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Between mountains and frontiers: the Roman settlement system in the provinces of Germania Superior, Raetia and Noricum

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6. The Roman centres in the northern Alpine region today

*In the last 40 years,..., archaeology has undergone a transformation from being a relatively restricted area of interest, pursued by a few and interpreted by even fewer, towards having an increasingly extensive public profile. ... recognition of the relevance of archaeology in a globalizing world does appear to be on the increase for a variety of reasons that are political, social and economic.*⁸⁴²

*Today, few archaeologists would dispute that our understandings of the past are a product of the present. Moreover, archaeology is accepted as a public concern with political, ethical and social implications in wider society.*⁸⁴³

I find it understandable that the social relevance of a research project is questioned and reflected upon. Additionally, attempts to underline its possible contributions to societal issues should be encouraged. Indeed, archaeological and historical research is funded and conducted in part because of 'valuable and educational' contributions to society. However, all too often a clear substantiation and explanation of these so-called intrinsic public values is lacking.⁸⁴⁴ Moreover, these values are no longer endorsed as self-evident or considered satisfactory even within both the archaeological and heritage fields and by societal partners.⁸⁴⁵ In particular under the influence of Critical Heritage Studies (CHS), the different roles and functions of heritage and its professionals, amongst which archaeologists and historians, are heavily questioned.⁸⁴⁶

In this chapter I want to reflect upon the heritage derived from the remains of the Roman settlement system in the northern Alpine region whilst using the appraisals of the critical heritage debate as a guideline.⁸⁴⁷ The aim of this chapter is not to plead for - nor to illustrate - the social relevance of the disciplines concerned, since numerous studies and articles have been published on this already.⁸⁴⁸ Instead, I will try to give an impression of how the archaeological remains of Roman centres and their monuments in the northern Alpine region are managed, and how they are presented to and experienced by the public, or used in their contemporary context. I will try to shed light upon what story about Roman town life is actually told and by whom. I hope in this way to bring together the academic interpretation of and research on this Roman past on the one hand and its presentation to the wider public on the other. The ultimate goal of this chapter is to determine general trends in - as well as - implications of the heritage policy pursued.

The available literature on the various ways the work of archaeologists and historians is communicated to others and the publications concerning the relationship between these academic fields and the wider society are generally dominated by case studies. This can result in an absence of adequate critical reflections.⁸⁴⁹ This chapter may therefore create the opportunity to observe some

⁸⁴² Schadla-Hall 2007, 75.

⁸⁴³ Jones 2013, 163.

⁸⁴⁴ Carman 2003, 97; Jones 2013, 171.

⁸⁴⁵ Stone 1997, 27; Stottmann 2010, 1.

⁸⁴⁶ Waterton and Smith 2009.

⁸⁴⁷ The course *Challenging Eternity. World Heritage, Urban interventions and the city of Rome*, KNIR (Koninklijk Nederlands Instituut Rome), which I attended in April 2017, definitely helped me to think and rethink my vision upon heritage management and above all gave me plenty of examples of the complexity of heritage.

⁸⁴⁸ The social applications are varied, such as contributing to the collective historical and cultural knowledge and reshaping our ideas about the past. However, archaeology's social embedding reaches even further, ranging from conveying tools for critical reflection, encouraging economic incentives, improving social cohesion and acting as mediator in politico- cultural conflicts, to contributing to the quest for a sustainable society. See for examples: Stone 1997, 23-32; Stottmann 2010, 1-3; McNeill 2011, 80-89; Pollock-Ellwand 2011, 236-242; Stone 2013, xiii.

⁸⁴⁹ Carman 2003, 118-119.

regional trends within the wider area of the northern Alpine region, including the modern countries of Austria, Germany, France, Slovenia and Switzerland.⁸⁵⁰

The chapter starts with a brief introduction to the changing climate of heritage and its management. The following sections will discuss the preservation levels of - as well as - applied approaches to the presentation of the Roman monumental remains in the northern Alpine region in the light of the Critical Heritage Studies. The UNESCO World Heritage Site of the Frontiers of the Roman Empire will be considered as a unique case of heritage management and will allow reflection upon the Authorised Heritage Discourse. A final section will give a reflection upon the heritage practices encountered.

6.1 Short introduction to the current heritage debate: the influence of critical theory

6.1.1 Developments within the heritage field

Under the influence of the rise of Critical Heritage Studies (CHS) and the leading work of D. Lowenthal and L. Smith among others, many traditional ways of making and experiencing heritage have been questioned.⁸⁵¹ While until the late 20th century heritage was mainly concerned with physical remains and monuments of the past which were considered as grand, old or historically and aesthetically important, today a tendency towards an expanding concept of heritage can be observed, which also includes, for example, non-physical culture.⁸⁵² Heritage is in other words increasingly recognised as a cultural practice.⁸⁵³ The field of heritage studies has also been confronted with a growing realisation that the value of heritage is heavily dependent on its societal context and is not necessarily intrinsic to the material remains themselves.⁸⁵⁴ L. Smith has even argued that all heritage is intangible, because meaning and value constitute the real determining factors.⁸⁵⁵ One of the main questions in this debate is still what are these values and who should be defining them. Although much research into value-based management has been conducted,⁸⁵⁶ a major obstacle is the ascendancy of the traditional heritage authorities, a selected and powerful group of people who appropriated the right to define heritage and decide the management policies according to their interests. This so-called Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD), in which experts are assigned the role of the only stewards and caretakers of the past, is institutionalised by conventions and charters with repercussions for international and national levels of heritage management, constituted by lobby groups, such as ICOMOS and UNESCO. These conventions determine what heritage is, how and why it is of great importance and what the best heritage policy is. Moreover, these codes maintain and legitimate the authority of this heritage discourse.⁸⁵⁷

Only a few sites are recognised as World Heritage within the area of the northern Alpine region. The city centre of Salzburg in Austria, for example, is praised because of its Medieval heritage, but its Roman past is not recognised as such. The same applies to the city centre of Bern in Switzerland.

⁸⁵⁰ Ibid., 119; Callebaut 2004, 17.: These authors have pointed out that every country has different approaches towards public outreach and public archaeology practices. Everywhere people have different reasons and motivations for whether or not to preserve archaeological remains and other ideas about what to do with it.

⁸⁵¹ From the 2012 Manifesto of the Association of Critical Heritage Studies (ACHS) which was written by L. Smith and is accessible on the website of this organisation: <http://www.criticalheritagestudies.org/history/>. D. Lowenthal's book (*The Past as a foreign country*, is an often cited work and a must-read when reflecting upon heritage studies. *The uses of heritage* (2006) is only one of L. Smith's many publications and immediately confronts the reader with critique upon past and current heritage management policies and approaches.

⁸⁵² Shalaginova 2012, 4 ff.

⁸⁵³ Smith 2006, 44 ff. Smith 2009, 44-45.

⁸⁵⁴ Harrison 2010, 25-26.

⁸⁵⁵ Smith 2006, 56.

⁸⁵⁶ Lippe 1984-11; Smith, Messenger and Soderland 2010; Ababneh 2016, 41.W.

⁸⁵⁷ Smith 2006, 29-34; Smith & Waterton p 29-30; Cleere 2007, 72.

Strasbourg is on the list in recognition of its monuments from the 15th and 18th centuries. The list of World Heritage Sites does include Roman artefacts, within the modern countries involved, but not within the northern Alpine region as defined in this research. For France, one finds the following heritage subjects listed: the Roman monuments in Arles, the Roman theatre and its surroundings in Orange, the Pont du Gard, and the historic site of Lyon. For Germany, the Roman monuments in Trier are recognised as heritage of world value. The only Roman World Heritage site in the study region is the German-Raetian Limes.⁸⁵⁸ This site will therefore be treated separately in order to investigate the effects of such an authorised heritage label in more detail (section 6.5).

Critics of the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) have pointed out that the objects of heritage as well as the concept itself have been restricted, as as the active involvement of a large group of the target audience to whom that heritage also belongs. Equally, the possible uses of heritage were never fully explored because of this very narrow vision of heritage management, dominated by a top-down approach and a specifically western orientation.⁸⁵⁹ Heritage management should by contrast pursue a constructive policy based upon the ideas of all the different stakeholders, and should ultimately aim to increase the significance to society of the environment and heritage. During previous decades scholars have been denouncing the discrepancy between the academic thinking on the one hand and heritage management guidelines and practices of professional institutes, governments, cultural bodies and agencies on the other.⁸⁶⁰ Today, these new ideas are gradually finding their way into international policy-making institutes, such as EU, ICOMOS and UNESCO, but progress on this front is slow.⁸⁶¹ The UNESCO convention of 2003 recognises the importance of intangible heritage.⁸⁶² The ICOMOS charter of 2008, on the interpretation and preservation of Cultural Heritage Sites, clearly states that what constitutes heritage is an interpretation by current society, that conservation can only be realised through communication and the encouragement of inclusiveness, whereby all stakeholders and communities are actively involved.⁸⁶³ The *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape* (UNESCO 2011) is a clear attempt to provide a holistic approach that takes to heart the goals of heritage conservation as well as of social and economic development, in particular of built-up environments.⁸⁶⁴

6.1.2 A critical archaeological discourse

Similar trends can be observed within the subdisciplines of heritage, including archaeology and archaeological heritage management (AHM). The engagement of the public, for example, is gaining more and more attention as an academic topic in its own right.⁸⁶⁵ Within public archaeology, one understands '*the various ways in which the work of archaeologists is made available to others and the relationship between archaeologists and other groups of people*',⁸⁶⁶ but much ambiguity and debate still exist about what exactly it should involve.⁸⁶⁷

The importance of the study of the past for the general benefit of society, its remains and the position of its professional caretakers was hardly questioned within the 'positivist approach' held by the New Archaeology. Since the late 20th century, however, the increased influence of fundamental principles of critical theory and post-modern approaches within the discipline of archaeology have stimulated growing attention for societal and political interests that tie remains of the past to the

⁸⁵⁸ Website: List UNESCO World Heritage Site.

⁸⁵⁹ Smith 2006, 11; 29-34; Harrison 2010, 26-27; Smith and Waterton 2009, 34; 43-44; Waterton and Smith 2009, 29-30; Ababneh 2016, 41.

⁸⁶⁰ Skeates 2000, 9-10.

⁸⁶¹ Skeates 2000, 11-18.

⁸⁶² UNESCO 2003.

⁸⁶³ ICOMOS 2008, more specifically in the preamble and in the Objectives nr.6.

⁸⁶⁴ UNESCO 2013, 5.

⁸⁶⁵ Copeland 2004, 133; Merriman 2004, 3.

⁸⁶⁶ Carman 2003, 118.

⁸⁶⁷ Jones 2013, 166.

present.⁸⁶⁸ Archaeological heritage now no longer embraces only the remains of the material culture of past societies it equally involves the process in which these remains of the past are again evaluated and used in the present.⁸⁶⁹ Within the archaeological field, this paradigm shift has also caused a relativisation of the so-called inevitable benefit for society of archaeological remains and of the legitimated authoritarian position of the professionals. At the same time it has created room for discussing other aspects, such as the competing and conflicting interests of different heritage stakeholders or the badly maintained communication with the public and the relationship with the public in general.⁸⁷⁰ The common approach of public archaeology prior to the beginning of the millennium has been challenged and is now referred to as the 'deficit model'. This approach to public archaeology had, after all, secured the monopoly of the experts and allowed a heritage management process in which the experts controlled the consumption of archaeology whilst pursuing their own interests. Or to put it differently, this model had maintained a positivist approach in which the public was told what to see and in which this public remained undefined, unconsulted and uninvolved.⁸⁷¹ This so-called 'deficit model' has not been entirely replaced but is today in competition with approaches influenced by constructivist thinking. '*Archaeology should stop taking archaeology to the public for archaeology's sake but should start doing it to meet the general public's educational, social and cultural needs.*', Merriman wrote.⁸⁷² It is more and more about a two way process and no longer a blind communication from the experts to an unknown audience.⁸⁷³ This may, of course, call for a tolerant attitude from the archaeological professionals towards the diversity of the public and its different interests as well as to the many interpretations and perspectives on history this might entail.⁸⁷⁴

To what extent the ideas of this critical theory are already applied in the heritage practice of the Roman period, or how feasible it is, will become clear from the following analyses.

6.2 What remains of the Roman centres

In order to confront the ongoing management of the heritage derived from Roman urban civil centres in the northern alpine region with the changing heritage visions described above, data on the preservation and presentation of the various sites had to be collected. I decided to focus only on the remains and the presentation of Roman urban monuments and this for various reasons. The remnants of monumental buildings have survived much better than other types of infrastructure and building materials. This, together with a dominant heritage definition concentrated on majestic and imposing remains of the past, has ensured that monumental urban features were easily recognised as heritage. As a consequence, only a certain segment of the presentation of the Roman settlement system will be included in this analysis, in which the architectural aspect of Roman urbanism is again predominant. This is disadvantageous for all other types of Roman settlements, not in the least the smaller villages and rural sites. How the preservation and presentation of remnants of less imposing infrastructures, such as houses, streets or interesting stratigraphic layers, is managed, is consequently left out of this overview. In general, two types of data were collected. These included information on the physical remains of Roman monumental architecture typical for urban sites in the region, as well as material on museum exhibitions related to these archaeological sites (Fig. 6.1).

⁸⁶⁸ Leone and Potter 1992, 139; Jones 2013, 163-164.

⁸⁶⁹ Skeates 2000, 9-10; Shanks and Tilley 2016, 27.

⁸⁷⁰ Leone and Potter 1992, 139.

⁸⁷¹ Copeland 2004, 133; Merriman 2004, 5-6; Schadla-Hall 2007, 80-10.

⁸⁷² Merriman 2004, 6-7.

⁸⁷³ Ibid., 8.

⁸⁷⁴ Copeland 2004, 135; Merriman 2004, 8; Thomas 2008, 145.

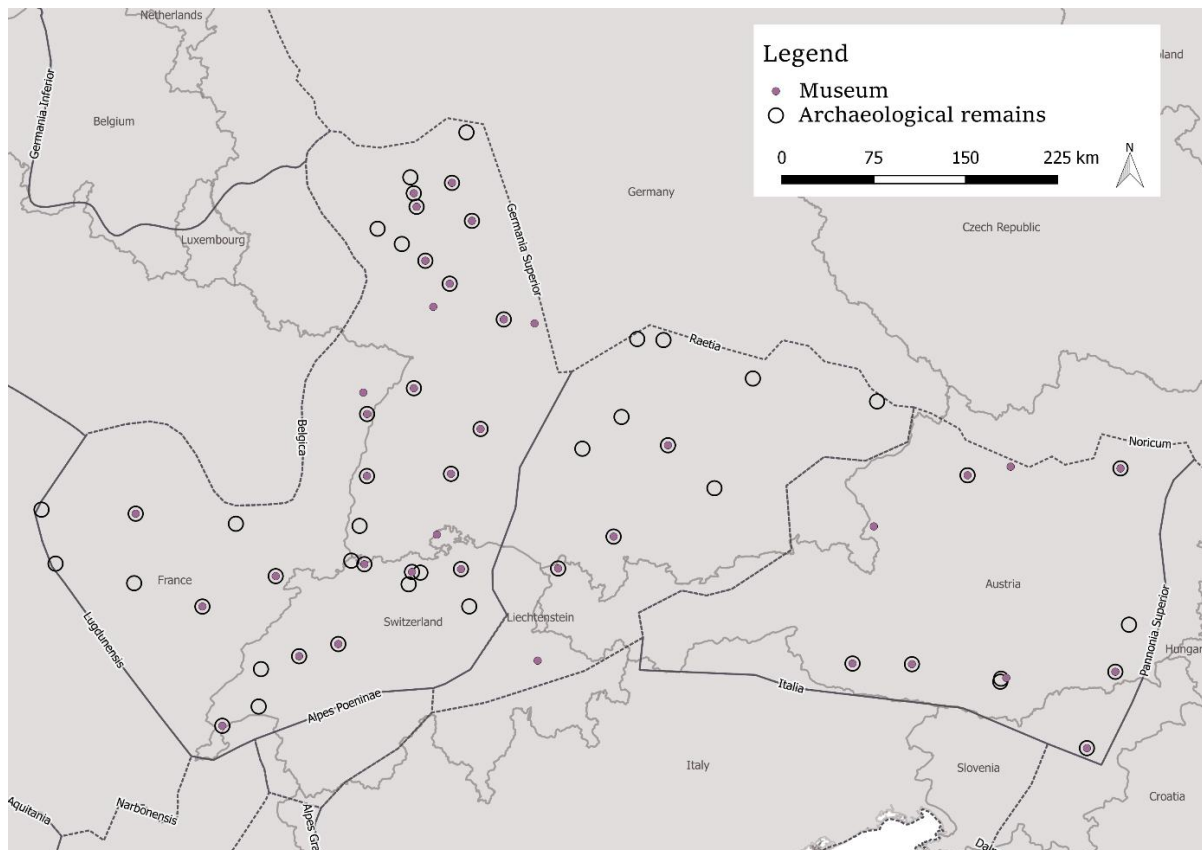


Fig. 6.1: Map showing all sites and museums included in the analysis of the preservation and presentation of ancient Roman remains

6.2.1 Data collection on the preservation and presentation of physical remains of Roman urban monumentality

The remnants of the *forum-basilica* complexes, spa complexes, spectacle buildings and city walls as discussed in chapter 4 are included here as physical remains of Roman urban monumentality. For all the different types of monuments and infrastructure, information was collected on their state of preservation, their visibility and their management. The latter involves an interest in the integration of the remains in their current environment, including their present-day use and their presentation. The sources used mostly relate to secondary literature, in combination with the consultation of municipal and regional websites or weblogs of hobbyists. I also visited many sites, which gave me a better idea of the heritage and its surroundings.⁸⁷⁵ Additionally, I examined available low-resolution satellite images via applications such as Google Images and Google Earth. These have been used as a survey tool to discover further whether or not there are still extant remains of the Roman public buildings as well as their current context.⁸⁷⁶ This survey entailed a list (Table 6.1) of 55 Roman centres in the northern Alpine region with 86 remnants of the building types named above. At least 43 (50%) of the total number of Roman monuments included are still in some way present today.

⁸⁷⁵ My participation in various conferences and workshops helped me to discover several Roman sites in reality. The Limes Congress of 2015 held in Ingolstadt (Germany) indeed brought me to many former Roman forts and garrison sites. But also the workshops held in Innsbruck (2014) and Enns (2016) allowed me to get acquainted with the remains of the Roman centres of *Brigantium* and *Lauriacum*. Augsburg, Epfach, Frankfurt, Kempten, Obernburg a. Main, Salzburg and Wels are just a few more places I was able to visit during my research thanks to the support of the ERC-funded project *An Empire of 2000 Cities*.

⁸⁷⁶ The website Archaeology Travel provides an interactive map with Google Earth interface of many Roman amphitheatres. The website is not a scientific source and the data collection is incomplete, but nevertheless formed a handy starting point to collect impressions of the state of preservation of these Roman remains.

	Table 6.1: Archaeological sites included in the analysis of the preservation and presentation of the different types of Roman urban monumentality - number of buildings attested - () = number of buildings still visible - ? no information found or unclear - * site visited by author					
	Site	Amphitheatre	Theatre	Forum	Defensive wall	Spa
1	Aguntum			1 (1)	1 (1)	
2	Alesia		1 (1)	1 (1)	1 (1)	
3	Alisinensium				1 (?)	
4	Altiaensium		1 (0)			
5	Andemantunnum				1 (?)	
6	Arae Flaviae		1 (0)	1 (0)		
7	Argentorate		1 (0)			
8	Arnsburg	1 (0)				
9	Augsta Raurica	1 (1)	1 (1)	1 (1)	1 (1)	
10	Augusta Vindelicum*			1 (0)	1 (0)	
11	Aventicum	1 (1)	1 (1)	1 (?)	1 (1)	
12	Aquae					3 (3)
13	Aquae Helveticae				1 (?)	1 (0)
14	Aquae Mattiacorum					1 (0)
15	Badenweiler					1 (1)
16	Bad Gögging					1 (1)
17	Basilia		1 (?)			
18	Brenodurum		1 (1)			
19	Borbetumagus			1 (0)	1 (1)	
20	Brigantium*			1 (1)		
21	Bratananium			1 (0)		
22	Cambodunum*			1 (1)		
23	Celeia			1 (1)	1 (1)	
24	Centum Prata			1 (1)		
25	Cetium			1 (0)		
26	Cruciniacum		1 (0)			
27	Dambach	1 (0)				
28	Eburodunum					1 (?)
29	Epamanduodurum		1 (1)			
30	Flavia Solva	1 (1)		1 (0)		
31	Gleisdorf	1 (?)				
32	Iciniacum*		1? (0)			
33	Julia Equestris	1 (1)	1 (0)	1 (0)		
34	Lenzburg		1 (1)			
35	Lopodunum		1 (0)	1 (1)	1 (0)	
36	Luxovium				1 (?)	1 (?)
37	Med(...)				1 (1)	
38	Mirebeau	1 (0)				
39	Mogontiacum*		1 (1)			
40	Nida*		1 (0)	1 (0)	1 (1)	
41	Ovilavis*			1 (0)	1 (1)	
42	Phoebiana				1 (0)	
43	Quintana*	1 (1)				
44	Riegel			1 (0)		
45	St. Michael am Zollfeld			1 (?)		
46	Sumelocenna				1 (1)	
47	Teurnia			1 (1)	1 (1)	
48	Vertillum				1 (1)	
49	Vesontio	1 (1)	1 (1)	1 (0)		
50	Vidy		1 (0)	1 (1)		
51	Vindonissa	1 (1)				
52	Virunum	1 (1)	1 (?)	1 (0)		

53	Vitodurum				1 (?)	
54	Unterkirchberg	1 (0)				
55	Zugmantel	1 (0)				
	Total (visible remains)					
	86 (43)	14 (8)	19 (8)	24 (10)	20 (12)	9 (5)

The extent to which these 43 monuments are still extant varies considerably, as I will illustrate here using remains of Roman city walls (Table 6.2). Only the Roman city walls of *Aventicum* and *Borbetumagus* are still (partly) standing. Also in Dieburg the modern centre is characterised by an old city wall, but one which dates back to the 13th century. Nevertheless, it is believed that this Medieval wall largely follows the trace of its ancient predecessor and also that it was mainly built with construction material from this predecessor.⁸⁷⁷ Of the majority of the extant Roman city walls, however, only some foundations are still preserved. In Augst, the surviving remains consist of the east gate and a small part of the wall of Roman *Augusta Raurica*, which are now presented as a monument with some information panels.⁸⁷⁸ Similar in presentation is the small stretch of Roman wall that once surrounded Roman *Sumelocenna*/Rottenburg. One part of the city wall of Roman *Aguntum* has been recently excavated and is now part of the archaeological park of the site.⁸⁷⁹ In Wels, however, the remains are nothing more than a two-metre long part of a foundation wall of one of the towers that decorated the Roman city wall of *Ovilavis* and is now positioned between the pavement and the busy *Schubertstrasse*.⁸⁸⁰ Information about the city wall of Nida can be found on an information panel in the street *In der Römerstradt* at house number 77. Some foundation stones of the Roman wall are preserved in the low wall bordering the front garden of *Am Forum* number 29. It is possible that some stones of the wall which once surrounded the *municipium* of *Celeia* are visible in the underground museum in Celje.⁸⁸¹ At the site of *Teurnia*/St.Peter im Holz excavations have taken place which brought to light more information about the town wall. Judging from the images available on Google Earth the remains of the city wall are still mostly covered by trees.

Nevertheless, the remains, either still in use, excavated, reconstructed or marked with modern materials, show some spatial distribution. (Fig. 6.2). A few areas with a clear concentration of surviving or displayed Roman remains can be identified. A first cluster can be found in northeast France and Switzerland. Here, there are all together 21 remnants of Roman monuments still visible, which is almost 50 % of the total number of still extant Roman public buildings included in this analysis. It concerns 5 amphitheatres, 5 theatres, 4 *fora*, 4 city walls and one Roman spa centre with three bathing complexes. The districts of Carinthia and Styria in southern Austria also have a relatively high number of Roman public monuments which are to some extent still present today. The remains of 2 amphitheatres, 3 *fora* and 3 city walls can be visited in this region today. A third concentration can be found in the area of the Middle Rhine region where remnants of at least 7 Roman monuments are still visible, amongst which 1 theatre, 1 *forum*, 4 city walls and 1 spa complex. These three areas of course correspond with the parts of the northern Alpine region where most Roman towns and urban centres could be identified in earlier chapters. Nevertheless, one should absolutely not conclude from this map that elsewhere no remains of the Roman past are integrated in the contemporary environment or subject of heritage policies. Many other Roman remains, such as temples, aspects of production centres or parts of military sites, survived the course of time or are displayed at in the present day, but could not be included in this analysis.

⁸⁷⁷ Website: Internetzeitung für Rhein-Main und Mittelhessen.

⁸⁷⁸ Table 6.3 (2).

⁸⁷⁹ Table 6.3 (18).

⁸⁸⁰ Visited by author in September 2016.

⁸⁸¹ Table 6.3 (10).

Table 6.2: The differences in quality of preservation of Roman city walls

		
Augusta Raurica/ Augst	Aventicum/ Avenches	Borbetumagus/ Worms
		
Nida/ Frankfurt-Heddernheim	Ovilavis/ Wels	Sumelocenna/ Rottenburg

6.2.2 Data collection on museum exhibitions of Roman centres

The remnants of these Roman sites have a story to tell. In addition to other popular media, such as television, film, books and magazines, this story is often told in museums associated to these Roman towns and their archaeological sites. For this analysis, only museum exhibitions and practices have been included.

Data on permanent museum exhibitions were collected for 38 Roman centres (Table 6.3). The information was derived from museums, of which 19 deal with the Roman history of centres, the majority of which could be identified as possible *civitas* centres⁸⁸². Furthermore, the list includes 4 museums displaying the past of Roman *coloniae*⁸⁸³, 10 and 5 more with respectively Roman *municipia*⁸⁸⁴ and legionary forts⁸⁸⁵. The websites of the museums again formed the main source for data collection, sometimes in combination with regional or cultural websites. These generally contain information about themes presented in the museum exhibitions, and the different possibilities applied for informing about and experiencing the Roman past, often including guided tours, workshops, theme days and more.

⁸⁸² Andemantunum, Aquae, Aquae Mattiacorum, Borbetumagus, Brenodurum, Brigantium, Brucomagus, Cambodunum, Curia, Dieburg (Med.), Epamanduodurum, Juliomagus, Nida, Noviomagus, Lopodunum, Riegel, Sumelocenna, vicus Aurelianus, vicus Alisinensium.

⁸⁸³ Augusta Raurica, Aventicum, Julia Equestris and Vesontio

⁸⁸⁴ Aguntum, Arae Flaviae, Augusta Vindelicum, Celeia, Cetium, Flavia Solva, Iuvavum, Ovilavis, Teurnia, Virunum.

⁸⁸⁵ Castra Regina, Lauriacum, Mogontiacum, Vindonissa, Argentorate

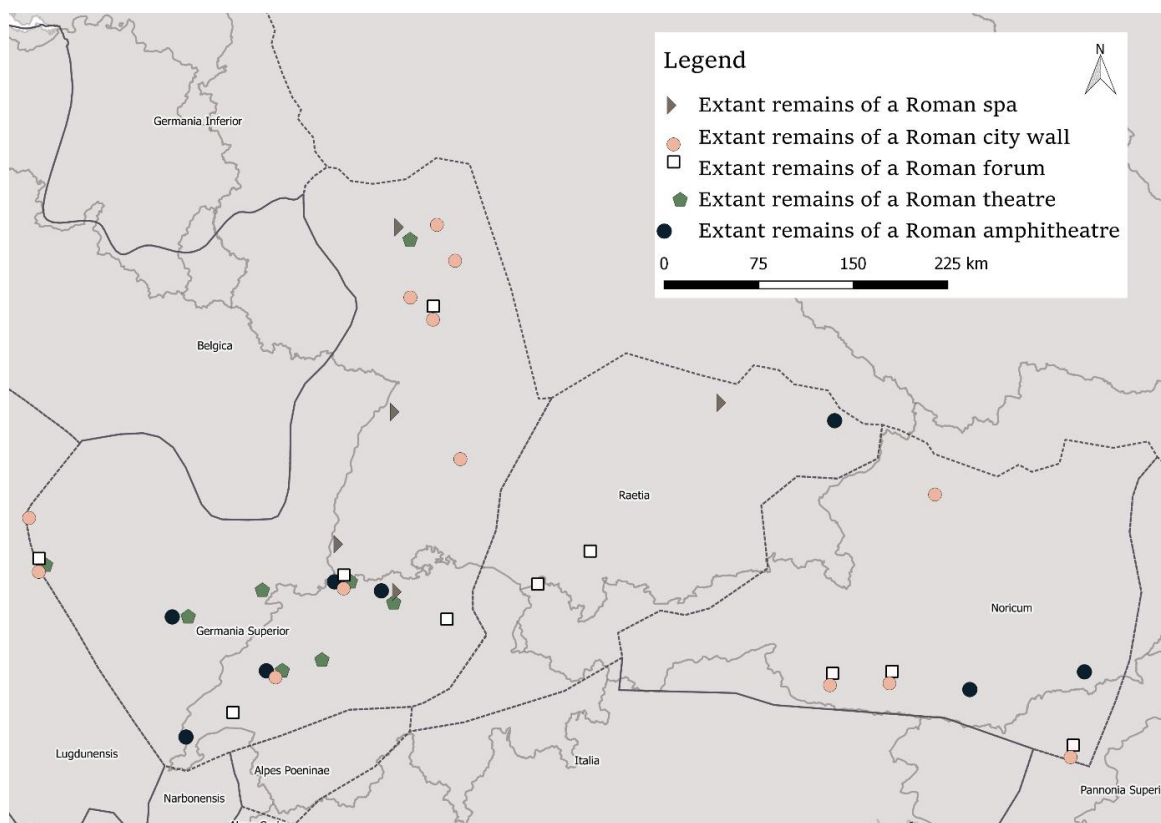


Fig. 6.2: Map showing the Roman buildings of monumental architecture with extant remains

Table 6.3: Museums related to Roman centres				
	Modern name	Ancient name	Website(s) and sources consulted	Last visit
1	Augsburg	Augusta Vindelicum	❖ http://www.augsburg.de/kultur/museen-galerien/roemisches-museum/	23.8.2016
2	Augst	Augusta Raurica	❖ http://www.augustaurica.ch/	19.06.2017
3	Avenches	Aventicum	❖ http://www.avenicum.org/index.php/fr/	25.10.2016
4	Baden-Baden	Aquae	❖ http://www.baden-baden.de/tourist-information/sehenswuerdigkeiten/roemische-badruinen/ ❖ http://www.carasana.de/de/roemische-badruinen	26.10.2016 26.10.2016
5	Bad Wimpfen	Vicus Alisinensium	❖ http://www.badwimpfen.de/kultur-veranstaltungen/museen-und-ausstellungen/historisches-museum.html	26.10.2016
6	Bern	Brenodurum	❖ http://www.bhm.ch/ ❖ https://www.probrenodor.ch/ ❖ personal e-mail correspondance with Vanessa Haussener of the Historical Musuem of Bern	13.1.2017 25.1.2017 23.1.2017
7	Besançon	Vesontio	❖ http://multimedia.inrap.fr/atlas/besancon/ ❖ http://www.mbaa.besancon.fr/les-collections/archeologie/	10.6.2017
8	Bregenz	Brigantium	❖ http://www.vorarlbergmuseum.at/	2.9.2016
9	Brumath	Brucomagus	❖ http://www.brumath.fr/mairie-brumath/loisirs-detente-musee-archeologique.html ❖ http://brumath.shabe.free.fr/index.html	26.10.2016 26.10.2016
10	Celje	Celeia	❖ https://www.pokmuz-ce.si/en	29.8.2016
11	Chur	Curia	❖ http://www.churtourismus.ch/ ❖ http://www.chur.ch/	13.1.2017
12	Dieburg	Med (?)	❖ http://www.dieburg.de/index.php/museum-kultur-100	26.10.2016
13	Enns	Lauriacum	❖ http://www.museum-lauriacum.at	10.6.2017

14	Frankfurt	Nida	❖ http://www.archaeologisches-museum.frankfurt.de/	6.9.2016
15	Kempten	Cambodunum	❖ http://www.apc-kempten.de/	25.8.2016
16	Ladenburg	Lopodunum	❖ http://www.m-ladenburg.de/Sehenswuerdigkeit.php?id=71&language= ❖ http://www.lobdengau-museum.de/	7.9.2016 7.9.2016
17	Langres	Andemantunum	❖ http://www.musees-langres.fr/	26.10.2016
18	Lienz	Aguntum	❖ http://www.aguntum.info/?home	26.8.2016
19	Mainz	Mogontiacum	❖ www.mainz.de/kultur-und-wissenschaft/stadtgeschichte/roemisches-mainz.php ❖ http://web.rgzm.de/museen/roemisch-germanisches-zentralmuseum-mainz	5.9.2016 5.9.2016
20	Magdalensberg		❖ http://www.landesmuseum.ktn.gv.at/210227_DE-LMK-Museen.?ausstellung=2	25.8.2016
21	Mandeure	Epamanduodurum	❖ http://www.patrimoine-pays-de-montbeliard.fr/ ❖ http://www.agglo-montbeliard.fr/culture-et-patrimoine/patrimoine/le-theatre-gallo-romain-de-mandeure.html ❖ https://vimeo.com/31022535 ❖ https://vimeo.com/31022783 ❖ https://vimeo.com/31023383	26.10.2016
22	Nyon	Julia Equestris	❖ http://mrn.ch/	25.10.2016
23	Öhringen	vicus Aurelianus	❖ http://www.limes-cicerones.de/ ❖ http://weygang-museum.de/	26.10.2016 26.10.2016
24	Salzburg	Iuvavum	❖ http://www.salzburgmuseum.at/	23.6.2016
25	Schleitheim	Juliomagus	❖ http://www.museum-schleitheim.ch/juliomagus.htm	25.10.2016
26	Speyer	Noviomagus	❖ http://www.museum.speyer.de/	12.9.2016
27	St. Peter in Holz	Teurnia	❖ http://www.landesmuseum.ktn.gv.at/210227_DE-LMK-Museen.?ausstellung=3	25.8.2016
28	St. Polten	Cetium	❖ http://www.stadtmuseum-stpoelten.at/STADTMUSEUM	10.6.2017
29	Strasbourg	Argentorate	❖ https://www.musees.strasbourg.eu/musee-archeologique	10.6.2017
30	Riegel		❖ http://www.museum-riegel.de/	9.9.2016
31	Rottenburg	Sumelocenna	❖ http://www.rottenburg.de/sixcms/detail.php?id=49255&lnav=49255	26.10.2016
32	Rottweil	Arae Flavia	❖ http://www.dominikanermuseum.de/	25.10.2016
33	Wagna	Flavia Solva	❖ https://www.museum-joanneum.at/en/roman-museum-flavia-solva	26.8.2016
34	Wels	Ovilavis	❖ http://www.ooemuseumsverbund.at/museum/274_stadtmuseum_wels_-_minoriten_archaeologische_sammlung	31.8.2016
35	Wiesbaden	Aquae Mattiacorum	❖ http://www.wiesbaden.de/microsite/sam/index.php	8.9.2016
36	Windisch	Vindonissa	❖ https://www.ag.ch/de/bks/kultur/museen_schlösser/vindonissa_museum/vindonissa_museum.jsp	10.6.2017
37	Worms	Borbetumagus	❖ http://www.worms.de/de/tourismus/museen/museum-der-stadt/	12.9.2016
38	Zollfeld	Virunum	❖ http://www.landesmuseum.ktn.gv.at/210225_DE	10.6.2016

Based on the descriptions of the permanent exhibitions of these Roman towns on the websites of the associated museums, nine frequently cited themes could be indentified around which the story of the Roman towns often seems to have been created. These themes include: 'city foundation', 'military life', 'trade', 'crafts', 'traffic', 'gods and religion', 'everyday life', 'art' and 'death and afterlife'.⁸⁸⁶ The chart below (Fig. 6.3) indicates that the topic of 'everyday life' is most popular, since it was mentioned 21 times in total for all the different museum presentations. Also, the themes of 'art' (11), 'crafts' (12), 'gods and religion' (15), 'military life' (12) and 'city foundation' (8) turn out to be often part of the story. As discussed in previous chapters, for many places the presence of the Roman army and the city foundation were of course heavily intertwined. 'Trade', 'traffic' and aspects of 'death and afterlife' are generally mentioned less frequently as separate themes. Nevertheless, these topics may be more present than shown in this graph, since they fit in with other topics, such as 'crafts' or 'gods and religion'. Furthermore, different aspects of Roman history seem to be emphasized for the different types of Roman centres. As illustrated in the graph, the topic of 'gods and religion' (9) in addition to 'everyday life' (10) form an important part of the story created around the artefacts and sites of (*civitas*) centres. In the case of the four *coloniae*, it seems that mainly 'crafts' (2) and 'art' (2) are substantial components of the presentation. The museums dealing with *municipia* highlight a mix of these themes, including 'everyday life' (8), 'gods and religion' (4) and 'military life' (2). The museums dealing with *legionary forts* highlight a mix of these themes, including 'everyday life' (2), 'gods and religion' (1) and 'military life' (1). The museums dealing with *total* highlight a mix of these themes, including 'everyday life' (21), 'gods and religion' (15), 'crafts' (12), 'military life' (12), 'art' (11) and 'city foundation' (8).

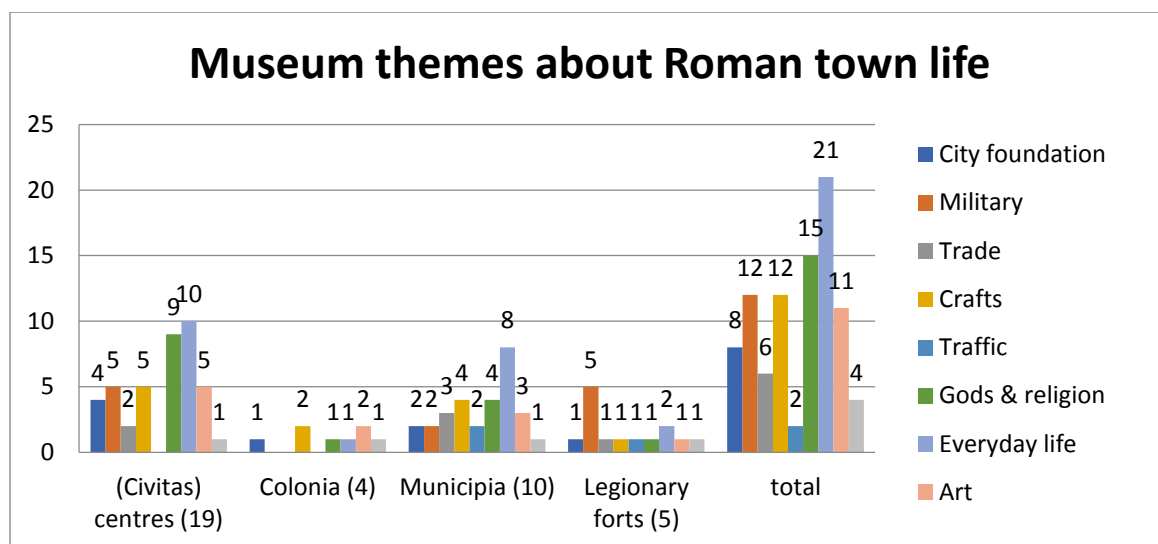


Fig.6.3: Chart showing the themes present in museum exhibitions (n= 38) of Roman urban centres

In short, one can conclude that there are plenty of remains still standing and even more artefacts on display that form a great base from which to create a story about Roman towns and centres. Nevertheless, there are some questions that can be raised. Are the physical remains of these centres utilised in the most benefitting way for both archaeology and present-day society? Does the story presented contain enough variation? Or is the story written and told by the right authors? In the next section points of attention important in the Critical Heritage Discourse will be tested against the common heritage practice regarding the Roman past.

⁸⁸⁶ Only the permanent collections and exhibitions have been included; the subjects of temporary expositions are not treated.

6.3 An overly passive role for heritage

It is generally agreed that archaeological remains without a function, and isolated from the urban fabric, lose their historical and societal value.⁸⁸⁷ Unused heritage has no utility or value.⁸⁸⁸

The reuse of buildings, infrastructures and remnants of former times is nevertheless a centuries old natural process. Transforming existing buildings, changing their function or use was a common practice since the Medieval period, if not earlier.⁸⁸⁹ This natural costume in which that what existed was reused, came to a halt with the admiration of Antiquity, especially from the 19th century onwards. This resulted in the dismantling of additions or alterations to ancient monuments dating to a later period as well as in an increase of the isolation of ancient remnants and of protective concrete covers.⁸⁹⁰ A large proportion of the Roman urban monuments in the northern Alpine region are indeed still extant due to markings or partial reconstructions with modern materials (Table 6.4, a-m). The amphitheatres of *Julia Equestris*; *Flavia Solva*, *Vesontio*, *Virunum* and *Quintana* are all visualised with the help of modern materials. These include asphalt, as for example in *Flavia Solva*, or concrete such as in *Virunum*. The wooden amphitheatre discovered in Künzing, belonging to the Roman garrison settlement *Quintana*, has now been re-raised in the form of a timber construction which outlines the dimensions of the temporary spectacle building.⁸⁹¹ There are many more examples. The outline of the Roman theatre in Bern was set in concrete and after the excavations in the Roman theatre in Mainz were finished, the *cavea* was re-erected with modern materials.⁸⁹² In Augst a framework represent the shape of the *forum* temple and in Kempraten a pillar and some stairs have been built to give an impression of the Roman *forum*.⁸⁹³ If defensive walls are reconstructed in the northern Alpine region, these walls are generally of the *muris gallicus* type, such as in Alise St. Reine and Vertillum.⁸⁹⁴ Sometimes the Roman remains are not reconstructed or rebuilt but marked with different material in the street or pavement surface, as for example in Baden-Baden. The contours of one of the three Roman spa complexes here, the so-called *Soldatenthermen*, are highlighted with black stones on the modern market square.⁸⁹⁵ Some house blocks of Roman Kempten lie beneath modern living quarters. In the modern *Cambodunumweg* the Roman street plan has been marked with cobbled stones between the asphalt. The floor plans of the Roman houses and pottery kilns excavated in the court-yard of the Salzburg museum are now also represented with light pink tiles within the white floored patio.

⁸⁸⁷ Hellerstöröm, Hökerberg and Klynne 2009, 216-217.

⁸⁸⁸ Jones 2009b, 137.

⁸⁸⁹ Plevoets and Van Cleempoel 2011, 155-156.

⁸⁹⁰ Millett 2007, 31-35; Federici 2011, 37.

⁸⁹¹ Visited by author during the Limes Congress in 2015.

⁸⁹² Bern: Tabel 6.3 (6); Mainz: Google Earth (last visited 19/6/2017).

⁸⁹³ Augst: Tabel 6.3 (2) Kempten: Website: Roman sites in Switzerland.

⁸⁹⁴ Alesia: Website: Alesia.; Website Vertillum.

⁸⁹⁵ Meyr 2012, 52.

Table 6.4: Modern markings and reconstructions of Roman monumental buildings

	
a) Amphitheatre of Julia Equestris/Nyon	b) Amphitheatre of Flavia Solva/Wagna
	
c) Amphitheatre of Vesontio/Besançon	d) Amphitheatre of Quintana/Künzing
	
e) Theatre of Brenodorum/Bern	f) Theatre of Mogontiacum/Mainz
	
g) Forum Augusta Raurica/ Augst	h) Forum Centrum Prata/ Kempraten
	
i) Murus gallicus Alesia/ Alise st. Reine	j) Murus gallicus Vertillum
	
k) Spa complex Aquae/Baden-Baden	l) Roman street plan beneath the Cambodunumweg in Kempten



These markings and reconstructions can also be considered as attempts to visualise the historic stratification of a place.⁸⁹⁶ In Augsburg, one has opted for another strategy and created 'archaeological areas' in the town where some remnants of the Roman period are either displayed or left uncovered. Also the archaeological city walks offered by certain municipalities, such as Ladenburg, Frankfurt-Heddernheim and Wels pursue the binding of the historic layers.⁸⁹⁷ It is indeed believed that the integration of heritage and of archaeological monuments within the urban planning helps to revitalise urban, sub-urban and non-urban places. If urban layers from different epochs can be read, interpreted and integrated into architecture and urban planning, opportunities will be created to give a deeper meaning to the urban landscape and its spaces.

The integration of cultural heritage into urban design and other pursuits for contemporary and future living space, such as sustainable development, requires an interdisciplinary dialogue between fields amongst which architecture and archaeology.⁸⁹⁸ Since the second half of the 20th century adaptive reuse has become an common practice for the conservation of cultural heritage, or so it is written.

The majority of the remnants of Roman towns, however, function currently as monuments. During an evaluation of archaeological heritage in Rome, scholars at the Swedish Institute of Rome made the observation that plenty of ancient relicts in the town are preserved as a monument but are also often closed off from public use, amongst which the remains along the *Via Tiburtina* and in particular the *Porta Tiburtina*. This heritage remains thus with only documentary value, meaning that its function is reduced to that of an object for study.⁸⁹⁹ There are plenty of such examples to take from the northern Alpine region too.

Table 6.5: The current different functions of Roman urban monuments

	Original Function	Archaeological site/monument/museum	New function
Theatres	1	5	1
Fora	/	10	/
Heilthermen	/ (3?)	5	/
Walls	/ (2?)	10	1
Total	1 (7?)	35	2

Table 6.5 shows that a large majority of the remains of the Roman monumental buildings discussed earlier today perform the function of an archaeological site or monument. This includes both remains which are still visible in the street view of today's urban centres as well as monuments in the countryside or archaeological parks. One can think of the amphitheatres in Augst, Nyon, Windisch and Zollfeld, the theatres in Avenches and Bern, the *forum* in Kempten or the remains of the Roman city wall in Augst, Rottenburg or Wels, to name but a few. The site of *Aguntum* for example, lies 4 km

⁸⁹⁶ Federici 2011, 40.

⁸⁹⁷ The city walk in Frankfurt-Heddernheim and Wels concentrate specifically on the Roman period.

⁸⁹⁸ Bjur 2009, 32-33; Hellerstörn, Hökerberg and Klynne 2009, 211; 216-217; Plevvoets and Van Cleempoel 2011, 155-156; 162.

⁸⁹⁹ Hellerstörn, Hökerberg and Klynne 2009, 211.

east of modern Lienz and is the only Roman town in the region of Tirol.⁹⁰⁰ In this environment one could suggest that the conservation of the site entails unique values from both educative and research perspectives.

According to F. Federici and other authors, it is, however, highly desirable to think past that obvious function of monument or museum.⁹⁰¹ Sometimes the remnants are again used in a similar way as in ancient times. The Roman amphitheatres in Avenches and Windisch, and the theatre in Augst are these days used again as venues for spectacles and cultural events, such as concerts. One could argue that the Roman baths, lying underneath the modern ones, such as in Baden and Wiesbaden also still fulfill their original function, just as the still standing parts of the city walls in Avenches and Worms. Where it is not possible to reuse the ancient infrastructures in the same way, these remnants should perhaps more often be given a new function in order to reintegrate them into the contemporary context. In the northern Alpine region, only rarely is a new function given to these remains, allowing an active use of this heritage and one that supports their current context. The only two known examples attested both come from the same city, namely Besançon, where the remains of the Roman amphitheatre of *Vesontio* are now the surroundings of a car park and the remains of the Roman theatre form the setting of a small park. According to F. Federici, we should think of a wide variation of possible functions for archaeological remnants to host, such as libraries, documentation centres, concert halls, bases for associations, recreation domains, or locations for social events or for art expositions.⁹⁰² With this in mind, it seems fair to state that the wooden framework recaling the amphitheatre of *Quintana*, for example, does not create any functions for that area within the modern village of Künzing. With all good intentions from an heritage perspective, one ought possibly to have thought about a combined functionality of the space, such as the construction of a football pitch or playground surrounded by benches within the wooden frameworkss of the amphitheatre.

6.4 An overly passive role for the public

Although the role of the public is generally endorsed, both in the academic literature, as well as in international heritage conventions, the nature of participation ascribed to the public remains rather passive.⁹⁰³ It is one of the key points cited in the critical heritage studies regarding the Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD). As L. Smith and E. Waterton wrote: *'Individuals and interest groups outside the professional sector are rarely acknowledged as playing any sort of active role in the defining, conserving and maintenance of heritage and are instead characterised as audience, visitor or consumer.'*⁹⁰⁴ Carman described it as a contradiction within the concept of 'public interest', advocated in the global system of heritage management, that the public generally does not have access to the heritage, or to the policy decisions regarding heritage, its research, its safeguarding, maintenance or repurposing.⁹⁰⁵ Generally being excluded from the archaeological process, the public all too often has to be satisfied with a product derived from the archaeological research, which C. Tilley has described as a 'dry and tasteless cake'.⁹⁰⁶

Skeates describes it as a great challenge to overcome these problems, and especially to translate the trends of the academic debate into widespread practice.⁹⁰⁷ Also regarding the heritage experience of the Roman centres, the public generally appears to play a passive role. This is most likely partly facilitated by the dominant 'documentary value' ascribed to the majority of the Roman remains,

⁹⁰⁰ Mitterer and Pöll 2016, 42-43.

⁹⁰¹ Federici 2011, 40.

⁹⁰² Ibid., 40.

⁹⁰³ Skeates 2000, 84-85.

⁹⁰⁴ Smith and Waterton 2009, 29-30.

⁹⁰⁵ Carman 2003, 108.

⁹⁰⁶ Tilley 2008, 76.

⁹⁰⁷ Skeates 2000, 123.

which makes the archaeological remains distant and untouchable for the wider public. Also, the museum exhibits mostly allow acquaintance with the Roman past via educational and teaching means, despite the efforts made to make exhibitions and guiding tours more interactive.

In the 38 museums that have been investigated, a wide variation of methods and media has been consulted to spread the story of Roman centres. The most evident one is that of the classical museum exposition. Nevertheless, with the resources available, the majority of these museums tries to present the objects and artefacts of the Roman history on display in a way that is in line with the contemporary living world and experience of their visitors. The description of the museum of the legionary centre of *Vindonissa* illustrates this attempt: *“Die permanente Ausstellung ist nach aktuellen Grundsätzen der Museologie neu konzipiert worden.”*⁹⁰⁸ During the course of this research, some museums were even closed because of renovation works, such as the museums in Schliethelm (closed until May 2017), in Besançon (closed until 2018), in Augsburg (already closed since 2012) and the museum in Enns (closed since January 2017).

Additionally, almost all museums provide guided tours. In some cases the museum is supported by historical and archaeological associations, whose members conduct volunteering work such as giving guided tours. The Swiss associations of Pro Brenodor and Pro Vindonissa are two such examples.⁹⁰⁹ Depending on the museum, guided tours are either always available or have to be booked in advance. A minority of the museums, which includes that of Rottweil, Rottenburg and Worms, also provide guided tours at fixed intervals, such as every fourth Sunday of the month.⁹¹⁰ The museums of Frankfurt, Mainz and Wiesbaden also organise periodical tours, even combining them with a programme specifically for families, including workshops for children.⁹¹¹ Elsewhere, museums try to supplement their exhibitions with modern technology. The museum of Augst, for example, has created an app called ‘Rendre visible l’invisible’.⁹¹²

According to T. Copeland the traditional presentation management in most cases remains ‘deficient’, since the individual experience still does not constitute self-learning and self-participation through exploration. His view is that the information in museums is still too provocative and not instructive enough. Improved ways of presenting archaeology takes into account the participation of the public and allow for multiple possible readings and experiences of the past by different audiences.⁹¹³

The ideas of the constructivist approach are, however, gradually finding acceptance. In the archaeological literature, the concept of an archaeological park is often described as an excellent option for heritage management, with its possibilities and shortcomings.⁹¹⁴ The project of the archaeological park of *Viminacium* on the Danube⁹¹⁵ aimed to revive the archaeological remains and develop its function as a tourist attraction through a combination of science and education, recreation and cultural development. This proved to be a successful strategy, based on the high number of visitors, as well as the economic incentives created for the region since the opening of the park.⁹¹⁶ However, these positive outcomes do not entirely fulfil the project’s aim of public engagement. As discussed earlier, within public engagement the public is involved not only in using the site, but also in its creation including the processes of decision-making on excavation, preservation and presentation. It is on these particular elements that the reporting remains unclear.

⁹⁰⁸ Table 6.3 (36).

⁹⁰⁹ Table 6.3 (6).

⁹¹⁰ Rottweil: Table 6.3 (32); Rottenburg: Table 6.3 (31); Worms: Table 6.3 (37).

⁹¹¹ Frankfurt: Table 6.3 (14); Mainz: Table 6.3 (19); Wiesbaden: Table 6.3 (36).

⁹¹² Table 6.3 (2).

⁹¹³ Copeland 2004, 135-137.

⁹¹⁴ Golubovic and Korac 2013, 55-73; Mitterer and Pöll 2016, 42-43.

⁹¹⁵ *Viminacium* was not located within the northern Alpine region, but belonged to the Roman province of Moesia.

⁹¹⁶ Golubovic and Korac 2013, 66; 72.

Another archaeological open-air museum is that of the *Porta Praetoria* of the legionary fort of *Vindonissa* in modern Windisch. Visitors to this site are encouraged to make their own interpretation of the past. Whilst in earlier times representations of the Roman military site aimed to show the public as correct as possible a version of the ancient situation, the design is now different. Visitors are informed about the archaeological practices and the changing approaches over time. Furthermore, the public is stimulated to be critical and to make their own interpretation of the Roman history of Windisch based on the current state of research.⁹¹⁷ This new design is thus a successful example of multivocality in which every interpretation and presentation of the past is explained as a temporary construction, created by the contemporary society. The understanding of history becomes then neither universal, sustainable nor authoritative.⁹¹⁸

It seems that plenty of room is left for improvement regarding the involvement of the public in heritage management. Nevertheless, the kaleidoscopic constellation of the public constitutes a fundamental difficulty in the realisation of complete public involvement, due to the many and diverse interests of the stakeholder groups. Nevertheless, as the example of *Porta Praetoria* in Windisch shows, a new approach allows certain responsibilities to be passed on to the heritage user, not least the making of a personal interpretation.

6.5 An UNESCO World Heritage Site: Frontiers of the Roman Empire

So far, the discussion has focused on the heritage of Roman urban and civilian places. From previous chapters, however, it became clear that the frontier and the many garrison settlements along it also played an important role in the settlement systems of the northern Alpine region. It is, therefore, beneficial to look at their management as well. I decided to discuss the military sites at the Roman frontier separately, because, prompted by the '*Frontiers of the Roman Empire*' (FRE) project, the Frontier of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site is now included in the UNESCO World Heritage List, giving this heritage a separate status.

I will first give a short description of the project, followed by a short introduction of the World Heritage Site of the Upper German-Raetian Limes. I will then discuss some of the realisations of the FRE project towards public outreach and engagement. Finally a short evaluation will follow in which again some observations are made on the presentation of this official heritage in the light of the general trends in heritage management discussed in previous sections of this chapter.

6.5.1. What did the Frontiers of the Roman Empire project entail?

The *Frontiers of the Roman Empire* started as a European Culture 2000 project in 2005.⁹¹⁹ Encompassing several European partner countries, amongst which Austria, Germany, Hungary, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Poland and the UK, this multinational project aimed to encourage archaeologists 'to extend and deepen their existing relationships and collaborations concerning the Roman frontiers'.⁹²⁰ Parts of this ancient border are preserved in different countries in Europe, the Middle East and North Africa. Standards and traditions in the care of these ancient remains have been different across the individual countries. Hadrian's Wall in the UK was already declared a World Heritage Site (WHS) in 1987. In 2005, the stretch of the Upper German-Raetian Limes was also recognised. There is no intention to put an end to the variety of approaches within frontier management, but an overarching framework seemed desirable.⁹²¹

⁹¹⁷ Trumm and Flück 2013, 55; 56-60.

⁹¹⁸ Skeates 2000, 89; Lowenthal 2004, 26-27.

⁹¹⁹ Breeze 2008a, 5.

⁹²⁰ Ibid., 5; Breeze and Jilek 2008a, 7.

⁹²¹ Sommer 2008a, 129; Breeze *et al.* 2013, 16.

This project had two main aims to inform the public about the frontiers of the Roman Empire, and to improve the research on and, the documentation of Roman frontiers, resulting in a more complete database. The latter should also enhance the levels of information that could be made available to a wider audience. These main objectives of the project were supported by the following activities:⁹²²

- the creation of a web-portal⁹²³
- a series of exhibitions on Roman Frontiers
- the improvement of documentation on Roman Frontiers⁹²⁴
- the formulation of guidelines relating to the protection, preservation, management, presentation and interpretation of Roman military sites.⁹²⁵

While the Frontiers of the Roman Empire project came to an end in 2008, its long-term aim, namely to have all appropriate preserved elements of the Roman frontiers listed as part of the Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site (WHS), continues to the present day.⁹²⁶ This transnational site will eventually entail more than 20 nations and cover some 5,000 km.⁹²⁷ The Frontier of the Roman Empire Site is taken to mean *“the Roman line(s) of the frontier at the height of the Empire from Trajan to Septimius Severus (AD 100-200), and military installations of different periods which are on that line. These installations can include fortresses, forts, towers, the limes road, artificial barriers and immediately associated civil structures”*.⁹²⁸

Since 2008 the Antonine Wall in Scotland has also been recorded as part of the Site.⁹²⁹ Archaeologists in Austria, Hungary, Slovakia and Croatia have for the last few years been busy having their stretches of the Roman frontier nominated. A joint application between the Netherlands and Germany to include the Lower Rhine frontier in the area already classified as World Heritage Site is currently being prepared.⁹³⁰ The changing policy of UNESCO towards serial sites has, however, impeded these processes.⁹³¹

A World Heritage Site is protected by UNESCO under the World Heritage Convention of 1972, because of outstanding universal value.⁹³² From an academic perspective the Roman frontiers are believed worthy of being protected and preserved for future generations because of their transnational cultural and research values. Moreover, these frontiers are considered common heritage. The Roman frontiers have left traces in the current landscape, connecting many countries. These frontiers also represent the definition of the Empire as a world state and are commonly seen as defining elements for the development of successor states to the Roman Empire, perhaps not least Europe itself. The Roman frontiers are considered of high significance for illustrating the complexity and the organisational abilities of the Roman Empire. Furthermore, these frontiers are seen as instruments through which ancient Greek and Roman culture was spread within and beyond the borders of the Empire. The history of the frontiers of the Roman Empire is furthermore also viewed as complementary to the World Heritage Sites of the many Roman cities, amongst which Rome, Pompeii (Italy), Leptis Magna (N. Africa), Palmyra, Petra (Asia), Mérida, Tarraco (Spain) or the monuments in Trier (Germany) or Arles and Orange (France).⁹³³

⁹²² Breeze and Jilek 2008a, 7-14.

⁹²³ For more specific literature on the web-portal: Borgulya *et al.* 2008, 15-18.

⁹²⁴ For more concrete literature on this particular goal: Breeze and Jilek 2008c, 57; 71; 75; 79; 99.

⁹²⁵ For more concrete literature on this particular goal: Jilek 2008, 54-55.

⁹²⁶ Breeze and Jilek 2008b, 25.

⁹²⁷ Website: Limes Congress 2015.

⁹²⁸ Breeze, Jilek and Thiel 2005, 22.

⁹²⁹ Jilek 2009, 7; Breeze 2011, 87.

⁹³⁰ Website: Limes Congress 2015.

⁹³¹ Breeze and Jilek 2008b, 25; Macinnes 2015, 379.

⁹³² 2015, 373.

⁹³³ Breeze and Jilek 2008b, 25-27; Breeze and Young 2008, 29-30.

6.5.2 The Upper German-Raetian Limes

Since 2005, the Upper German-Raetian Limes has had the status of World Heritage Site. The Upper German Limes is mainly a land frontier. It starts in the west at Rheinbrohl, consisting of a ditch and/or palissade. From Miltenberg to Lorch at the border with the province of Raetia, the defensive structure consisted of the river Main. The Raetian Limes stretched from Schirenberg to Eining and initially also consisted of a ditch and palissade. During the 2nd century it was converted into a stone wall. Just before reaching Regensburg, the Empire's border turns back into a river frontier with the Danube as marker. The 'Upper German-Raetian Limes' covers 550 km in total and includes about 900 watchtowers and 120 military forts of different kinds.⁹³⁴ The remains of the Upper German-Raetian Limes are the only Roman remains in the northern Alpine region that are recognised as UNESCO World Heritage, the highest recognition of heritage value in the authorised discourse.⁹³⁵

This large site is considered as one protected zone, consisting of linear monuments, such as ditches; earthen ramparts, palisades, walls and roads, as well as of 'heritage islands' including the structures of watch towers, forts, settlements and their immediate environment.⁹³⁶ Similar to the WHS parts of the Antonine Wall and Hadrian's Wall, there are now maps of the 'Upper German-Raetian Limes' available online on the UNESCO Frontiers of the Roman Empire webpage.⁹³⁷ These 25 maps show the German part of the Site as it is registered on the World Heritage List. The WHS property is indicated in red, the so-called buffer zones in blue (Fig. 6.4). The latter include *'the physical extent of the landscape that is visually and perceptibly linked to the perception of the WHS and that can still be practically protected or managed.'*⁹³⁸ These buffer zones also comprise the location of ancient features once part of the Roman frontier but no longer visible, as well as modern reconstructions which have didactical value or which are located on top of the archaeological site.⁹³⁹



Fig. 6.4: Detail of map 2 of the Upper German-Raetian Limes as protected WHS.

⁹³⁴ Website: Limes Congress 2015. and Website: Deutsche Limeskommission.

⁹³⁵ Macinnes 2015, 375.

⁹³⁶ Website: Limes Congress 2015.

⁹³⁷ Website: List UNESCO World Heritage Site.

⁹³⁸ Dower 2008, 113.

⁹³⁹ Jones and Thiel 2008, 101-102; Breeze 2008b, 111.

The Upper German-Raetian Limes is managed by the Deutsche Limeskommission in collaboration with the federal states of Bayern, Hessen, Rheinland-Pfalz and Baden-Württemberg, as well as with the local authorities of the 150 municipalities involved and with landowners.⁹⁴⁰

6.5.3 The realisations of public outreach on the Roman Frontiers

Since the start of the Frontiers of the Roman Empire project in 2005 a better and more intense cooperation between archaeologists from different countries has been achieved. Additionally, the public has better access to information about the Roman frontiers.⁹⁴¹ This is not only because of improved documentation but also because of a joint effort to enhance public outreach and major investments made in museums and in tourism in general.

As written in the project's aims, a web portal was in operation. However, after the end of the project in 2008 this digital information system – which was supposed to provide both the general public and the academic community with information on the Roman frontiers, its research and its documentation – was no longer maintained. The intentions were different: 'Considerable thought was given to the continuing maintenance of the web portal. The concept of the FRE web-application, which was set up with a technical straightforwardness, involves the possibility that in the case of need it can be run with a minimum of funding. In the meantime RCAHMS has agreed to host the FRE web portal and Dr Sonja Jilek, archaeological co-ordinator of the FRE Culture 2000 project, will ensure that the archaeological information is kept up-to-date.'⁹⁴² The disappearance of the web portal has led to a more disparate provision of information. Now, when one does an internet search for 'frontiers of the Roman Empire', many websites designed by international or local work groups, governments and associations appear.⁹⁴³ The web user is left somewhat in limbo regarding where to start or how to connect the different pieces of knowledge.

A DVD was made presenting a 17-minute overview of the monuments and landscapes along the European frontiers. Copies have been distributed to museums as well as to schools. Posters on various topics have been designed for national and international limes presentation⁹⁴⁴ and several booklets have been published (both in paper print and online) providing a general introduction to Roman frontiers and various structures and monuments in different parts of the limes.⁹⁴⁵

Furthermore, investments were made to improve the cultural routes along stretches of the WHS. Similar to the Hadrian's Wall Path, one can now easily explore the Upper German-Raetian Limes by bicycle and on foot.⁹⁴⁶ This is considered a successful way of not only creating awareness around, protecting and preserving the remains but also of reviving and presenting the heritage. It is regarded as an authentic approach to rediscovering the archaeological landscape.⁹⁴⁷ Supporting the use of these routes, and the remains of the Roman frontier in general, an application for mobile devices has been created for the so-called Main Limes, Middle Franconia Limes and the Antonine Wall. These apps provide geo-referenced data, including information spots, videos, audio sequences and photographs as well as information about the museums. Such an application is seen as a handy tool which can help to revive the generally difficult presentation of the remains of this World Heritage Site, all too often destroyed or overbuilt, and consequently not visible on the ground. Moreover,

⁹⁴⁰ Macinnes 2015, 377-378. Website: Deutsche Limeskommission.

⁹⁴¹ Breeze and Jilek 2008a, 14.

⁹⁴² Borgulya *et al.* 2008, 17.

⁹⁴³ Websites such as: www.unesco.org; www.romanfrontier.eu; www.antoninewall.org; www.deutsch-limeskommission.de; www.romeinselimes.nl; www.limes-oesterreich.at.

⁹⁴⁴ Breeze and Jilek 2008a, 8.

⁹⁴⁵ Breeze, Jilek and Thiel 2005; Breeze *et al.* 2008; Jilek 2009; Breeze *et al.* 2013.

⁹⁴⁶ Website: Limesstrasse.

⁹⁴⁷ Breeze and Jilek 2008a, 9; Datow-Enslin 2013, 32; 34; Walda 2014, 209-224.

these applications can provide a link between the physical remains, the archaeological sites and the artefacts exhibited in the many museums along the Roman frontier.⁹⁴⁸

Moreover, these museums are considered key elements for the presentation of the Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site. Although the finds and artefacts exhibited in museums are not part of the protected monument of this World Heritage Site, local museums can, in addition to presenting a general overview of the limes, highlight specific aspects of it or exceptional finds. This allows them to contribute to the contextualisation of the remnants of the frontier installations. These museums and the finds on display should therefore be acknowledged as an 'integral and inseparable part' of this entire Frontiers of the Roman Empire Site.⁹⁴⁹

That the archaeological sites and museums along the Roman frontier have been benefitting from the WHS project is expressed in the recent management measurements taken concerning their presentation and their museum exhibitions, equipped with modern materials and technological support. The following examples are taken from the of Upper German-Raetian Limes.

Within the *Investitionsprogramm* 2012-2013 of the national UNESCO World Heritage Site the presentation of the remains of the north-eastern tower of the Roman fort *Celeusum* in Pförring was given a complete new lay-out. A steel framework visualised the silhouette of the former gate. The construction gives an image of what the tower might have looked like and offers a visitors platform providing a good overview of the environment.⁹⁵⁰ The museums and archaeological parks in Aalen, Eining, Künzing, Dalkingen or Rainau, to name but a few, were all modernised within the context of the Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site.

After becoming an administrative centre of the UNESCO World Heritage Site in the region of Stuttgart, the museum and the exhibition on the Roman period in Welzheim were completely refurbished. In the county of Ansbach, the documentation centre of Ruffenhofen performs that function of administrative centre. The newly opened (2012) LIMESEUM and Roman park were nominated for the European Museum of the Year Award in 2015. With its round shape and enormous glass panorama window, the new museum exhibition provides a different approach to the archaeological site (Fig.6.5). Film and audio recordings aim to bring the everyday life of a Roman soldier in Roman Ruffenhofen back to life, whilst the visitor has a view of both the ancient landscape and the archaeological park. The fort has been rebuilt in miniature form while the structures of the actual remnants have been visualised with plants.⁹⁵¹

Following the nomination of the Upper German-Raetian Limes as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, the visitors centre at the Roman baths in Weissenburg was also redesigned, including a new entrance and reception hall as well as a new didactic concept. To improve the visitor experience, an international team consisting of local experts and members of the Hadrian's Wall Trust designed a new concept for the museum based upon their experiences on visitors' behaviour and living world. This led to the creation of an information wall and 3D animated film that now supplements the exhibition of the Roman archaeological remains.⁹⁵²

⁹⁴⁸ Dobat, Walkshofer and Flügel 2013, 104; 106; Flügel and Schmidt 2013, 36-37.

⁹⁴⁹ Flügel 2008, 175.

⁹⁵⁰ Häffner and Feulner 2013, 16-17.

⁹⁵¹ Pausch 2013, 22-27.

⁹⁵² Philipp 2013, 22-25.



Fig. 6.5: Photos of the LIMESUEM and the archaeological park in Ruffenhofen.

6.5.4 Influence of the World Heritage Site label

Becoming part of a World Heritage Site can have both positive and adverse effects. In the case of the Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site, one can name numerous positive developments in terms of research, preservation and especially presentation. This has only been possible because of the financial resources made available. Furthermore, because of a common endeavour, a more coordinated and tuned story is created which is promoted in many different countries, via many different media and institutes. These two elements, the financial merit and the shared framework, distinguish this heritage from the general management of archaeological remains of the Roman civil centres discussed in the previous sections. One can only wonder, since the Roman frontiers are seen as a complementary aspect to the history of civil life in antiquity, why within the Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site and its promotional material no more links were created to these other elements of the Roman past. The Limes apps and the bike and hike tours try to integrate remains of the Roman past other than only the military features.⁹⁵³ Nevertheless, the overall image is that instead of one past, two histories are being told; one about the army and the border of the Empire and one about civilian life. The question is: is this not a dichotomy one would ideally want to overcome rather than to promote?

The World Heritage Site of the Roman frontiers has clearly taken shape within the structures of the authorised heritage discourse (AHD). From the description of the realisations made towards public engagement, a clear authorised position of the archaeologist and heritage professional appears. Due to the efforts made, the public now has more access to information and education about the frontiers and the archaeological remains. Nevertheless, the establishment of a dialogue between the experts and the wider public during the creation of this World Heritage Site seems almost completely absent. The interaction with and the involvement of the public thus appear to be a point of attention.

The publication *Presenting the Romans. Interpreting the Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site*⁹⁵⁴ indicates that the way the Roman Frontiers are interpreted and presented to a wider audience is a current concern that is debated and written about. The book includes chapters reflecting on various issues, including media and modern technologies that can support the reconstruction of and the communication about Roman frontiers, such as 3D reconstructions or mobile applications. It is, however, apparent that most contributions writing about ways to engage the public seldom involve any engagement by the public in any part of the process of heritage making and its presentation. In other words, public interpretation and presentation still seem considered as 'for the wider public' and not 'together with the public'.⁹⁵⁵

One should not be too pessimistic. The reconstruction of the Roman watchtower in Limeshain is the result of a project that did invite specialists from other fields and members of the wider public to

⁹⁵³ Datow-Ensling 2013, 32.

⁹⁵⁴ Mills 2013b.

⁹⁵⁵ Spearman 2013, 119.

help with this archaeological experiment. In total, six *Aktionstage* (action days) were held during which interested people were welcomed to help out with taking measurements, excavation, tree cutting, transport of timber and stone, construction work and wood processing. But most of the work was done by specialised craftsmen in collaboration with the local archaeologists.⁹⁵⁶ On the one hand it is amazing that this project welcomed laymen to participate, but on the other hand the experts not only controlled all opportunities for participation, but also the entire process of decision-making.

Finally, there may still be many opportunities to engage this heritage even more in the present, to connect the present with the past and to stimulate critical reflection within our society and amongst its members. P. Stone writes that these frontiers have much to offer to provoke thought.⁹⁵⁷ I wonder if the presentation of the knowledge about the Roman frontiers should not more often respond to present-day political issues in order to encourage that reflection in a more concrete way. The recent climate is favourable. The barriers put up by European countries as a reaction to the current stream of refugees could be a starting point to reflect upon ancient borders. It has been said that the public presentation on the Roman frontiers still has a tendency to avoid broader political, economic and social issues.⁹⁵⁸

6.6 Conclusion and critical reflection

The central theme of this chapter was to gain a better understanding of the preservation conditions of the remains of Roman centres and their use and interpretation as heritage. Although the analysis only focused on a selection of the different layers of the settlement system, some general trends can be perceived and observations can be made.

Within the wide field of heritage, a clear movement is taking place which is changing the perspectives on the contents and the practice of heritage. In general, heritage is increasingly regarded as a process whereby the heritage is made by people and not so much by material culture itself. Heritage has little or no intrinsic value itself; it receives its appraisal through its societal context. Criticism is expressed on the authoritative position that heritage professionals have given themselves in terms of access to and use of the heritage. There is therefore a strong pursuit of a more constructive and inclusive heritage approach in which an active role is delegated to the public and in which the use and the functionality of the heritage are optimised. These ideas are slowly beginning to leave the ivory tower of the academic world and being implemented in both international treaties and more every day practice. These tendencies are also visible within the archaeological field, as for example in the growing attention towards a more constructive and multivocal public archaeology.

The analysis of the preservation and presentation of the remains of the Roman centres in the northern Alpine region shows many nice initiatives. Nevertheless, there still seems space to realise more dialogue with the public regarding the management of these Roman remains and the function they can perform in current and future society.

The analysis showed first of all, that of every different type of Roman urban monument discussed, including amphitheatres, theatres, *fora*, city walls and spa complexes, several examples still exist today within the northern Alpine region. The state in which they are preserved varies greatly; many are only excavated foundations, while others are still standing at several metres in height. The way these monuments are presented to the public varies equally, buried, marked or (partly) reconstructed. A clear outcome of this overview is that the majority of these Roman remains are considered and approached as heritage monuments, archaeological sites or parks. Only occasionally

⁹⁵⁶ Becker and Lindenthal 2013, 26-31.

⁹⁵⁷ Stone 2013, xiii.

⁹⁵⁸ Mills 2013a, 1 (point 5).

do these remains either perform their original function or they are given a new function. Such an approach - in which such remains are protected or presented as monuments - unfortunately isolates the heritage from its current societal surroundings, does not invite people to participate in the heritage-making and limits its functions and applications. Being left with only so-called 'document value' even endangers the heritage.

Moreover, the analysis has demonstrated that museums are seeking appropriate and new ways of bringing the story of Roman towns to a wider public. The museums are creative in their attempts to attract the public to their exhibitions and try to make use of the new technologies available.

The analysis also showed that the story of these Roman centres told at archaeological sites or associated museums entails many facets, ranging from art to town foundation, but the theme of 'everyday life' appears most popular. According to D. Callebaut, it is highly important that the story about the past is adjusted to the frame of reference of visitors, a challenge that the theme of everyday life certainly allows.⁹⁵⁹ A few topics related to Roman town life seem, in relation to the content of the five previous chapters of this thesis, rather absent in this popular version of that history. What it meant to be a Roman town in terms of politics and administration seems perhaps an underexposed facet. Also, the dynamics and relations between different towns or between centres and their hinterland come across as less common themes, despite the attention given to these topics within academic research. That most exhibitions present the history and the artefacts from only one specific place may partly explain the absence of these perspectives. It might nevertheless be a challenge for both academics and museum curators to think about how to bring the more analytic research on Roman towns to the public. The project created around the World Heritage Site of the Frontiers of the Roman Empire focusses mainly on the military side of history and the associated remains. It feels like a missed opportunity that the project did not evoke more synthesizing work concerning the dynamics between the frontier and the Roman occupation farther inland.

The case of the Frontiers of the Roman Empire (FRE) gave a good illustration of what recognition as World Heritage Site makes possible in terms of both research and public outreach because of more financial resources. Nevertheless, it can maybe be said that, despite the great realisations, such as the improved documentation and the various media through which the public can now get access to the remains of the Roman frontier, chances for a more actively involved public within the creation of the Site have not been fully taken or explored. From this point of view, one could say that within this World Heritage Site project the authorised heritage discourse is still dominant.

A frequently recurring stumbling block cited in the literature is the minimalistic effort made to get to know the public, who they are, what their background is, how they experience and how they interpret the archaeological heritage.⁹⁶⁰ Inviting the public into the heritage process may include the exercise of a more bottom-up approach relating to archaeological practice and interpretation.⁹⁶¹ This seems to be a difficult exercise, in particular because the public is as diverse as the number of individuals it consists of. The public is a group of people with endless different affinities with different aspects of heritage, with different experiences, different needs and interests. One could therefore argue that a multivocal public heritage experience or archaeology is impossible to realise. I think nevertheless, that the attempts made and especially the various local initiatives prove differently. If we adopt a very local and situational approach towards heritage, I believe the ideals of the Critical Heritage Study are more feasible than they seem at first. Public heritage management is therefore contextually bounded, unique and changeable. The role of heritage professionals and archaeologists can currently still be called largely authoritative, since they create the heritage,

⁹⁵⁹ Callebaut 2004, 18.

⁹⁶⁰ Skeates 2000, 117; Merriman 2004, 8, 10; Carman 2003, 163-164.

⁹⁶¹ 2003, 108; Jones 2013, 163-164.

provide the interpretation and presentation and guide active amateurs.⁹⁶² As heritage professionals, we are facing the challenge of trying to move towards a more intermediate position in which we can stimulate and interest the public (including ourselves) in the exploration of what heritage is, how to approach and experience it and what we want to learn from it.

⁹⁶² 2013, 167.