

Chapter 10

Museumification of Historical Centres: the Case of Frankfurt Altstadt Reconstruction

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Abstract The modernisation of Frankfurt's destroyed Altstadt, followed by the gradual formation of a skyline nearby, were both results of a post-war decision that rejected reconstruction as a common solution. Current planning and image-making in Frankfurt takes a major turn; alongside the dominant image of an important global player, implementation of a certain replica of destroyed medieval city is underway. The focus on this specific case aims to bring understanding to the museumification of urban centres as a phenomenon driven by the interests of competing present-day agendas. The revival of the historical Altstadt in Frankfurt certainly raises some threats, such as commodification of culture, museumification of heritage, production of themed public spaces, and overall touristification. However, this intervention is also an opportunity to soften established negative image of cold financial metropolis, enrich diversity of public spaces, create identification point for local residents, and finally make Frankfurt more visible on tourist maps.

Keywords: Frankfurt Altstadt; city image; urban tourism; museumification of heritage; touristification

10.1 Introduction

As a result of numerous phenomena associated with the era of neo-liberal globalization, many authors generally agree on the opinion that history and past became a convenient resource base for a wide range of high-order economic activities and development strategies (Ashworth and Larkham 1994, Rypkema 2001). Common apprehension of this potential could be illustrated by a twofold relation between heritage and development as

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defined by Nyström (1999), depending on a strategy mobilized: consumption development strategies use built heritage to create attraction to a city, while production-oriented strategies take heritage as an important element for establishing a milieu of creativity and innovation. In both of the cases, heritage per se was perceived as of importance for promoting the development of cities, attracting enterprises, a skilled working force, inhabitants and tourists, as well as for urban branding and marketing (Scheffler et al. 2009, Ebbe 2009, Rypkema 2001). These goals, however, would hardly be possible without the process of historic preservation, which not only aims to ensure identification and protection of major landmarks and monuments, but also holds economic development potential of its own. Thus strategies based on historic preservation offer a range of measurable benefits, such as jobs and household income, job training, city centre revitalization, heritage tourism, property values, and small business incubation (Rypkema 1999, 2001, 2008, Scheffler et al. 2009, Gražulevičiūtė 2006). Although the relationship between heritage, preservation and development usually refers to the potential of heritage to serve as an important regional development asset, it can, however, also include some negative impacts on the heritage in question (Schröder-Esch 2006: 191-192). The focus of this chapter is a controversial phenomenon that involves the creative mobilization of selected and desired pasts and histories for present-day agendas and interests (Daugbjerg and Fibiger 2011), which is becoming a more usual practice despite its rather contentious nature. Manipulation of the past, inspired by the development potential contained in heritage itself, found its use particularly for the purpose of boosting 'cultural' or 'heritage tourism', today being the most important sector of economy using heritage as a resource (Porter 2008).

10.1.1 On the Manipulation of the Past

Besides the above-mentioned common belief that historic preservation holds a substantial role in the process of sustaining heritage and thus initiating economic development, this process was recently approached from a new perspective. Especially viewed as 'critical' is the decision of what to preserve and how, an issue upon which the legitimacy of the whole process has been questioned (Gražulevičiūtė 2006). Relevant for this critical approach is the issue of the finite nature that characterizes tangible heritage, in addition to changing and disappearing of traditional building skills and techniques (Will 2009). In this context, conservation and restoration processes could also be understood as a way towards the partial or complete renewal of components and materials of built heritage. Considering, in addition, the intangible aspects of heritage that imply memories, former customs, local tradition, or even destroyed urban fabric, built heritage could finally be

regarded as a convenient medium for manipulation. It ranges from the selection of suitable and non-suitable heritage for preservation, to even some particular examples of the production of new-old built heritage (Huxtable 1997, Roost 2000).

Ashworth (1998) considered that the above described phenomenon is not new, as built heritage of European cities has already been ‘filtered’ over time both by the processes of eradication and museumification, which created an urban landscape reduced in its original meanings. On the one hand, eradication (or eradication) is a rather common process that involves destruction or disappearance of buildings, urban ensembles and spaces. This process occurs involuntarily when caused by war or natural disasters, but was also often implemented voluntarily due to the needs of modernisation or as requested by particular political or cultural regimes. On the other hand, museumification is a more subtle intervention that involves retention of buildings and urban spaces, however not without deliberate change of their functions or even forms in particular cases. The purpose of this process is in fact transformation of the meaning of a conserved heritage, with the intention to use it as a tourist and economic resource (Ashworth 1998, Gospodini 2002). Such ‘filtering’ of built heritage is certainly not finite, but rather a dynamic activity, powered by the new generation of agendas and interests.

As Ulbricht and Schröder-Esch (2006) claimed, those aspects of heritage that cannot be marketed easily are usually excluded both from cultural reality and conservation policy. This new-age phenomenon involves disregarding the unwanted elements of the ‘real’ heritage, and is additionally supported by a fictionalisation of the past through the tourism-related use of culture. As an outcome, the visitors get the picture they expect to see (Ulbricht and Schröder-Esch 2006), which in some cases even involves introduction of ‘fake’ elements in the heritage milieu of cities (Huxtable 1997, Roost 2000). An extreme example involves the trend of ‘copycat architecture’, particularly booming in rapidly developing countries, such as UAE or China. Borrowing some iconic landmarks from cities all over the world and inserting them into the new cultural context of the modern Chinese city where they never actually belonged to represents typical example of the creation of ‘fake’ urban environments. Obsession with the need to attract tourists’ attention is unfortunately not limited only to borrowing single elements from the past and/or other cultural meridians, but also involves copying the whole cities, as it was the case with Austrian city of Hallstatt. This centuries-old picturesque town was simply cloned in the frames of a housing development project in the Chinese province of Guangdong, serving as a strong magnet for both tourists and investors.

Having in mind the whole variety of manifestation forms associated with the phenomenon of manipulation of the past, historical physical configuration of modern cities

could certainly be questioned as created, developed and transformed by someone for some purpose. This process is characterized by the whole range of selection criteria determining ‘appropriateness’ of built heritage to be preserved – or borrowed and recreated – from the past and thereby integrated into a city’s overall identity (Gospodini 2002, Kelleher 2004, Graham and Howard 2008).

10.1.2 Touristification of Cities - From Preservation to Production of Heritage

Contemporary phenomenon of urban history and tradition revival, which occurs in different forms and extents in cities all over the world, can be explained by the post-modern nostalgia for what is lost, which in fact reflects general dissatisfaction with the present. This feeling of loss causes not only romantic revival of traditional values and the growing trend for preservation of the old cities, but also construction of new urban neighbourhoods that often look like the old ones, as previously illustrated by the Hallstatt-copy example. As our world of cities becomes all the more homogeneous, marked by identity crisis of urban public realm, such look back in history could be understood as a wish to return to the origins, nature, and archetypes, as a way to respond sudden changes that globalization imposes (Ellin 2002). Not surprisingly, the new trend gets supporters from a variety of high-end economic activities, ranging from tourism development to intercity competition.

Despite its development potential, many authors argued that lending from the past often proves to be selective, even generally inappropriate in many cases (Huxtable 1997, Roost 2000). In addition to the more common process of museumification, by which urban heritage is being transformed into a tourist or economic resource, some even more extreme cases are emerging, such as already mentioned ‘copycat architecture’ or ‘Disneyfication’ expanding from American cities. As an overall misuse of historical architectural interpretation, ‘Disneyfication’ originates from the big projects of the entertainment industry where a *coulisse* of European city is similarly used in order to construct motives and settings that would attract tourists (Roost 2000). The criticism of such phenomena usually refers to reviving or creating tradition that all too often fails to preserve the past, but develops interest-driven invented tradition² instead (Ellin 2002). Their tendency to erase modern chapters and re-evaluate and idealize periods before modern movement is considered to be manipulation of the past, in many cases resulting with ‘hyper real’ surroundings, as a complete falsification of reality (Ellin 2002). Urban neighbourhoods and whole towns created in this way indeed represent a serious threat for the genuine authenticity of urban environments, but at the same

² The term ‘invented tradition’ is coined by Eric Hobsbawm, first mentioned in his book released in 1983 *Inventing Traditions. Mass Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914*.

time their capability to significantly boost tourism development makes it increasingly common practice. Through a particular case study on Frankfurt in Germany, this chapter aims to examine both the harms and benefits that such an approach can have on cities.

Frankfurt was one of the few cities that opted for change and modernisation of its historical core, right after the fatal destructions as a consequence of the World War II. Rather than plain rebuilding of lost structures, this city gradually managed to re-establish its identity on the basis of its long tradition in trade and banking, and later to become the financial capital of both the country and the European Union. Thereby established completely new recognizable image of a modern global metropolis with distinguished skyline next to the very centre turn out to be an exception to other European cities. However, what makes this case relevant for the focus of this chapter is a recent turnover in Frankfurt's planning and development directions – the new trend paradoxically enabled re-creation of the lost medieval urban core, seven decades after its complete destruction. The real importance of the initiative to rebuild this long lost historical core is not in its spatial proportions, nor in its architectural values, but rather in pretentious task to influence and soften the negative image of the tough business metropolis, standing in juxtaposition to a range of development agendas. By these means, Frankfurt should become more attractive for new investors, residents, and especially for development directions imposed principally by the agenda of tourism industry.

10.2 Background on the Museumification of Frankfurt's Centre

Traditionally the most distinguished carriers of urban identity within contemporary cities are old historic cores (Hilber and Datko 2012). Vinken (2008) designated such urban centres as “Traditionsinseln”,³ as well as carriers of a code for natural order and naturalness (Vinken 2008: 12). Their sublime features, embodied in unique constellations of stratified historical and cultural imprints are certainly making interventions within urban cores the most delicate urban change being conducted nowadays. Unfortunately, their critical position between the two extremes, involving continuity that preservation imposes and necessary changes to respond development requirements is what finally makes them often exposed to compromising planning decisions.

The current renewal of Frankfurt's historical core in the Altstadt district is not the lonely case of history-inspired construction of the old historical cores; there are many other well-known examples of similar interventions, especially among the cities that suffered destruction during World War II. In Dresden, as an example, a majority of the iconic historic

³ In English: urban islands of tradition (translated by the author)

buildings were restored in traditional spirit, as mixtures of historical remains and new elements. The main intention in this case, as Will (2009) describes, was not to disturb the significance and meaning of the place; however the final result that ignored the reality of war damages reached the state of an “idealized work of art” (ibid. 15). Reconstructed imitations alongside the integrated relics of the old Dresden actually undermined their authority as historical witnesses. Such questionable approach towards reconstruction provided at the end a kind of “architectural prostheses” for the “crippled city” (ibid. 15). This substitution cannot offer a replacement for what is lost, although it manages to provide what observers expect to see. Similarly, as the critic Manfred Sack described, the market square in Hildesheim, destroyed in the war and rebuilt to its previous appearance in the 1990s, could be considered as a representation of not healed but “cloned” square, sending an image “as if nothing had happened” (ibid. 16). The trend goes on with a current reconstruction of the Berlin Palace, where the latest building technology and materials are being used to create a resemblance with the iconic predecessor, also with assignment of the new functions to the traditional typology of a residential castle. This kind of unconstrained heritage interpretation and production is also occurring in the historic core of modern Frankfurt, which generally holds an image of a global city with a distinguished skyline, but its emerging features involve questionable reconstruction and creative replication of the irretrievably lost gothic city. Urban change in all the above examples paradoxically took reverse direction, with the challenge of implementing fake “new old” into the existing and real “old” urban environment that is paradoxically newer in appearance.⁴

Until its nearly complete destruction in 1944, Frankfurt’s historical nucleus was a palimpsest of various architectural styles, including Gothic, renaissance, baroque and classicism that held a supreme role in the identity of the whole city. Although its peripheral zones have been rebuilt during the first phases of the post-war reconstruction in the 1950s, the very central area between the Cathedral and City Hall (so-called Dom-Römer area) remained empty for a relatively long time, as it was subjected to constant disagreements (Müller-Raemisch 1996). Besides, centre of gravity for city’s post-war development shifted westwards to the neighbouring financial district (Bankenviertel), where dynamic formation of the high-rise cluster commenced, followed by the rise of the early skyline. The deadlock situation within Altstadt itself temporarily ended at the beginning of the 1970s, when the massive concrete block of the Technical City Hall (Technisches Rathaus) was finally erected in the demolished and cleared central area. At the same time, underground car parking, railway station (U-Bahn), and a modern block of the Historical Museum on the southern side were constructed. After 40 years of discussions, the first historical ‘reconstruction’ on the site

⁴ Ada Louise Huxtable (1997) introduced the concepts of ‘real’ and ‘fake’ in urban environments.

followed in 1983, when Samstagberg houses were rebuilt⁵ as partially modern buildings that respected the historical structure and the scale of the plot, but were in fact serving as a buffer zone between the Römerberg Square and developments that followed (Schembs 2005). A few years later, modernisation of the site continued, when the elongated, modern structure of the Schirn Art Gallery (Schirn Kunsthalle) was introduced. All these interventions further deepened the after-war rupture in the city's spatial development, as they represented an absolute contrast to the previous delicately fragmented structure of the former medieval city.

During the 1980s, the initially negative connotation of the high-rise in Frankfurt started to change. The emerging skyline gradually turned into a point of identification for local residents, and was later even used as one of the main cornerstones of the marketing and branding strategies of the city. Although the developed city image of a financial metropolis indeed attracted new businesses and investors, Frankfurt still lacked assets suitable for urban tourism development, also attributable to the chaotic postmodern situation within its historical core. An idea to recover the traditional, historic appearance of the city was thus gradually gaining in importance, while the main reasons to legitimate the need for its redevelopment were the low quality of the existing urban space, and the lack of reference to the historic centre (DomRömer GmbH 2015). The city municipality saw an outstanding opportunity to finally redevelop the attractive Dom-Römer area in 2007, when the rental period for the Technical City Hall expired. On the basis of the winning urban competition entry in 2005 by Architekten KSP Engel & Zimmermann the idea of reviving the old city structures, based on their historical streets and plots outlines, adapting it to the present-day functional requirements emerged. Directions set to 'historicize' the Altstadt caused another review by the city municipality concerning the now-inadequate postmodern Historical Museum building, proposing thus a new one, which would better fit into the newly planned urban environment. Both Technical City Hall and the old Museum building were finally torn down in 2011, which thereby marked the beginning of the new chapter in the striving for a complete makeover of the former historical urban core.

10.3 Reinvention of Frankfurt's Altstadt

The site of the so-called DomRömer project, also known as 'Frankfurt's New Old City'⁶ (DomRömer GmbH 2015) occupies around 7.000 m² in the very heart of Frankfurt's former historical city centre. For this purpose specifically, the City of Frankfurt, as the major

⁵ The reconstructed houses are: Großer Engel, Goldener Grief, Wilder Mann, Dachsberg/Schlüssel, Großer und Kleiner Laudenberg and Schwarze Stern.

⁶ In original text "Neue Frankfurter Altstadt" (translated by the author)

investor of the project, founded DomRömer GmbH in July 2009 (DomRömer GmbH 2015), which was authorised as the legal entity responsible for development, planning and project implementation of the area between the Cathedral and City Hall, as well as for marketing and sale of the newly created houses, apartments and commercial space. These decisions were welcomed by the Tourism+Congress GmbH in charge of promotion of a positive image of Frankfurt worldwide, recognizing DomRömer project as an important chance for urban recognisability and tourism development in the city that suffers from having an image of a “cold” financial centre (Marketingplan 2012, 2011, Frankfurt für Alle 2009).

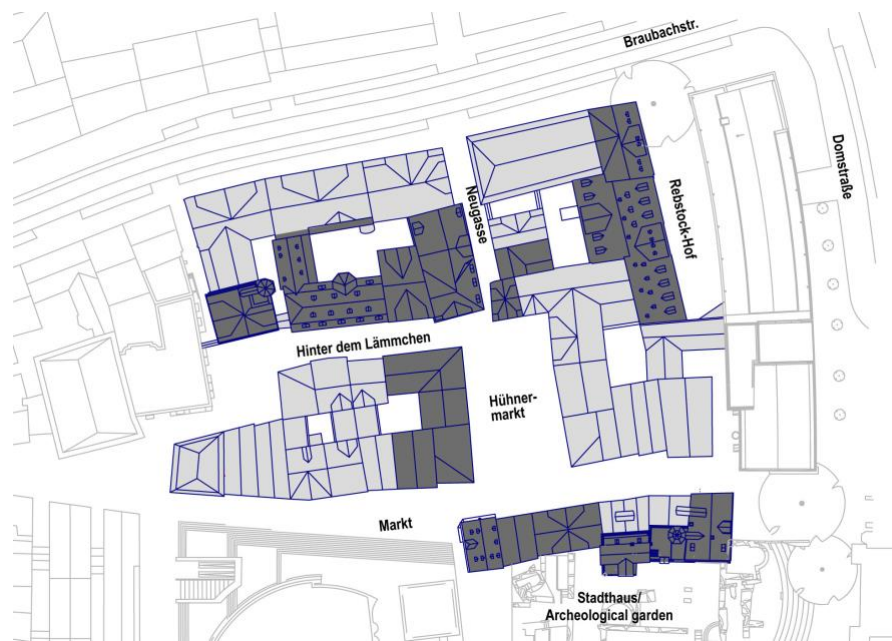


Fig. 10.1. Master plan of the DomRömer area (2016) according to DomRömer GmbH and Schneider+Schumacher Architekten. Historical reconstructions are showed in dark gray. Author’s representation.

After the post-war structures have been demolished, the process of new-old town district recreation started with division of the area into approximately thirty small plots. In its current state of development (Fig. 10.1), the project involves fifteen reconstructions of both the most famous and well-documented historical houses, formally named ‘creative replicas’ (schöpferischen Nachbauten),⁷ and twenty new designs inspired by their historical predecessors (Neubauten). The use of archaic architectural language, both within the reconstructions and historically inspired new designs, along with the compact rows of houses and reconstruction of historical urban public spaces, should all contribute to the anticipated revival of the traditional image and atmosphere of the historic urban core (Fig. 10.2). Once completed by the end of 2017, the whole newly developed Altstadt is at the same time

⁷ Fifteen iconic historical houses that will be reconstructed are: Klein Nürnberg, Goldenes Lämmchen, Alte Esslinger, Esslinger (all in Hinter dem Lämmchen Street, numbers 8, 6, 4, 2); Zür Flechte (Markt 20); Rebstock-Hof (Braubachstr. 19), Braubachstr. 21; Goldene Waage, Grüne Linde, Neues Rotes Haus, Rotes Haus, Goldene Schere, Eichhorn, Schlegel, and Würzgarten (all at Hühnermarkt Square, numbers 5, 13, 15, 17, 22, 24, 26 and 28).

planned to become a magnet for new residents, visitors and tourists through the optimal balance between the three most attractive urban activities: residential, work and leisure.

Besides being an enormous influence on the image of the whole city, the DomRömer project could also be considered as a trigger for further historically inspired redevelopment occurring in its immediate environment. The Archaeological Garden (Archäologische Garten) next to the site is an open-air installation, containing remains of the oldest structures of the city from Roman times and Middle Ages, discovered during the excavations for an underground parking garage in the 1950s (DomRömer GmbH 2011: 6). On the one hand, presence of this site represented a challenge for the recreation of old urban structures, while on the other contained genuine potential on its own that needed to be harnessed. Therefore, the site was planned to get closer to the public through the integration with a completely new facility for congresses and exhibitions, named Townhouse on the Markt Square (Stadthaus am Markt). The winning design, inspired by traditional forms, materiality, and dense parcelling, respected both the morphology and character of Frankfurt's historic city. Aside its main tasks to provide adequate protection and the attractive museum-like presentation of the archaeological remains (DomRömer GmbH 2015), this building also ensured a major public function and thus diversity in the emerging tourist district.

The final project that influences the general appearance of the Altstadt area to a large degree is also the new building of Frankfurt's Historical Museum on the Römerberg Square. The former massive concrete structure that ignored the surrounding built environment was replaced by a new building of traditional forms and materiality. It was introduced in accordance with the historical layout of the former old city, and at the same time re-established final parts of the historic Saalgasse Street. With the completion of these diverse projects, Altstadt is supposed to get its reconstructed appearance inspired by tradition, as an alternative to the well-established reputation of Frankfurt as a predominantly financial metropolis.

10.4 The museumification of Altstadt as a Development Strategy

Reconstruction of Frankfurt's historical centre was originally initiated by a group of citizens in need of an embodiment of common memory and for a strong point of identification. Some well organized citizens' initiatives, such as "Pro Altstadt" and "Altstadt retten" (saving Altstadt) were active from the initial phases of the reconstruction project, keeping a close watch on its progress and generally opposing any proposals for modernisation of the historical core. Several city officials and marketing and tourism policy creators also

welcomed and supported this initiative, advocating for a more diverse city image, which would finally make the city an attractive location for investments and tourism development. Reinvention of the historical core with a 'romantic' approach to the filtration of architectural heritage finally aimed to revive the old city from collective memory, with all the desired features that tickled the imagination of both inhabitants and visitors. Indeed, semi-fictional, tradition-inspired reconstruction of the Altstadt could be considered as an important asset for city marketing and urban identity building, but also as an opportunity to resolve still problematic post-war situation in Frankfurt's city centre by the means of urban planning and design. However, different professionals having disparate agendas remain divided upon the issue, where some of them saw strengths and opportunities in the project's implementation, while others pointed to possible threats, rather taking the critical perspective. Several planning professionals from the City Planning Office, as an example, retained their critical positions describing the complex ironically as a mixture between "new buildings and new buildings"⁸ involving objects based on history and tradition, whose market value was constructed around the idea to buy oneself a piece of authenticity.

Some disputable aspects of this project indeed may not be overlooked, involving problematic and constrained use of archaic architectural language, or voluntary production of themed public spaces. Through such implementation of new architectural heritage, the phenomena of filtration and museumification eventually provide not only what future visitors and residents expect to experience, but also directly respond to their user preferences. This implies that all the features that rendered the medieval core of Frankfurt out-dated were simply left out during the reconstruction. These features were indeed unsuitable to fulfil the needs and functions of a modern city long before its destruction in the turmoil of the war; however, although the way built facilities are used today significantly changed in comparison with some historical epochs, it remains rather questionable which is the tolerable extent of changes that wont invalidate the claims of authenticity. Similarly, filtration of unwanted layers of disruption by the post-war planning, with the exception of some important infrastructural improvements, could also be regarded as arguable. These interventions promote not only a sort of artificial built environment, but unfortunately encourage the creation of conflicting situations. After all, conflicts between proper reconstruction and contemporary building laws, regulations and technology, the burning issue of historical epoch to be reconstructed, as well as conflicts between historical use and contemporary needs are only some of the issues Frankfurt's emerging new-old historical core faces.

⁸ In October 2012, at the time when project implementation was in its initial phase, the author interviewed two planners from the City Planning Department in Frankfurt. The aim was to find out what was the general opinion of the professionals regarding realisation of the DomRömer Project.



Fig. 10.2. DomRömer project visualisation: Christmas market on the Hühnermarkt square
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Besides all the critical issues connected to the Altstadt reconstruction, the still incomplete revival of the historic city already found its place in the strategic marketing planning and branding of Frankfurt, as well as in plans for future cultural production. Moving the already romanticised Christmas market to the new scenery of an “old” city, introduction of new exhibition spaces, several museums and restaurants, as well as creation of the image of an old European city is a picture that tourists certainly wish for. Therefore, the main beneficiary of the reconstructed Altstadt in both of the cases will certainly be tourism business, where the newly built old city should not only compensate for the lack of historic image of the city, but would also serve as a stage for culture commodification through themed history- and tradition-inspired events (Fig. 10.2). Once implemented, the new-old Altstadt will undoubtedly make a significant contribution to the whole city, although the remaining question is the exact impact of these consequences. Since Frankfurt suffers from its reputation of a cold financial city, revived historical core could indeed provide a particular reinforcement of the existing homogeneous but inflexible city image, and finally offer necessary diversity. On the other hand, the paradox of reviving the folklore-inspired urban ambiance could also have some less desired effects. They could involve the Frankfurt example to get into the focus of debates among the urban planning professionals worldwide, and an unfortunate distraction from some other significant development efforts. Also interesting could be the effects of the criticised and disputed ‘addition’ from the perspective of the activities associated with the city’s established reputation of an important global player.

10.5 Discussion and Conclusions

Heritage today is grasped as an asset, which functions by mobilizing selected and desired pasts and histories in the service of present-day agendas and interests (Daugbjerg and Fibiger 2011). In the previous praxis of top-down policies and strong nation-states, aspects of heritage that couldn't be marketed easily or didn't have much relevance for political identity building were usually excluded both from cultural reality and conservation policy. Today, however, this outstanding authority for deciding what is to be preserved was taken over by the powerful tourism industry, becoming the most prominent economic sector of contemporary cities in which heritage is exploited as a resource. What makes the tourism era more advanced in the mobilisation and manipulation of heritage is its justification of fictionalisation of the past, found in the tourism-related commodification of culture. A typical example is the growing response to what the visitors expect to see (Ulbricht and Schröder-Esch 2006), which supports the praxis of introducing 'fake' elements into the heritage milieu of cities (Huxtable 1997; Roost 2000).

Clear eradication of unwanted design elements and functions in Frankfurt's Altstadt imposes the idea of museumification occurring in this historic district. Through adaptations of urban memory to contemporary demands of real-estate market and tourism trends, the initiative creates a somewhat fake urban landscape of selected and re-invented traditional background (Huxtable 1997, Ellin 2002). However, concerning the wider context of goals and interests shared by the tourism and urban policies in Frankfurt, reinvention of the lost urban district could also be approached from another perspective. Expected benefits that initiated such an activity stem from a certain duality that generally characterizes not only Frankfurt as a city, but its development strategies as well. They are constructed around the main aim of promoting diversity in order to oppose any negative connotation that an image of a solely business-focused city can develop. Urban branding and marketing efforts are thus setting disparate foci, mobilizing different strategies for achieving corresponding goals, and finally producing the two distinguished city images. The alternative one, upon which most of the future development directions are constructed, aims to present Frankfurt as an attractive city to visit and discover.

Although reverse duality of Frankfurt's strategies inevitably creates conflicts, their common goals set on promoting diversity is supposed to bridge the deficiencies and target as many interest groups as possible. Therefore, an intervention based on false interpretation of history in Frankfurt's urban core does not enjoy support by many professionals, but is also not openly contested by them, due to its importance for the overall urban policy. From a wider perspective, the tourism city emerging in Frankfurt is not only a fake urban landscape created

around fictionalisation of its past, but also a useful development tool that targets exactly those elements of the overall city image upon which the goal of desired diversity and attractiveness depends. Finally, reconstruction of the historic Altstadt in Frankfurt indeed represents a typical example of manipulation of the past through museumification of urban heritage, but it also serves as a strong evidence of power that tourism policies hold in the overall urban framework. Which are further directions these policies could take, how beneficial or harmful their influence will be, by which means will tourism policies continue to shape cities in the future, and what could be the most feasible ways of better integration of tourism policies into overall urban development strategies are only some of the emerging questions for the future research agenda.

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