to organize everything with everybody at the same moment.

Van Rooijen confirms that the argumentation about the lack of English signs and brochures as put forward by Leene. He also thinks that the main focus of the information signs and brochures will always be the place where you are. People want to be able to relate to it and it will always be placed in a local or national perspective. Van Rooijen thinks it is also part of the phase the project is in at the moment. He thinks that this feeling of an international Limes should get time to grow. Van Rooijen thinks the majority of Dutch documents is because the Netherlands are the main nominator. He also confirms the mixed approach of bottom-up and top-down.

Several things stand out in these interviews, considering our main questions. First, there seems to be a difference in opinion about to whom the Limes is important. Leene argues that it is important to the whole society, whereas Van Rooijen mentions archaeologists as an important stakeholder. He says that they were the initiators. Van Rooijen's point of view seems to endorse the theory on the Authoritative Heritage Discourse: The experts, in this case the archaeologists, are the ones who care for the heritage and try to create awareness. Because people become more aware of it, the influence of the archaeologists increases.

Leene and Van Rooijen also mention benefits which are brought by the status of World Heritage. Van Rooijen emphasizes that the great advantage is mostly the process of the application, since it causes much cooperation between the two countries. This cooperation is, however, mostly something for the archaeologists and heritage experts. He also says that the site will become a little more renown and attract more visitors which can be fruitful for local entrepreneurs. It can also be interesting for local inhabitants to live near a WHS where all sorts of events might be organized. Leene mentions the economic and renown reasons as well. For her, the argument of getting more recognition for the Limes is very important and the World Heritage Status can be seen as an independent label of that recognition. Finally, she argues that heritage can connect and can make people think of their present circumstances in a different way. So the advantages are mostly for the society as a whole and for local entrepreneurs in particular. Why Van Rooijen mentions the process of the application and the cooperation with Germany that comes with it, and Leene does not, is perhaps because that is a very practical benefit for people working at the Cultural Heritage Agency, and not for the general audience. Finally, the emphasis on the economic aspect is striking.

The notion of more recognition led me to the question whether or not the WHL and the number of WHSs would be some form of prestige for countries. Tamar Leene answers that that is not the case and that the status can bring economic benefits with it, although the recognition for the site remains the main reason. Van Rooijen says that the WHL is for some countries a matter of prestige. The Netherlands are relatively modest, but West-European countries do seem to have a tendency to apply more often. Especially Leene's comparison with sports seems to indicate that there is some form of national pride involved.

Both Van Rooijen and Leene see the discrepancy between the international focus and story within which the Limes should be viewed, according to the interpretational framework, and the implementation of it. Leene argues that this is mostly due to the focus on the national audience. Since the mass of the audience of the Limes will be Dutch, it is not so strange to focus on them. Van Rooijen mentions that this is also partially due to the stage the project is in: Many improvements must and will be made in this field. Leene affirms this, for example by making an English version of the website.

Finally, the cooperation with Rheinland-Pfalz and Nordrhein-Westfalen is going very smoothly according to both. The emphasis on Dutch examples can be explained in two ways. First, some documents are only intended for a Dutch audience, such as the interpretation framework. Second, the Netherlands are the main applier, so they must take the lead in all the official documents. There is, of course, consultation with the German partner, but the Netherlands are the ones who apply in the end. Consultation takes place on all fields and subjects. The reason that there is no overarching organization which does the application, has pragmatic reasons. First, it would be too expansive and second, there are too many obstacles on organizational and structural level between Germany and the Netherlands. Therefore, they have chosen to do it like this.

Provisional conclusion

This provisional conclusion is based on the findings of this chapter. Some general conclusions can be deduced from the analysis of the data.

The importance of the Limes is not communicated in the public documents or the website romeinselimes.nl. People should know about it, but there is very little explanation on why this is important. When speaking to Leene and Van Rooijen, it becomes clear that there are certain reasons for its importance. For archaeologists, the Limes is important because they are archaeologists, which makes the Limes part of their job. That is probably why they were already aware of the uniqueness of the Limes and wanted to make it more renown. Also, the more renown the Limes and archaeology in general become, the more support there will be for archaeological projects and funding. For society in general, the Limes is important because it can help to think of modern problems in a different way. It can also help to give a place an extra layer of identity. Leene also mentions the creation of identity and the possibility for people to change their perspective by looking at the Roman examples and seeing the connectivity with other regions and times.

The importance of the Limes becoming a World Heritage Site has multiple aspects. The whole process leads to more cooperation between the Netherlands and Germany, it creates more awareness among people and it is a form of recognition. This seems to be linked with the prestige for a country that is connected to World Heritage. All these motives are not expressed in the public presentation. There are only two arguments put forward there: Tourism and preservation. Once a site is World Heritage, it usually attracts more tourists and this is good for both the local entrepreneurs, who can make more money out of it, and the organizations of the heritage. They can earn money as well and prove that their heritage is important, given the larger number of visitors. This last notion is, however, not mentioned explicitly. The economic aspect of the World Heritage status seems to be quite important: Leene mentions this quite a few times in the interview and the website www.romeinselimes.nl has several webpages which seem to be nothing more than advertisements. The point of preservation is an interesting one. Much emphasis is placed on preservation, but this is mostly done in a way that emphasizes the intention to preserve. The brochure, for example, mentions that the protection of the site may be improved, but only of the municipality, national and provincial government agree. The message of preservation is probably intended to stress that the heritage is looked after properly.

The approach, as it comes forward from both documents as well as interviews, is a mixture of bottom-up and top-down on several levels. There is a top-down and bottom-up structure within the different levels of government, so between the national, provincial and municipal level: The state creates the bigger picture (for example with the selection of the sites), and then discusses with the provinces and municipalities whether it can be realized or not. They also talk to other stakeholders, such as inhabitants and landowners. The same goes for the presentation of the sites: There is an interpretation framework which gives the cadres, within which the local governments or organizations can create their local story. This seems to me to be working quite well, although a critical remark must be made here. This approach leads to a fragmentation in the presentation of the sites. Although that is not bad in itself, it would perhaps be best to have at least some general information which would be (almost) the same in all the different locations. Now there is quite a difference in how and what kind of information is given. Especially when the different sites should be represented

as one World Heritage Site, it would be best to have some form of unity in it. That seems to be lacking until now.

In none of the sources is literally stated to which identity the Limes contributes. This makes it important to read between the lines. Given the sheer number of local and national examples, it becomes clear that the national importance of the Limes is present. When looking at the sites and the website, there is also much emphasis on the local importance. This is not so strange, since most of the visitors will be from the neighbourhood and information has to be given on the specific place. There are, however, some differences between the places. Hoge Woerd, for example, gives almost only information on Hoge Woerd and very little on Romans in general or in the Netherlands. Meinerswijk is much more neutral and focuses less on Meinerswijk itself. There is, however, almost no emphasis on the international character at all three sites visited. This is underscored by the fact that almost all information is in Dutch. This seems to be in contrast with the interpretation framework, where it is said that the Limes should be seen in an international context. These findings seem to support the thesis, as discussed in chapter one, that there is still much emphasis on the national identity, although local identities are becoming more explicit as well.

The points Tolia-Kelly makes in her articles (2009; 2010) seem to have been noticed. There is much attention to the multicultural nature of the Roman Limes and the cultural assimilation. Two out of three sites pay attention to what has happened with the site in the time after the Roman period. This means that other periods and cultures are included in the information signs, like Tolia-Kelly argued that should happen.

The reasons for cooperating with Germany have become clear both from the documents and the interviews. Van Rooijen states that the joint nomination leads to better cooperation and to more contacts between German and Dutch experts. Furthermore, it is convenient to do it together, because the whole gap between the other parts of the Frontiers of the Roman Empire will be filled and the chances of success are higher. It is also logical to nominate together, since the entire region was in Roman times also one entity, *Germania Inferior*. Another important reason seems to be that nominating together improves the chances of getting on the WHL.

Finally, some features of how transnational heritage is created are unravelled, by the information given by Leene and Van Rooijen. They point out that there is Germany and the Netherlands are working very closely together, but are still doing things apart. This means that they deliberate with each other on every topic, but still work for themselves. This mostly has to do with pragmatism and funding, which does not seem to be possible to organize otherwise at this moment. Perhaps this could change in the future. I will come back on this topic in chapters four and five.

Chapter five

Representation in Germany

In this chapter, I start by analysing the interview with dr. Thomas Otten, who is responsible for the WHL-application for the Lower German Limes in Germany. He gives some reasons for the scarcity of sources, which influenced my choice for selecting a slightly different kind of sources. Since a German variant of the www.romeinselimes.nl is lacking, I will look at various articles and websites to get an image of the Limes in Germany. Then, the sites of Remagen and the LVR-LandesMuseum in Bonn will be analysed. Finally, I will give a provisional conclusion.

Interview with Thomas Otten, head of the Archaeological Zone with Jewish Museum and responsible for the WHL-application for the Lower German Limes in Germany

The information in the following section is completely based on my interview with dr. Thomas Otten on the 17th of August, 2016 in Köln.

Thomas Otten mentions several benefits which the status of World Heritage brings:

“Und in sofern haben wir natürlich die Verpflichtung allein schon den Originalbefunden zu erhalten aber auch über das Denkmalschutzgesetz formuliert haben, auch zu präsentieren, zu erforschen, inventarisieren in den Museen und dann auch Projekten durch zu führen, das ist natürlich auch der Bereich der für die Öffentlichkeit, für den Tourismus interessant ist [...] Zusätzlich zu dem Denkmalschutz, der oft genug abgewogen wird, ist der Denkmalschutz sterker oder ist das Interesse der Kommune sich zu entwickeln sterker, kann eigentlich nur profitieren auch von der Aufmerksamkeit UNESCO-Welterbe”

So he says that there is a certain commitment to present and research all the finds of the Limes, which is also interesting for tourism. He also mentions that, although there will be no additional laws to protect the Limes, the status of World Heritage does give people an extra argument in political discussions to preserve the site. He later elaborates quite extensively on the scientific importance. His response to why the Lower German Limes should be on the WHL was interesting:

“Die Motivation der UNESCO ist klar: sie wollen verfahren haben die möglichst zusammenbündeln, verschiedene Aktivitäten, statt zehn oder zwölf einzelne Anträge zu bearbeiten und zu managen. Für die UNESCO spielt bei solche Verfahren immer die Frage des Handlings eine große Rolle. Die haben auch Überlastung, die haben zu wenig Mitarbeiter, die haben viel Verwaltungstätigkeiten mit über 1000 inscribe sites und in sofern sind die interessiert darin Stätten auf die Welterbe zu bekommen die möglichst Zeit sparen und rationell zu managen sind. [...] Für uns ist die Chance ein Projekt was wir haben gesagt seit langem mit einem Forschung betreiben, was wir auch immer international betrieben haben.”

He states that, besides the motivations mentioned by Leene and Van Rooijen, UNESCO also has an interest in getting as much parts of the Limes on the WHL as possible. Otten says that UNESCO want to reduce the workload by creating more overarching projects, such as the *Frontiers of the Roman Empire*. For themselves, it is a beautiful opportunity to conduct more research on the topic. He confirmed the motivations mentioned in the Netherlands, although only after I had asked him that. Otten also affirmed the idea that it is something prestigious for many politicians.

On how the process of the application is going, Otten answers:

“Wir haben bei uns, in Nordrhein-Westfälischen, Teil Allen eingeladen, 29 Kommunen und 5 Kreise, und vorgestellt wie unser Projekt ist und haben gesagt: “Wir wollen euch dabei haben. Ihr seid die Eigentümer, die Betreiber der lokalen Museen, und der Initiativen vorort, auch die NGOs passieren ja in der Kommen lokale Bereich. Und wenn wir so ein Projekt starten, dann wollen wir das nur mit euch machen, nicht gegen euch.” Und allen sind dabei [...] “Wie kann man das Problem lösen, wie kann man unter Umständen mit dem Baugesamt ein Bisschen verschlänken, etwas andere Position annehmen, können wir Deckeln ohne Tiefkeller zu bauen. So machen wir das. Und auch die Beschreibung der Bufferzones um das Welterbe kann man anpassen auf diese kommunale Planung, damit man nicht permanent sich überlagert und dann in Konflikt rein kommen.”

So it becomes clear that in Germany, like in the Netherlands, there is a form of mixture between bottom-up and top-down. When asked, Otten confirms this view. One remark in the quote above seems to indicate a slight difference. The phrase *“wollen wir das nur mit euch machen, nicht gegen euch”* might indicate that the attitude in Germany slightly more top-down than in the Netherlands.

Thomas Otten explains that the selection of sites has the same procedure: First a scientific investigation in which sites are relevant, then talking to the local communities about which sites can realistically be protected. Also the German interpretation framework, which still needs to be developed, will be used in the same way as in the Netherlands. Otten also confirms that the cooperation with the Netherlands is going very smoothly. He does say that Germany stays in several instances behind:

“Hier ist es in Prinzip auch Aufgabe das zu tun. Das römisch-germanisch Museum ist sehr ausbezogen auf Köln und die Vergleichen nach draußen werden eigentlich gar nicht so groß gezogen. Das ist in Prinzip auch eine Sache die noch gemacht werden muß.”

Otten says that the exhibitions in Germany are simply not so far when it comes to adapting the story of the Limes, but that they are planning to do so. When asked how it is possible that there are so few documents and no coherent website to be found on German side, he only mentions two documents, of which one will be published very shortly.

Several interesting points stand out. First, the emphasis on research is remarkable. Both the importance of the Limes itself and of the status of World Heritage are linked to research. Furthermore, many of his answers were adorned with factual knowledge of the particular

Roman sites. This emphasis on research was not so much visible in the Netherlands. Furthermore, the main advantages of the status of World Heritage would be that there are more possibilities for research and the site will be better protected. Also tourism and economy are a factor, but not so prominent as in the Netherlands. This difference might be due to the persons interviewed.

The process of the application is roughly the same as in the Netherlands: Sites are selected by experts and before a final selection is made, the local communities are involved as well. So there seems to be the same mix of bottom-up and top-down as in the Netherlands. I should keep in mind that this might not be the general sentiment in the whole of Nordrhein-Westfalen and Rheinland-Pfalz, since I only spoke with one person, who was clearly academically schooled. He can emphasize certain features, which others might deem less significant. Therefore, it is important to use other sources as well.

Two points are made clear that have practical consequences for my research. First, there is not much information publicly available about the Lower German Limes in Germany. Germany has not created many documents which inform the people of Germany. There is also no website comparable to www.romeinselimes.nl and I will therefore not research a German website in the same way. This means that it will be difficult to get the same information as I have acquired for the Dutch part. Therefore, I will focus an article of Jürgen Kunow and on journalistic and governmental websites which have published articles about the Limes. Second, the presentation of the sites has in most cases not been altered in such a way to include the Limes. Therefore, I will use the sites of Remagen, a site in Rheinland-Pfalz that has not yet been changed, and the LVR-LandesMuseum at Bonn, Nordrhein-Westfalen, that has included an exhibition about the Limes.

Documents and websites

On the way to UNESCO

One article mentioned very often by the Germans whom I contacted, was written by Jürgen Kunow: *Der Niedergermanische Limes auf dem Weg zum UNESCO-Welterbe* (The Lower German Limes on the way to UNESCO World Heritage). It starts with general information on the Limes, such as what it was, what the Lower German Limes specifically was and what its OUV is. This information is fairly neutral, although the same tendency is visible as it was in the Netherlands: All examples given are domestic, i.e. German. The last page of the article is about the actual process of putting the Lower German Limes on the WHL. Ten years ago, the *LVR (Landesverband Rheinland) für Bodendenkmalpflege im Rheinland* (The Federal State's Federation for Archaeological Care in Rheinland) started to make an inventory of the Lower German Limes between Bonn and Kleve for a future WHL-application. Soon, the cultural heritage agency of Rheinland-Pfalz and of the Netherlands made a joint venture of it. In 2015, a selection of the sites must be made and the same criteria should be used in both the Netherlands and Germany (Kunow, 2015). The only remarkable fact this article shows, is that there are merely German examples used in it, like the Dutch documents only use Dutch examples.

General-anzeiger-bonn.de

The website www.general-anzeiger-bonn.de is the website of the German newspaper of the region of Bonn. On the fifth of January 2016, the website posted an article by Maximilian Mühlens, who reported on the Limes becoming World Heritage. In the article is made clear how the project of the application will proceed in the upcoming period. Jennifer Morscheiser, officer of monuments at the Landschaftsverband Rheinland, demanded a better representation of the finds, since the remains of the Limes are barely visible in the city. Improving the visibility would lead to more tourism (Mühlens, 2016). This shows that there is a strong fixation on the touristic and economic benefits of the World Heritage status, as in the Netherlands.

Ministry of Science, Education and Culture, Rheinland-Pfalz

The *Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Weiterbildung und Kultur* (Ministry of Science, Education and Culture) of the federal state of Rheinland-Pfalz communicated on the sixteenth of April 2015 that the federal State Secretary of culture Walter Schumacher had signed the cooperative treaty with Nordrhein-Westfalen and the Netherlands. He stated some of the benefits of the status of World Heritage:

“Rheinland-Pfalz wird als Kultur- und Denkmalregion noch bekannter und der Kulturtourismus ganz erheblich profitieren – und damit die Menschen am Limes und auch landesweit. Außerdem werden wir noch enger mit unseren Nachbarn zusammenwachsen” (Ministerium für Wissenschaft, 2015)

There is again an emphasis on the touristic and economic value of the World Heritage status. This time, not only the people involved in the Limes and related activities or the people who live nearby will profit, but from all over the federal state (*landesweit*). Schumacher thinks that it will also bring people closer together, but this is obviously a side-effect, which is made clear by the word *außerdem*.

The rest of the article elaborates on the process of the application. Perhaps not so remarkable is how Rheinland-Pfalz is stressed in the text, e.g. by stating the total amount of World Heritage Sites it will have after a successful nomination or the importance of Rheinland-Pfalz in the whole trajectory of the Lower German Limes (Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Weiterbildung und Kultur Rheinland-Pfalz, 2015). The image conjured in this article has a clear focus on Nordrhein-Pfalz, which is easily explained by the fact that it is the website of the *Bundesland*, but it still is an example of the federal state using heritage for their own representation.

Ministry of Construction Living, City Development and Traffic, Nordrhein-Westfalen

Also the *Ministerium für Bauen, Wohnen, Stadtentwicklung und Verkehr* (Ministry of Construction, Living, City Development and Traffic) of the federal state of Nordrhein-Westfalen announced that the Limes will become World Heritage. The project of the application is briefly explained in the article and Michael Groschek, the minister of City

Development and Monuments, states the following (Ministerium für Bauen, Wohnen, Stadtentwicklung und Verkehr, 2014):

“Bei einem erfolgreichen Aufnahmeverfahren könnte der Niedergermanische Limes die sechste UNESCO-Welterbestätte in Nordrhein-Westfalen werden. Das wäre ein toller Erfolg. Da es sich hierbei um ein äußerst komplexes Bewerbungsverfahren handelt, ist es sinnvoll, sich mit allen Beteiligten zusammenzusetzen, um einen gemeinsamen Antrag zu stellen. Dies erhöht die Chancen erheblich, dass die UNESCO den Antrag letztlich auch genehmigt.”

First, the minister states that it would be “a cool success” (*ein toller Erfolg*) when the Limes would get on the WHL and would become the sixth WHS in Nordrhein-Westfalen. This seems to indicate that it is important to the minister to have yet another WHS in his federal state. This resembles the sentiment noticed earlier in the Netherlands, namely that World Heritage is also a matter of prestige. The minister also states that it is important to work together in order to increase the chance to apply successfully (*Dies erhöht die Chancen erheblich, dass die UNESCO den Antrag letztlich auch genehmigt.*). Finally, the minister states that it is important to sit together with all those involved, which seems to indicate the earlier noticed top-down and bottom-up mix in the process of the application.

Landschaftsverband Rheinland

The office for archaeological monuments of the *Landschaftsverband Rheinland* (LVR) also has two webpages dedicated to the Lower German Limes. This LVR is a regional organization situated both in Rheinland-Pfalz and in Nordrhein-Westfalen and deals with culture among other things. The first webpage is quite neutral and gives information about the nomination procedure and the history of the Limes. This is all done in a neutral manner, even though there are only German examples mentioned (LVR-Amt Bodendenkmalpflege im Rheinland, s.d.).

The second webpage is a press release about the treaty that the Netherlands and Nordrhein-Westfalen and Rheinland-Pfalz have signed, in which they state to be working together on the nomination project. The article elaborates also a little on the function the Limes had in the Roman period, the selection of the sites and what the next step in the process will be. There are, remarkably, not only German examples but Dutch ones too. This is remarkable since the mentioning of the German examples rarely happens in Dutch documents. Also, the state secretary of *Wirtschaft, Energie, Industrie, Mittelstand und Handwerk* (Science, Energy, Industry, Middle Class and Craft) of Nordrhein-Westfalen Günther Horzetzky commented on the signing of the treaty (LVR-Amt Bodendenkmalpflege im Rheinland, 2015):

"Die Landesregierung macht sich dafür stark, den Niedergermanischen Limes als sechste Welterbestätte in Nordrhein-Westfalen anerkennen zu lassen. Der touristische Wert von gut präsentierten archäologischen Plätzen steht außer Frage. Die Kooperation in diesem Projekt spiegelt die traditionell guten Beziehungen von NRW und den Niederlanden in allen Bereichen der Kultur und der wirtschaftlichen Zusammenarbeit wider."

Several things stand out here. The secretary, like the other German sources have done, stresses the touristic appeal and thus the economic benefits of well-presented archaeological sites (*Der touristische Wert von gut präsentierten archäologischen Plätzen steht außer Frage.*). It could even be argued that he means that the status of World Heritage can be seen as a good representation of the site, since he talks about World Heritage in one sentence, and in the next about a good presentation of archaeological sites. The other two things he mentions are that Nordrhein-Westfalen will have six WHSs and that the cooperation with the Netherlands is going fine as usual. With these two remarks, he seems to boast his own *Bundesland*, first by stating how many WHSs they have and then by stating that the cooperation with neighbouring countries is always very good. Horzetzky uses heritage here to put his federal state in a positive perspective.

The online publications of both newspapers and governments seem to stress the same features. First of all, the Limes and the status of World Heritage can be important from a touristic and economic point of view: It might attract more visitors and thus generate more income. Another important point seems to be that the websites of the governments and the politicians underline the importance of yet another WHS for their *Bundesland*: It really is a matter of prestige for them and they use the Limes to boast their *Bundesland*. That would also be the identity which is promoted in the representation of the Limes in these sources, the local or regional identity of the *Bundesländer*, and not so much the national identity. Finally, some glimpses of the actual process of the application can be seen, which show that the local communities are involved in the process.

Sites

As stated above, I have visited two sites which form part of the Lower German Limes in Germany: The city of Remagen in Rheinland-Pfalz and the LVR-LandesMuseum in Bonn, Nordrhein-Westfalen. I visited Remagen on the 17th of August, 2016, and the LandesMuseum on the 21st of August, 2016.

Remagen

The city of Remagen has Celtic origins. The Roman legions made a camp there in the year 43 A.D. In the fifth century, a church was established and after the Romans had left, the city stayed in use. It was a fairly active city, considering the erection of an abbey in the early twelfth century and roughly one hundred years later, the city earned its city rights (see figure 11). The city is well aware of its history, judging by the many information signs, the Latin street names and several historic monuments (see figures 11 and 12).

It is remarkable to see, however, that there is an interesting variation in information signs. Some are in wholly in German while others have information in English as well, some are very old and others relatively modern (see figures 11 and 12). The round, bronze plaques describe the object or monument on which they are fixed. The new information signs give more general information on the history of the site and city. Few of the signs are in both English and German, most only in German.

The most important information for this thesis is to be found at the *Römisches Museum Remagen* (Roman Museum Remagen). The museum is situated in a small chapel of the fifteenth or sixteenth century. The museum covers several themes of the Roman life in its exhibition and mostly describes the history and the finds in a neutral manner. Most of the

examples or parallels are regional or even local. Even though the museum is outdated and Thomas Otten made clear that there had not yet been adjustments



Figure 21: Information sign in Remagen. Photo taken on 17-08-2016



Figure 12: Information signs in Remagen. Photo taken on 17-08-2016

German Limes was is explained. This is, however, not set into an international frame, except for one map showing the entire Roman Empire. Some attention is paid to the cultural diversity of, if not the Limes, then at least Remagen: The example of a cenotaph of a fallen, Hungarian soldier makes clear that there were people in Remagen from all over the Empire. The information is only available in German.

The folder of the museum has the same style. It gives some general information about the excavations in Remagen, about the chapel in which the museum is housed and a very concise history of the Romans in Remagen. The Lower German Limes is mentioned here too, only as the name for the line of Roman forts along the Rhine. Also the folder is in German.

Several things have become clear by visiting Remagen. The city promotes its Roman past in various ways, such as information signs and street names. Some of the information signs also convey information about other periods than the Roman era and the museum even pays attention to other cultures which the Roman troops brought in. There is, however, little information on the Limes, as Thomas Otten had predicted. As in the Netherlands, the

information is almost solely in the native tongue and thus does not contribute to the international character of the Limes.

LVR-LandesMuseum Bonn

The LVR-LandesMuseum in Bonn is a remarkable museum. It has four floors and covers many different subjects. The museum is divided into several themes, such as religion or mobility, and all eras are represented in these themes. As the name of museum indicates, it is mostly about the Rheinland-region and it thus has a regional focus. All information provided is in German, although the audio guide can also be set to English and some signs do have some information in English, although this seems to be done very randomly.

When roaming the museum, one encounters at the second floor a small exhibition dedicated to the Lower German Limes (see figure 13). This part of the museum is relatively new and all signs are both in German and in English (see figure 14). There is, however, no indication that a part of the museum focuses on the Limes, not on the website nor on the folder.

The information on the information signs is quite neutral. There is one big plaque explaining what the Lower German Limes was and where it was located. All the features which make the Lower German Limes special, such as the nearness of the Rhine or its longevity, are mentioned. This is mostly done in a neutral way, thereby talking about the “life at the Rhine” or other non-nationalistic terms. When examples are given, both Dutch and German examples are mentioned. There is also no link made to the present day, it is merely about the Roman times. The information signs at the specific finds are, however, more focussed on the local finds, but this is not so strange, given that it tells something about the finds found at that specific place. Also, attention is paid to the cultural



Figure 13: Exhibition at the LVR-Landesmuseum in Bonn. Photo taken on 21-08-2016

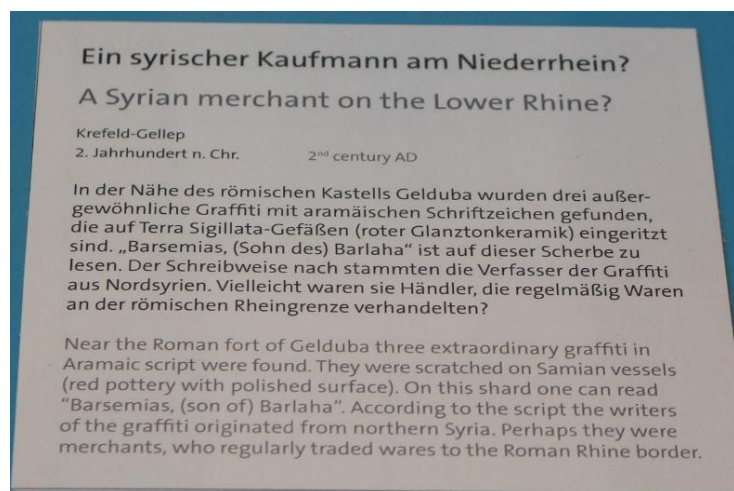


Figure 14: Information sign at the exhibition at the LVR-Landesmuseum in Bonn. Photo taken at 21-08-2016.

exchange and the multiple ethnicities living at the Limes (see figure14).

Also very interesting is the map which forms more or less the centre of the exhibition. This map (see figure 15) shows the Lower German Limes with all relevant sites. In the bottom left corner of the map is another map, showing the whole Roman Empire and thus showing where the Lower German Limes ran and of which larger Empire it was part. This map shows quite well the many interesting sites of the Lower German Limes as well as the magnitude of the heritage. Several possible motivations can be noticed here. First, it can be used purely for educational motives: One sees the map and understands what the Limes was. It can also be used to impress the audience, since they now see how big it was and thereby they understand why such a colossal monument should be World Heritage. Finally, it can also be seen as to trigger someone to go to the other sites as well. By seeing all the other sites on the map, one might get interested in seeing those places as well. This has become clear from the interviews as well: People should get interested in seeing the other sites as well.

Provisional conclusion

Several reasons come to the fore concerning the importance of the Limes becoming World Heritage. First of all, the economic and touristic benefits play a significant role. Second, the prestige for the involved *Bundesländer* is very important for at least the politicians. For the head at the organization of the application, the scientific possibilities for further research play an important role. Lastly, the social implications, such as learning more about ones history and creating social cohesion, are relevant too.

The importance of the Limes itself has not been revealed very evidently. The most important features mentioned were the magnitude and uniqueness of the Limes and the change of perspective it could bring to people by making them aware of the longstanding history of their place.

The process of the application seems to be a mixture of top-down and bottom-up. This becomes clear from both the answers of Thomas Otten and some of the articles found online. This is difficult to assess, however, since I have not gotten my hands on German policy documents.

The critique mentioned by Tolia-Kelly is processed relatively well. The function of the Limes has been explained very well at the museum and the cultural mixture at the border is highlighted, as is done in the Netherlands. Unlike the sites visited in the Netherlands, there is little attention paid here to the periods after the Roman period at the exhibition of the Limes. This is done, however, very much in all the other areas of the LandesMuseum.

Finally, there is still a lot of work that still has to be done at the German sites. According to Otten, many sites should still change their expositions. Germany has the advantage, given its longstanding research tradition, that many sites already have museums and/or information signs, but, keeping the site of Remagen in mind, these have to be adjusted profoundly in order to convey the same story as is done in Bonn.

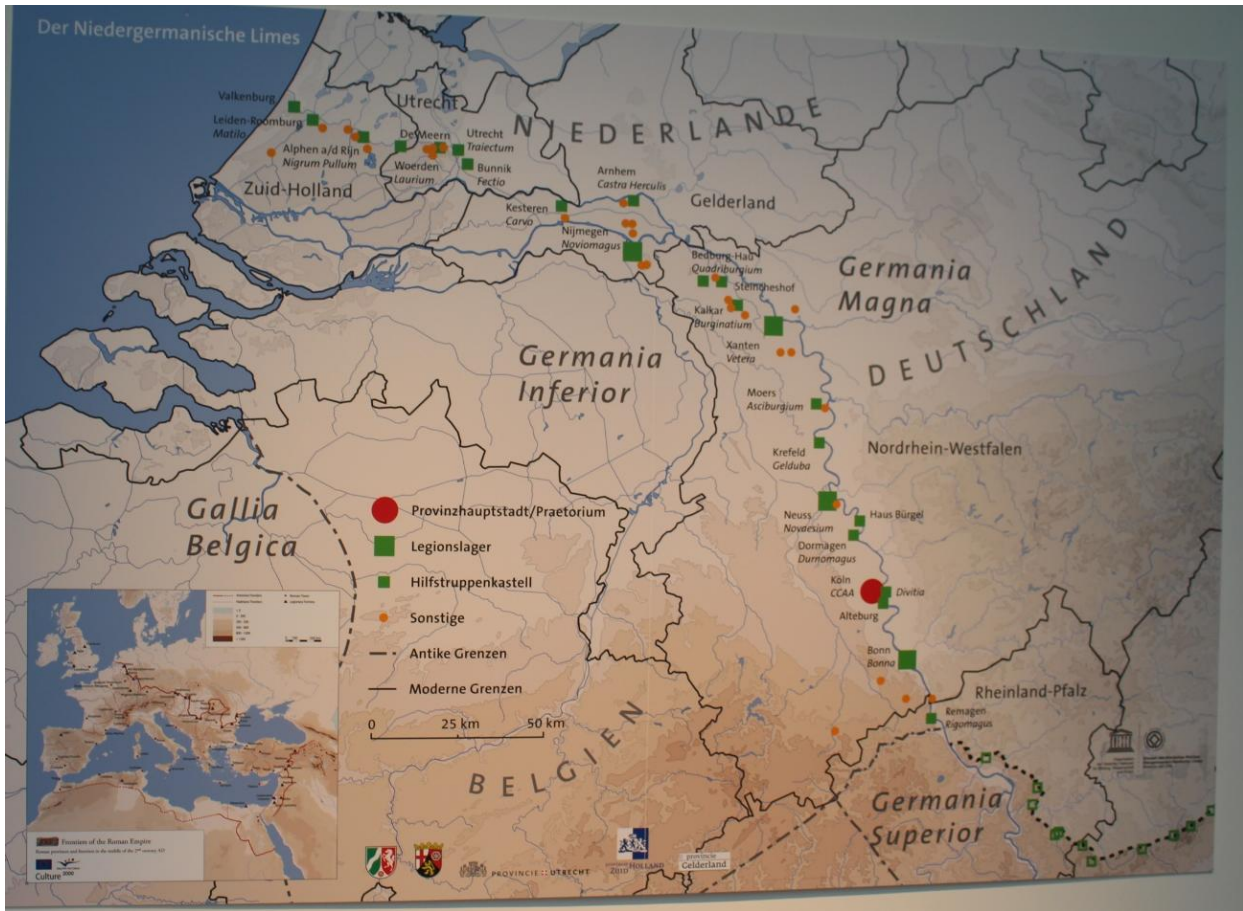


Figure 15: Map at the exhibition at the LVR-Landesmuseum at Bonn. Photo taken on 21-08-2016.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

The analysis of the presentation of the Limes in anticipation of its application for the World Heritage List produces some interesting insights. First, I will answer the subquestions and the main question. After that, some general lines of thought are given together with several practical recommendations. Then I will see how this research should be seen in light of the scientific debates. Finally, I will give recommendations for further research.

Research question and subquestions

What sort of approach is used in the project of the Limes?

The approach used in the Lower German Limes in the Netherlands can best be described as a mixture between bottom-up and top-down. A top-down approach is mostly used in the nomination process. UNESCO wants the nomination to be scientifically underpinned, which means that only the scientifically relevant sites can be selected. Municipalities, provinces and inhabitants can then have their say about this selection. In the other fields, such as the presentation of the site, there is much more bottom-up. The central government does not impose any rules on how the site should be presented. Municipalities, often in consultation with inhabitants, can decide how to do it. The information signs are the perfect example of the mixture of top-down and bottom-up. The Dutch Limes Association made an interpretation framework in which the broad story of the Romans and the Limes was outlined. This general story can be completed with local stories and artefacts, so there is quite some freedom for the local museums and sites to emphasize what is most relevant for them.

It is almost the same on the German side, as far as the sources show. There is much intention to involve all the relevant parties, but the approach does seem to be more top-down than is the case in the Netherlands. This should be looked at in practice to determine whether this is true or not.

It is also worth noticing some of the features concerning the cooperation between the Netherlands and Nordrhein-Westfalen and Rheinland-Pfalz. First, it is interesting to see that the head of the project in the Netherlands is an administrative manager, whereas in Germany it is an administrative archaeologist. This does not mean that they are necessarily unfit to work together on such a project, but they will have different perspectives. This also came to the fore during the interviews: Leene was much more concerned with the societal side of the Limes, whereas Otten was clearly more interested in the scientific value. How this will affect the outcome of the application and cooperation remains to be seen.

Second, the cooperation seems to be going great. All people interviewed argued that the cooperation is going smoothly and there are only few indications to suppose otherwise. Those indications are the lack of joint documents, such as an interpretation framework, and the seemingly not-synchronously process on both sides of the border: Where the Netherlands have already developed several sites into places ready to visit and see the

Lower German Limes, Germany stays behind, as the example of Remagen shows. These indications contradict the statements of the interviewees. I have not found satisfying answers for these contradictions. Perhaps the lack of joint documents and the discrepancy in the process in both countries is not perceived as a problem, or the interviewees might have been unwilling or unauthorized to venture any negative statements on the cooperation or they simply forgot about it.

Whose identity is displayed in the Roman Limes: A national, regional or transnational identity?

Even though the Lower German Limes is part of an international border and the Netherlands and Germany are doing the nomination together, there is much emphasis on the local and national character of it. The Dutch interpretation framework says that the Limes should be seen in an international perspective, but the framework only presents Dutch examples and draws parallels to the present Netherlands. The information signs at the sites often refer to the local history of the place, thereby not relating to the international scope of the Limes. And even if they do, almost all information is in Dutch, which makes it hard for non-Dutch people to understand. There is thus a huge discrepancy between the internationality the interpretation framework states there should be, and the actual internationality represented in both documents and sites. These only stress the national and local character and thereby enhance the national and local identity, the latter also provoked by Latin street names in the neighbourhood. Either the interpretation framework should be adjusted and the internationality of the Limes should be stressed less, or the information signs at the sites and the documents should actually underline the international character of the Limes.

The same image can be seen in Germany. Local politicians use the Lower German Limes to boast their federal state. In both Remagen and Bonn, the Roman finds and monuments have very few links to the internationality of the Roman Empire and mostly focus on the national or local importance of them. The small exhibition of the Lower German Limes at the LVR-LandesMuseum in Bonn is one positive exception, focussing on the other places in both the Netherlands and Germany as well.

One critical remark should be made here. All sites visited in the Netherlands are recent reconstructions and have a clear focus on the Limes. Of the sites visited in Germany, only the museum in Bonn had an exhibition on the Limes. Both sites in Germany were fairly old. This complicates the comparison between the two countries and it should be best to do this comparison when all presentations of the Limes are finished in both countries. Due to a lack of time, I have to base my conclusions partially on the comparison made above.

What is the intended identity the Roman Limes should contribute to both in the Netherlands and Germany and what power relations are expressed thereby?

The answers to the subquestions above lead to the answer of the research question. I have shown that in both the Netherlands and Germany, the identity intended to which the Roman Limes should contribute to, is both the local and the national identity. In the Netherlands, there is a clear focus on the Dutch character of the Lower German Limes and many parallels are drawn between the Roman and present Netherlands, especially in the interpretation

framework. There is also much emphasis on the local identity, for example the Roman street names and the information on the signs at the sites. There can be various reasons for this. First, because the creators of the documents and signs are Dutch, they look at it from a Dutch perspective, which makes it logical that this can be seen in their products as well. Second, as Van Rooijen pointed out, the intended audience is mainly Dutch, so the story of the Limes should be appealing to the Dutch people. It is thus assumed that this is done most efficiently by giving national and local examples, to which they can relate. This also explains why there is a general lack of information in any other language than Dutch. The focus on the Dutch audience is understandable, since one of the demands of UNESCO is that there should be a certain level of public support for the heritage in order to get on the WHL. By making it relatable and appealing for the Dutch audience, it will probably generate more public support. Third, there is a practical issue. Since all the provinces and municipalities are more or less free in how they present the Limes, there is a huge diversity in how these presentations look like. This freedom also gives room for stressing the local identity. Fourth, the political aspect plays a role. Since the project of the WHL-application is quite big, it costs a lot of money. This has to be justified to the community, because they could otherwise think of it as a waste of money. By stressing that the status of World Heritage brings along many benefits, both nationally and locally, people will appreciate it more. Lastly, it is remarkable how the touristic and economic value of a WHS are stressed in the documents, interviews and the website of the Roman Limes. Even though Tamar Leene says that the appreciation for the heritage is most important, the economic and touristic value get more attention in the sources mentioned above. This probably has to do with the political aspect of heritage as well: People need to understand why heritage is important, and it is easier to explain the economic benefits than the more ideological ones.

Many of the arguments outlined above are also true for the German side. There is, however, one big difference: There is no reference to the national German identity. The same mechanisms are at play concerning the local identity and many references are made to the benefit of the *Bundesländer* Rheinland-Pfalz and Nordrhein-Westfalen, but none to Germany as a whole. The emphasis to the local identity can be explained by all the reasons mentioned for the Dutch side above, but the lack of German identity is tough to explain. Several possible explanations can be thought of: There is no national funding, so it does not have to be justified nationally; the benefits of World Heritage are perhaps considered too local to present them nationally; the actual moment of application is still far away or the Limes is not (yet) enough a hot topic to discuss. This remains uncertain.

Other remarks

One remarkable point in play is the seeming lack of European funding. The European Union funds all sorts of transnational and regional programs in order to stimulate more cooperation between countries and boost their regional feelings of identity. This lack of European funding in this project is strange, given that the nomination of the Lower German Limes is a huge project with presumably high costs, which would make European funding very welcome. The Limes should be seen from an international perspective, making the chances of getting the European funding granted very likely. As Thomas Otten pointed out in the interview, the INTERREG-funding is no option, since those are meant for other projects than WHL-applications. There are, however, other cross-border projects which do have

something to do with the application, for example creating joint exhibitions, and those can get subsidies. There is currently only one project to be found on the website of the EU concerning the Limes being funded by the programme Creative Europe of the European Union, which is developing an app to enhance the visitor experience. This is a project of Germany, the United Kingdom and Austria (European Commission, 2016).

This seeming lack of European funding can be explained. By sending an email to the INTERREG Netherlands-Germany secretary with the question whether there are any projects concerning the Roman Limes, nothing came up. There are and have been, however, multiple grants for projects which have to do something with the Romans in the border-region between Germany and the Netherlands. These projects do have a link with the nomination for the Limes, since they enhance the awareness of the people about Romans, but these projects are not explicitly linked to the WHL-application of the Limes in websites or news articles.

A few general observations are to be made too. First of all, there seems to be a devaluation of the term World Heritage. The World Heritage List keeps expanding every year, which makes one wonder whether all sites are to be regarded World Heritage. It is significant that UNESCO only allows one nomination for Cultural Heritage per country per year. It is also significant that UNESCO has made a list of types of sites that can get on the WHL more easily (because there are now few of them), and a list of types that will have more difficulties getting on the WHL. This inflation in World Heritage is probably due to more awareness among people on the one hand, and exploitation on the other hand. More people are probably aware that something might be heritage and will therefore also argue that something might be World Heritage. This leads to more applications. By exploitation I mean that people see the (economic) benefits of World Heritage and will therefore apply: The World Heritage status is a means to achieve other things, no longer a goal in itself. This will finally lead to the question: Where does heritage stop? When do we say that something is *not* heritage? This question can also be asked for the World Heritage List. It could also lead to an elite World Heritage List on which only the obvious⁶ World Heritage will be listed.

This inflation of World Heritage might also help explain the shift from national to local identity, as discussed in chapter one. Everybody knows the pyramids in Egypt and the Chinese Wall, which makes it automatically something the national government can use to boost the national pride. All these forms of stereotypical heritage are already more or less claimed and used by the national governments to stimulate the national identity and pride. The awareness of heritage is growing and other, smaller and less famous objects and buildings are seen as heritage. Since these heritages are less famous, it is more difficult to frame it as something of national pride and therefore it is logical that it will be seen as local heritage.

Recommendations

First of all, there is a huge diversity in how the Lower German Limes is represented. I think that it is good that there is much attention to the specifics of a local place, but it does not contribute to presenting the Lower German Limes as a whole. Some form of more guidance from the top could prevent this.

⁶ With this I mean the types of heritage one thinks of immediately when saying “heritage”, such as the Chinese Wall or the pyramids in Egypt.

This relates to the second recommendation, i.e. that it would be best to have one supra-national organization which manages the project. This could smoothen the process greatly and lead to more cohesion between the different sites. There are, however, some factors that make this impossible. Leene has pointed out that there is simply not enough money to do so and that the administrative organizations of Germany and the Netherlands are not compatible. Van Rooijen mentioned the political problems of not being able to move beyond ones borders: All are bound to their own jurisdiction, which makes it difficult to create an organization that can surpass all these. Lastly, there would be much discussion on who gets to lead such an organization: Would the Dutch accept a German running it? And vice versa?

The Dutch side should also take another look at the interpretation framework and the presentation of the sites. The interpretation framework states that attention should be paid to the international character of the Limes, but this is not visible at any site. So either the sites should be adjusted, or the interpretation framework.

The Germans and the Dutch are not at the same level concerning the process of the application. How this can be explained has not become clear during the research. Since I do not know the exact reason for this discrepancy, it is hard to judge whether or not this is a good choice. For the sake of clarity, it would be best to take the same steps at the same time, I would say.

Scientific debates

Some theories and theoretical debates have been discussed in chapter one. I will now come back to these debates and see how my research fits into these discussions. First of all, there was the critique of Tolia-Kelly that there was very little attention to the multicultural aspects of Hadrian's Wall. This critique is not relevant for the Lower German Limes in the Netherlands. The signs at the sites which I have visited in the Netherlands focus on the multiculturalism at the Limes. Also Dutch documents, such as the document on Outstanding Universal Value and the interpretation framework, pay much attention to the cultural exchange at the border. It is difficult to judge this for the German side, since there are not many written sources to consult nor many sites to visit. Taking the exhibition at the LandesMuseum at Bonn into consideration, the same image is discernible there: Much attention is paid to the cultural diversity at the border.

She also mentioned that the discourse did not include any other periods than the Roman era, thereby excluding all periods before and after. My research has pointed out that the critique of Tolia-Kelly has been heard, since most of the sites include other periods too. The main focus is still on the Roman era, but attention is paid to other periods as well. Not much attention is paid in documents analyzed, however, to the periods after the Roman time. It is again difficult to say something about this for the German side, since there are not many written sources to consult nor many sites to visit.

Tolia-Kelly's critique is thus no longer the newest insight and in this case not applicable, but her critique should still always be kept in mind for the ones presenting heritage, since people can easily focus too much on one specific period or aspect.

The most important points of the discussions in the field of heritage, identity and memory are whether it happens top-down or bottom-up and whether a national or a local/transnational/regional identity/memory/heritage is created. The process is, as has

been mentioned a couple of times earlier, a mix between top-down and bottom-up. The central government and the archaeological and heritage experts have pointed out that the Limes is heritage. Therefore, they have made some plans to apply for the WHL. The local communities have a say, however, in which sites should be included and how the heritage should be presented. The trend visible in the latest discussions, that there is a shift from top-down towards more bottom-up, is thus partially confirmed. It is no longer only top-down, but it is also not bottom-up.

The other trend that was mentioned, the shift from a national identity towards more local, regional and transnational identities is also visible here. Even though there are still many traces of concern for the national identity (mostly in the national documents), the local identity is heavily in play at the sites. As mentioned, this is not so strange, since the policymakers try to make the site relatable to the main visitors, i.e. those who live in the neighbourhood. It is also visible that politicians use the heritage in order to boast their own municipality or *Bundesland*. There is, however, one difference between the German and the Dutch side, i.e. that the German *Bundesland* is much bigger than the Dutch municipalities. This difference can partially be explained by the sources used. For the German side, I have visited a museum of the Landschaftsverband Rheinland, interviewed Thomas Otten of the same organization and read the press releases of the federal state's governments. These all have a strong focus on their respective *Bundesländer*, which can explain the focus on them partially.

One of the possible reasons for the shift towards more local heritage, can be the abovementioned devaluation of heritage. Since the most famous and impressive heritage has already received a lot of attention, people now turn to smaller and less famous heritage, which is much harder to relate to for the entire national population, simply because people do not know it. It is therefore also logical to connect this 'new' heritage to regional and local identities.

There are also some traces visible of the Authoritative Heritage Discourse. Especially during the interviews with Van Rooijen and Otten, the influence of the heritage and archaeological experts became clear. They were hoping for a long time that the Lower German Limes would become a WHS and were the first to profit from the application: They were able to get in touch with experts from the other side of the border and they got more funds to do research. They will also be the experts on this new WHS, which reinforces their status and esteem as experts of heritage.

The creation of identity by using transnational heritage has become fairly evident. Since the process of the application is still underway, it is difficult to make conclusive remarks here. It seems like there is much emphasis on the local character of the transnational heritage. This has to do with how the project is organized: There is a lot of autonomy on both sides of the border, which makes it very difficult to come up with one story. This process is enhanced because of the high degree of decentralization: Municipalities and provinces have a large say in how to present the sites. There is therefore not much unity in the whole presentation (yet) and one cannot speak of a transnational identity.

Further research

First of all, it would be very interesting to see how this project develops in the upcoming years. Since Germany and the Netherlands are in different stages at the project, it would be best to investigate the representation of the sites of the Lower German Limes when all have been finished. Since I have only studied five cases in this research, it can be recommended to investigate the other cases as well to see whether or not my conclusions likely.

Second, the Roman period is perhaps not the best heritage to study for the creation of identity, since this is a topic to which not many people relate when thinking of one's identity. It would therefore be very interesting to do a similar kind of research on more modern transnational heritage, to see what identities are created there.

I have solely focussed on the identity that the policymakers want to conjure, but I have not researched how people react to it. So it would make for a very interesting research, to see how the people would react to it and find out whether people would actually feel this regional character or not.

It would also be good to contemplate on the term "heritage". Much has been written on that topic already, but it stays relevant nonetheless, since there is still no good definition on it. That arouses many discussions, such as whether something is rightfully called heritage or not.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview format Tamar Leene

Interview vragen Tamar Leene, donderdag 14 juli 2016, 10.00 uur, Provinciehuis, Utrecht

Voor wie is de Limes belangrijk?

In uw interview met Natasja van der Heijden geeft u aan dat men in 2005 bij in elk geval de provincie Utrecht de nominatie voor de Werelderfgoedlijst kansrijk beschouwde. Op welke manier? (Grote kans op succes, bood het nieuwe kansen, etc.)

In datzelfde interview gaf u aan dat Werelderfgoedstatus vooral de status en waardering vergroot voor de site. Maakt dat het een soort prestigekwestie?

Voor wie is dat dan prestigieus?

Vat ik de uiteindelijke doelen van de aanvraag goed samen als ik zeg dat de Werelderfgoedstatus zorgt voor meer gewaarwording/waardering bij lokale burgers, internationaal status verwerft en toeristen trekt?

Wie heeft daar profijt van?

Wat kunnen nadelen zijn van een werelderfgoedstatus?

U gaf ook aan regelmatig in gesprek te treden met de lokale gemeenschap. U zei dat als iemand écht fel tegen de Werelderfgoedstatus is, dat er dan wordt gekeken naar wat gedaan kan worden. Wat zouden eventuele oplossingen zijn?

Vat ik de aanpak goed samen als ik zeg dat er sprake is van een mix tussen bottom-up and top-down? (Er worden landelijk de grotere kaders geschetst, maar op een lokaal niveau wordt daar invulling aan gegeven.)

In gesprek met Natasja gaf u ook aan dat de Limes gaat over de bijdrage aan andere culturen en dat wij een multiculturele samenleving zijn. Hoe komt dat tot uiting?

Denkt u dat de Limes kan bijdragen aan de integratie of het zich thuis voelen van immigranten? Hoe dan?

Het interpretatie raamwerk meldt dat de Limes in een internationaal daglicht moet worden gezien. Toch worden er alleen maar Nederlandse voorbeelden gegeven in de tekst. Heeft u daar een verklaring voor?

Nederland doet de aanvraag samen met Duitsland. Waarom is er niet gekozen voor een gezamenlijk interpretatie raamwerk?

Er lijkt überhaupt nog weinig zichtbaar te zijn van de samenwerking met Duitsland. De website romeinselimes.nl is in het Nederlands, veel documenten en brochures zijn in het Nederlands, de bordjes op de sites zijn veelal in het Nederlands. Hoe komt dat?

Hoe verloopt de samenwerking met Duitsland?

Op welke gebieden wordt er overlegd?

Wat zijn de grootste struikelblokken betreffende de samenwerking met Duitsland?

Appendix 2: Declaration for Tamar Leene
Verklaring

14 juli 2016, Utrecht

Dit interview, de transcriptie ervan en de audio-opnames worden niet gepubliceerd en zijn alleen toegankelijk voor Lucas Verlinden. De transcriptie wordt teruggestuurd naar Tamar Leene ter controle. Het interviewverslag zal worden gepubliceerd en geanalyseerd in de Masterscriptie van Lucas Verlinden. De scriptie zal na afronding worden toegevoegd aan de scriptierepository van de Radboud Universiteit, waarmee die toegankelijk wordt voor studenten en onderzoekers. Tevens zal een exemplaar naar Erfgoed Gelderland gaan, de organisatie die het onderzoeksproces ondersteunt.

Handtekening geïnterviewde:

Handtekening interviewer:

Appendix 3: Interview format Cees van Rooijen

Interview vragen Cees van Rooijen, donderdag 14 juli 2016, 10.00 uur, Provinciehuis, Utrecht

Voor wie is de Limes belangrijk?

Heeft het dan ook internatinoaal waarde?

Wat is de toegevoegde waarde van de Werelderfgoed status?

Wie heeft er baat bij die voordelen?

Uit een voorgaand gesprek kwam naar voren dat het ook een prestigezaak kan zijn. Bent u het daarmee eens?

Voor wie is dat dan prestigieus?

Wat kunnen nadelen zijn van een werelderfgoedstatus?

Zijn er ook wel eens conflicten met eigenaars of bewoners?

Vat ik de aanpak goed samen als ik zeg dat er sprake is van een mix tussen bottom-up and top-down? (Er worden landelijk de grotere kaders geschetst, maar op een lokaal niveau wordt daar invulling aan gegeven.)

Weet u hoe het proces van de Limes is begonnen?

Het interpretatie raamwerk meldt dat de Limes in een internationaal daglicht moet worden gezien. Toch worden er alleen maar Nederlandse voorbeelden gegeven in de tekst. Heeft u daar een verklaring voor?

Nederland doet de aanvraag samen met Duitsland. Waarom is er niet gekozen voor een gezamenlijk interpretatie raamwerk?

Er lijkt überhaupt nog weinig zichtbaar te zijn van de samenwerking met Duitsland. De website romeinselimes.nl is in het Nederlands, veel documenten en brochures zijn in het Nederlands, de bordjes op de sites zijn veelal in het Nederlands. Hoe komt dat?

Hoe verloopt de samenwerking met Duitsland?

Op welke gebieden wordt er overlegd?

Wat zijn de grootste struikelblokken betreffende de samenwerking met Duitsland?

Appendix 4: Declaration for Cees van Rooijen
Verklaring

18 juli 2016, Amersfoort

Dit interview, de transcriptie ervan en de audio-opnames worden niet gepubliceerd en zijn alleen toegankelijk voor Lucas Verlinden. De transcriptie wordt teruggestuurd naar Cees van Rooijen ter controle. Het interviewverslag zal worden gepubliceerd en geanalyseerd in de Masterscriptie van Lucas Verlinden. De scriptie zal na afronding worden toegevoegd aan de scriptierepository van de Radboud Universiteit, waarmee die toegankelijk wordt voor studenten en onderzoekers. Tevens zal een exemplaar naar Erfgoed Gelderland gaan, de organisatie die het onderzoeksproces ondersteunt.

Handtekening geïnterviewde:

Handtekening interviewer:

Appendix 5: Interview format Thomas Otten

Interview Fragen Thomas Otten, Mittwoch 3 August 2016, . Uhr, , Köln

Warum ist der Limes wichtig?

Für wem ist der Limes wichtig?

Warum möchte man der Limes auf der Welterbeliste setzen?

Was sind die Vorteile von Welterbe?

Für wem sind die Vorteile?

Die Deutsche Politiker scheinen den Limes insbesondere interessant zu finden weil der Limes das sechste oder fünfte Erbe werden soll in dem Bundesland. Stimmt das Bild daß das wichtig ist für ihnen? Warum?

Ist Welterbe auch ein bisschen eine Form des Prestige?

Für wem ist das Prestige?

Kan Welterbe auch Nachteile haben? Was sind Nachteile von Welterbe?

Erbe scheint auch die Identität zu stärken. Welche Identität gestärkt der Limes?

Wird die lokale Gemeinschaft auch einbezogen in dem Prozess der Anwendung? Wie dann/Warum nicht?

Hat Deutschland auch ein Interpretationsrahmen. Warum nicht?

In dem Interpretationsrahmen sagt man daß der Limes geht über die beitragen an andere Kulturen und daß wir eine multikulturelle Gesellschaft sein. Wie wird das ausgedrückt?

In den Niederlande sind fast alle Dokumenten und andere Formen von Information auf Niederländisch, aber ich kann nicht so viel finden von Deutscher Seite. Können Sie das erklären?

Warum ist da nicht mehr zusammen gemacht?

Wie geht die Kooperation mit den Niederlande?

In welchen Bereichen konsultieren Sie mit den Niederlande?

Was sind die Hauptproblemen in der Kooperation mit den Niederlande? Oder sind die gar nicht da?

Das Projekt des Limes kann auch als ein Europäisch Projekt gesehen werden. Diese Projekten können finanziert werden durch die EU, insbesondere wenn es in EUregios ist mit dem Interreg-Program. Bekommt man auch einen Zuschuß von der Europäische Union? Wie hat man das präsentiert/Warum nicht?

In den Niederlande hat man einen Ansatz der eine Mischung zwischen Top-Down und Bottom-up ist. Die Selection von Sites ist gemacht durch Experts, aber die Population kann mitdenken über wie man es präsentiert. Auch der Interpretationsrahmen muß so geseheren werden: es gibt eine großer Geschichte und darin kann man eigene Geschichten fassen. Wie ist das in Deutschland?

Appendix 6: Declaration Thomas Otten
Erklärung

17 Augustus 2016, Köln

Dieses Interview, die Transcription davon und die Tonaufnahmen werden nicht publiziert und sind nur zugänglich für Lucas Verlinden. Die Transcription wird wieder gesendet nach Thomas Otten zu überprüfen. Das Interview Bericht wird publiziert und analysiert in der These von Lucas Verlinden. Die These werde nach Abschluß aufgenommen in dem *Scriptierepository* von der Radboud Universität, womit die These zugänglich wird für Studenten und Forscher. Auch werde *Erfgoed Gelderland*, die Organization die das Prozess der Forschung stützt, ein Exemplar dieser These bekommen.

Unterschrift Interviewte:

Unterschrift Interviewer:
