

Representing History Underfoot: An Analysis of the Approach to History on Self-Guided Walking
Tours in Tokyo, Florence, and Vienna

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Abstract

Walking through the city is an oft overlooked staple of tourist activity, and the popularity of walking tours in Florence, Vienna and Tokyo are a testament to this. This thesis will consider how history is constructed and communicated on self-guided historical walking routes in these three cities. These routes privilege individual “attractions” from various points in each city’s history performing a curation of the urban landscape. Furthermore, they can be considered a form of history in the public sphere as they allow their public, their audience: the pedestrian tourist, to access spatially experienced historical information. Combining an analytical approach to the history of tourism and theories of the “Tourist Gaze” in tandem with the idea of the city as museum, this research untangles the various inconsistencies, biases, and value judgements made while curating the cityscape in the context of tourism. While walking, popular urban histories and tourism have all been surveyed separately, research into self-guided history walks as a nexus of these fields is currently negligible.

The methodology combines fieldwork with content analysis of walking route materials (including information boards in situ, leaflets, and app-based online content) to discover the impact of the walking route as embodied experience, and as directed by signs and textual information. This research will be used to interrogate how walking tours coax the tourist towards a specific vision of the historical city and what this says about the tourist image of the living city.

This thesis concludes that the “official” nature of walking routes created by state tourist boards limits their capacity to delve into the complexities of the historical, and memorial, spaces they traverse. While walking tours created by organisations outside the tourist industry suggest the potential for immersive and informative historical experiences, and the autonomy of the independent walker always allows for free discovery, government endorsed routes repeatedly favour palatable versions of history.

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Introduction

Every carrying on of a tradition is selective, and it is just this selectivity that must be drawn through the filter of critique, of a deliberate appropriation of history-if you will, of a consciousness of sins.¹

Wander through any “historic” city across the world and it is likely you will see a line of tourists trailing in the wake of a guide, or thumbing through the numbered route of a trusty *Lonely Planet* book, or maybe even clicking an interactive map on a phone screen, as they trudge from one pile of old stones to another. This thesis will examine this phenomenon, analysing historic walking tours generated by official tourist organisations in three cities: Tokyo, Florence, and Vienna. These walking routes make museums of the landscape, with historical fact sheets and information boards broadcasting histories and interpretations of the natural and urban world. They sit at a juncture between education, tourism, and occasionally propaganda, curating histories which are to be consumed within instructed boundaries to provide information and novel travel experiences. These instructed boundaries arise as the tour creator selects a series of locations then provides some kind of historical interpretation of those sites, linking them physically via the act of walking and thematically through this “appropriation” of history. The selection of tradition, and the “appropriation of history”, is thus essential to the creation of these history walking tours. Whether or not this equates to a “sin” one must be conscious of and ostensibly atone for, as Habermas attests in the quotation above, remains to be seen, however, touristic walking routes, which set visitors journeying across public space in search of history, certainly represent a scenario where a selection, or curation, of the cityscape takes place in order to create an experience for the pedestrian tourist.

¹ White, S. K. (1988). “Ethics, Politics and History: an Interview with Jürgen Habermas conducted by Jean-Marc Ferry,” *Philosophy & Social Criticism*, 14(3-4), 439.

Walking Tours as History in the Public Sphere

It is also Habermas to whom we are indebted for the theory of the public sphere, as detailed in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, he posits this sphere as the space where free debate is possible and has real political outcomes; it “mediates between society and state.”² As Melton notes in *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe*, Habermas also links the public sphere to “open and accessible forms of urban public space and sociability.”³ Walking through these spaces, furthermore, according to Solnit allows for the mixing of the “the personal microcosm with the public macrocosm”⁴ and performs a crucial role in maintaining “the publicness and viability of public space.”⁵ All the history walking tours considered by this thesis require walking into such “open . . . urban public space”⁶ consequently maintaining its “publicness”⁷ and literally taking their history, on foot, into the public sphere, to “enable tourists to travel through different sectors, epochs and places.”⁸ This means that the tours represent the perfect opportunity to examine what happens to history when it encounters tourism in the public sphere.

Indeed, in *Public History Weekly* Peter Gautschi and Jan Hodel proposit that “Many tourists want to be entertained by history en route and “on site,””⁹ which is a key mechanism of the history walking tour. They contemplate the degree to which these interactions between tourism and public history are beneficial, while conceding that “nowhere is so much history produced and used by the

² Habermas, Jürgen, “The Public Sphere: An Encyclopaedia Article,” *New German Critique*, no. 3 (Autumn 1974), 49.

³ Melton, James Van Horn. “Introduction: What Is the Public Sphere?,” in *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe*, New Approaches to European History. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 4.

⁴ Solnit, Rebecca, *Wanderlust: A History of Walking*, (London: Granta Books, 2014), 176.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Melton, James Van Horn. “Introduction: What Is the Public Sphere?,” 4.

⁷ Solnit, Rebecca, *Wanderlust*, 176.

⁸ Gautschi, Peter, and Hodel, Jan., “Public History and Tourism - a Success Story? - Public History Weekly - the Open Peer Review Journal,” *Public History Weekly*, May 24, 2023, Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://public-history-weekly.degruyter.com/11-2023-4/public-history-tourism-editorial/>.

⁹ Ibid.

public as in tourism.”¹⁰ Walking tours hence embody a form of history production or, what Jay Young writing for Active History calls, a “form of “making history”” which is a “valuable way to present key questions and issues of the past to diverse groups of people.”¹¹ History walking tours can hence be considered a form of history in the public sphere as they take history outside “the exclusive domain of the university,”¹² bringing together their public, their audience: the tourist, with spatially experienced historical information.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Young, Jay., “Stepping into the Past with Historical Walking Tours,” *Active History*, October 21, 2013, Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://activehistory.ca/blog/2013/10/21/a-step-by-step-guide-to-historical-walking-tours/>.

¹² Cole, Charles C. “Public History: What Difference Has It Made?” *The Public Historian* 16, no. 4 (1994): 35.

Thesis Scope and Research Objectives

In terms of the geographical scope of this thesis, the primary case studies all operate within the metropolitan area of each city, almost entirely within whatever constitutes the “centre”, whether that centre is popularly considered “historic” or not. These cities all have very different urban, cultural and political histories, and, indeed, Florence only ascended to the status of capital for a brief period of six years,¹³ therefore, this thesis will scrutinise, not so much the specific histories represented, but the format of the history walk itself, seeking out trends which arise when state tourist boards adopt this structure. Moreover, as the author of this thesis will visit these cities *as a tourist* during the *History in the Public Sphere MA*, these specific cities allow for an immersive, autoethnographic approach to the walking tour analysis. While this thesis will search for trends in the information represented and its communication across the tours, this is not a direct comparison of Tokyo, Florence and Vienna’s city histories, but rather an interrogation of the extent to which touristic histories tend towards the same representations in a transnational context.¹⁴

This thesis will challenge how self-guided history tours change the way tourists are confronted with and understand historical narratives and the cityscape as a historical construction. Additionally, the walking tour case studies selected for this thesis do not necessarily share a similar historic “theme”

¹³ Poettinger, Monika, Roggi, Piero., *Florence: Capital of the Kingdom of Italy 1865-71*, (Bloomsbury Academic: 2019), 3.

¹⁴ This is by no means an entirely novel research approach, indeed, much of the existing literature implements a similar methodology, for example, Wally Smith et al. analyse 2 case studies in Melbourne and one in London, two cities that are hardly equivalent, Smith, Wally, Dirk vom Lehn, Hannah Lewi, Dora Constantinidis, and Katie Best. “The Experience of Using Digital Walking Tours to Explore Urban Histories.” *The Routledge International Handbook of New Digital Practices in Galleries, Libraries, Archives, Museums and Heritage Sites*, 2019, 424–40. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429506765-39>. Similarly, Julia Aoki and Yoshimizu Ayaka examine walking tours located in the “vastly different spatio-temporal complexes” of Yokohama and Vancouver respectively in “Walking Histories, Un/Making Places.” *Space and Culture* 18, no. 3 (2015): 273–84. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1206331215579719>, 273. In “Autotopographies of Forced Displacement: City Walking Tours as a Path for Political Visibility,” *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/feac055> Michael Huss completes walking tour case studies in Berlin and Jaffa while Liedeke Plate opens a general discussion of European walking tours in “Doing Cities by the Book: Literary Walking-Tours and Cosmopolitan Identities.” The ESF-LiU Conference, 2006. 135-138.

but rather are united by the fact they all use history to market the city to tourists. The “history” of the walking tours discussed is either a generic “history tour” with no specific focus, such that we gain some insight into the official timeline of the city as promoted by the tourist board, or it is in some way representative of trends or clichés in the touristic representation of the city. For clarity, the term “official tourist organisations” here refers to local or regional tourist boards which are endorsed by a department of the state. These organisations, accordingly, attempt to attract tourists to the country in this “official” capacity. For example, in Toyko we discuss one such “generic” walking tour, entitled “Follow the Footpaths of Historical Tokyo” and a representative tour “Understanding Edo and Japanese Culture in Tokyo”, in which the Edo era is representative of national culture. Similarly, in Florence, the first two representative case studies pertain to the figure of Dante Alighieri, whose legacy has been entangled with tourism in Florence, and Italy on a wider scale, since the days of the Grand Tour. The next case study analyses a Renaissance walking tour, one of the most important eras in marketing the city to external visitors and comprising the generic “historical” identity of the city. This is followed by the counterpoint of a tour of “Jewish Florence,” which claims to present an “alternative” view of the city’s history to the tourist. In the case of Vienna, it is the Ringstrasse which the first case study promenades on and around some of the most iconic historic spaces in the city. The next two historical walking tours lead the tourist into another celebrated aspect of Vienna’s identity, its social housing provision. Therefore, all the tours under consideration in this thesis, although located in different national contexts and exploring different histories, are tied together as representative touristic products and it is this interaction between the interpretation of public history on walking routes, and the need to attract the tourist via these trails which is of interest. This thesis will therefore test the extent to which public history interpretation, in the context of state tourist products (self-guided walking tours) can be seen as commodified, with the disseminated political, social, cultural and landscape narratives leaving little space for conflicting voices, and instead uniting sites with palatable, tourist friendly histories.

While existing literature generally analyses the presentation of history to tourists on in-person guided walking tours, to address a research gap, this thesis will instead consider self-guided tours, that is, tours which are available in waymarked, printed, online or app format that the walker can traverse at their own pace. One key aspect of these walking tours is that they are all free for the public to access. Linguistically, all guides are available in English, and as such, assume an anglophone, western audience, which is also reflected in the secondary literature under review. These walking tours are all currently in use and form part of each locality's offer to tourists, repurposing historical narratives and condensing them to way markers, guiding the public figuratively through time and literally through the cityscape. Using the walking routes provided by these official organisations as primary materials, this thesis will combine personal experience of the trails and content analysis of the materials associated with them to assess how historical narratives unfold in this format.

Chapter Summary and Walking Tour Sources

The first chapter of this thesis is a review of the existing literature and a consideration of the theoretical frameworks that will inform the subsequent case studies. This survey begins with existing studies of history walking tours, both using an in-person guide and the self-guided offerings, before defining the “Tourist Gaze” which looks out upon those tours, while also situating the history walking tour in the context of the touristic products and activities that preceded it, from the Grand Tour to the current situation. It then considers some theories from cultural geography, notably the work of Ingold and Anderson both of which inform the existing walking tour scholarship as well as the case studies of this thesis. Finally, this first chapter will also unpack the idea of the city as a museum on the walking tour, particularly regarding how memory and history interact in the spaces traversed. This initial survey reveals the lack of research regarding history walking tours in general. Where studies do exist, the analysis usually focuses on the person of the tour guide or the sociological dynamics at play, thus indicating the need for further study in this field.

Regarding the Japan case studies that constitute the second chapter of this thesis, the creator of case studies 1 and 2 is *Go Tokyo!*. This official tourist board organisation offers 118 walking tours on their website¹⁵ from waterfront guides to Blogger-recommended one-day Tokyo trips. There are, additionally, 35 wheelchair accessible routes on offer,¹⁶ and thus walking tours are not solely available for those on foot. *Go Tokyo!* is the “Official Tokyo Travel Guide”¹⁷ a wing of the Tokyo Convention &

¹⁵ Tokyo Convention & Visitors Bureau., “Walks & Tours,” The Official Tokyo Travel Guide, *Go Tokyo*, June 26, 2012, Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://www.gotokyo.org/en/story/walks-and-tours/>.

¹⁶ Bureau of Industrial and Labour Affairs, Tokyo Sightseeing Accessibility Guide, May 15, 2020, Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://www.sangyo-rodo.metro.tokyo.lg.jp/tourism/accessible/en/>.

¹⁷ Tokyo Metropolitan Government, “Tourism,” *Tokyo Metropolitan Government*, January 21, 2020, Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://www.metro.tokyo.lg.jp/english/directory/tourism.html>.

Visitors Bureau,¹⁸ and it maintains tourist information centres across the city¹⁹ with the addition of an extensive online offering on the *Go Tokyo!* Website. Included as a supplementary Case Study 1.5 for Chapter 2, the *Okutama Historical Road* trail is sourced from the Okutama Tourism Association, the official tourist board for the Okutama area, which aims to attract “people in Japan and abroad”²⁰. This case study is one of four English language walking guides published by the organisation and the site can be navigated by tourists using the inbuilt google translate function.²¹

This second chapter considers the extent to which the “Tourist Gaze” avoids the memory sites which pervade the Japanese capital. It opens with a background on the urban history of the area traversed by the two *Go Tokyo!* walking tours, before a discussion of the first case study, a generic historical tour, and the second, which looks for traces of the Edo period in the cityscape. The entanglement of nature and history in the Japanese context is then discussed via the *Okutama Historical Road*, which goes on to inform further discussion of the role of green spaces in the *Go Tokyo!* Offerings. The chapter concludes discussing the difficult histories which are omitted by the two primary walking tour case studies from *Go Tokyo!* and questions the extent to which this is an inevitability of official tourist products.

The Florence case studies of Chapter 2 are provided by three organisations, two of which are similar tourist board agencies to the Japanese case studies. The first, *Visit Tuscany*, the creator of Case

¹⁸ Tokyo Convention & Visitors Bureau., “About This Site,” The Official Tokyo Travel Guide, *Go Tokyo*, April 2, 2018, Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://www.gotokyo.org/en/about-tcvb/index.html>.

¹⁹ Tokyo Convention & Visitors Bureau., “Tourist Information Centers - Travel to Tokyo,” The Official Tokyo Travel Guide, *Go Tokyo*, February 1, 2024, Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://www.gotokyo.org/en/plan/tourist-info-center/>.

²⁰ “当法人は、奥多摩町及び周辺地域の自然、景観、文化、歴史、産業などの資源を活用し、観光事業の振興を図ることにより、奥多摩町の魅力を広く発信して国内外の人々との交流を促進し,” “一般社団法人奥多摩観光協会,” 一般社団法人奥多摩観光協会 ウェブサイト/ “The Okutama Sightseeing Association promotes the attractions of Okutama Town and the surrounding area by utilizing the natural, scenic, cultural, historical, and industrial resources of the town and the surrounding area, and by promoting tourism. Okutama Tourist Association,” Okutama Tourist Association Website,” October 15, 2022, Accessed: 31 May 2024, . <https://www.okutama.gr.jp/site/about/>.

²¹ Ibid.

Study 4, is the “Tuscany official tourism website” promoted by Regione Toscana.²² The second is a city specific offshoot of the regional tourist board, developed in cooperation with the Comune di Firenze,²³ called *Feel Florence*. It is the source of Case Studies 3 and 6. This is the official tourism website of Florence²⁴ and it offers 215 different walking tour itineraries for the city and its surrounds. *Visit Tuscany*, in contrast, represents the whole region of Tuscany and at the time of writing has 180 “on foot” itineraries available.²⁵ The final organisation in the Italian section, and the author of case study 5, is *Hidden Florence*. This is a walking tour app created by Fabrizio Nevola in collaboration with the universities of Exeter, Cambridge and Toronto, with project partners at the National Gallery (London), Polo Museale della Toscana and Firenze Patrimonio Mondiale (UNESCO).²⁶ This project aims to subvert the stereotypical image of the “Renaissance Florence” with its “unique” offering.²⁷

The third chapter begins by highlighting Florence’s longer history of attracting external tourists, at least in contrast with Japan, which was closed to foreigners throughout its Sakoku years. It questions the degree to which the ideas of the Grand Tour and early tourism continue to impact the version of the city encountered on walking tours. The first two case studies take the tourist by the hand into “Dante’s Florence” and these tours, provided by *Feel Florence* and *Visit Tuscany*, allow us to question the success, and the effect, of applying a biographical history to a city space. This approach by the tourist boards results in some tension between the reality of the limited, specific historical period covered by a single human life, versus the sedimentary, evolutionary history of the city space

²² Visit Tuscany, “Tuscany Official Tourism Website: Visit Tuscany,” Tuscany Official Tourism Website | *Visit Tuscany*, 2024, Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://www.visittuscany.com/en/index.html>.

²³ Stentella, Michela, “‘Feel Florence’: Guardare Al Futuro Del Turismo, Tra Dati, Sicurezza, Partecipazione e Sostenibilità,” FPA, February 18, 2021, Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://www.forumpa.it/temi-verticali/cultura-turismo/feel-florence-guardare-al-futuro-del-turismo-tra-dati-sicurezza-partecipazione-e-sostenibilita/>.

²⁴ “Welcome! Discover Florence and its Metropolitan Area”, *Feel Florence*, Accessed: 27 November 2023, <https://www.feelflorence.it/en>.

²⁵ “Itineraries,” *Visit Tuscany*, Accessed: 11 March 2024, <https://www.visittuscany.com/en/itineraries/?filters=%5B%7B%22key%22%3A%22mezzo%20en%20lower%22%2C%22values%22%3A%5B%22mezzo.piedi%22%5D%7D%5D>.

²⁶ Nevola, Fabrizio, “About Hidden Florence,” *Hidden Florence*, May 20, 2019, Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://hiddenflorence.org/about/>.

²⁷ “Hidden Florence”, March 9, 2019, Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://hiddenflorence.org/>.

that confronts the pedestrian. Some of the more cliché sites and inclusions of the “official” tourist board Dante tours are then countered by the *Hidden Florence* walking app. The analysis of its attempt to diversify the view of the Renaissance encountered by the tourist amplifies the problems that the Dante tours presented. The final Florentine case study is an analysis of the *Feel Florence* endeavour to create a so-called “alternative” tour around Jewish Florence. This chapter, using the example of an alternative tour created in response to the standard touristic offering, indicates the difficulty, at least within official tourist organisations, to avoid regurgitating the stereotypes of the past, which have already proved successful at attracting tourists.²⁸ Where the Japanese tours walked past difficult memories, these Italian tours revisit ad nauseum the same easy histories.

Chapter 4 features three self-guided history walking tours in Vienna, two sourced from the ivie app and one generated by Stadt Wien. The ivie app, the creator of case studies 7 and 8, is the “the digital city guide app for Vienna”²⁹ and is a product of the Vienna Tourist Board.³⁰ It showcases 22 walking tour guides³¹ alongside local event notifications and an interactive tourist map for free-roaming fact finding of over 150 sites³² while exploring the city. Launched in the spring of 2020,³³ and despite the limiting factor of the pandemic, by October 2022 it had already been downloaded more than 200000 times and received several industry awards.³⁴ From the ivie app, case studies focusing on

²⁸ Such that it is now “crushed by tourism,” AFP in Rome, “Museum Chief Brands Florence A ‘prostitute’ over Tourist Numbers,” *The Guardian*, January 29, 2024, Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2024/jan/29/museum-chief-brands-florence-a-prostitute-over-tourist-numbers>.

²⁹ Vienna Tourist Board, “Ivie – Your Personal Guide to Vienna,” vienna.info, March 24, 2021, Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://www.wien.info/en/travel-info/ivie-app/ivie-app-349196>.

³⁰ Wiener Tourismusverband (Hereafter Vienna Tourist Board), “Imprint: Owner and Publisher,” vienna.info, Accessed: March 29, 2024, <https://www.wien.info/en/imprint-348892>.

³¹ Vienna Tourist Board, “ivie - Wien City Guide” app, www.wien.info, version 3.5, published 20 March 2020, last update 27 March 2024.

³² Vienna Tourist Board, “Ivie – Your Personal Guide to Vienna,” vienna.info, March 24, 2021, <https://www.wien.info/en/travel-info/ivie-app/ivie-app-416470>.

³³ Palumbo, Marina, “La Vienna a Piedi Che Non Hai Mai Visto,” *lastampa.it*, September 18, 2021, Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://www.lastampa.it/viaggi/mondo/2021/09/19/news/la-vienna-a-piedi-che-non-hai-mai-visto-1.40716542>.

³⁴ Claudia Boccini, “Una Guida Digitale Di Vienna: L’app Ivie ” *Bussoladiario*,” *BussolaDiario*, October 6, 2022, Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://bussoladiario.com/2022/10/guida-digitale-di-vienna-lapp-ivie.html>.

the Ringstrasse and “Red Vienna” will be investigated and this second tour, focusing on the “Second Vienna Modernism,” will be considered in tandem with a tour of the same theme from Stadt Wien directly:³⁵ Stadtwanderweg 11. These Stadtwanderwege are city walking routes created and maintained by the local government, with waymarked paths across the city, and by 1996 these trails had reached 11 in number.³⁶ Stadtwanderweg 11, however, was a later revision and was officially opened on 7th September 2020.³⁷

In Vienna, as Chapter 4 discovers an “imperial past” which “has nowadays become a decisive feature as a ‘soft skill’ in marketing the city”³⁸ and the chapter opens discussing how this idea of consumer-focused history informs and is informed by historical cliché. To question whether the need to create consumable history for tourists results in a romanticised version of the past, the first case study under the microscope is the ivie app’s “Ringstrasse Walk.” The exultation of, and nostalgia for, the Imperial past traversed by this walk is found to preclude the representation of other, marginalised, histories on the trail and, despite some attempts at inclusion, the Vienna Tourist Board cannot help but err towards tokenism. Despite the final two routes covering Vienna's historic social housing and imparting a very disparate history with an entirely opposed ideology, marketing the city continues to take precedence. On this occasion, politically evasive or circumlocutive narratives prevail over the radical politics that built these structures. Hence, while these walking tours investigate different historical moments, one predicated on the end of the other with “Red Vienna” rising from the ashes

³⁵ Stadt Wien, “Wiener Stadtwanderwege,” www.wien.gv.at, Accessed: 3 November 2022, <https://www.wien.gv.at/umwelt/wald/freizeit/wandern/wege/>.

³⁶ Stadt Wien, “Stadtwanderwege,” Wien Geschichte Wiki, April 9, 2021, Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://www.geschichtewiki.wien.gv.at/Stadtwanderwege>.

³⁷ Stadt Wien, “Wiener Wohnen - Gemeindewohnungen,” Wienerwohnen, September 7, 2020, Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://www.wienerwohnen.at/wiener-gemeindebau/stadtwanderweg.html>.

³⁸ Hatz, Gerhard, “Vienna”, *Cities*, Volume 25, Issue 5 (2008): 310-322, ISSN 0264-2751, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2008.02.002>, <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0264275108000206>, 320.

of the defunct Habsburg empire, both take a rather superficial view on the past resulting in important narrative omissions.

The conclusion of this research unites the various case studies, with their disparate locations and subjects, by recognising the entanglement of history and marketing within the context of the walking tour. Time and again, certain palatable histories, or versions of history, are favoured to sell the city to the tourist. The role of history in this dialectic is as a source of value, a time-honoured indicator of “authenticity” that intensifies the desirability of the offerings of each location. As such, the tours evade war and Holocaust histories, and the histories of oppressed groups appear only where they can be tokenised and thus commercialised. However, there is an enduring power in the autonomy of the pedestrian. In the face of bland touristic histories there remains the option to circumvent the tyranny of the tour narrative and its misleading assertions or omissions. For the joy of a self-guided tour is that it can be undertaken at one's own pace, and additionally, it offers the potential for the walker to follow their own historical curiosity.

Chapter 1: Literature Review

Introduction

This thesis examines self-guided history walking tours in three cities: Vienna, Florence, and Tokyo, three cities with different scales, demographics and most importantly, histories. These individual histories will be dealt with separately in the chapter pertaining to the relevant location and, as such, this initial literature review will instead detail the existing literature regarding history walking tours and the theoretical framework informing the discussion of each case study. Therefore, this chapter will take an interdisciplinary approach, firstly considering the meagre existing studies³⁹ of walking tours in general, guided and non-guided, secondly examining theories and definitions of the tourist gaze which will inform the work, and thirdly defining what it means for walking routes “make museums of the landscape” by recontextualising scholarship from the field of museology for the purposes of this thesis. Finally, this review will discuss existing work on the entanglement of memory, memorials, and the touristic public space. For this literature review the main keywords included “self-guided walking tours,” “history walks,” “tourism history,” “heritage tours,” “urban tourism,” “memory,” “emotions theory,” “tourist guides” and “history of tourism.”

³⁹ This issue is specifically addressed in Stone, Laura M., “History at Hand: An Analysis of Self-Guided Historic Walking Tours in Whatcom County, Washington,” (MA Thesis, Western Washington University, 2016) Wang, C., & Kao, Y. *Re-assembling the memorial landscape: the politics of walking tours in Taipei*, 23(10), (2017): 1002–1016, Huss, Michal. “Autotopographies of Forced Displacement: City Walking Tours as a Path for Political Visibility,” *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Volume 36, Issue 2, (June 2023):217–237, Mavini, Christina. “Redefining City Experiences and Thematic City Walks: The Case of ‘Thessaloniki Walking Tours.’” *Strategic Innovative Marketing and Tourism*, (2020): 225–33, and Katherine Belshaw, “Sense of Place and Walking Tours: A Case Study of the Tour Guys.” *Downtown Toronto Tour*. UWSpace. 2017: <http://hdl.handle.net/10012/11849>, While Mavani and Belshaw and additionally GUANO, EMANUELA in “Touring the Hidden City: Walking Tour Guides in Deindustrializing Genoa,” *City & Society* 27, no. 2 (2015): 160–82, note the growing literature from the mid-2010s onwards with regards to the entrepreneurial potential and this sits broadly outside the historic focus of this thesis. It must be noted that no studies currently discuss, in even a tangential sense, history walks in central Tokyo although the literary history of authors walking through and writing about the city is covered intermittently in Stephen Mansfield’s *Tokyo a Cultural History (Cityscapes Series)*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press: 2009) in order to track urban development in the metropolis.

Existing Walking Tour Studies

The *Routledge International Handbook of Walking*, a collection of articles edited By C. Michael Hall, Yael Ram, Noam Shoval, published in 2018, is the closest thing to a foundational text in the field and features works considering the intersection of walking with urbanism, pedagogy, sustainability and Flâneurism. For example, “The solo-hike: A journey of distance and closeness” by Hannelene Schilar investigates the phenomenological meanings of solo-hiking,⁴⁰ offering one of the few pre-existing studies into the act of walking alone along a predetermined route. This collection also features chapters discussing both Japanese and Italian contexts.⁴¹ The unifying motivation of the handbook is to analyse various practices of art, research and urbanism which attempt to “reclaim” the “everyday practice” of walking.⁴² This, like many works in the field,⁴³ refers to de Certeau’s work in *The Practice*

⁴⁰ Schilar, Hannelene. “The solo hike: A journey of distance and closeness,” in *The Routledge International Handbook of Walking* ed. Hall, C. M., Ram, Y., & Shoval, N. (Routledge, 2018), 223.

⁴¹ In the *Routledge International Handbook of Walking*, ed. C. Michael Hall, Yael Ram and Noam Shoval: Mondschein, Andrew., “Passeggiata Nuova: social travel in the era of the smartphone”, 137-47, considers the walking culture in Italy, while Monika Propp takes Florence as a case study for “When walking is no longer possible: Investigating crowding and coping practices in urban tourism using commented walks.”, 360-69, While both studies provide some useful background, regarding the domination, and unsustainable practices, of urban cultural tourism in Florence and the social context of walking in the technological age, neither of these texts adequately interrogate the format, effects an affects of guided walks as this thesis intends. Kumi Kato additionally explores trail norms in Japan in “Walking to care: Pilgrimage as a slow tourism development – Kumano-kodo pilgrimage, Wakayama, Japan”, 232-42, discussing one of the most important pilgrimage routes in the country and this text contains some interesting parallels between the pilgrim and the tourist which resonate nicely with MacCannell’s rather more western focused theories of sacralization, and authenticity discussed later in this chapter.

⁴² Hall, Michael. C, Ram, Yael and Shoval Noam, “Introduction: Walking – More Than Pedestrian,” in *The Routledge International Handbook of Walking* ed. Hall, C. M., Ram, Y., & Shoval, N. (Routledge, 2018), 29.

⁴³ Emanuela Guano’s “Touring the Hidden City: Walking Tour Guides in Deindustrializing Genoa,” Michal Huss’s “Autotopographies of Forced Displacement: City Walking Tours as a Path for Political Visibility,” Katherine Belshaw’s *Sense of Place and Walking Tours: A Case Study of the Tour Guys Downtown Toronto Tour* and to a lesser extent Wynn’s “The Walking Tour Guide: Cultural Workers in the Disneyfied City” all form part of this body of literature, taking De Certeau’s “Walking in the City”, and his idea that pedestrian movement through the city is a form of agency that can subvert, resist and reappropriate the city as conceived by the state, and its planners. Walking is thus a “practice of everyday life” that itself creates the cityscape. The three studies above thus use this idea in slightly different ways, to enhance the effectiveness of the guided walking tour in the case of downtown Toronto, using the idea of the walking practice as creating the cityscape to amplify the touristic walking tour experience, and in a similar way the Genoa tours use this recreative aspect of walking to re-imagine deindustrialising Genoa whereas the Wynn and Huss studies use de Certeau’s ideas around walking as resistance and reappropriation of space to give increased agency to tour guides from marginalised communities, with the idea that their guided pedestrian subversion could have a real political effect.

of *Everyday Life* with its discussion of walking in the city.⁴⁴ Despite its foundational status in scholarly discussions of walking, as a highly sociological consideration of the act, de Certeau has less relevance to the planned tourist product discussed by this thesis, as opposed to the more practice, movement, centred studies of the *Routledge Handbook*. Regarding the articles in this handbook itself, rather than its favoured theoretical lens, the scope of this collection provides useful insight into current research gaps, such as the fact that while hiking trails are surveyed from several angles, city walks (rather than the undirected act of walking in the city or Flâneurism) remain unstudied. Indeed, discussions of history and memory and how these are navigated by touristic walking of any kind are touched on briefly, if at all.

Julia Aoki and Ayaka Yoshimizu's "Walking Histories, Un/Making Places" which, like this thesis, is a transnational walking tour study, analyses sex worker history walks in Yokohama and Vancouver.⁴⁵ The authors employ an ethnographic method, with "sense of place,"⁴⁶ coupled with what they call "historical engagement"⁴⁷ used to unpack how walking tours have the potential to address historical "absences,"⁴⁸ in this case the absence of easily accessible information concerning sex worker histories in the urban landscape. While this text provides a pertinent example of transnational research into the walking tour, the focus on alternative histories is rather one sided without analysis of the institutional erasures that supposedly define the tours. The idea of historical "absence" as a productive site of meaning, however, is a useful idea for further research, particularly considering the focus of this thesis on state tour products, those walking tours produced by the very institutions Aoki and Yoshimizu accuse of a selective approach to history. This research raises the issue that both walks, one of which was in fact self-guided,⁴⁹ in some way "selectively" organise memory such that they delimit the

⁴⁴ Michel de Certeau, "Walking in the City," essay, in *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley, CA: Univ. of California Press, 2008), 91–110. First released in the English edition 1984; French edition *L'Invention du quotidien*. Vol. 1, Arts de Faire, Union générale d'éditions, 1980.

⁴⁵ Julia Aoki and Ayaka Yoshimizu, "Walking Histories, Un/Making Places," 273.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 277.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 273.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 279.

“productive world-making potential” of walking.⁵⁰ It is this process of selection, and of organisation, as in the introductory Habermas quote, that is of crucial interest to this thesis.

Also employing theories around sense of place while analysing self-guided walking tour materials and interviews, Laura Stone interrogates the extent to which historic trails in Washington contribute to the evocation of a “sense of place.”⁵¹ An interesting conclusion of this work is its pronouncement that self-guided tours “often have low levels of multi-vocality.”⁵² This thesis will take that deduction further to inspect the potential reasons, in the context of official state tourism, for this lack of plurality and the degree to which multi-vocality is impossible when a tourist board, at the behest of the local government, must advertise and endorse the city it guides walkers through.

Liedeke Plate alongside C. Wang & Y. Kao in their respective studies investigate the ways in which walking tours impose a past on the landscapes they traverse. Wang and Kao adopt the Deleuze and Guattari concept of “assemblage,”⁵³ and see the walking tour as a relational tool that can re-assemble the memorial landscape.⁵⁴ Plate, in contrast, observes that the walking route is a stage for the projection of an “imagined city”⁵⁵ on the basis of literary history. The Plate text is an interesting

⁵⁰ Ibid., 278.

⁵¹ Stone, Laura M., “History at Hand: An analysis of Self-Guided Historic Walking Tours in Whatcom County Washington,” (MA diss., Western Washington University, 2016), 1.

⁵² Ibid., 145.

⁵³ This is the assemblage theory proposed in Deleuze, G., and F. Guattari. 1987. *A Thousand Plateaus*. Translated by B. Massumi. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, this theory acts as the framework for that work however, it is, in true Deleuze and Guattari style, not extensively explained, giving rise to the need for such works as Nail, Thomas. “What is an Assemblage?” *SubStance* 46, no. 1 (2017): 21-37. An assemblage is in fact the umbrella for a variety of processes including coding, territorialization and stratification, but it broadly suggests the interconnectivity of all relationships between things and ideas, see the pronouncement on page 2 of *A Thousand Plateaus* that “We are no more familiar . . . ideology; all we know are assemblages”. Wang and Kao thus propose that those memorials which are the assemblages of the state, may be re-assembled and changed via the rhizomatic nature of history walking tours, rhizomatic in that they connect one point to another and form a network in a potentially non-hierarchical format, that can start and end at any point. This is an inevitable application of assemblage theory considering that the first page of the introduction to *A Thousand Plateaus* bemoans that “History is always written from the sedentary point . . . What is lacking is a Nomadology, the opposite of a history,” thus walking tours have the potential to bring together history with its imagined opposite according to Deleuze and Guattari.

⁵⁴ Wang, C. & Kao, Y., “Re-assembling the memorial landscape: the politics of walking tours in Taipei,” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 23, 10 (2017), 2.

⁵⁵ This is in the sense that walking tours with a literary basis, have already textually prepared their reader with an “imagined” version of the city, the pedestrian thus arrives at the walking tour with certain imagined

background for the Florence case studies, two of which explore the literary figure of “Dante.” Plate considers that the directed imagining of a walking tour, where one is instructed to go certain places and see certain things, results in the “theme-ing”⁵⁶ of the city space eventually commodifying said space by transforming sights into signs, and finally, marketable icons. A comparison of the Wang and Kao text, alongside Laura Stone’s analysis of walking tours in Washington, and the Aoki and Yoshimizu study of sex worker history walking tours begins to reveal a trend. Where the “alternative” tour is a mechanism for the democratisation of heritage,⁵⁷ the organized or institutionalised tour reproduces space as a commodity and is entwined with notions of the city as a commercial project.⁵⁸ This is an oversimplification of the self-guided walking format, which this thesis intends to complicate. By exploring the potential for divergence from the normative narratives and routes instructed in the walks considered, the following chapters will investigate the degree to which the selective and organising force of the walking tour instruction truly curtails experience as suggested.

Concerning the technological aspect of self-guided walking tours, which in the digital age are frequently accessed online with live tracking on specialised maps,⁵⁹ Wally Smith et al examine three apps in London and Melbourne and two app formats, one permitting free-roaming history discovery and the other a “narrative” route with stops where historical information is recorded.⁶⁰ The concept of the walk as a “stage” and the performative or theatrical nature of the act is emphasised, which suggests that there is a heightened need to make connections, a drama, in the walking tour format. Smith et al. record that the digital history tour results in both a heightened observation and historical

expectations. Plate, Liedeke. “Doing Cities by the Book: Literary Walking-Tours and Cosmopolitan Identities,” (Paper presented at The ESF-LIU Conference, 2006), 136.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 135.

⁵⁷ Wang, C. & Kao, Y., “Re-assembling the memorial landscape,” 13.

⁵⁸ Plate, Liedeke., “Doing Cities by the Book,” 138.

⁵⁹ As is the case with Vienna’s ivie app analysed in Chapter 4 and the Hidden Florence tour discussed in Chapter 3.

⁶⁰ Smith, Wally, Dirk vom Lehn, Hannah Lewi, Dora Constantinidis, and Katie Best. “The Experience of Using Digital Walking Tours to Explore Urban Histories.” in *The Routledge International Handbook of New Digital Practices in Galleries, Libraries, Archives, Museums and Heritage Sites*, (Routledge, 2019), 427.

curiosity whilst also inspiring a sense of “defamiliarisation” with the cityscapes in question⁶¹ such that the historical content and the metaphorical act of stepping into the past made tourists even of the locals.

There is considerable literature regarding the effective use and creation of self-guided and guided history tours for the purposes of education.⁶² However, this is unlikely to fall into the scope of this thesis other than as evidence of the pedagogical or perceived communicative power of the history walk. The educative power of self-guided and guided history tours can be directly contrasted via two studies of 1916 rebellion walking routes in Dublin.⁶³ The first study by Hwang draws heavily on de Certeau’s concept of walking, particularly regarding the role of the in-person tour guide and the increased historical empathy supposedly achieved by such tours. In contrast, Cushing and Cowen’s work stresses that the self-guided walk reportedly increased the geographical clarity of historical narratives communicated.⁶⁴ This will be a useful framework for exploring the extent to which self-guided tours can adopt the “guide” role without physical presence and the relative success in conferring locatedness to the histories discussed on each trail.

Finally, at least with regards to case studies of existing historic walking tours, Jonathan R. Wynn combines sociology and tourism in “The Walking Tour Guide: Cultural Workers in the Disneyfied City”. With a strong focus on the person of the tour guide,⁶⁵ rather than the act of guiding or the

⁶¹ Ibid., 440.

⁶² This is the primary focus of both William Holton’s “Walking Tours for Teaching Urban History in Boston and Other Cities,” *OAH Magazine of History* 5, no. 2 (1990): 14–19, and C.J. Little’s “Neighbourhood Adventures: Researching Self-Guided Walking Tours”, *OAH Magazine of History* 4, no. 3 (1989): 21–25, The walking guide itself is also noted as potential classroom project for students to acquire research experience and knowledge of local history. *The Routledge International Handbook of Walking* furthermore includes Karein K. Goertz’s essay “Walking as Pedagogy,” 55-65, linking walking as an action intimately tied to knowledge acquisition.

⁶³ Cushing, Amber L., and Benjamin R. Cowan’s “WALK1916: Exploring How a Mobile Walking Tour App Can Provide Value for Lams.” and Yuh J. Hwang’s “Aestheticizing the City through Storytelling and Walking.” independently analyse the same walk in self-guided and guided versions, respectively.

⁶⁴ Cushing, Amber L., and Cowan, Benjamin R. “WALK1916: Exploring How a Mobile Walking Tour App Can Provide Value for Lams,” *Proceedings of the Association for Information Science and Technology* 53, no. 1 (2016): 4.

⁶⁵ Wynn, Jonathan R. “The Walking Tour Guide: Cultural Workers in the Disneyfied City”, (PhD diss., The City University of New York, 2006), 6.

process of public history production, the idea of the "Disneyfied City" as a space produced by touristic activity is of greater interest to this thesis rather than the analysis of tour-guide behavior. Considering this concept of "Disneyfication"⁶⁶ in tandem with the aforementioned "themeing" of cities as performed by walking tour narratives, the extent to which urban histories are curated and packaged to be similarly marketable and commodifiable will be fertile ground for future study.

Theories and Histories of Tourism and the "Tourist Gaze"

The primary walking tour case studies examined by this thesis are products of state tourist boards and, as such, it is vital to consider the various definitions of tourism and the tourist. We begin with yet another author exhibiting a distain for the "Disneyfied" city, ⁶⁷ Dean MacCannell, who approaches "The Tourist" as a cypher for contemporary man navigating modernity⁶⁸ in this eponymous work. This twofold investigation of tourism and society through the lens of social theory is a foundational work in tourism studies, and thus referenced in most texts listed here. Alongside John Urry's *The Tourist Gaze*,⁶⁹ MacCannell's work is key for introducing the influential metric of perceived "authenticity" which tourists "quest for" via "experiences, perceptions and insights"⁷⁰ in "other historical periods and other cultures."⁷¹ For MacCannell this dialectic of "authenticity" constructs modernity and renders the individual complicit in their own alienation⁷² as "once tourists have entered touristic space, there is no way out for them."⁷³ The idea of "authenticity" as located in other places

⁶⁶ Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary, s.v. "Disneyfication," accessed February 21, 2024, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/Disneyfication>.

⁶⁷ MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1976), 197.

⁶⁸ MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist*, 1.

⁶⁹ Urry, J. and Larsen, J., *Tourist Gaze 3.0*. Rather than focusing on "The Tourist" alone, Urry addresses the sociological construction of the industry, and reaches similar conclusions to MacCannell, with a heightened emphasis on the visual as an organising factor. This text provides a better entry into the interplay of tourism and globalisation due to its more recent publication date with the revised *Tourist Gaze 3.0* published in 2011 as compared with MacCannell's *The Tourist* remaining in its first edition format with only a new introduction to the 2013 reprint.

⁷⁰ MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist*, 105.

⁷¹ Ibid., 3.

⁷² Ibid., 160.

⁷³ Ibid., 106.

and the past is notable as history walking tours are directional in space and time and intend to guide the walker to other cultures and epochs simultaneously. The varying extent to which the tours analysed by this thesis will fulfil MacCannell's prophesy of alienation will thus depend upon the extent to which they direct and encourage this pursuit of "authenticity."

Where MacCannell sets his sights on tourism as a pursuit of "authentic" other experiences, Urry instead traces the history of leisure to conclude that tourism is, rather, a way of seeing. Urry recontextualizes Foucault's medical gaze, ⁷⁴ positing that the "tourist" gaze is similarly "socially organized and systematized." He maintains that the travel industry is defined by professional attempts to "construct and develop"⁷⁵ this way of seeing. This gaze is, of course, dependent on the historical and social context,⁷⁶ and thus the individual body of the tourist (a pedestrian for the purposes of this thesis) enters the equation and effects what is "seen" by this gaze. While Urry predominantly notes the visual aspects of the Tourist Gaze, walking tours are inherently an embodied experience directed by written material, and this study will attempt to develop his theory in this new context. Urry also engages in scholarly work on tourism and Disneyfication with his slightly different term: "Disneyization."⁷⁷ Described as a method of rendering the ordinary extraordinary and consequently valuable, ⁷⁸ this will be relevant for the Florence case studies and the history of "Dante" in the public sphere, where the walking tours may perform a comparable "Danteization" of Florence's urban history to channel the often-Romantic history of the global figure. While *The Tourist Gaze* touches on "the

⁷⁴ "The medical gaze circulates within an enclosed space in which it is controlled only by itself; in sovereign fashion, it distributes to daily experience the knowledge that it has borrowed from afar and of which it has made itself both the point of concentration and the centre of diffusion", Foucault, Michel, *THE BIRTH OF THE CLINIC: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*, trans. A.M.Sheridan, (Presses Universitaires de France, 1963; Routledge, Taylor & Francis e-Library: 2003), 31. Thus Urry makes instead the tourist gaze a point of "concentration and the centre of diffusion", Foucault's "knowledge" becomes the various constructions of the travel industry such that one sees as a tourist in what has become a tourist space.

⁷⁵ Urry, J. and Larsen, J., *Tourist Gaze 3.0*, (London: SAGE Publications, 2011), 1.

⁷⁶ Ibid, 2.

⁷⁷ "Disneyfication" has a particular significance for the city of Florence, with Urry quoting Vulliamy on p64, that this is due to "the 1980s plan to remove the city's academic, commercial, and industrial functions from the center and to turn Florence entirely over to tourism. If this plan had been put in place, which it was not, it would have meant according to critics, the 'Disneyfication of Florence.'"

⁷⁸ Urry, J. and Larsen, J., *Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 54.

contemporary fascination with gazing upon the historical”⁷⁹ it does not consider formalisation of this practice by walking tours which, more than many other touristic activities, signpost “the things and places worthy of one’s gaze.”⁸⁰

The most recent publication in this field of study, available online in a partial state prior to publication, *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Tourism and Travel*, comprises of essays covering theoretical and historiological analyses. Of particular interest is Christian Noack’s “Tourism and Landscape” which tracks how, with the rise of Romantic thinking in Europe, pedestrian tourism tread national identity into the fabric of the landscape.⁸¹ This literary history of tourist writing, coupled with Noack’s scrutiny of pedestrianism in defining national identity,⁸² is a crucial context for addressing the specific stylistic choices of history walking tours and how they characterise the cities they traverse. The Noack chapter presents the standard chronology⁸³ drawing a throughline from the guidebooks of “founding fathers”⁸⁴ Murray and Baedeker to the practice of tourism writing today.

On this note, those founding fathers had a hand in popularising the three destinations that comprise this thesis. In 1867 the first English language Baedeker guide to include Florence as “the birthplace of a complete revolution in art”⁸⁵ was published, followed by first guide to feature Vienna

⁷⁹ Ibid, 135.

⁸⁰ Urry, J. and Larsen, J., *Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 227.

⁸¹ Christian Noack, “Tourism and Landscape,” *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Tourism and Travel* (online edn, Oxford Academic, 21 June 2022), 15.

⁸² A connection also made in the modern context by Stephen Miles in “The Wales Coast Path: the world’s first national coastal footpath” from *The Routledge International Handbook of Walking* where on page 189 it is stated that the path is “a guide to the nation”.

⁸³ Also repeated by Barbara Schaff in “Travel Guides” similarly available from the *Oxford Handbook*, and by G. Verhoeven in “‘Brought together at great effort’: the place of author, publisher, and reader in the genesis of the early modern travel guide” published in *Quaerendo* and Bouke Gorp in “Guidebooks and the Representation of ‘Other’ Places.” Verhoeven locates the origins of modern tourism earlier than the other authors writing in the 17th century and this is due use of Dutch sources associated with colonial activity. In contrast, the other texts chart the evolution from the internal English travel writing tradition to the rise of the “Grand Tour” and its associated materials through to the aforementioned industry defining guidebooks. Only Gorp discusses depictions of Asia in tourism writing with reference to Edward Said’s *Orientalism*.

⁸⁴ Van Gorp, Bouke. ‘Guidebooks and the Representation of “Other” Places,’ *Strategies for Tourism Industry - Micro and Macro Perspectives*, InTech. (2012), 9.

⁸⁵ Karl Baedeker (Firm). (1867). *Italy: handbook for travellers : second part, Central Italy, and Rome*. Coblenz: K. Baedeker, <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/102745671/Home>, LII.

in 1868,⁸⁶ however, no guides to Asia were available in English.⁸⁷ Regarding the Murray Handbooks relevant to our study, these first reference Florence, as one of the “three great capitals” in 1843,⁸⁸ and the “charming scenery” of Vienna enters a Handbook to Southern Germany in 1843.⁸⁹ Four decades later *A Handbook for travellers in central & northern Japan* includes a guide to “Tōkiō” in 1881.⁹⁰ The cluster of publication dates around the middle years of the 19th century indicates the initial interest in retreading the well-worn routes of the Grand Tour of the previous century, while the regular reprints and revisions to the Japan handbooks from the 1880s onwards⁹¹ demonstrates some broadening of the nascent “Tourist Gaze.” This was perhaps facilitated by the increasing modernisation and westernisation of Japan following the Meiji restoration.⁹²

A similar timeline of the development of tourism is suggested in Zuelow’s *A History of Modern Tourism* which, while acknowledging the presence of sightseers in the ancient world,⁹³ broadly considers tourism as we know it today beginning with the, initially English, penchant for the “Grand Tour.”⁹⁴ This developed into the democratisation travel across class and gender divides via guidebooks⁹⁵ before the development of package⁹⁶ holidays and post-war mass tourism.⁹⁷ Guidebooks

⁸⁶ Karl Baedeker (Firm). *Southern Germany And the Austrian Empire: Handbook for Travellers*. Coblenz: K. Baedeker, 1868. <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/009018362>

⁸⁷ “Karl Baedeker (Firm) | The Online Books Page,” The Online Books Page, Accessed: 21 March 2024, <https://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/book/lookupname?key=Karl+Baedeker+%28Firm%29>.

⁸⁸ John Murray (firm), *Murray's Handbook for travellers in central Italy, including the Papal states, Rome, and the cities of Etruria*, (London: J. Murray and son, 1843), <https://archive.org/details/murrayss-handbook-for-travellers-in-central-italy-1843/page/n7/mode/2up?q=florence>, 65.

⁸⁹ John Murray (firm), *A handbook for travellers in Southern Germany. Being a guide to Bavaria, Austria, Tyrol, Salzburg, Styria, &c., the Austrian and Bavarian Alps, and the Danube from Ulm to the Black Sea* (London: J. Murray and son, 1843), <https://archive.org/details/b22022260/page/156/mode/2up?q=vienna>, 185.

⁹⁰ Satow, Earnest Mason, *A Handbook for Travellers in Central & Northern Japan: Being a Guide to Tōkiō, Kiōto, Ōzaka and Other Cities*, (Kelly & Company, 1881), https://books.google.it/books/about/A_Handbook_for_Travellers_in_Central_Nor.html?id=-p-okp4uwEgC&redir_esc=y.

⁹¹ “John Murray (Firm) | The Online Books Page,” The Online Books Page, Accessed: 22 March 2024, <https://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/book/lookupname?key=John+Murray+%28Firm%29>.

⁹² Jinnai, Hidenobu, *Tokyo: A Spatial Anthropology*, (California, University of California Press: 2011), 140.

⁹³ Zuelow, Eric, *A History of Modern Tourism*, (London: Palgrave, 2016), 5.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 15.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 78.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 62.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 165

are of especial interest to this study as their format, selecting points of interest that are essential sights to see,⁹⁸ occurs in miniature on the walking tour and thus it will be interesting to take questions of the “authenticity” of tourist experience,⁹⁹ to the smaller scale of the walking tour, where the historical content is further emphasised by this smaller scope.

To return to the concept of pedestrian experience as describing an imagined nation, combined with the idea of history walking tours as a smaller scale development of the traditional guidebook mentality, on history walking tours we thus encounter a powerful tool for place identity formation. Moreover, the role of heritage interpretation¹⁰⁰ in forming place identities, outside of a solely nationalistic conception, arises frequently within the field.¹⁰¹ For Greg Richards, this activity falls under the umbrella of “cultural tourism” which involves the “touristification of society – a process . . . from within . . . changing the way its members see themselves.”¹⁰² Thus, from Disneyfication to touristification, notwithstanding the infinitesimal nuances and deviations from definitions of the tourist gaze in the scholarship, it is clear that when the tourist looks, a process of change is underway, and that this process, whether sacralisation, touristification or Disneyfication, has historical precedent.

⁹⁸ Zuelow’s chapter on the subject literally taking the name “Guidebooks and the importance of seeing the sights.”

⁹⁹ This is raised by Zuelow regarding the, somewhat pedagogical, performed “authenticity” to attract tourists that leads to the situation where “Tourists imagine their experiences as “authentic”” while “there is often very little “authentic” on offer,” Ibid, 167.

¹⁰⁰ To reiterate, in the context of self-guided walking tours this “heritage interpretation” is taken to be all additional information, facts, narratives and materials provided to link and describe the sites on the walking tour. Whether that be in the form of a written, auditory, or visual guide.

¹⁰¹ The role of heritage in identity formation is unsurprisingly the subject of David L. Uzzell’s 1996 article “Creating place identity through heritage interpretation” in the *International Journal of Heritage Studies* and is considered key in generating “authenticity” as discussed with regards to MacCannell in Kevin Fox Gotham’s 2010 essay “Tourism and culture” in *The Routledge Handbook of Cultural Sociology*. Meanwhile, two analyses of the European Cultural Routes, Wided Majdoub’s 2010 “Analyzing Cultural Routes from a Multidimensional Perspective” and Eliana Messineo’s ‘Tourist creative processes and experiences in the European Cultural Itinerary ‘The Phoenicians’ Route’’, both consider the linkage of heritage sites performed by these routes to lead to increased identification and introspection regarding the history presented and what Majdoub deems a “new kind of heritage”. While the cultural routes are an EU project span across nations, there is a possibility that walking tours will repeat this transformative heritage process on the smaller, more localised scale of the cityscape.

¹⁰² Richards, Greg, “The Development of Cultural Tourism in Europe,” *Cultural Attractions and European Tourism*, (Oxon, CABI PUblishing, 2001), 20.

However, when historical information and narratives are used to direct this gaze, alongside the embodied movement of the pedestrian tourist, one must question how this additional interpretive layer, itself a product of scholarship, effects the tourist experience of the city.

Walking and the Theoretical Landscape

Regarding exactly *what* the pedestrian tourist of this study is looking at, the work of Jon Anderson will provide an analytical scaffold for the historicisation of natural objects or landscapes, beyond solely the built, urban histories traversed. His theory of places as “ongoing compositions of traces”¹⁰³ will factor into the analysis of power dynamics¹⁰⁴ in written walking guides and the surroundings they attempt to inscribe with meaning. While elsewhere in the literature Ingold argues against Anderson’s notion of the landscape “as a palimpsest for the inscription of cultural form”¹⁰⁵ and claims that “landscapes are woven into life, and lives are woven into the landscape,”¹⁰⁶ this moves towards an increasingly vague definition of the relation between individuals and their surroundings. This sublimation of the individual into the landscape, while interesting, is too much a departure from the practical, directed nature of the walking route sources to provide a useful critical entry point.

It is these works of cultural geography that go on to inform many of the more general considerations of the history and philosophy of walking,¹⁰⁷ including Solnit’s *Wanderlust: A History of Walking*, which explores the activity itself and its changing perception over time. Solnit’s text surveys walking on a personal and cultural scale as an activity but, unfortunately, does not linger on walking

¹⁰³ Anderson, Jon, *Understanding Cultural Geography: Places and Traces*. (Oxford: Routledge, 2010), 89.

¹⁰⁴ Anderson’s theories are developed by Katrina M. Brown, in “Leave Only Footprints? How Traces of Movement Shape the Appropriation of Space” on page 659 into a way in which claims are made over spaces and hierarchies of meaning are formed.

¹⁰⁵ Ingold, T, “Culture on the Ground: The World Perceived Through the Feet.” *Journal of Material Culture*, (2004), 333.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 333.

¹⁰⁷ Along with the literature on “sense of place,” the influence of the phenomenological turn in cultural geography can be felt in both Svensson, Marina. “Walking in the Historic Neighbourhoods of Beijing: Walking as an Embodied Encounter with Heritage and Urban Developments.” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 27, no. 8 (2020): 792–805, and Truman & Springgay’s “Queer Walking Tours and the affective contours of place,” *Cultural Geographies*, 1-8, doi:10.1177/1474474019842888.

tours or trails themselves. Careri's *Walkscapes* similarly "walks" into the "imaginative work of rebuilding the past,"¹⁰⁸ in this case through the lens of architecture and art history.¹⁰⁹ While this is a useful resource for analysing encounters with urban space, it suffers from the same omissions as the Solnit.

The City as Museum: Walking Tours, Heritage, and Emotional Affect

In many ways the self-guided walking tours under consideration in this thesis challenge Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's interpretation of heritage and tourism; that these industries generate intangible products¹¹⁰ and that "producing hereness"¹¹¹ performs a necessary imaginative relocation of the historical object. With a walking tour, "hereness" is essential to the required activity: walking. Prior to any interpretive historicising, place exists as concrete reality, and the "historical object," a street or a building, need not be imaginatively relocated as it is actively walked toward: "hereness" is not produced it is real. Furthermore, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's definition introduces a certain distance in the idea of manufactured "hereness" which is quite apart from the undeniably embodied, and as such emotional, experience of walking. When it comes to defining "heritage" and "history" on a walking route, emotions theory, and the work of Divya P. Tolia-Kelly et al. Provides us with a more useful definition that "Heritage. . . becomes . . . more about giving power to the thing itself and making space for resonances not before encountered."¹¹² This is especially relevant to the subsequent analysis of the "Jewish Florence" walking tour case study, which attempts to give space for "resonances" to a

¹⁰⁸ Careri, F. *Walkscapes: walking as an aesthetic practice* (Kindle Android version: Culicidae Architectural Press, 2018), 7.

¹⁰⁹ From Dadaist "banal" walks to Careri's own Stalker group and the practice of "Transurbance" to locate and map the dormant subconscious of the city, this book traces various aesthetic methods for interpreting city architecture from ancient to modern times.

¹¹⁰ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara, "Destination Museum," *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*, (Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 2009), 167.

¹¹¹ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara, "Theorizing Heritage," *Ethnomusicology* 39, no. 3 (Autumn, 1995), 373.

¹¹² Divya P. Tolia-Kelly, Emma Waterton, and Steve Watson, *Heritage, Affect and Emotion: Politics, Practices, and Infrastructures* (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2018), 4.

historically oppressed community, both locally and internationally, aligning with emotions theory's emphasis on the embodied and emotional aspects of heritage.

Considering notions of “authenticity” with relation to this concept of heritage, the emotional response of the audience participating in a history walking tour is crucial in the construction and evocation of that history. For instance, as the study detailed in “Historical Empathy in a Museum: Uniting Contextualisation and Emotional Engagement” explains, exposure to exhibition objects convinced visiting children that the historical narratives presented to them were “real.”¹¹³ Another study by the University of Kent suggested that “personal connection” was critical in communicating history successfully.¹¹⁴ When we move to the walked urban landscape, we have a constant “object” experience. Therefore, as the pedestrian treads a path through what has been ascribed “Jewish Florence,” “Dante’s Florence,” “Red Vienna” or “Edo Era Tokyo”, following the logic of the “Historical Empathy” study, the pedestrian encounters a heightened emotional engagement and thus a greater sense of “authenticity.” However, when considering emotional experience with respect to historical experience one must recall that “That biology is not universal across space and at different historical moments.”¹¹⁵ Hence, the case studies below, as walked and experienced by the author, are limited, and circumscribed, by personal lived and embodied experience. If we accept “emotions as material, practiced, and inextricably bound with lived and imagined places”¹¹⁶ on the walking tour, then the body that traverses its contours is emotionally impacted by the historical past that is imagined by the tour narration, the historical past that is lived and touched in the embodied act of walking, and the various social and cultural constructs acting on the one who walks. Therefore, when analysis of the case studies

¹¹³ Geerte M. Savenije and Pieter de Bruijn, “Historical Empathy in a Museum: Uniting Contextualisation and Emotional Engagement,” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 23, no. 9 (2017), 838.

¹¹⁴ Genevieve Alelis, Ania Bobrowicz, and Chee Siang Ang, “Exhibiting Emotion: Capturing Visitors’ Emotional Responses to Museum Artefacts,” *Design, User Experience, and Usability. User Experience in Novel Technological Environments*, 2013, 437.

¹¹⁵ Katie Barclay, Peter N. Stearns, and Sneha Krishnan, “Bodies, Embodiment and Feeling,” essay, in *The Routledge History of Emotions in the Modern World* (London: Routledge, 2023), 281.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 289.

is underway, one must consider these intricacies of emotional response with regards to history and the act of walking.

The self-guided walking tours that this thesis is composed of traverse city space and impose upon it a historic narrative, often including or passing memorials and spaces of memory. While the specific historical questions and memory climates of each city will be dealt with separately in their respective chapters, the following influential texts will form an inevitable backdrop to questions around which histories, memories¹¹⁷ or commemorations are included in the walking tours. The work of Halbwachs and Nora, regarding collective memory (with the role of space, place as identity formation of especial import),¹¹⁸ and lieu de mémoire/places of memory,¹¹⁹ respectively is unavoidable. In the Italian historiography this becomes the *Luoghi della Memoria*¹²⁰ of Mario Isnenghi, which includes events such as “La Grande Guerra” alongside spaces, or concepts of spaces, such as the “Piazza” or “L’osteria.”¹²¹ Regarding the periodisation of Italian memory, the collection begins in the Risorgimento when, despite the fledgling unification of the country, “Italy was multi-centred, a public arena charged with tensions and retort.”¹²² As such, the Italian history and memory landscape takes “unity and disunity as permanent coordinates”¹²³ and, for Isnenghi, Italy itself is figuratively “on the move”¹²⁴ and a sense of plurality is key.¹²⁵ Italian history and memory, therefore, supposedly complicate Halbwachs idea of history beginning where memory fails as Italy “represents . . . a case

¹¹⁷ As Llobera notes on page 42 of 1995’s “Halbwachs, Nora and ‘History’ versus ‘Collective Memory’: A Research Note” the absolute binaries of history and memory in Nora’s oeuvre are by no means accepted truths with some scholars disputing the idea of the past as solely a reconstruction.

¹¹⁸ Halbwachs, Maurice. “Space and the Collective Memory,” *On Collective Memory*, Translated by Coser, Lewis A. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 2.

¹¹⁹ Nora, Pierre. “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire.” *Representations*, no. 26 (1989): 7–24.

¹²⁰ Isnenghi, Mario, *I Luoghi della Memoria: Strutture ed Eventi dell’Italia Unita*. (Roma: Editore Laterza, 1997).

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, VII.

¹²² Isnenghi, Mario., “Italian luoghi della memoria” In *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* edited by Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning, 27–36. Berlin, (New York: De Gruyter, 2010), 31.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 34.

¹²⁴ “In cammino,” Isnenghi, Mario. 2010. *I luoghi della memoria*, 526.

¹²⁵ “I luoghi e i percorsi della memoria: delle memorie al plurale, variamente combinate fra loro, cioè mentre procedono in parallelo, loro . . . sfumano” / “The places and paths of memory: plural memories, variously combined with each other, that is while proceeding in parallel, they . . . fade”, *Ibid.*

study more lively, contrasting and complex” as “the subjective and collective pasts are not dead.”¹²⁶ It will be interesting to test Isnenghi’s claims in the context of the Florentine history walking tours in Chapter 3.

One key tension between Halbwachs and Nora, however, is that whereas the *lieu de mémoire* are a tangible presentation of collective memory that remains “forever open to the full range of its possible significations,”¹²⁷ the internal made external, Halbwachs instead considers the effect of place and space on memory formation from the outside in, stating “even if stones are movable, relationships established between stones and men are not so easily altered. . . thoughts as well as its movements are in turn ordered by the succession of images from these external objects.”¹²⁸ Thus, when a touristic history walking tour guides one into such a space, where memory *affects* as the tendency to place-based identity formation *affects* the pedestrian, there is a multidirectional transfer of meaning which could lead to interesting friction between the walking guide narration and the space traversed.

Conclusion

This initial literature review reveals the lack of analysis of self-guided historic walking tours. Those texts which do dissect the history represented or experienced on these trails often take as their subject walking ethnography and pedestrianism. There is no specific consideration of walking tours in the cities this thesis intends to examine¹²⁹ and there is little research analysing the format of the self-guided history walk itself or its associated materials. To manage the multi-dimensional, and multi-directional aspects of the history walking tour format this review has taken an interdisciplinary approach. Moreover, some of those works outside of walking tour studies themselves, in the fields of

¹²⁶ “rappresenta . . . un caso più mosso, contrasto e complesso . . . i passati soggettivi e collettivi non sono morti”. Ibid., 521.

¹²⁷ Nora, Pierre, “Between Memory and History”, 24.

¹²⁸ Halbwachs, Maurice. “Space and the Collective Memory”, *On Collective Memory*, Translated by Coser, Lewis A., (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 3.

¹²⁹ This lack of research is especially salient in the Japanese context, where only one article, “Walking to care: pilgrimage as a slow tourism development – Kumano-kodo pilgrimage, Wakayama, Japan,” by Kumi Kato in *The Routledge International Handbook of Walking* addresses trends in the servicing of that pilgrimage trail.

cultural geography, tourism history and sociology, often influence the work of those scholars who do explore historical walking tours. However, how, and why certain histories are brought to the fore rarely figures into scholarly debate.

Chapter 2: Tokyo Case Studies

Introduction: In Lieu of Memory, Walking Past Tokyo's War Memories on The Tourist Trail

Memory attaches itself to sites, whereas history attaches itself to events ¹³⁰

The interplay between history and memory is key to Pierre Nora's seminal text "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire" and the presence, and study of these so-called sites of memory has become crucial to our understanding of urban space. However, this chapter seeks to consider the ways in which history and memory become entangled when we encounter the city and its memory spaces, via the direction (or misdirection) of history walking tours. Japanese cities "have stories where other cities have monuments. This is a narrative urbanism. . . reflected in a shaping and molding of collective memories," ¹³¹ history walking tours exist as an effort to write this "narrative urbanism" into existence by connecting a series of sites. Therefore, to follow a walking tour is to enter a touristic curation of urban space.¹³² This differentiates the case studies of this chapter from the analyses of Japanese pilgrimage trails detailed in the literature review as, rather than considering mountainous hiking routes or spiritual journeys, they provide an insight into a purely touristic city experience.

At this nexus of tourism, history and memory, certain histories and points of interest are consequently prioritised and deprioritised, particularly with regards to the inclusion of the urban

¹³⁰ Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire," *Representations* 26, no. 1 (1989): 22.

¹³¹ Waley, Paul. "Conclusion: Power, Memory and Place", *Japanese Capitals in Historical Perspective: Place, Power and Memory in Kyoto, Edo and Tokyo* (London: Routledge, 2013): 385.

¹³² This is supported by Vida Bajc's suggestion in "Collective Memory and Tourism: Globalizing Transmission through Localized Experience" where "the act of attaching a particular kind of image or narrative to a particular object transforms the experience of imagining that narrative into the experience of reliving the story. In tourism, such places are cultural environments created through the effort to preserve particular objects and arrange them in place in such a way as to invite particular memories and discourage others." (*Journeys* 7, no. 2 (2006): 8). This exhibitory curation activity is extended, in this study, to include the itinerary and information provided by the walking tour format.

narratives associated with spaces of memory. With the example of two case studies of "official" self-guided walking tours in Tokyo, provided by "Go Tokyo: The Official Tokyo Travel Guide," this chapter will highlight notable absences in the walking guide text to better understand the extent to which a "touristic" medium, prone to reproduce the "strongest and broadest consensus"¹³³ in the pursuit of marketability, concurrently reproduces a History which is "suspicious of memory"¹³⁴, as Nora claims.

"Go Tokyo" is the creator of the two walking tour case studies, the first titled "Understanding Edo & Japanese Culture" and the second "Follow the Footpaths of Historical Tokyo." The "historical" focus of the two tours differs slightly, despite covering a similar area in downtown Tokyo, the first examining the Edo era specifically and the second coaxing the pedestrian to "follow" a more generalised historical idea of the city. As detailed in the introduction to this thesis, both tours have the institutional backing of "the official destination marketing and management organisation for Tokyo."¹³⁵ The traffic to this site is predominantly from the US, suggesting the tour is intended for a foreign, external, tourist audience,¹³⁶ thus these walking tours are a mechanism of the "official" tourist organisation for "constructing usable pasts" to form a "national or local identity"¹³⁷ that can be understood by outsiders. The following section will consider; the history built into the cityscape, how differing conceptions of nature and time in the Japanese context influence the vision of history on the trail (with the aid of a supplementary case study), and the information presented on the tours alongside the awkward memories they repress. It will examine some potential reasons for the omission of these sites of memory and finally question whether tourism's pursuit of "consensus" must always end in palatable versions of the past.

¹³³ MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist*, 139.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 9.

¹³⁵ "Tokyo Convention & Visitors Bureau," TCVB Tokyo Convention & Visitors Bureau, Accessed: 26 July 2023, <https://www.tcvb.or.jp/en/>.

¹³⁶ "Similarweb Identity," SimilarWeb Identity, Accessed: 5 July 2023, <https://pro.similarweb.com/>

¹³⁷ Marschall, Sabine, "'Personal Memory Tourism' and a Wider Exploration of the Tourism-memory Nexus," *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 10, no. 4 (2012): 326.

New Tokyo and Old Edo: A Brief Introduction to and History of the Space Traversed by the tours

Before we review how history is presented on this trail, we must consider the “history” one “follows the footpaths” into. To study Tokyo in the last century is to speak of three cities, with three large scale rebuilding projects defining the streets walked down and the buildings gazed upon today. The first Tokyo was destroyed in the 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake, the second in the 1945 air raids¹³⁸ and the third was knocked down and rebuilt initially for the 60s Olympics,¹³⁹ then throughout the 70s and 80s in the boom times.¹⁴⁰ While one can simplify that to walk through Tokyo is also to tread upon three layers of Edo, Meiji, and Taisho¹⁴¹ cities, this overlooks the various rebuilding and rejuvenation projects of the Shōwa period. Despite being reduced many times to “smouldering ruins,”¹⁴² by virtue of both Japan’s unique and volatile geography¹⁴³ and tragedies wrought by human hands, with such tragedies limiting the scope of the city’s historical record,¹⁴⁴ modern Tokyo remains indebted to its previous incarnations.¹⁴⁵ Both the primary tours considered in this chapter traverse central Tokyo. Historically speaking this is primarily the “low city”¹⁴⁶ or Shitamachi¹⁴⁷ of old Edo, the city’s former name prior until 1868 when it became the capital upon the overthrow of the Shogunate.¹⁴⁸ The Shitamachi was defined by its grid like pattern of streets,¹⁴⁹ and with 70% of its buildings being common

¹³⁸ Cybriwsky, Roman. “Tokyo’s Third Rebuilding: New Twists on Old Patterns.” Essay. In *A Companion to the Anthropology of Japan*, ed. Jennifer Robertson (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), 219.

¹³⁹ Pempel, T.J., “Japan in the 1960s: Conservative Politics and Economic Growth”, in *Regime Shift: Comparative Dynamics of the Japanese Political Economy*, (1998) 43.

¹⁴⁰ Cybriwsky, Roman. “Tokyo’s Third Rebuilding,” 219.

¹⁴¹ Jinnai, Hidenobu., *Tokyo: A Spatial Anthropology*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 2011), 6.

¹⁴² Hidenobu, Jinnai., *Tokyo: A Spatial Anthropology*, 1.

¹⁴³ Mansfield, Stephen, *Tokyo a Cultural History (Cityscapes Series)*, (Oxford University Press: Kindle edition, 2009), 256.

¹⁴⁴ Takashi, Katô., “Edo in the Seventeenth Century: Aspects of Urban Development in a Segregated Society,” *Urban History* 27, no. 2, (2000), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44613142>, 190.

¹⁴⁵ Hidenobu, Jinnai, *Tokyo: A Spatial Anthropology*, 3.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 18. This is as opposed to the Yamanote (山の手), or “High City” of the Samurai class and the aristocratic Daimyo (大名).

¹⁴⁷ “下町,” Mansfield, Stephen, *Tokyo a Cultural History (Cityscapes Series)*, 1.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 89.

¹⁴⁹ Jinnai, Hidenobu, *Tokyo: A Spatial Anthropology*, 149.

dwelling,¹⁵⁰ it was a city of the townsfolk.¹⁵¹ However, its printshops, Kabuki theatres and pleasure quarters are considered by Stephen Mansfield to be the birthplace of “Edo Culture.”¹⁵²



Figure 1: Ukiyo-e provide key information to urban historians of Edo era Tokyo¹⁵³, this image presents the logistical importance of the Sumida River as a thoroughfare and the low-slung grid of the commonfolk’s houses as described. This woodblock print by Katsushika Hokusai depicts the Nihonbashi bridge which is traversed by the “Understanding Edo” tour. Public domain, Accessed: 31 January 2024, via Wikimedia Commons https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Nihonbashi_bridge_in_Edo.jpg

The history of Tokyo/Edo does not begin in 1603 but boasts an archaeological record showing continuous habitation since the neolithic era,¹⁵⁴ however, following the Great Fire of Meireki in 1657,¹⁵⁵ the city’s first large scale redevelopment project began, and the resulting city plan would remain little altered until the tribulations of the 20th century. Therefore, it is unsurprising that both the walking tours considered here, and the scholarship more generally, tends to revolve around this period when the Tokugawa clan took Edo for its seat, making it the de facto capital.¹⁵⁶ Jinnai suggests that one of the key structural changes to the cityscape, when Edo became Tokyo, was the evolution from a “City

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 39.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 18.

¹⁵² Mansfield, Stephen, *Tokyo a Cultural History (Cityscapes Series)*, 22.

¹⁵³ TAKASHI, KATÔ., “Edo in the Seventeenth Century,” 190.

The same sentiment is expressed by Jinnai on page 8 of *Tokyo: A Spatial Anthropology*.

¹⁵⁴ Mansfield, Stephen, *Tokyo a Cultural History (Cityscapes Series)*, 2.

¹⁵⁵ Nihombashi Tokyo, “Promoting the Development of Edo – Major Urban Planning in the Seventeenth Century: Nihombashi Tokyo: Where You Can Experience Both Contemporary and Ancient Japanese Culture.” Accessed: 12 January 2024. <https://nihombashi-tokyo.com/history/310.html>.

¹⁵⁶ Mansfield, Stephen., *Tokyo a Cultural History (Cityscapes Series)*, 9.

of Water” to “City of land”¹⁵⁷ and certainly, it is static concrete rather than running water which defines the route taken by the two tours, outside the sculpted greenery of the city parks. Because of the huge changes wrought on the urban fabric of Tokyo by industrialisation, modernisation¹⁵⁸ and rebuilding, often historical Edo and modern Tokyo are appraised separately,¹⁵⁹ nevertheless, coincidentally mirroring Hidenobu’s method, both the Tokyo walking tours use the city as a “stage” of activity¹⁶⁰ and try to find continuities for the often-absent old city in the modern metropolis. But what is the spatial reality of Edo Tokyo throughout this era as compared to the space traversed by the *Go Tokyo!* Map?

The first tour case study, “Understanding Edo, and Japanese Culture in Tokyo” attempts to uncover traces of the past in contemporary Sumida, Nihonbashi, and Ginza and the specific route is pictured below. This is followed by a series of chronologically organised maps which show the urban space in Sumida and Chuo City during the Edo era from 1680 to 1858:



Figure 2: The map followed by users of the walking tour, Accessed: 31 May 2023, via Go Tokyo, <https://www.gotokyo.org/en/story/walks-and-tours/understanding-edo/index.html>

¹⁵⁷ Jinnai, Hidenobu, *Tokyo: A Spatial History*, 66.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 160.

¹⁵⁹ Jinnai, Hidenobu. “The Locus of My Study of Tokyo: From Building Typology to Spatial Anthropology and Eco-history.” *JAPAN ARCHITECTURAL REVIEW* 3, no. 3 (2020), <https://doi.org/10.1002/2475-8876.12167>, 278.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.



Figure 3: Chuo City and Sumida in map from 1680, by Yoshinaga Hayashi, David Rumsey Historical Map Collection, Accessed: 5 July 2023,

https://rumsey.geogaraqe.com/maps/q_ea6.html?lat=35.678773406383726&lon=139.7977973510088&zoom=14.

Figure 4: Chuo City and Sumida in map from 1799, by Soshichi Nishimura and Yohachi Nishimuraya, David Rumsey Historical Map Collection, Accessed: 5 July 2023,

https://rumsey.geogaraqe.com/maps/q_ea96.html?lat=35.6803722222222&lon=139.7588638888885&zoom=13.



Figure 5: Chuo City and Sumida map from 1858, by Mori, Fusai, and Mohe Subaraya. David Rumsey Historical Map Accessed: 5 July 2023,

https://rumsey.geogaraqe.com/maps/q_ea173.html?lat=35.6800183013835&lon=139.79815696723534&zoom=14.

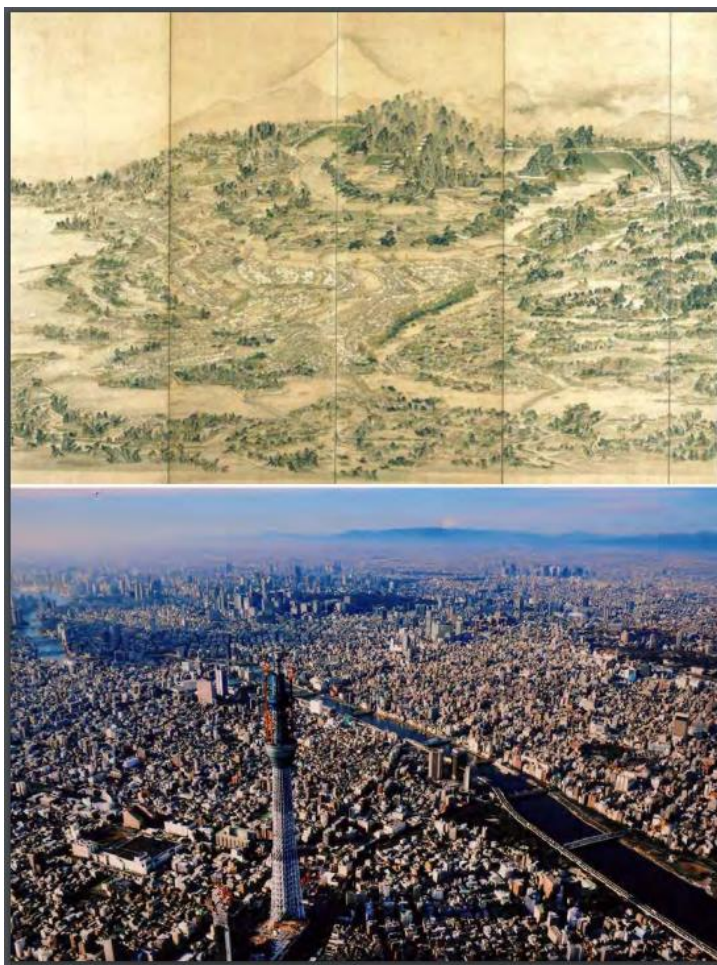


Figure 6: Old Edo, and Modern Tokyo compared in a presentation by Hidenobu Jinnai, "Tokyo as a City of Water Seen from Spatial Anthropology," Università Ca' Foscari, January 21, 2022, Accessed: 15 January 2024, https://www.unive.it/pag/fileadmin/user_upload/centri/ECLT/documenti/unesco-chair/1_Hidenobu_Jinnai_Presentation_21Jan.pdf.

From these images we can ascertain that the area around the imperial palace has remained largely unchanged for the past 400 years. This is for the obvious reason of the continued presence of monarchy, the Tokugawa clan, throughout the period that this tour narrates.¹⁶¹ In the first century there is some redirection of the Sumida and its distributaries, and yet, many of the main roads match those of the contemporary city from 1799 onwards, with the characteristic grid pattern plan evident even today. Therefore, despite the building, razing, and rebuilding of the city, something of the shape of Edo era remains tangibly walkable and thus the route taken by the tour and the sights it directs the

¹⁶¹ Yoshinaga Hayashi, *Zoho Edo Oezu : Saru Sangatsu Aratame Gomon Eiri. Enpo 8 [1680]*, map, David Rumsey Historical Map Collection.

gaze towards will prove interesting in terms of how it constructs “usable pasts” to form a “national or local identity.”¹⁶²

The second case study, “Follow the Footpaths of Historical Tokyo” travels through Chiyoda city as detailed in the map below used by Go Tokyo! to direct the walking tour. As before, four maps from various points in the city’s lifespan follow the modern map, all showing the area the trail traverses. As this route is generically “historical” rather than merely covering the Edo era, an additional map of the relevant area from 1892 is included.



Figure 7: The map followed by users of the walking tour, Accessed: 31 May 2023, Tokyo Convention & Visitors Bureau, <https://www.gotokyo.org/en/story/walks-and-tours/waterfront/history-and-nature/index.html>.



¹⁶² Sabine Marschall, “Personal Memory Tourism”, 326.

Figure 8: Chiyoda City in Map from 1680



Figure 9: Chiyoda City in Map from 1799



Figure 10: Chiyoda City in map from 1858



Figure 11: Chiyoda City in map from 1892



¹⁶³David Rumsey Historical Map Collection, Accessed: 26 July 2023, http://rumsey.geogarage.com/maps/q_ea6.htmlTokyo.

From the maps above it is evident that the urban shape of Chiyoda City survives broadly unchanged from the original grid in the 1600s. While the general shape of the streets persists across this 200-year period, one significant change is the development of the residence of the Prince of Mito¹⁶⁴ into the Koishikawa Arsenal in the 1892 map¹⁶⁵ (小石川工廠, Tokyo Hohei Kōshō) with the adjacent Koishikawa Korakuen garden, the 4th stop on the walking tour, which originated as a herb garden in 1684, ¹⁶⁶ also formerly part of the same estate. If we return to the walking map in figure 1, part of this area is now the site of the Tokyo Dome City which is included as the final stop on the “Historical Tokyo” walking tour. The waterways do a lot of work to maintain the sense of visual consistency over the centuries and as the second case study intends to provide a “A natural retreat from the city”¹⁶⁷ the tour narrative’s engagement with this topographical continuity across the ages will be revealing.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Waley, Paul., *Tokyo Now & Then: An Explorer’s Guide*, (Weatherhill, 1984), 324.

¹⁶⁵ Paul Waley, *Tokyo Now & Then*, 60.

¹⁶⁶ Mansfield, Stephen, *Tokyo a Cultural History*, 75.

¹⁶⁷ Tokyo Convention & Visitors Bureau, “Follow the Footpaths of Historical Tokyo.”

Case Study 1 Discussion: “Understanding Edo & Japanese Culture in Tokyo: An Adventure Through Japanese Tradition”



Figures 12–14: *Understanding Edo Walk*, captured 31 May 2023 (Author's own)

Across the historical cityscape as described in the previous section, the “Understanding Edo & Japanese Culture in Tokyo” walking tour traverses 5 points of interest or stations predominantly in the Nihonbashi area. These Stations are: Ryugoku Station, the Edo-Tokyo Museum, the Ryugoku Kokugikan, the Tsuruya Yoshinobu Tokyo Store, and the Kabukiza theatre. That it is “perfect for visitors on a stopover”¹⁶⁸ and an “adventure” into “tradition” suggests the summative nature of the tour as an insight into the historical and cultural essence of the city. There is even an additional layer of historical experience on offer as following a tourist guide to the city is also an act of “Edo” culture since the first guidebook to Edo was published by Kôno Dôsei in Kyoto in 1662.¹⁶⁹ The title alone posits that the Edo period is foundational of national culture, which collapses the huge umbrellas of “culture” and “tradition” into the space of a single dynastic era. In many ways, the walking tour hence tries to bridge

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ TAKASHI, KATÔ, “Edo in the Seventeenth Century,” 207.

the gap between Tokyo the “eternally modern city and Edo the relic.”¹⁷⁰ However, as the Edo era as spans the period 1603-1868 this is a considerable timescale to attempt to evoke in the space of one walking tour and thus a huge amount of selection and curation takes place to arrive at the five stations and the route between them.

The stops selected for the tour are not, perhaps, immediately the most obvious choices, the Edo Castle ruins are not part of the tour, for example. Instead, the tour locates “Edo and Japanese culture” in a train station, two performance venues, a museum, and a confectioner. Of those two performance venues, it is interesting that Kabuki and Sumo are taken as the emblems of Edo entertainment, as these selections are perhaps supported by the Meiji emperor’s attendance at showings of both arts in 1887,¹⁷¹ retrospectively designating these venues as Edo legacies to be preserved. However, to return to the first stop on the tour, and formerly Edo’s foremost centre of popular amusement,¹⁷² at Ryogoku Station the attention of the walker is drawn to “a shopping and dining centre with “old Edo” as its concept.¹⁷³ This begins a trend of the tour narrative encouraging consumption and constantly guiding towards paid activities. *Go Tokyo!* is not content to allow the pedestrian to walk past these sites of Edo Culture, and even if there are no tickets available for live shows they are instructed to visit the gift shop of the Kogugikan, to head to the Kobikicho Square Shopping plaza next to the Kabukiza theatre, and not only to consume “exquisite traditional unbaked sweets” at Tsuruya Yoshinobu but to buy “gift sets” for a friend, and even the Edo-Tokyo Museum requires paid entry.¹⁷⁴ One could argue that this rather capitalistic appropriation of historical culture to sell such delicacies accurately reflects the “huge consumption economy of Edo”¹⁷⁵ when the shitamachi was defined by mercantile activity throughout the Edo period.¹⁷⁶ However, this is a

¹⁷⁰ Mansfield, Stephen, *Tokyo a Cultural History*, 89.

¹⁷¹ Ibid, 121.

¹⁷² Jinnai, Hidenobu, *Tokyo: A Spatial Anthropology*, 90.

¹⁷³ GO TOKYO, “Understanding Edo & Japanese Culture.”

¹⁷⁴ Ibid, It must be noted that this museum was closed for renovation throughout the research period of this thesis.

¹⁷⁵ TAKASHI, KATÔ, “Edo in the Seventeenth Century,” 202.

¹⁷⁶ Waley, Paul, *Tokyo Now and Then*, 75.

generous interpretation, and rather it appears that the Edo “themeing”¹⁷⁷ is used to deepen the cultural significance of these acts of highly touristic consumption. MacCannell describes the commodity in the context of tourism as “a symbolic representation (advertisement) of itself which both promises and guides experience in advance of actual consumption”¹⁷⁸ and, following this, the definition “Edo” history as a signifier of “understanding Japanese Culture,” is commodified by the walking tour.

Despite this invocation of “Edo,” as one walks from station to station it becomes clear that this city tour, while projecting the “old days,”¹⁷⁹ travels through extraordinarily little built evidence of it. The images at the start of this section, with their theme-park bright cartoonish colours, clearly indicate that the “Edo” adventured into is entirely reconstructed (both literally and theatrically in performance venues), simulated or, in the case of the Edo-Tokyo Museum, exhibited behind glass. The absence of any built evidence of the history that this walking tour guides you into is in no way addressed by any of the information panels provided for each section. This brings us to the question of Memory Spaces and their potential incompatibility with tourist histories.

Case Study 1 Discussion: Urban Space as Memory Space

The “Understanding Edo” walking tour walks through no ruins of Edo because due to the Great Kanto Earthquake, followed by the wartime ravages of the 20th century no original built evidence of “old Edo” remains within the limits of the walking route. The firebombing of Tokyo by the US military during the Second World War, with its most fatal period in 1945, is the primary cause for this absence in the architectural makeup of the city, although, as will become apparent later in this section, the memories of the earthquake and firebombing are inextricably entangled. A comparison of the damage map below with the tour map above will immediately make clear that any evidence of “old Edo” as

¹⁷⁷ Plate, Liedeke, “Doing Cities by the Book”, 135.

¹⁷⁸ MacCannell, Dean, *The Tourist*, 22.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

navigated by the walking route was “nearly 100% burned,”¹⁸⁰ especially in the aftermath of the mid-1940s.



Tokyo bombing along the Sumida River

Figure 15: A Photograph of the damage in the aftermath of the 1945 firebombing, “A Forgotten Holocaust: US Bombing Strategy, the Destruction of Japanese Cities & the American Way of War from World War II to Iraq,” Selden, Mark, 7.

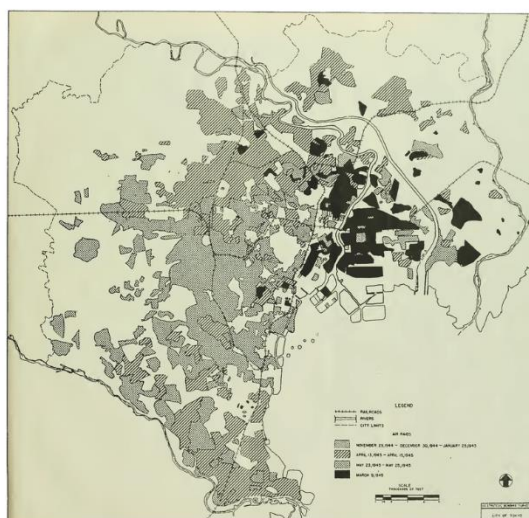


Figure 16: Firebombing damage across Tokyo in 1945, United States Strategic Bombing Survey, via Internet Archive, Accessed: 12 November 2023, https://archive.org/details/EffectsofAiratta47unit_57.

While the specific historical focus on the Edo period would normally explain the exclusion of the tragic past of the area, it seems a strange omission when the non-presence of Edo period buildings or objects is made glaringly obvious by the locations selected for the tour. It also goes some way to explaining why an a-historical train station is the starting point of the tour, as stations and major

¹⁸⁰ Selden, Mark. “A Forgotten Holocaust: US Bombing Strategy, the Destruction of Japanese Cities & the American Way of War from World War II to Iraq,” 8.

river bridges often survived the bombing while “all the surrounding areas [were] wasteland.”¹⁸¹ Indeed, the specific area covered by the walk is where most of the 100000 victims of the firebombing formerly resided¹⁸² and the scale of this atrocity comes into even greater focus when we consider that the experience of firebombing was shared by more people than that of the atomic bomb.¹⁸³ This entire region of the city is “embedded with traumatic memory”¹⁸⁴ and yet there is no mention of the firebombing in the script of the history tour. This is symptomatic of a wider issue regarding the collective memory and commemoration of firebombing in Japan.¹⁸⁵ There is no national commemoration of the event¹⁸⁶ and therefore, while a private museum centre for the air raids was created by activist groups,¹⁸⁷ it is not only this tour which is silent on this memory. This is of course in comparison to the concentration of wartime memorials at the two atomic bomb sites in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, from the peace memorial museum in Hiroshima¹⁸⁸ and the UNESCO Genbaku Dome,¹⁸⁹ to Nagasaki’s Atomic Bomb Museum.¹⁹⁰ These atomic events present a moment of “unique” victimisation more easily processed, memorialised and exhibited by the state.¹⁹¹ In contrast, commemorating the victims of the firebombing on a national or city level has traditionally been difficult, as any concession to Japanese victims would necessitate, in line with the general strategy of post-occupation peace museums in the country, an admission of the Japanese military’s own use of the tactic during the war,

¹⁸¹ Mansfield, Stephen, *Tokyo a Cultural History*, 205.

¹⁸² Selden, Mark, “Bombs Bursting in Air: State and Citizen Responses to the US Firebombing and Atomic Bombing of Japan,” *Natural Disaster and Reconstruction in Asian Economies*, (2013), 4

¹⁸³ Akagawa, Natsuko, “‘Difficult Heritage’, Silent Witnesses: Dismembering Traumatic Memories, Narratives and Emotions of Firebombing in Japan,” (Palgrave Macmillan Memory Studies, 2020), 53.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 38.

¹⁸⁵ Selden, Mark, “A Forgotten Holocaust”, 12.

¹⁸⁶ Selden, Mark, “Bombs Bursting in Air”, 12.

¹⁸⁷ Research Activities Access, Accessed: 15 October 2023, https://tokyo-sensai.net/old/english_page/Brochure2010.pdf.

¹⁸⁸ “Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum,” hpmuseum.jp, 2023, Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://hpmuseum.jp/?lang=eng>.

¹⁸⁹ UNESCO World Heritage Centre, “Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome),” [Unesco.org](https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/775/), (2018), Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/775/>.

¹⁹⁰ Nagasaki Peace, “Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum | Visit | English | NAGASAKI PEACE Official Website of Nagasaki City,” Nagasaki Peace, 2021, Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://nagasakipeace.jp/en/visit/abm/>.

¹⁹¹ Kim, Mikyoung., “Japanese Pacifism: Problematic Memory,” in *Northeast Asia’s difficult past: Essays in collective memory*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2010), 57.

against China, for example.¹⁹² This led to a nationwide institutional focus on the unique atomic events rather than the more generally experienced memory of firebombing. Accordingly, the memory of an event that would potentially raise uncomfortable questions regarding Japan's navigation of its war responsibilities is suppressed despite the reality that the buildings, spaces, and general topography all owe their construction to this tragedy. "Old Edo" exists only as an imaginary overlay evoked by the tour script.

As a last point on this matter, it is interesting that the "Dwelling of Remembrance" monument to Victims of the firebombing in Yokoamicho Park, a space easily stumbled along should the walker take a few steps from the wrong exit at Ryogoku station (easily done), is also excluded from the tour.



Figure 17: "Dwelling of Remembrance" monument in Yokoamicho Park, Sumida Ward dedicated to the victims of the Tokyo Air Raids, from Cary Karacas's "Buckets, Bombs, and Bodies: Rights to the Japanese City and the Tokyo Air Raids," Accessed: 29 May 2024, <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/0jz9k7fs>, 58.

Consideration of this space also allows us to return to the twinned tragedy of the Great Kanto earthquake which, although less crippling to the remains of the "Edo" city, is a key factor in the absence of ruins today. This is because the placement "Dwelling of Remembrance" monument in Yokoamicho Park, which already commemorated the victims of the 1923 earthquake, has been oft critiqued as an inappropriate space for memorialising firebombing victims.¹⁹³ The memory of the firebombing of Tokyo is thus further complicated, not only linked to troubling questions of state-based war

¹⁹² Selden, Mark., "Bombs Bursting in Air," 8.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 49.

responsibility but also to the personal concerns of descendants of the victims, disenfranchised by the current institutional treatment of the issue. In the introduction it was stated that Japanese cities “have stories where other cities have monuments”¹⁹⁴ but here we have the case of the “story” of a walking tour directing away from the commemoration of a tragedy that shaped the literal and memory geography it traverses. For Mansfield in *Tokyo: A Cultural History* “The lack of monuments and monumentality, the absence of preserved zones, the scarcity of individual buildings hailing from the past . . . underline the victory of the present over history.”¹⁹⁵ Certainly, with its emphasis on present consumption rather than past realities the “Understanding Edo” walking tour provides a history that is not just “suspicious” but entirely avoidant of the memory space in which it is located.

¹⁹⁴ Walley, Paul, “Conclusion: Power, Memory and Place”, *Japanese Capitals in Historical Perspective: Place, Power and Memory in Kyoto, Edo, and Tokyo* (London: Routledge, 2013): 385.

¹⁹⁵ Mansfield, Stephen., *Tokyo a Cultural History*, 256.

Case Study 1.5: [The Okutama Historical Road \(奥多摩むかし道\)](#), Exploring Japanese Perceptions of Nature and History

Before moving on to the second walking tour case study, “Follow the Footpaths of Historical Tokyo: A natural retreat from the city,” this section will examine a supplementary case study to illuminate the interactions between history and nature and the perception of the natural as historical in the Japanese context. This is because the incidence of natural objects and areas on the trail is higher in both walking tours than in Florence or Vienna.¹⁹⁶ For example, two gardens featured in the previous tour, and thus this topic requires some special consideration. To gain a better understanding of this use of nature on walking tours in Japan to facilitate access to some kind of “Historical” experience we will now take a brief detour to consider another walking route. Although within the Tokyo metropolitan area, it is something closer to a hiking trail which, along with continued importance of pilgrimage routes in the nation, the literature review has revealed is the main conception of walking space in the nation.¹⁹⁷ The *Okutama Historical Road* once connected “the old Ome-Kaido (Ome Highway) from Hikawa area to the Ogouchi area of Okutama Town,” however, it is now predominantly a “popular”¹⁹⁸ walking route. This tourist map transforms a trail formerly defined by functional use, once vital from a logistical perspective in the transportation of Lime from Ome to Edo,¹⁹⁹ into a space of aestheticized “history” for both the internal and external tourist, as demonstrated by the dual language waymarkers. This will additionally shed light on the use of a nature “aesthetic” in obscuring darker pasts in the “Understanding Edo” and “Follow the Footsteps tours.”

¹⁹⁶ See figure 25 in this study.

¹⁹⁷ Christian Noack, “Tourism and Landscape,” 15.

¹⁹⁸ Japan Experience, “Okutama Mukashi Michi | Japan Experience,” www.japan-experience.com, 27 November 2017, Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://www.japan-experience.com/all-about-japan/tokyo/attractions-excursions/okutama-mukashi-michi>.

¹⁹⁹ Greve, G., “Ome Kaido highway,” Edo Flourishing Blog. 2019, Accessed: 21 June 2023, <https://edoflourishing.blogspot.com/2019/07/ome-kaido-highway.html>.

Okutama Historical Road

Okutama Mukashi-michi / 奥多摩むかし道

(一社) 奥多摩観光協会 東京都西多摩郡奥多摩町永川 210 0428-83-2152

History of Mukashi-Michi Okutama Mukashi-Michi is the historical hiking trail connecting the old Ome-Kaido (Ome Highway) from Ilabawa area to Ogouchi area of Okutama Town.
 ★The old Ome-Kaido was first developed in the Keicho period (1596-1615) and it was the route connecting Ome and Shinjuku.
 ★Later, the route was extended to the west along the Tama River. Because the route led to Kofu over Daihosatsu Pass via Ogouchi area, it was also called Koshu-Ura-Kaido (Koshu Back Road) in the Edo period. Many people used Koshu-Ura-Kaido because it was about 8km shorter than Koshu-Kaido (Koshu Highway). The present Ome-Kaido (Ome Highway) which was opened to traffic in the 11th year of the Meiji era (1878) leads to Kofu City through Yauagisawa.
 ★Along the wayside of Okutama Mukashi-Michi, a lot of old stone monuments and small shrines can still be seen, and you can enjoy a scene of former times. The route is still an important community road for the local people now.

「奥多摩むかし道」は、旧参勤街道と呼ばれていた道で、永川から小河内に至るまでの道です。
 この街道は、小河内から大番瀬までを甲斐に走る甲州参勤街道で、甲州参勤より8kmほど短道であったそうです。
 現在の参勤街道は、御代峠を越えて飯山(甲府市)に至る道で明治11年に開通しました。

昔、小河内の生活は、飯山との交易で支えられていました。大番瀬時の無人小屋で物々交換をしていましたが、一度も間違えはなかったそうです。
 その頃、小河内の物資は、永川へ運ばれ、飯山(11km)を越え、歩きやすい五日目(20km)に運ばれ、生活物資に変わっていました。峠(くさね)から風流峠に出て、浅間山脈を越え、永川に下りて五日目に向かう道を歩きました。

明治22年に、小河内と永川間が、わりと平坦な山道を道に改修され、道のりを10kmに短縮。夏場ルートが永川へと変わりました。以降、参勤の生産が飛躍的に増加しました。
 この後も永川への道は、たびたび改修され生活の道となつたのは大正から昭和初期に入ってからです。

昭和13年、永川～西久保間にダム建設材料搬送用として造られた道路が昭和20年に一般道として開通され、現在の国道411号線になりました。

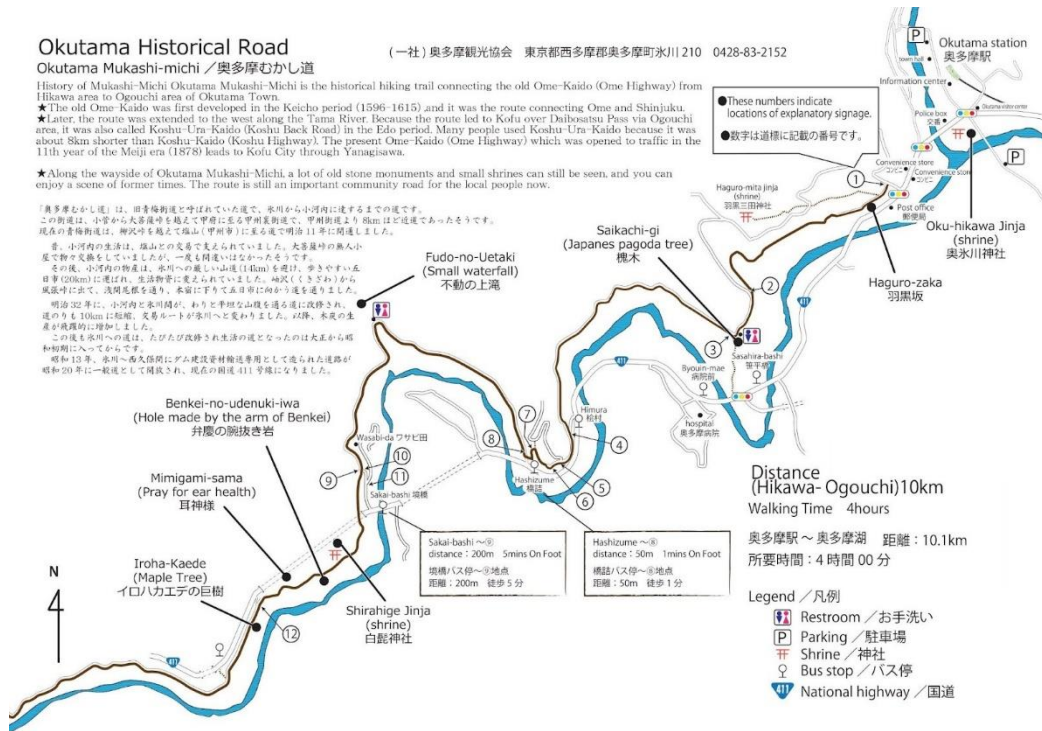


Figure 18: Okutama Historical Road Map Part 1, The Okutama Tourist Board, Accessed: 1 June 2024, <https://www.okutama.gr.jp/site/map/pdf/historicalroad.pdf>

Okutama Historical Road

Okutama Mukashi-michi / 奥多摩むかし道

Distance (Hikawa-Ogouchi) 10km
Walking Time 4hours

コース概要

奥多摩駅～奥多摩湖
距離：10.1km 所要時間：4時間

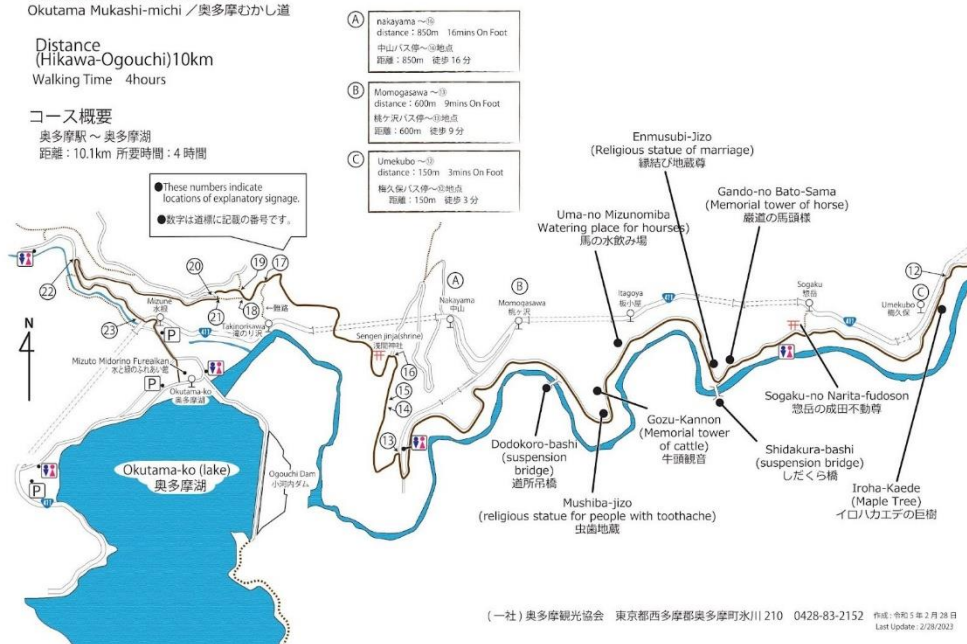


Figure 19: Okutama Historical Road Map Part 2, The Okutama Tourist Board, Accessed: 1 June 2024, <https://www.okutama.gr.jp/site/map/pdf/historicalroad.pdf>



Figure 20: Dual Language Waymarkers, Okutama, Author's own, Captured 01 April 2023.

The *Okutama Historical Road* is rendered cartographically in a highly minimalist style. There are no contours, no attempt to make the terrain visible and only the essential visual information is provided to the user in the form of the serpentine line of a blue river, the sweep of the parallel trail and a simple legend indicating amenities. This is likely for practical reasons, for easy reading on the trail and to minimize home printing inaccuracies, however, it also permits space for the considerable labelling surrounding the winding Tama river. If tourist goes “to see . . . society and its works”²⁰⁰ the visitor to Okutama imagined by this map goes to see society of the past and its ruins. The road walked is now a spiritual ruin if not an actual ruin, in the sense that its formerly intended industrial use is obsolete, and it is now the stage for tourism, a product of the leisure economy. Consequently, the map directs a “historical” experience of a “historical” road.

The trail is labelled to indicate the locations of information boards and points of interest detailing that “a lot of old stone monuments and small shrines can still be seen, and you can enjoy a scene of former times.”²⁰¹ This suggests that a progression through these historic attractions, following

²⁰⁰ MacCannell, Dean, *The Tourist*, 55.

²⁰¹ Okutama Tourism Association 奥多摩観光協会, 奥多摩駅 Okutama Historical Road, Okutama Station (2023), Accessed: 21 June 2023, Available at: <https://okutama.gr.jp/site/map/pdf/historicalroad.pdf>.

the points designated by the map, will bring the walker to a real “scene” of history. The map provides entry to a static vision of “history” frozen in time at each site and it is clear that “history” and “the past” have an aesthetic rather than scientific purpose. The “scene” conjured by the map, while it contains the expected “old stone,” Oku-hikawa Jinja²⁰² and the old Uma-no-Mizunomiba,²⁰³ it also incorporates the more transient, seasonal offerings of nature. The Japanese Pagoda tree²⁰⁴ and the Fudo-no-Uetaki falls²⁰⁵ are locations marked on the map that form part of the “scene of former times.” The walking tour thus suggests that these are the same trees whose dappled light fell upon the journeymen of the past and, rather than nature existing “outside of historical time”²⁰⁶, and “outside culture”²⁰⁷ it has a continual presence, which is at least partly historical. Along with this tactile link with “former times” this eternality is tempered with cycles of death and rebirth, the leaves of the tree which provide a link to history will fall and decay, and its roots may be torn from the earth, or its boughs turned to ash.²⁰⁸ This links with traditional ideas of the entanglement of linear history and nature in Japan from at least the Tokugawa times, where history is “always set within the basic framework of the ‘eternal,’ ‘mythical’ conceptional themes set within periodic cycles of nature.”²⁰⁹ As Kalland cautions against, this is not to fall into the trap of the “honjinron (‘Japanese uniqueness’) genre of analysis,”²¹⁰ but rather to consider alternative ways of historical thinking which may colour the curations of history we encounter on these walking tours.

²⁰² “奥氷川神社,” a Shinto place of worship.

²⁰³ “馬の水飲み場,” a water source for horses, Okutama Tourism Association 奥多摩観光協会, 奥多摩駅, Okutama Historical Road, Okutama Station.

²⁰⁴ “槐木”

²⁰⁵ “不動の上滝,” Ibid.

²⁰⁶ MacCannell, Dean, *The Tourist*, 77.

²⁰⁷ Anderson, Jon, *Understanding Cultural Geography: Places and Traces*, 91.

²⁰⁸ The fate of much of Tokyo’s greenery in the fires discussed in the previous section. Cheng, Sheau-chi & McBride, Joe. (2006). “Restoration of the Urban Forests of Tokyo and Hiroshima Following World War II”. *Urban Forestry & Urban Greening*. 5. 155-168. 10.1016/j.ufug.2006.07.003.

²⁰⁹ Eisenstadt, S. N. “The Japanese Attitude to Nature A Framework of Basic Ontological Conceptions.” Essay in *Asian perceptions of Nature: A critical approach*, eds. Bruun, Ole, and Arne Kalland, 96–108. (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, Kindle Edition, 2013).

²¹⁰ Kalland, Arne., “Culture in Japanese Nature Essay” in *Asian perceptions of Nature: A critical approach*, eds. Bruun, Ole, and Arne Kalland, 96–108. (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, Kindle Edition, 2013).

The choice to foreground nature as an essential aspect in constructing the “historical” aesthetic experience of the “historical” road, along with the fact there are no dates, or eras attached to the monuments marked for attention, may also link to older traditions of travel in Japan. In former eras when “all but “essential” travel was banned,”²¹¹ “illustrated guidebooks, landscape prints, gazetteers, and commercial maps of cities, roads, sacred areas, regions”²¹² were popular meaning that most of the population under the Tokugawa Shogunate travelled only via “scenes.” When historically, all artful travel products depicted aesthetic elsewhere, is it truly surprising that this map attempts to encourage the recreation of this aestheticisation even while actually visiting a place? The disseminated “scenes” of the past become “scenic” realities on the historical road hence no dates, sources or logical timelines need to be noted on the walk directed by the map. All points of interest inscribed are “historic” in only an aesthetic sense, to portray the area aped by the map lines as “interesting” to attract hikers.

²¹¹ University of Manchester., “Introduction. Travels in Tokugawa Japan (1603-1868)” 2, Accessed: 21 June 2023, <https://www.digitalexhibitions.manchester.ac.uk/s/travels-in-japan/page/introduction>.

²¹² Ibid.



Figure 21 and 22 The Oguchi Dam and Reservoir, Author's own, captured 01 April 2023.



Figure 23 and 24 The Oguchi Dam and Reservoir, Author's own, captured 01 April 2023.

However, unlike the products of the shogunate past, this map directs activity outside itself: walking. One must not discount the autonomy of the walker. The 2D map becomes a 3D experience and cartography and its instructions are inevitably compared to the true landscape. Having used this

map to complete the walk, the stops that make up the historic “scenes,” while interesting diversions, fail to address the huge historic change clearly wrought on the landscape by the Ogouchi Dam, which is the picturesque draw at the end of the walk as detailed in the images above. Perhaps this more recent history that only features as a geographic fact in the map’s notation did not fit the more ancient history “aesthetic.” To conclude, the *Okutama Historical Road* through aesthetic and informational choices, as well as its omissions, attempts to direct an appreciation of an aestheticised “former times” on the trail. In many ways this is not so far from the tendency we encountered in the “Understanding Edo” walking tour, that is, to turn away from difficult pasts and unwieldy memories, in favour of the easy consumption of the tourist trap.

Case Study 2 Discussion: “Follow the Footpaths of Historical Tokyo: A Natural Retreat from the City,” Green Spaces and Built History

From the green periphery of Tokyo to its busy and storied centre, this section will now discuss the second primary case study of this chapter, “Follow the Footpaths of Historical Tokyo: A Natural Retreat from the City.” Working with the idea of the “historical city” as accessed via restorative nature, this tour will develop the ideas regarding nature and history on the trail as explored with regards to the *Okutama Historical Road*. This walk traverses 5 points of interest in the Chuo City and Sumida areas of Tokyo. These stations are Kudanshita Station, Kitanomaru Garden, the Canal Cafe, the Koishikawa Korakuen Gardens and Spa LaQua at Tokyo Dome City. One of the compelling aspects of history walking tours in Tokyo is the greater representation of nature and natural objects as compared to their European counterparts where “the tourist course in the European cities of today consists only of human-made edifices.”²¹³ This is also the case regarding the “Follow the Footpaths . . .” tour where part of the “historical” experience is walked into via the Kitanomaru and Koishikawa Korakuen gardens.²¹⁴ However, unlike the *Okutama Historical Road* this is “a nature that is created by the form of the city itself”²¹⁵ and this tour indirectly addresses one omission of the “Understanding Edo” tour which had a highly urban focus, instead exploring the fact that Edo was “known as a garden city.”²¹⁶ This green space is in many ways essential to the character of the historical Japanese city where, before the teetering high rises of the Roppongi Hills extended into the clouds, the urban vista was “intimately bound up with largescale features of the terrain, such as the shapes of mountains, hills, and rivers.”²¹⁷

As you can see in the graph below, comparing the kinds of attractions present on Viennese history walks as compared to those in Tokyo, “nature” in the form of parks and gardens is considered

²¹³ Jinnai, Hidenobu, *Tokyo a Spatial Anthropology*, 134.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Martinez, D. P. “On the ‘Nature’ of Japanese Culture, or, Is There a Japanese Sense of Nature?” Essay in *A Companion to the Anthropology of Japan*, ed. Jennifer Robertson, 185–200. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2005, 189.

²¹⁶ Mansfield, Stephen, *Tokyo a Cultural History*, 71.

²¹⁷ Jinnai, Hidenobu, *Tokyo: A Spatial Anthropology*, 135.

part of Tokyo's history in a way that is not the case in other cities (the cumulative representation of Tokyo's "natural features" and its "parks and gardens" being considerably higher than Vienna's):

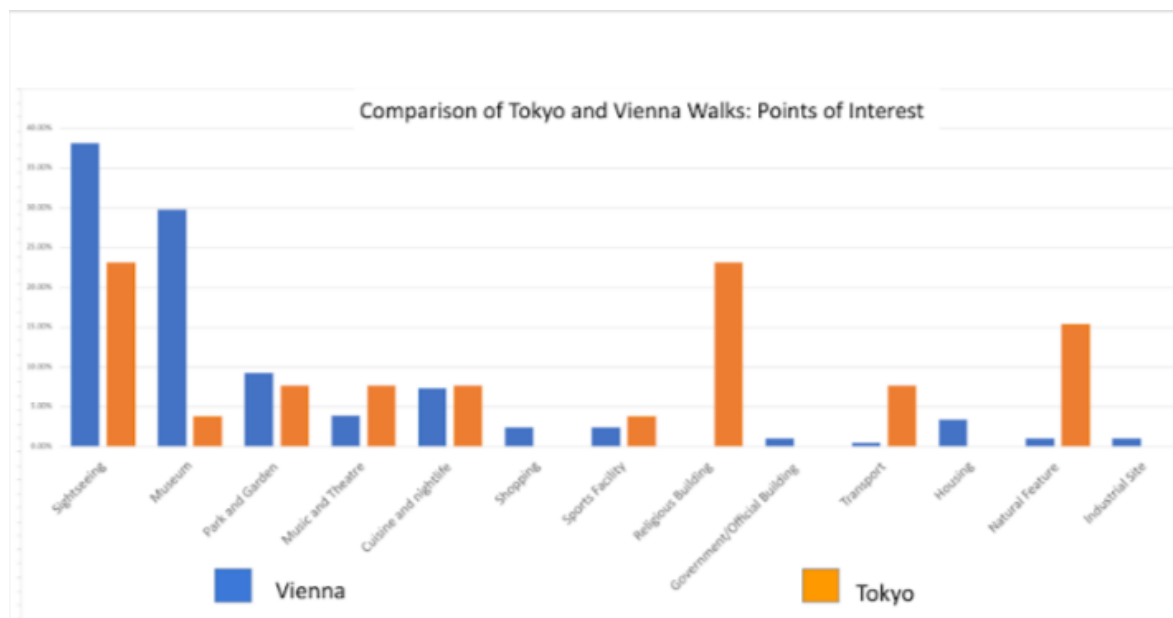


Figure 25: Comparison of Tokyo and Vienna Walking Attractions, Data sourced: 4 July 2023, (Author's own)

If we look again to Anderson's work on the theory of places, and his concept of nature as outside culture "in the west,"²¹⁸ alongside MacCannell who similarly notes that in the context of tourism studies "We like to think of nature and other societies as being outside of historical time,"²¹⁹ this preponderance of green spaces as an aspect of how the "historical city" is constructed sits quite apart from the western conception of "historical" space. And yet, on this tour of "Historical Tokyo" we find the great metropolis defined by its small pockets of nature. In one sense this is potentially a practical response to the aforementioned loss of local built history, both to the natural disasters inevitable from its geographical position, and the World War II firebombing. This is visualised in the map below, which takes just one of Tokyo's historical challenges, the 1923 Great Kanto earthquake, and shows the resulting fire damage, which spreads into the region of this walk:

²¹⁸ Anderson, Jon, *Understanding Cultural Geography*, 91.

²¹⁹ MacCannell, Dean, *The Tourist*, 77.

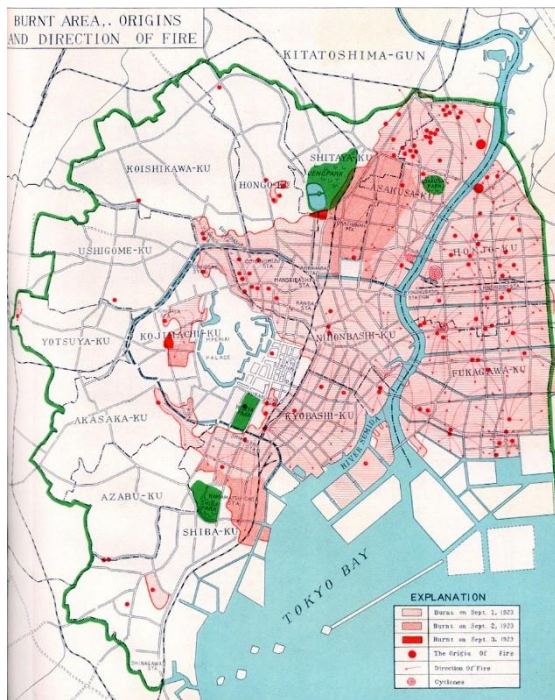


Figure 26: Burnt Area, Origins and Direction of Fire, 2015, Accessed: 21 June 2023, <https://www.oldtokyo.com/earthquake-photography-1923/>.

Once again, the aftermath, and effect of such upheavals on Tokyo is unmentioned in the walking narrative, even though parks were crucial in saving lives as firebreaks during the 1923 Kanto earthquake and sheltering 70% of the 1920s population as refugees in its wake.²²⁰ However, where the “Understanding Edo” tour navigated the lack of built history using performance venues and selling “Edo,” the “Historical Tokyo” tour locates the historical city in the now public gardens of its historical elite, rather than any actual buildings. Nature in this case is not “outside culture” but rather takes on a necessary role in performing (once more predominantly Edo) culture for the tourist. This also reveals the relatively surface level approach to history on this walking tour, unwilling to delve into any darker moments from the city’s past. The only sentence in the tour to touch on such history is the following:

²²⁰ Cheng, Sheauchi & McBride, Joe., “Restoration of the Urban Forests of Tokyo,” 169.

“Though Edo Castle burnt down during a fire in 1873, there are two original Edo style gates that still stand tall welcoming guests,”²²¹ and even this reference to a past catastrophe is immediately negated by the positive note that the original gates continue to welcome visitors. Once again, *Go Tokyo!* constructs a version of “Historical Tokyo” which avoids all that is not completely complimentary. It is interesting that, rather than conserved static history, “Historical Tokyo” also has a place for these historic gardens, whose greenery changes with the seasons, and whose plants grow and senesce, in short, a space of constant and inevitable change.



Figures 27-9, *Historical Tokyo Walk*, Captured 31 May 2023 (Author's own).

However, it is not only the gardens of the Edo Daimyo which constitute this walking tour, and the information at each station variously references the Edo period, the urban development and changes prompted by the 1964 Tokyo Olympics²²² and, of course, the main structural change of Tokyo Dome City is a 1980s construction from the end of the Shōwa period.²²³ The curated route accordingly discusses the history of Japan's “boom” times, or the “flourishing” Edo “culture . . . of exceptional

²²¹ Go Tokyo, “Follow the Footpaths of Historical Tokyo.”

²²² Ibid.

²²³ Tokyo Dome, “Tokyo Dome (Tourists Special Site),” 東京ドームシティ, Accessed: 26 July 2023, <https://www.tokyo-dome.co.jp/en/tourists/dome/>.

refinement,”²²⁴ to quote a classic pronouncement of another Tokyo tourist website. Therefore, considering the continuous history of the area covered on this walk, there are evident value judgements made that lead to the favoured representation of these particular historical moments and the specific traces the pedestrian tourist is directed towards. Barbara Gimblett describes heritage as a way of “producing” “hereness”²²⁵ and therefore when this history walk constructs an idea of “historical” Tokyo as a city characterised by its most glorious or successful moments, those past glories go on to define “hereness” along with the here-and-now of the present-day living city.

Unlike the previous case study, which overlays the city space with a guided experience of “Edo” culture, the idea of the “historical” city in this next tour is vaguer and highlights more of the problematic elements encountered by communicators of urban history. Anderson’s theory of places suggests they are “ongoing” composition of “traces,” and Tokyo, a living city with centuries of history, thus represents a great accumulation of traces.²²⁶ As such, the sedimentary nature of the urban history creates heterogenous urban space, hence, to attempt to enter a generic vision of “Historical Tokyo,” to enter a generalized city of the past via a walking tour alone, requires a good deal of simplification. This perhaps goes some way to explaining the range of historical sites on the tour, from Kudanshita Station to Spa LaQua in Tokyo Dome City²²⁷.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, for an organisation which attempts to “attract” visitors to Tokyo,²²⁸ *Go Tokyo!* reduces the long history of the area and “Tokyo” to the successful developments of the Edo period and “boom time” construction around Kudanshita station, in a rather flat, classically touristic version of public history. It then follows that in presenting “Historical Tokyo” as a “retreat,” certain live

²²⁴ Japan Experience, “The Edo Period (1603-1868),” The Edo period (1603-1868), Accessed: 26 July 2023.

²²⁵ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara, “Theorizing Heritage,” 373.

²²⁶ Anderson, Jon, *Understanding Cultural Geography*, 89

²²⁷ GO TOKYO, “Follow the Footpaths of Historical Tokyo.”

²²⁸ TCVB Tokyo Convention & Visitors Bureau, “Tokyo Convention & Visitors Bureau,” Accessed: 26 July 2023, <https://www.tcvb.or.jp/en/>.

“history issues” and memory sites are avoided, passing unmentioned by this tour which, as in the case of the “Understanding Edo” tour, will now be brought to light and analysed.

Case Study 2 Discussion: Memory Gaps and History Issues

The curation of this walking route by *Go Tokyo!* allows only specific, favourable histories to be included on the trail and therefore the omissions, the sites of memory deemed “suspicious,” are key to understanding the interaction between tourist writing, history and memory. The tour silently passes the controversial Yasukuni Shrine²²⁹ along with a military monument to Ōyama Iwao, a veteran of the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars, immediately indicating with its silence that war memories, including specific commemoration sites, are not included in the vision of “Historical Tokyo” performed for the tourist.



Figures 30-31: The Ōyama Iwao Monument and the Yasukuni Shrine, captured 31 May 2023 (Author's own).

These two sites are huge physical realities, grandiose distractions on the trail, and yet they do not receive so much as a sentence in the *Go Tokyo!* script. How is it that a “nationally sanctioned war memorial”²³⁰ with such an obvious physical presence, and an inarguable visual command over the

²²⁹ As Paul Walley describes on page 62 of *Tokyo Now & Then: An Explorer's Guide* “the shrine is . . . a highly controversial place in a nation which shuns controversy”

²³⁰ Akiko Takenaka, *Yasukuni Shrine: History, Memory, and Japan's Unending Postwar* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2017): 7.

pedestrian viewer, which has been described as the Japanese equivalent of the American tomb of the unknown soldier,²³¹ goes completely unmentioned in this walking tour of “historical” Tokyo? The answer is perhaps that this site has accrued more than memory but is also the symbolic locus of the debates surrounding state commemoration and war responsibility.²³²

While the shrine has commemorated war dead since the 1800s, it is its place as a “powerful vehicle of the glorification of” the World Wars,²³³ its enshrinement of war criminals amongst the glorious dead,²³⁴ and contentious history of state and/or private visits by Prime Ministers which are key to its identity today.²³⁵ Each of these issues which have attached to the national shrine, rather than commenting on Tokyo’s local history, touch on nationwide and, particularly in the case of the treatment and commemoration of war criminals, international discourses.²³⁶ From the perspective that this walking guide is specifically for foreign tourists, potentially with links to those victimised by said criminals, it is thus unsurprising that the walker is not directed to this site, though it looms large in the geography of the city. The suppression of this site from the walking narrative is a proof of the fact that “the Yasukuni issue has made it difficult to forge a politically robust consensus in Japan about historical memory and national identity.”²³⁷ Yasukuni Shrine incompatible with neutral “consensus” and hence, in a tour which seeks to create an identity for “Historical Tokyo” via the broad “consensus”²³⁸ of the tourist walking route, it must be ignored. This walk into a “Historical Tokyo” is a method for

²³¹ Masaru Tamamoto, “A Land without Patriots: The Yasukuni Controversy and Japanese Nationalism,” *World Policy Journal* 18, no. 3 (2001): 34.

²³² Takenaka and Mochizuki both recognise that, whether or not they consider it an unnuanced simplification of a complex debate, the Yasukuni shrine has become the popular image in the last half-century for the ongoing postwar debates surrounding postwar responsibility, the separation of religion and the state and the relationship between contemporary politics and imperial wartime ideology.

²³³ Mikyoung Kim, B. Schwartz, and Mike M. Mochizuki, “The Yasukuni Shrine Conundrum: Japan’s Contested Identity and Memory,” essay, in *Northeast Asia’s Difficult Past: Essays in Collective Memory* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2010): 33.

²³⁴ Known as “eirei.” Phillip Seaton, “War Commemoration and the Yasukuni Shrine Issue,” History in the Public Sphere Core Course (Winter) (lecture, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, February 22, 2023).

²³⁵ Mike M. Mochizuki, “The Yasukuni Shrine Conundrum: Japan’s Contested Identity and Memory,” essay, in *Northeast Asia’s Difficult Past: Essays in Collective Memory* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2010): 31

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 42.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 45.

²³⁸ MacCannell, Dean., *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, 139.

presenting historical consensus to the Tourist, a unified image of a city which can be achieved only by selective silences.

Conclusion: If the Past Is a Foreign Country, What Do We Find When We Visit “Historical Tokyo”? Palatable Tourist Narratives and Questionable Memories

There has been a trend in Japan’s popular histories towards “rebuilding an idealized past” rather than “than maintaining memories”²³⁹ and, in turn, when coupled with the tourism industry’s need to “sell a commodity to a group of consumers”²⁴⁰ (the commodity here being the city of Tokyo), this results in the avoidance of the collective memories woven into the urban fabric. Indeed, particularly the “Understanding Edo” tour reflects the need of the Japanese tourism industry to “reflect contradictions between goals to internationalize and fears about vanishing Japanese cultural traditions,”²⁴¹ with its focus on Edo culture and blindness to the memory spaces it passes through. The 2.5 case studies, notwithstanding slightly different historical subject matters, and geographical areas, indicate a simplification of urban histories to appeal to the tourist gaze. This ensures that the spaces walked through offer an unchallenging and, importantly, marketable city history. There is a drive to consensus which requires turning away from the debates which crowd about the Yasukuni Shrine, or the commemoration of the firebombing, as these memory spaces could raise the curtain to the theatre of memory politics, and its potentially polarising power.

Walking tours provide a selective vision of history by their very format, shrinking the narrative to a series of sites within walkable distance, however, this chapter shows that the spaces walked past are as important in conceiving how cities are performed for tourists as the locations which are described and narrated. Physical locations dedicated to collective memory can legitimise the public

²³⁹ Akiko Takenaka, *Yasukuni Shrine: History, Memory, and Japan’s Unending Postwar* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2017): 169

²⁴⁰ John Frow, “Tourism and the Semiotics of Nostalgia,” October 57 (1991): 149.

²⁴¹ Creighton, Millie. “Consuming Rural Japan: The Marketing of Tradition and Nostalgia in the Japanese Travel Industry.” *Ethnology* 36, no. 3 (1997): 239–54. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3773988>, 239.

identities “social actors and groups—and, indeed, entire nations,”²⁴² however, where these spaces are contested, they come into tension with the generalising force of tourism. Perhaps the “Japanese insistence that non-Japanese criticism of Japanese historiography. . . goes against the spirit of a regional public sphere”²⁴³ limits the historiographical options of the walking tour narrative, and yet, the public sphere that the walk is part of and physically encounters in the cityscape “is supposed to be a vehicle for mobilizing public opinion as a political force.”²⁴⁴ While in-person alternative volunteer tours of Yasukuni Shrine are noted by Takenaka,²⁴⁵ there were no “alternative” English language self-guided options that this author could source, however there is perhaps a need for them to challenge or distort the perceived identity of the city and complicate the one-note touristic experience. Whether there should be space in historical city tours for the tourist to be confronted with a more nuanced version of the city, is a question that will arise again in the subsequent chapter, where both a “Jewish Florence” and a “Hidden Florence” walking tour attempt to present an alternative to the standard touristic pedestrian offering. However, at least in the Japanese case, the walking tours discussed here opt for a more palatable, and digestible, version of “Tokyo.”

²⁴² Reuben Rose-Redwood, Derek Alderman, and Maoz Azaryahu, “Collective Memory and the Politics of Urban Space: An Introduction,” *GeoJournal* 73, no. 3 (2008): 162.

²⁴³ “Epilogue: Caught between Contentions and Dialogues: Historical Memories in Northeast Asia” by Jae-Jung Suh in *Northeast Asia’s difficult past: Essays in collective memory*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK), 248.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 249.

²⁴⁵ Akiko Takenaka, *Yasukuni Shrine: History, Memory, and Japan’s Unending Postwar* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2017): 190-196.

Chapter 3: Florence Case Studies

Firenze, “Where Visitors Can Play With History”²⁴⁶: An Introduction

“Florence often seems to be a kid activity carpet where visitors can play with history,”²⁴⁷ and one could argue that this is the effect that walking tours also have upon the cityscape, turning city maps into treasure maps where rather than gold one hunts for historical facts as they follow each route to where “x marks the spot” at the next point of interest. Yet, to view Florence, the UNESCO Heritage Site,²⁴⁸ as a space where “education meets leisure”²⁴⁹ is nothing new, with the city receiving tourists since the early days of the Grand Tour.²⁵⁰ Where Tokyo’s past is concreted over and found in regal gardens, here the terracotta roofs of the old town announce the city’s historical credentials. Then there is the grand Duomo at the centre of all, visible from many a winding, shadowed street and dominating the many panoramas of the city, whether from Piazzale Michelangelo or the lower reaches of the Apennines. Along with the iconic images of David and the Birth of Venus, it is available in some miniature form as a souvenir on every corner. One could almost imagine, seeing the manner it is framed at every belvedere and reproduced ad nauseum in each shop window, that the city exists solely for the tourist gaze, for those visitors who “play,”²⁵¹ and, of course, to sell itself.

Melotti calls this vision of the city presented to the tourist the “Grand Tour Gaze,”²⁵² developing the MacCannell concept of the gaze to the specific locality of Florence. This is a gaze less interested in the “real contemporary” place than it is in the idea of the city as a “remain of the past.”²⁵³ However, Florence and her citizens have long been comfortable with reimagining the past for present

²⁴⁶ Melotti, M. “Florence: Tourism, Heritage and Consumption”, in *Tourist Behaviour, Tourism, Hospitality & Event Management*, eds. Kozak, M., Kozak, N., (Springer, 2018): 188.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Loda, Mirella, Sara Bonati, and Matteo Puttilli., “History to Eat. the Foodification of the Historic Centre of Florence,” *Cities* 103, (August 2020): 4.

²⁴⁹ Melotti, M., “Florence: Tourism, Heritage and Consumption,” 184.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., 182.

²⁵¹ Melotti, “Florence: Tourism, Heritage and Consumption”, 188.

²⁵² Ibid., 186.

²⁵³ Ibid., 189.

political expediency, with its mythical origin emerging in the 1400s and dropping no lesser names than Julius Ceasar, Attila the Hun and Charlemagne,²⁵⁴ as would befit the glory of what was then a city on its way to become a juggernaut of Renaissance culture. Melotti contends that the persistence grand tour gaze is somewhat self-imposed and that during the city's brief stint as capital in the Risorgimento to repurpose the past was to glorify the new state.²⁵⁵ All this is to say that with a long history, particularly of Anglo-American tourism and presence in Florence,²⁵⁶ and consequently English language touristic materials, when we begin to stride along the four walking routes analysed in this chapter, there is a wealth of inter-, meta- and intra- textual history to consider.

As detailed in the introduction to the thesis this chapter will analyse 4 walking tours, 3 from state tourist board organisations and one, another supplementary study, from a quasi-academic project. This outlier is the *Hidden Florence* app which attempts using the city's most emblematic era, the Renaissance (which tourists supposedly "come to Florence"²⁵⁷ to see), to reimagine and counter that flat, panoramic, "large picture" postcard of Florence.²⁵⁸ Once again, as covered in the introduction to this thesis, while this chapter will not consider directly a stereotypical renaissance walking tour, it will explore how the historically constructed, and currently marketed, vision of the "renaissance city" colours each of the tours, regardless of their historical focus. The brief consideration of the *Hidden Florence* walking tours will furthermore bring to the fore some of the historical clichés, and historical choices, that guide the tourist gaze towards a certain vision of the city. While the "Understanding Edo" walking tour of the previous chapter reimaged the cityscape in a historical form lost to the sands of time, in Florence the past has often been not only reimaged but rebuilt, specifically with the historically curious pedestrian in mind.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁴ Maxson, Brian Jeffrey., *A Short History of Florence*, position 1013.

²⁵⁵ Melotti, M. "Florence: Tourism, Heritage and Consumption," 190.

²⁵⁶ Renard, Thomas., "For the defense of Florence: site-specific urbanism versus sanitary planning," *Planning Perspectives*, 37:3, (2022): 529.

²⁵⁷ Maxson, Brian Jeffrey., *A Short History of Florence*, Position 218.

²⁵⁸ Melotti, M. "Florence: Tourism, Heritage and Consumption," 185.

²⁵⁹ Consider the 1864 construction of the "long passeggiata from Porta Romana to the bridge of San Niccolò" stopping at Piazzale Michelangelo as described by Sergio Caruso on page 50 of Monika Poettinger and Piero

With such a wealth of historical, and present-day touristic materials, there are a plethora of options regarding the choice of case studies in this chapter. Well-worn pilgrimage routes bisect the city,²⁶⁰ it is part of the cross-county Renaissance Ring,²⁶¹ and that is not to mention the various liberation route paths,²⁶² the Path of Peace²⁶³ and the Path of Memory²⁶⁴ that traverse the metropolitan area. Furthermore, numerous historic sites in Florence are included in Cultural Routes of the Council of Europe.²⁶⁵ However, such routes and hiking trails, passing through numerous cities, towns and the jurisdiction of a various municipalities, would introduce considerable complications to this research, involving the "themeing" of not just one city but the curation of routes across national and international borders. This is somewhat removed from the focus of this thesis, which is primarily examining self-guided walking tours focused on historic city centres at the heart of tourist activity.

Let us, then, address the authors of the pedestrian reimaginings discussed in this chapter. The first of the official tourist organisations, and creator of Case Studies 3 and 6, "Dante's Florence" and "Jewish Florence" respectively, is *Feel Florence*. The second official tourist organisation is *Visit Tuscany*, which differs from the first in that, rather than only promoting travel in the Florence metropolitan

Roggi's *Florence: Capital of the Kingdom of Italy, 1865-71*, (Kindle Edition: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019) or Melotti's assertion on page 188 of "Florence: Heritage Tourism and Consumption" that 1880s Florence "became an unpredictable mix of restored original buildings . . . and brand-new buildings presented as pieces of the past". This is a city whose leadership has long framed it from all angles in view of the past. What is "bel" in that Piazzale belvedere is that which is historical.

²⁶⁰ Florence is the end point of the popular thru-hike the Via Degli Dei and the pilgrimage of Cammino di San Jacopo, to mention a few.

²⁶¹ "Anello Del Rinascimento | Feel Florence." [Www.feelflorence.it](http://www.feelflorence.it). Accessed: 22 May 2024.

<https://www.feelflorence.it/it/node/22394>.

²⁶² From Monte Giovi passing through the territory of the nearby town of Pontassieve "Sentiero Della Liberazione Di Firenze | Comune Di Pontassieve." [Www.comune.pontassieve.fi.it](http://www.comune.pontassieve.fi.it). Accessed: 22 May 2024, <https://www.comune.pontassieve.fi.it/novita/notizie/sentiero-della-liberazione-di-firenze>.

²⁶³ "Sentiero della Pace" Provincia di Firenze, "Mappa Sentieri," Mappe.provincia.fi.it, Accessed: 22 May 2024, . [id=166#:~:text=Percorso%20il%20%22Sentiero%20della%20Pace](https://www.provincia.fi.it/it/risorse/166#:~:text=Percorso%20il%20%22Sentiero%20della%20Pace).

²⁶⁴ "Sentiero della Memoria," CAI Firenze, "Il Sentiero Della Memoria Tra Poggio Alla Croce E La Badia Di Montescali." Accessed: 22 May 2024. . <https://caifirenze.it/sentiero/il-sentiero-della-memoria-tra-poggio-alla-croce-e-la-badia-di-montescali>.

²⁶⁵ For example, both the Boboli, Bardini and the Villa Medicea di Castello gardens are included in the European Historic Gardens Route Gardens, European Route of Historic. n.d. "Our Gardens - European Route of Historic Gardens." [Www.europeanhistoricgardens.eu](http://www.europeanhistoricgardens.eu), Accessed: 22 May 2024. <https://www.europeanhistoricgardens.eu/en/gardens>.

area, it represents the whole region of Tuscany. This organisation is the creator of Case Study 4 “Dante's Florence: a walking tour among the places of the famous poet.” The third, alternative walking tour and the fifth case study, which is included here to shed light on the extent to which official state tourist products reproduce history in a certain form on walking tours, is the *Hidden Florence* app, which is a project funded by UK and Canadian research councils, involving the University of Exeter and the HEFCE Higher Education Innovation Fund.²⁶⁶

With the aid of these four case studies, this chapter will seek to analyse how the walking tours, two transmitting a biographical history, the next an alternative perspective on the Renaissance and the final tour communicating the history of the local Jewish population, navigate the literal and theoretical historical landscape of Florence. Where the previous chapter engaged more heavily with the entanglement of memory and history on the trail, and how this is dealt with in a touristic format, the Florentine walking tours, by virtue of their development within a highly developed tourist industry,²⁶⁷ instead raise questions about when public history ceases to be history but is rather an exercise in marketing. The chapter will begin with a more in-depth consideration of the cityscape and the urban history that the walking tours traverse before moving on to a discussion of each of the four walking tours.

²⁶⁶ “Credits,” Hidden Florence, Last modified October 23, 2019, Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://hiddenflorence.org/about/credits/>.

²⁶⁷ Beyond solely the long history of tourism, the sector has a real stake in the economic vitality of the city, for example, as is noted by Loda, Mirella, Sara Bonati, and Matteo Puttilli in “History to Eat. the Foodification of the Historic Centre of Florence.” *Cities* 103 (August 2020): 6, tourists make up 52% of the business of all catering outlets in Florence.

Case Studies 3-6: A Brief Urban History of the Space Traversed by the Walking Tours

Where the previous chapter considered the urban history of each walking tour area individually, the area covered by all 4 walking tours in Florence is ostensibly the same, as is evidenced by a comparison of the various maps of each walking tour. As such, the historical topography of the spaces they move through will be considered in tandem. The following six maps depict the evolving city from 1490 until the present day. These are followed by one image capturing a pre-Risanimento Florence from one of the Macchiaioli painters who are an important source²⁶⁸ for any attempt to imagine old Florence in the face of such modernisations as Piazza Repubblica.

²⁶⁸ Poettinger, Monika., Roggi, Piero., *Florence: Capital of the Kingdom of Italy*, 8.



Figure 32: *Pianta della Catena* attributed to Francesco Rosselli, 1490, Di Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, Accessed: 21

May 2024, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=92777312>.

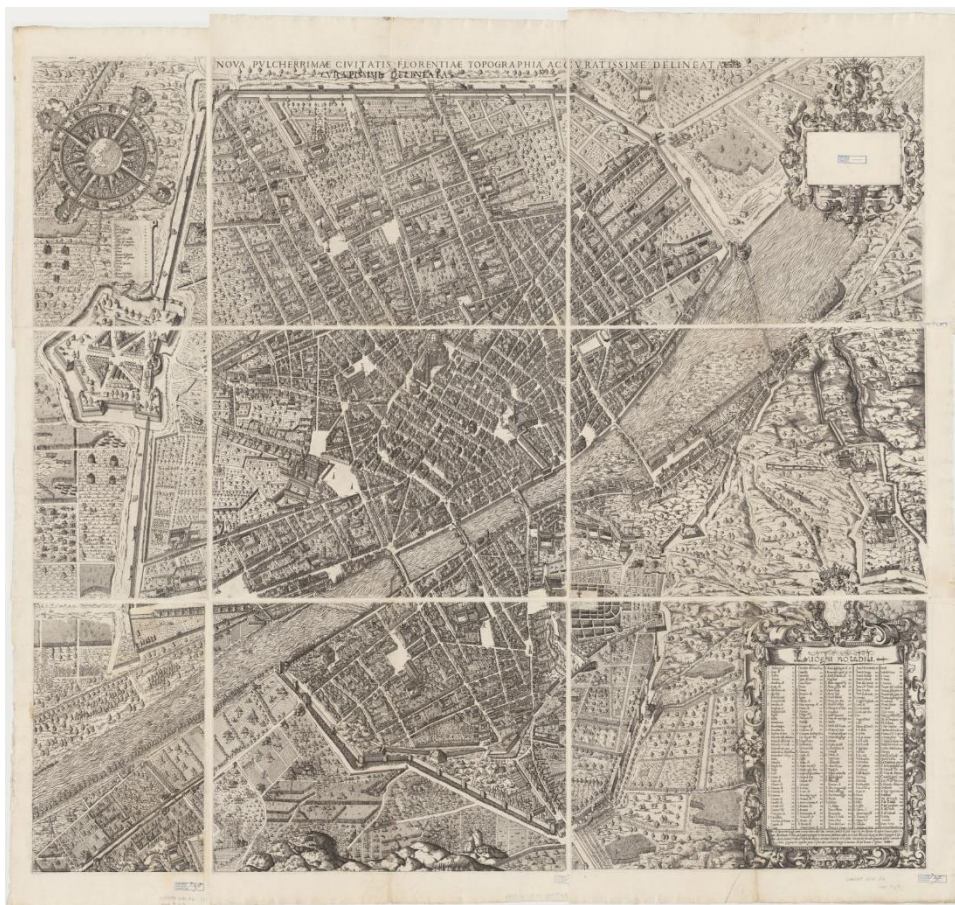


Figure 33: *Pianta del Buonsignori*, 1594, Buonsignori, Don Stefano, Palazzo Vecchio, Firenze, <https://florenceasitwas.wlu.edu/sources/buonsignori-biography1>.



Figure 34: Florentia Pulcherrima Etruria Civitas, circa 1660, Hollar, Wenceslaus, Accessed: 21 May 2024, <https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/60883/florentia-pulcherrima-etruiae-civitas-hollar>.

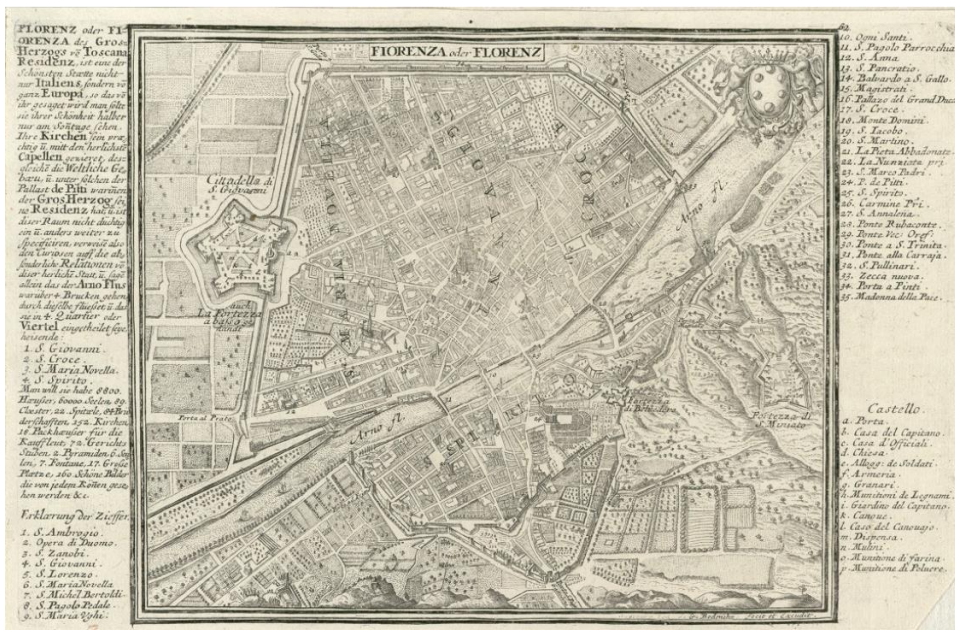


Figure 35: Florence between 1720-30 by G. Bodenehr, Fiorenza oder Florenz, Augsburg, Accessed: 21 May 2024, http://mapy.mzk.cz/mzk03/001/051/329/2619268874_01.



Figure 36: Map of Florence in 1844, W. B Clarke and Edmund Turrell, Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, (London: Chapman & Hall, 1844), Accessed: 21 May 2024, https://www.davidrumsey.com/luna/servlet/detail/RUMSEY~8~1~21014~530106:Florence--Firenze-?sort=pub_list_no_initialsort%2Cpub_list_no_initialsort%2Cpub_date%2Cpub_date.



Figure 37: Mercato Vecchio by Telemaco Signorini, 1881-1883, Private Collection, Accessed: 21 May 2024, <https://www.geometriefluide.com/it/mercato-vecchio-signorini/>.

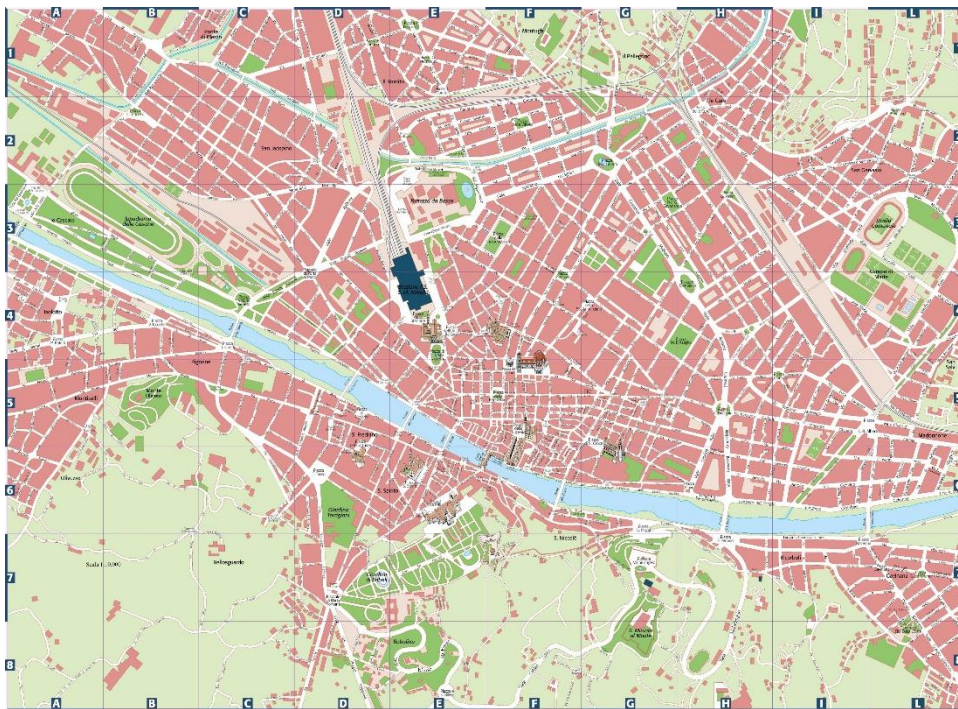


Figure 38: Contemporary Florence, Florence and Abroad s.r.l., 2023, Accessed: 21 May 2024, <https://www.florenceandabroad.com/life-in-the-city/fa-florence-map>.

From these images, perhaps the most obvious conclusion is the continuity, and the conspicuous presence in the city space of key sites for more than five hundred years, which will also appear in the tours below. Even in the Signorini painting, the imposing dome of Santa Maria del Fiore is visible, and, in each map, it is the visual anchor. Indeed, the map of Florence today, showing the increased sprawl of the city and the sixteenth century walls replaced by new roads²⁶⁹ and thus betraying evidence of the flurry of redevelopment during and shortly after the city's time as capital, still slots a 3D effect duomo into the center of the map. This is perhaps a legacy of the similar effect in the 15th century *Pianta della Catena*. Despite the redevelopment efforts of the second half of the 1800s, inspired by the Hausmann plans in Paris and by another city featured in this study, Vienna,²⁷⁰ which resulted in the destruction of the ghetto and the aforementioned creation of the Piazza della Repubblica, the lopsided shape, defined by the old outline of those city walls, remains the same throughout the periods represented here.

²⁶⁹ Poettinger, Monika., Roggi, Piero., *Florence: Capital of the Kingdom of Italy*, 6.

²⁷⁰ This comparison is noted by both Melotti in "Florence: Tourism, Culture and Heritage" on page 185 and by Thomas Renard on page 530 of "For the defense of Florence: site-specific urbanism versus sanitary planning".

However, this is not to say that the city had not undergone substantial changes prior to the Risorgimento era. Indeed, like other comparable Tuscan towns, the late medieval vista was defined by red brick skyscrapers, few of which remain,²⁷¹ moreover huge demographic fluctuations caused by the black death in the 1300s took the city from the second largest in Europe²⁷² to a city whose expanded walls for many years seemed unnecessary for the decimated population. That was, until they came to be pulled down in the nineteenth century in the face of an influx of immigrants and a new phase of city construction. It will therefore be interesting to consider the extent to which the walking tours, with their various historical foci, navigate the continuity represented by certain streets or piazze as opposed to those buildings which have not survived the ravages of time.

Regarding older histories not represented in the maps and images above²⁷³, Maxson argues that Florence was unremarkable for the first 1000 years of its existence,²⁷⁴ nevertheless, there has been a settlement in the vicinity from 40 or 50 BCE²⁷⁵ and should one carefully trace the shape of certain streets the ghostly outline of a Roman Forum²⁷⁶ or Ampitheater²⁷⁷ can be circumscribed. Evidence of the pre-Medieval and Renaissance city remain spectral in this way particularly due to the influence of the Anglo-tourist –gaze on maintaining a certain vision of the city. In the wake of the destruction several of buildings from the 13th and 14th centuries as part of Edoardo Raimondini's Risanimento project,²⁷⁸ the "Anglo-Florentini" played a key role in defending what they perceived as "Florentine heritage,"²⁷⁹ which privileged that highly periodised conception of the city. Therefore, the 19th century, defined by contrary forces of renewal, preservation, and complicated by the nascent

²⁷¹ Maxson, Brian Jeffrey., *A Short History of Florence*, position 334.

²⁷² Ibid., position 396.

²⁷³ The oldest extant "view" of Florence dates from the mid-1300s and can be viewed at position 601 of Maxson, Brian Jeffrey., "A Short History of Florence".

²⁷⁴ Maxson, Brian Jeffrey., *A Short History of Florence*, position 271.

²⁷⁵ Ibid., Position 244.

²⁷⁶ Flanagan, Theresa. "The Ponte Vecchio and the Art of Urban Planning in Late Medieval Florence." *Gesta* 47, no. 1 (2008): 11.

²⁷⁷ Maxson, Brian Jeffrey. *A Short History of Florence*, Position 249.

²⁷⁸ Renard, Thomas., "For the defense of Florence", 532.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., 529.

nationalism of the newly formed Italian state that required the new capital Florence be “an example for the entire nation,”²⁸⁰ is crucial to our understanding of the space walked through by the tours below. This is in the sense that its design has been influenced by the ideas of past tourists, and that their “gaze” was internalised by the state in order to produce the historical city in which visitors may “play”²⁸¹ today.

One final note on the urban reality of Florence, before commencing with the examination of the next four tours, is the unavoidable mention of overtourism. The historic city centre, which each tour passes through, is oft deemed a space entirely “given over to consumption and leisure . . . a stage and display case for short-lived urban experiences aimed at visitors.”²⁸² Coupled with the notion that the external visitor arrives only to “play”²⁸³ with history, this suggests both a lack of seriousness and a fleeting approach to the spatial experience of the city. Whether the tours below merely encourage consumption, perhaps following the example of the two *Go Tokyo!* Tours discussed in the previous chapter is, hence, of interest, alongside the degree to which a leisurely walk through history is encouraged versus a whistlestop tour of the Duomo, Piazzale Michelangelo and little else. In essence, do the self-guided walking tours counter this inclination to briefly “play”²⁸⁴ in the historical city? Additionally, if as stated in Chapter 1, exposure to exhibition objects convinced visitors that the historical narratives presented to them were “real”²⁸⁵, to what extent do these walking tours generate a “real” public history narrative as opposed to mimicking a “short-lived” experience in the present with a slap-dash approach to the past.

²⁸⁰ Poettinger, Monika., Roggi, Piero., *Florence: Capital of the Kingdom of Italy*, 6.

²⁸¹ Melotti, “Florence: Tourism, Heritage and Consumption,” 188.

²⁸² Loda, Mirella et al. “History to Eat”, 2.

²⁸³ Melotti, “Florence: Tourism, Heritage and Consumption,” 188.

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

²⁸⁵ Geerte M. Savenije and Pieter de Bruijn, “Historical Empathy in a Museum,” 838.

Case Study 3 Discussion: Walking Around “Dante’s Florence” and Representing a Biographical History to Tourists

*We do not literally ‘see’ things. Particularly as tourists, we see objects and especially buildings in part constituted as signs. They stand for something else. When we gaze as tourists what we see are various signs or tourist clichés. Some such signs function metaphorically. A pretty English village can be read as representing the continuities and traditions of England from the Middle Ages to the present day.*²⁸⁶

It is perhaps an inevitable consequence that when cities market their historic identities these storied urban spaces often become inextricably tied to iconic names. These act as accessible entry points to and cyphers for a version of this history. To develop Urry’s quotation above, we speak of “Dickensian London,”²⁸⁷ “Salzburg the City of Mozart,”²⁸⁸ but when it comes to our Italian example we step into to “Dante’s Florence”. In the first two examples we indeed encounter historical figures (interestingly all artists) as cyphers or metaphors for their contemporary culture, for the rags and riches of the Victorian Metropolis and the classical golden age of the Austro-Hungarian imperial culture. However, “Dante’s Florence” is an altogether different beast. Rather than evoking a distinct cultural milieu or period with Florence at its center, Dante’s historical “brand”²⁸⁹ is rather more complex.

The Florence of Dante’s *The Divine Comedy* is one of “confusion and disunity, the stage for selfish and sordid intrigues”²⁹⁰ and records attest that “the population of Florence was increased five-fold during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,”²⁹¹ and yet a busy, confused and sordid place is quite

²⁸⁶ Urry, J. and Larsen, J., *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 17.

²⁸⁷ “Charles Dickens London guided walks and Tours”, Charles Dickens London - Tours and Walks, Accessed: 24 November 2023. <https://www.dickenslondontours.co.uk/>.

²⁸⁸ “Salzburg City of mozart : Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart”, Salzburg City of Mozart : Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Accessed: 24 November 2023 <https://www.salzburg.info/en/salzburg/city-of-mozart>.

²⁸⁹ Plate, Liedeke, “Doing Cities by the Book,” 135.

²⁹⁰ Bowsky, W., “Dante’s Italy: A Political Dissection” , *The Historian*, 21(1) (1958): 82.

²⁹¹ Salvemini, G., “Florence in the Time of Dante,” *Speculum*, 11(3) (1936): 318.

distant from the “Dante’s Florence” of travel literature. There is a disconnect between the biographical perspective of the man, the demographic reality, and the pleasurable excursion proffered by walking around “Dante’s Florence.” Briefly reviewing the cultural history and mythologisation of “Dante,” particularly through the eyes of foreigners in Florence, and using John Urry’s *The Tourist Gaze* as a critical framework, this section interrogates how the oft appropriated figure of Dante (and his work) is used to narrate an urban history for a tourist audience. It will consider the ways in which the guiding material of two walking tour case studies around “Dante’s Florence” characterize and conceptualize Florence of the 13th century, and to some extent the success of the “Dante’s Florence” metaphor in evoking a historical city in a living space.

Case Study 3 Discussion: A Brief Survey of Dante in the Public Sphere

Dante is one of the iconic aspects of Florence’s identity, constituting one of the characters in a recent “Florentine genius” event,²⁹² with his face stamped into coins²⁹³ and available to stamp with a series of postage stamps in his image. “Dante” was additionally the name suggested for a new city tram line.²⁹⁴ Indeed, in many ways “Dante’s Florence” stretches far beyond the city walls with “Dante Alighieri” the 5th most common street name in Italy.²⁹⁵ The poet is the only author in this top 5, the remainder of the list being peopled mostly by Risorgimento political figures. Therefore, even outside the narration of the walking tour case studies, “Dante” is frequently evoked in Italy, and especially,

²⁹² Melani, I., ‘The Cradle of the Renaissance? Foreign travelers in Florence from the Past to Present Times (1755–2020)’, in *Cosmopolitan Italy in the age of nations transnational visions from the eighteenth to the twentieth century*, (New York, NY: Routledge, 2023), 230.

²⁹³ Ibid, 152.

²⁹⁴ Ibid, 229.

²⁹⁵ Conti, F., *The Ultimate Italian: Dante and a Nation’s Identity (1st ed.)*, (Routledge, 2022).
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003348368>, 1.

Florence's public space.²⁹⁶ Beyond street names, public monuments of the figure have also been woven into the urban fabric²⁹⁷ from the Risorgimento onwards.

This is the period in which the “historical” Dante begins to evolve into a “mythical, symbolic figure, a standard, the cult object of a specific political religion, the religion of the nation.”²⁹⁸ However, this was by no means an inevitable outcome, especially in a city oft defined by her progeny including, alongside “Dante . . . Donatello, Lorenzo de’ Medici, Michelangelo, Galileo, and many, many others.”²⁹⁹ Thus, a number of popular late-medieval authors, such as Boccaccio or Petrarch,³⁰⁰ could have been culturally adopted in this manner, so why did Dante become a regional, national, and international figure possibly looming far larger than the works he created? In *The Ultimate Italian: Dante and a Nation's Identity*, Conti's tracks the interest in and use of the figure in the public sphere across the last 200 years³⁰¹ and while Conti broadly considers the use of Dante and his poetry in nation building, as an “Italian” and then global icon, for the purposes of this thesis it is interesting that adjacent to this history, and over a similar chronological period, we find the rise of modern tourism.³⁰² As a matter of fact, from the outset of Dante's use as a national symbol, the poet was entangled with arguably touristic activity.

In 1865 for the 6th centenary of Dante's birth celebrations were held “all over Italy and cultural and social associations of all kinds were there to represent, under their colourful banners, the moral virtues of the Italian society.”³⁰³ This event, a “crucial year”³⁰⁴ during Florence's time as capital³⁰⁵

²⁹⁶ “il tessuto urbano di Firenze è stato e continua a essere plasmato da una topografia dantesca” / “the urban fabric of Florence has been and continues to be shaped by a Dante-esque topography” as stated in Rossi, Federica. 2021. “Dalle Pietre Agli Alberi: Celebrare Dante a Firenze Fra Il 1865 E Il 2021”. *Opus Incertum* 7 (December):92-103. <https://doi.org/10.36253/opus-13252>, 92.

²⁹⁷ Conti, F., *The Ultimate Italian: Dante and a Nation's Identity* (1st ed.), 21-4.

²⁹⁸ Ibid, 16.

²⁹⁹ Maxson, Brian Jeffrey. *A Short History of Florence*, Position 196.

³⁰⁰ Ibid., position 749.

³⁰¹ Conti, F., *The Ultimate Italian*, 1.

³⁰² Zuelow, Eric, and Kevin J. James (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Tourism and Travel*, 1.

³⁰³ Poettinger, Monika., Roggi, Piero., *Florence: Capital of the Kingdom of Italy*, 5.

³⁰⁴ Ibid., 75.

³⁰⁵ For Federica Rossi, the Florentine events are a “doppia celebrazione” / “double celebration” of the new capital, the new state and it's new literary figurehead, “Dalle Pietri Agli Alberi” 92.

figured Dante as a cultural icon, conjuring a Florence that was “an example for the entire nation”³⁰⁶ as described in the previous section. Thus, at an existential moment for Florence, when it commanded the eyes of the Europe in this transitory stage of the unification, an “Italian spirit”³⁰⁷ was located Dante. This combined a fledgling touristic sensibility, the event attracted “all kinds”³⁰⁸, and used Dante as the figurehead to appeal to this external proto-tourist gaze to glorify an Italy which technically did not yet exist. As the champion of the Italian vernacular, which would also give the country a “common language,”³⁰⁹ the idea of Dante, combined with the “Medieval and Renaissance heritage,” was the source of what “could be seen as the cultural and historical core of the new country.”³¹⁰ This chapter therefore analyses these Dante-themed historical walking tours, rather than say “Donatello in Florence”³¹¹ or “Giotto in Florence,”³¹² because the repurposing of this one man’s history has long been tied to both nation and identity building, and touristic activity on the part of the state.

Furthermore, while the 1865 centenary represented the first time the threads of nationalism and tourism wove together to form a crown for the literary muse, let us not forget Dante’s role in ensuring Ravenna, the site of his tomb, and Florence, his place of birth, were already entries on the grand tour itinerary of the European elite.³¹³ Indeed, William Morris and Ruskin, two illustrious historical tourists, placed³¹⁴ therefore those who undertake either of these two walking tours are in good company. To bring together this grand tour past with a site of modern tourism, there is the discovery of the Giotto portrait of Dante, which was key in the founding of the Bargello Museum³¹⁵ and is unsurprisingly featured in both the walking tours discussed.

³⁰⁶ Poettinger, Monika., Roggi, Piero., *Florence: Capital of the Kingdom of Italy*, 6.

³⁰⁷ Conti, F., *The Ultimate Italian*, 47.

³⁰⁸ Monika Poettinger, Piero Roggi. *Florence: Capital of the Kingdom of Italy*, 5.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.

³¹⁰ Melotti, M., “Florence: Tourism, Heritage and Consumption,” 188.

³¹¹ “Donatello in Florence,” Last Updated March 19 2022, Accessed: 21 May 2024, <https://www.feelflorence.it/en/node/47794>.

³¹² “Giotto in Florence,” Last Updated 19 July 2020, Accessed: 21 May 2024, <https://www.feelflorence.it/en/node/17032>.

³¹³ Conti, F., *The Ultimate Italian*, 30.

³¹⁴ Salvemini, G., “Florence in the Time of Dante,” 326.

³¹⁵ Conti, F., *The Ultimate Italian*, 25



Figure 39: The Bargello Dante portrait, under the beatific glow of a spotlight. While critics have since cast doubt on the authenticity of the portrait,³¹⁶ it remains a commanding part of the museum's collection, Captured 3 March 2024, Author's Own.

Particularly relevant as a historical background to this study is the idea of the "Dantean journey," a kind of secular pilgrimage, undertaken by Dante Experts such as Alfred Bassermann³¹⁷ and described by R. Cavalieri "not so much a journey through space in search of new places, as a journey through time"³¹⁸ in Dante's footsteps. The reverence of Dante's image under the Mussolini regime³¹⁹ is of less concern, spanning a period of the 20th century where touristic activity was unsurprisingly limited. However, in the post-war period, specifically from the 1960s onwards, we encounter the "global" Dante, celebrated by none other than UNESCO.³²⁰ As the Grand Tour became Mass Tourism,³²¹ his name, abstracted and mythologized over these 200 years, has become appropriated by the industry as demonstrated by the following two case studies. While Dante as an icon has long been a symbol for various configurations of "Italianness" for political groups³²² across time, there is also a parallel tourist gaze upon the man, and those locales to which his name has been attached.

³¹⁶ Maxson, Brian Jeffrey, *A Short History of Florence*, position 423.

³¹⁷ Ibid, 86.

³¹⁸ Conti, F., *The Ultimate Italian*, 30.

³¹⁹ Ibid., 136.

³²⁰ Ibid., 156.

³²¹ Urry, J. and Larsen, J., *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 5-7.

³²² Conti, F., *The Ultimate Italian*, 2.

Case Study 4 Discussion: Dante's Florence by *Feel Florence*

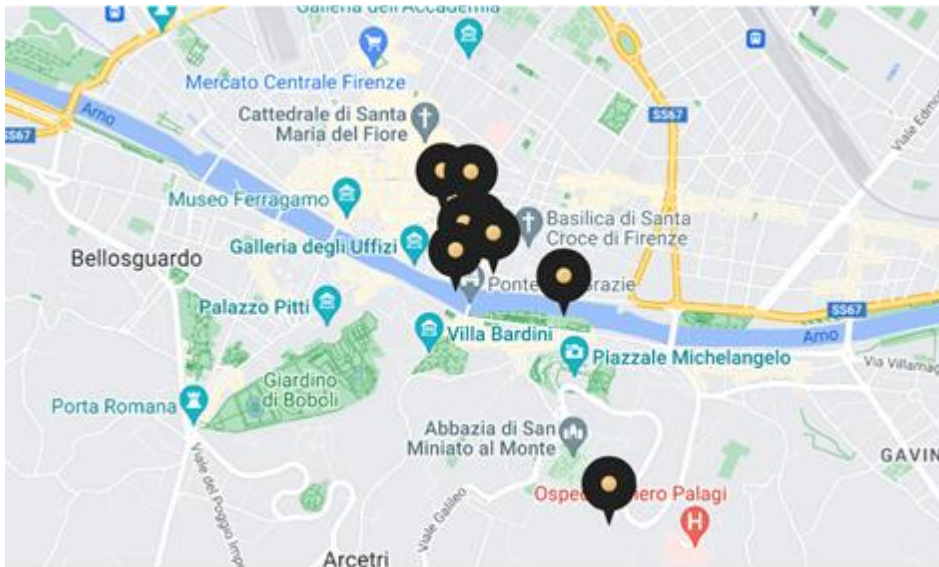
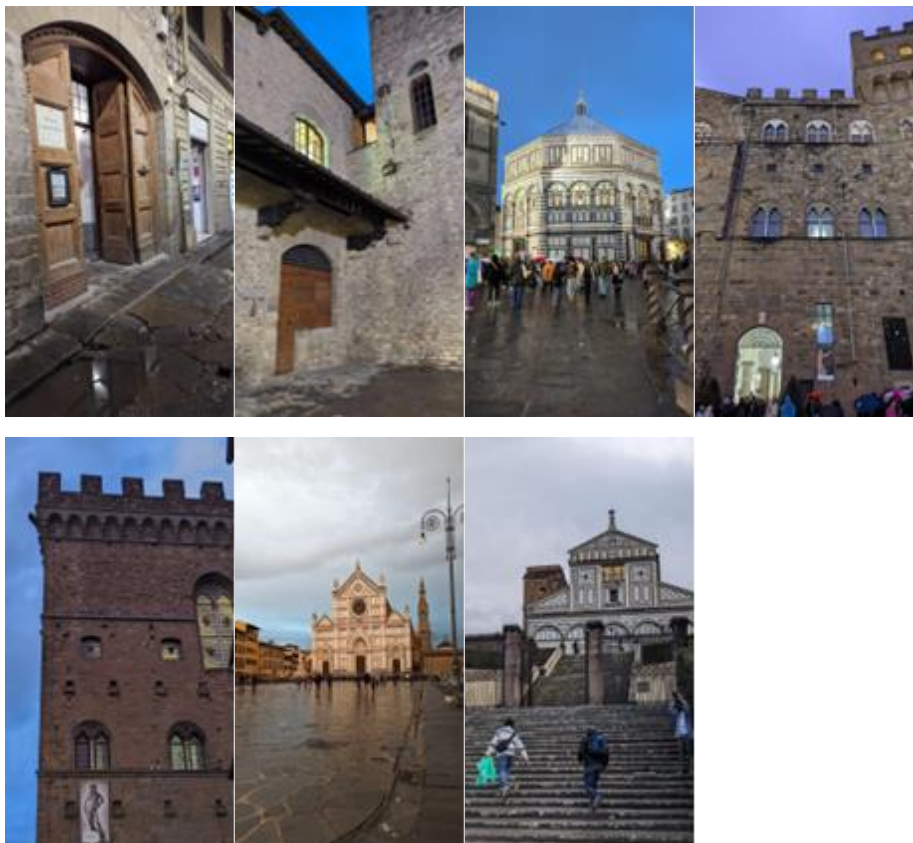


Figure 40: Dante's Florence Walking Map, Feel Florence, Accessed: 09 November 2023, <https://www.feelflorence.it/en/node/38130>



Figures 41-47: Selected stops on the walking tour in chronological order, Captured 03 November 2023, (Author's own)

The first case study under examination is "Dante's Florence", a history walking tour published by *Feel Florence* on 20 September 2020. Of the 215 walking tours offered by the *Feel Florence* website,

some 27 feature some reference to Dante.³²³ The walking tour encompasses eight stops in Florence's historic center, crossing the river to finish the tour at the panoramic steps of San Miniato del Monte.³²⁴ The stations of the tour are Dante's neighborhood and tower houses, the House of Dante and Church of Santa Margherita de' Cerchi, the Baptistry of San Giovanni, Santa Reparata in Santa Maria Del Fiore, Palazzo Vecchio, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, and finally the Basilicas of Santa Croce and San Miniato al Monte. Each of the 8 stations on the walking tour is accompanied by a short historical narration and the tour itself is prefaced with a block of text providing a summary of the urban history traversed. This introductory text, however, does not introduce who Dante is, provide any biographical summary, or explain the legacy of *The Divine Comedy*. It assumes the audience's prior awareness of the man and the associated "signs or tourist clichés,"³²⁵ bolstering Conti's idea of Dante as a "global" figure. Indeed, considering that Dante was a poet, it is striking that there are no citations from his poetry, in English or Italian. Accordingly, even a cursory glance of the un-walked route suggests that it is the image of Dante, emerging from the tradition described in the previous section that we encounter, rather than the actual literary innovator.

In terms of the representation of history, and how history is narrated on this tour, the use of Dante as a lens through which to view historic buildings such as the Palazzo Vecchio or Santa Croce leads to a rather strange, vague conceptualisation of the past. The periodisation of what and when comprises "Dante's Florence" is nebulous because, while Dante resided in Florence between 1265-1302 prior to his exile,³²⁶ the tour includes the aforementioned Palazzo Vecchio which was only completed after his death, the Cathedral Santa Maria del Fiore which remained under construction while the poet was exiled and the House of Dante, Dante's supposed childhood home, which was in

³²³ "Experiences & Itineraries," *Feel Florence*, Accessed: 11 March 2024, <https://www.feelflorence.it/en/routes>.

³²⁴ "Dante's Florence," *Feel Florence*, <https://www.feelflorence.it/en/node/38130>.

³²⁵ Urry, J. and Larsen, J., *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 17.

³²⁶ "Dante's Florence: A walking tour among the poet's places," *Visit Tuscany*, Accessed: 09 November 2023, <https://www.visituscany.com/en/itineraries/dantes-florence-a-walking-tour-among-the-places-of-the-famous-poet/>.

fact rebuilt in the 20th Century.³²⁷ Indeed, with six out of the eight stops located in San Giovanni, a location where in the aftermath of the Renaissance “it was impossible to live, worship, or visit . . . without seeing and reading”³²⁸ Medici power in the cityscape, we encounter a key issue in mapping the figure of “Dante” onto his native city. Although the medieval shape of the city and its streets has remained quite similar over time, at least in this quarter, the built history is rather more indebted to those Renaissance works of Medici self-promotion than the Medieval constructions of Dante’s time. Especially because this is a tradition that continued until the fall of the Medici Duchy.³²⁹ We have seen that the promotion of Dante as a symbol of the city and the country was truly ignited in the latter half of the 1800s when Florence’s “Medieval and Renaissance heritage”³³⁰ was deigned representative of the nation. Therefore, it is perhaps a legacy of announcing these periods in the same breath over the years that results in a “Dante” tour entwined with buildings and locations the man himself would not recognise, with greater connections to the Renaissance than the late-medieval period.

While these anachronistic choices are noted in the text, one must question particularly the inclusion of the Palazzo Vecchio. Extra sites actually in existence during Dante’s time are detailed in relation to it and yet the palazzo is deemed “an essential place to understand the political history of Florence.”³³¹ Of course, it is certainly not necessarily an “essential place” to understand “Dante’s Florence,” a political space dominated by the White and Black Guelphs, thus it is evident that we do not follow in Dante’s footsteps on a modern Dantean Journey. These inclusions instead seem to pander to the expectant tourist gaze, its eyes first blinking open at that 1865 centenary and whose relics, including the Pazzi statue at Santa Croce,³³² and the 1887 “Neo-Gothic façade of Santa Maria del Fiore”³³³ are in fact traversed by this tour. The Duomo and the Palazzo, notably, are iconic Florentine

³²⁷ “Dante’s Florence,” *Feel Florence*, <https://www.feelflorence.it/en/node/38130>.

³²⁸ Maxson, Brian Jeffrey, *A Short History of Florence*, position 1228.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, position 1261.

³³⁰ Melotti, M., “Florence: Tourism, Heritage and Consumption,” 188.

³³¹ “Dante’s Florence,” *Feel Florence*, <https://www.feelflorence.it/en/node/38130>.

³³² Inaugurated by Vittorio Emanuele II in 1865 as part of the centenary, Monika Poettinger, Piero Roggi., *Florence: Capital of the Kingdom of Italy*, 52.

³³³ Melotti, M., “Florence: Tourism, Heritage and Consumption,” 188.

buildings that form part of many a classic tourist itinerary and, despite their usual association with renaissance Florence, are likely included as a concession to the modern city identity, rather than a visualisation of “Dante’s Florence” and world.

Case Study 4 Discussion: Dante's Florence: A Walking Tour Among the Places of the Famous Poet by *Visit Tuscany*



Figure 48, Dante's Florence: a walking tour among the places of the famous poet map, Visit Tuscany, Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://www.visittuscany.com/en/itineraries/dantes-florence-a-walking-tour-among-the-places-of-the-famous-poet/>.



Figures 49-58, Selected stops on the walking tour in chronological order, Captured 05 November 2023, (Author's own)

Our second foray into “Dante’s Florence: a walking tour among the places of the famous poet” is a product of the *Visit Tuscany* website, published on 14 May 2019. As a product of the *Feel Florence*’s parent organisation, it is to be expected that this tour traverses all the sites in the earlier tour, however, it also passes 4 additional stations: Santa Maria Novella Basilica, Santa Trinità Basilica, Santi Apostoli Church and Orsanmichele Church. While the same allegations of a vague sense of urban history could be levelled at this tour as the *Feel Florence* version, there are clearer biographical ties to traces of the real “Dante,” for example, it is noted that the poet’s funeral mask is exhibited at Palazzo Vecchio.³³⁴ The *Visit Tuscany* tour features a much shorter introduction prior to the walking tour itself, which, like the *Feel Florence* tour, accompanies each stop on the tour with a brief historical narration. Moreover, the exact historical period that the tourist walks through is considerably clearer in this tour: the “second half of the thirteenth century and the first of the fourteenth.”³³⁵

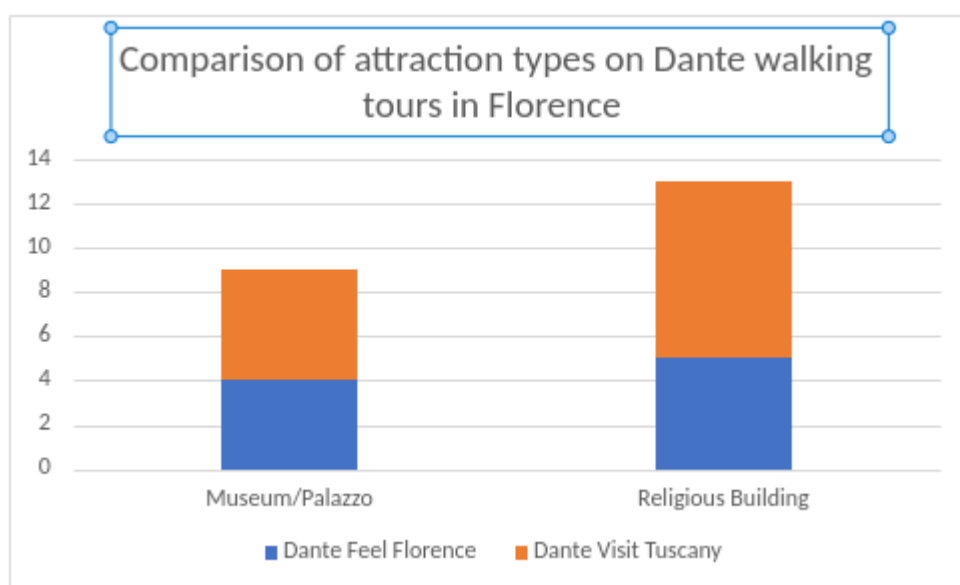


Figure 59: Bar graph comparing the venues included in Case Study 3 and 4, Data Sourced: 9 November 2023 (Author’s Own)

In general, both tours situate “Dante’s Florence” primarily in Churches, Cathedrals and Basilicas. One may contend that this reflects the “Franciscan ideas and ideals” that were “central to

³³⁴ Ibid.

³³⁵ Ibid.

Dante's vision of the world”³³⁶ and the centrality of the catholic church to 13th century life. However, this is an interesting choice considering Dante’s position as a (moderate) white Guelf, his exile for that fact,³³⁷ and his consequent complicated relationship with the church. The preponderance of catholic spaces in “Dante’s Florence” is perhaps misleading in the sense that while as a Guelf the poet was in favour of the papacy,³³⁸ he was also against excessive intervention in the affairs state, particularly the Florentine state, as endorsed in *Monarchia*, also known as *de Monarchia*, his treatise on the equal but separate dignity of the two institutions: “the Church has its own foundation, so has the Empire its own.”³³⁹ While perhaps too much is made of Dante’s supposedly Ghibelline tendencies³⁴⁰ or the fact that *Inferno* is peopled with both Guelf and Ghibelline legends,³⁴¹ it is nevertheless strange to situate such a percentage of the tour in the religious spaces directly connected to the political reasons for the poet’s exile. Additionally, the inexorable, and crucially anachronistic, pull of Piazzale Michelangelo is proves irresistible to the *Feel Florence* tour, which it mentions in the same breath as San Miniato al Monte.³⁴² Both tours therefore culminate in one of those unavoidable “beautiful views of Florence,”³⁴³ and we return to a framed view of the city which not only is vastly different from that available to Dante, given the aforementioned changes to the city, but which, due to his exile, is a “belvedere” which would be inaccessible to the poet. The tourist gazes on the city in a manner entirely divorced from the biographical context of the history they intend to walk into.

³³⁶ Tolan, J., “Mendicants and Muslims in Dante’s Florence,” *Dante Studies with the Annual Report of the Dante Society*, 125, (2007), 228.

³³⁷ Maxson, Brian Jeffrey, *A Short History of Florence*, Position 718.

³³⁸ Ibid., Position, 371.

³³⁹ Alighieri, Dante, *The De Monarchia of Dante Alighieri*, trans. Aurelia Henry (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1904), Accessed: 29 March 2024, http://files.libertyfund.org/files/2196/Dante_1477.pdf, 177.

³⁴⁰ “The creed of Dante's Ghibellinism” in Henry, Aurelia, “Introduction,” *The De Monarchia of Dante Alighieri*, xxvii and the assertion that “Dante continued to promote an imperial perspective” in Paradiso in Maxson, Brian Jeffrey, *A Short History of Florence*, position 547.

³⁴¹ Najemy, John M., *A History of Florence 1200-1575*, 147.

³⁴² “Dante’s Florence,” *Feel Florence*, <https://www.feelflorence.it/en/node/38130>.

³⁴³ This is noted in the tour narrative at the final stop of “Dante’s Florence,” *Feel Florence*, <https://www.feelflorence.it/en/node/38130> and the final stop of “Dante’s Florence”, *Visit Tuscany*, <https://www.visittuscany.com/en/itineraries/dantes-florence-a-walking-tour-among-the-places-of-the-famous-poet/>.

It is probable that this use of Florence's churches is at least partly out of necessity, for while Florence's churches have often remained in continuous use since prior to "Dante's Florence," secular buildings are less likely to have survived Florence's many periods of development.³⁴⁴ The additional stops, as compared with the *Feel Florence* tour, are all such religious sites, and importantly all existed during Dante's lifetime and represent a real physical link to this past. This tour therefore represents something closer to a "Danteization" of Florence, carefully finding some biographical link or aspect of the Dante cultural history to attach to each location, rendering the site culturally significant on top of its aesthetic sightseeing value by invoking Dante and his cultural weight.

³⁴⁴ Potestà, G. 'Urban planning for international cooperation', Visual Representation and Medialisation of History, (Florence: University of Florence, 27 September 2023).

Case Study 3 & 4 Conclusion: Locating “Dante’s Florence”

Dante Alighieri is a historical figure deeply entwined with Florence's historic identity, and the touristic representations of this identity, in the two walking tour case studies from *Feel Florence* and *Visit Tuscany*. In their systematisation and direction of the tourist gaze these walking tours attempt to summon a vision of Dante’s world and yet this vision is complicated by the distortions, and uses of, the Alighieri figure over time. “Italian cities cannot be conceived of as individual dots on a map”³⁴⁵ and as Florence is inseparable from the influence of Italy, the historical figure of “Dante” is inseparable from the hundreds of years of sacralisation, then globalisation, of his image. This introduces a tension with the walking tour format, which must create an enclosed and isolated historic world that is intensely localized for the convenience of the pedestrian, all the while fulfilling the regionalist requirements of the tourist organisations which designed the two case studies.

The analysis of the *Feel Florence* and *Visit Tuscany* walking tours shows that despite slightly different focuses, both tours evoke an indistinct sense of what and when “Dante’s Florence” is. Is it the Florence of the period when he lived? Is it perhaps a series of linked locations that have the fortune to be alluded to in *The Divine Comedy*? These two Dante tours bring to the fore a key issue encountered by the architects of such walking maps: how does one reimagine the city of the past on the present urban space which, even in the most well-preserved of ancient cities, bears marks of the modern world, and the passage of time? In this case we contend with Dante, the poet and historical personage, the national symbol, and the global symbol, and all before any kind of historical experience can be accessed. The historic content of the tours is further complicated by the artistic interventions of popular culture such as Tom Hanks' 2016 film *Inferno* which boosted public interest³⁴⁶ in the city. One

³⁴⁵ Bowsky, W., “Dante’s Italy: A Political Dissection” , *The Historian*, 21(1) (1958): 96, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24437748>.

³⁴⁶ Conti, F., *The Ultimate Italian*, 171.

must also question whether such walking tours reiterate the old “Great Man” theory of history³⁴⁷ in a popular format by organising a gaze on history which views the urban space through the lens of a single man. In any case, where biographical and urban history collide in a tourist activity, the space surveyed by the tourist gaze results in a more heterogeneous vision than the simplistic use of individuals as signs, as historical metaphors, which this section took as its starting point.

³⁴⁷ Carlyle, T., *On Heroes, Hero-worship, and the Heroic in History*, 2008, Accessed: 27 November 2023, <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/1091/1091-h/1091-h.htm>.

Case Study 5 Introduction: “The Renaissance City That Mass Tourism Doesn’t Usually Bother With”³⁴⁸ or the *Hidden Florence* Walking Tour App

The next walking tour under consideration requires us to jump forward in historical time, although considering the number of renaissance sites that infiltrated the Dante tours one could be forgiven for failing to notice, however, it is time to step into Florence as the “cradle of the Renaissance.”³⁴⁹ This notion has become key in touristic materials³⁵⁰ related to the city with a good deal of the 10 million visitors every year “motivated by a “hazy” concept of Renaissance.”³⁵¹ Indeed, the previous mayor of Florence, Matteo Renzi, even “strongly related” his “political” brand to Renaissance Florence,³⁵² creating a docufilm on the subject in 2018.³⁵³ Therefore, is it so surprising that Renaissance histories and spaces wrangled their way into the Dante walking tours when the city is intertwined with this period on a touristic and political level?

However, The *Hidden Florence* walking tour app instead intends for the tourist, or diligent student, not just to tread the ancient streets of the city but to walk into its history, all ironically while capitalising on the possibilities presented by modern technology.³⁵⁴ *Hidden Florence* is an app project led by Fabrizio Nevola, funded by UK and Canadian research councils, involving the University of Exeter and the HEFCE Higher Education Innovation Fund,³⁵⁵ giving this public history project some considerable institutional backing. Therefore, it is slightly different to the other walking tour products analysed here, which are the products of official, state tourism boards. The *Hidden Florence* walking

³⁴⁸ Fabrizio Nevola, “Giovanni Who?,” web log, *Hidden Florence* (blog) (Hidden Florence, March 5, 2013), Accessed: 21 May 2024, <https://hiddenflorence.org/2013/03/05/giovanni-who/>.

³⁴⁹ Melani, Igor., “The Cradle of the Renaissance? Foreign Travellers in Florence from the Past to Present Times (1755–2020),” essay, in *Cosmopolitan Italy in the Age of Nations Transnational Visions from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2023), 230.

³⁵⁰ Fabrizio Nevola, David Rosenthal, “Locating Experience in the Renaissance City Using Mobile App Technologies: The Hidden Florence Project,” essay, in *Mapping Space, Sense, and Movement in Florence: Historical Gis and the Early Modern City* (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016), 190

³⁵¹ Igor Melani, “The Cradle of the Renaissance?,” 230.

³⁵² Melotti, M., “Florence: Tourism, Heritage and Consumption,” 191.

³⁵³ Jessica Camargo Molano, “Perché Il Docufilm Di Renzi Sul Rinascimento è Una Cosa Positiva per Firenze,” *Wired Italia*, August 14, 2018, Accessed: 21 May 2024, <https://www.wired.it/play/televisione/2018/08/14/matteo-renzi-firenze-docufilm-rinascimento/>.

³⁵⁴ Fabrizio Nevola, David Rosenthal, “Locating Experience in the Renaissance City,” 203.

³⁵⁵ “Credits,” *Hidden Florence*, October 23, 2019, Accessed: 21 May 2024, <https://hiddenflorence.org/about/credits/>.

tours app attempts to actively counter the clichés and generic conclusions of such information with the combined power of academic backing and new technologies. Using GPS location triggered audio guides and supplementary written material to communicate tales of people and places from the period 1400-1600, this app intends to counter the “popular” vision³⁵⁶ of the renaissance city, much indebted to the gaze of nineteenth century foreign tourists,³⁵⁷ with an alternative narrative which unfolds via fictional (or fictionalized versions of) historical characters.

If we accept that “socio-spatial theory is most powerful when it . . . refers to historically specific geographies of social relations,”³⁵⁸ then the *Hidden Florence* walking tour ought to provide an interesting example of socio-spatial history in practice. As such, this chapter will consider how this app and the histories it weaves into the contemporary urban fabric characterize an “early modern” Florence and the extent to which these challenge pre-existing assumptions regarding the “historical” city, whose clichés we have encountered in the context of “Dante’s Florence.”

Case Study 5 Introduction: The Un-hidden Renaissance Florence that Mass Tourism *Does* Bother With

“All the artistic glories” of the Italian Renaissance “could not mask” that it “was a troubled time for . . . Florence”³⁵⁹ and both Brackett and Eckstein stress that poorer areas were characterized by

³⁵⁶ In Eckstein’s essay “Mapping Fear: Plague and Perception in Florence and Tuscany” in *Mapping Space, Sense, and Movement in Florence: Historical Gis and the Early Modern City* (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016), the author notes that traditionally “parishes, quarters, or *gonfaloni*, the civic and ecclesiastical divisions” are the primary focus of historians “in reference to the city’s mediaeval and Renaissance history”, the focus is on gilded exteriors, rather than living spaces.

³⁵⁷ Igor Melani, “The Cradle of the Renaissance?,” 244.

³⁵⁸ Jessop, B. Brenner, N. Jones, M. (2008) “Theorising Socio-spatial Relations” in *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, volume 26, 392.

³⁵⁹ John K. Brackett, “The Florentine Criminal Underworld: The Underside of the Renaissance,” essay, in *Mapping Space, Sense, and Movement in Florence: Historical Gis and the Early Modern City* (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016), 293.

disease³⁶⁰, cramped, and poorly ventilated.³⁶¹ This is the hidden Florence that we walk into, rather than the “parishes, quarters, or *gonfalon*”, the civic and ecclesiastical divisions that historians usually discuss in reference to the city’s mediaeval and renaissance history.”³⁶² Conceptually, the popular Renaissance Florence is a city defined by its aristocrats and guilds,³⁶³ a “pharaoh’s lair”³⁶⁴ of conniving and deceit. Trexler, moreover, describes Renaissance Florence, seen through the eyes of the mostly aristocratic sources left to us, as a place where women delivered male workers who said prayers “for their betters”³⁶⁵, in short, a city defined by hierarchies. This is reflected in the urban imagery of most tourist products, with a preponderance of images of the grand Duomo, the palatial Uffizi, and the equally patrician Palazzo Pitti.³⁶⁶ Brackett traces this focus on genteel surfaces back further than current marketing trends, further even than those interventions of the later 19th century or the gaze of the grand tourist, arguing that the humanist thinking of the elites of early modern Florence resulted in the dissemination of the idea of “an imaginary cityscape— of an aristocratic vision of . . . Florence.”³⁶⁷ It is this “vision” that historians and intrepid tourists alike must supposedly disillusion themselves of to approach anything like the experience of “ordinary” people, and to find the “hidden Florence.”

³⁶⁰ Ibid., 295.

³⁶¹ Nicholas A. Eckstein, “Mapping Fear: Plague and Perception in Florence and Tuscany,” 178.

³⁶² Ibid., 177-8.

³⁶³ Richard C. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2019), 15.

³⁶⁴ Ibid., 150.

³⁶⁵ Ibid., 16.

³⁶⁶ Indeed, at present, a google search for “Renaissance Florence” yields almost entirely images of the photogenic Duomo.

³⁶⁷ John K. Brackett, “The Florentine Criminal Underworld: The Underside of the Renaissance”, 294.

Case Study 5 Discussion: A General Consideration of The *Hidden Florence* App

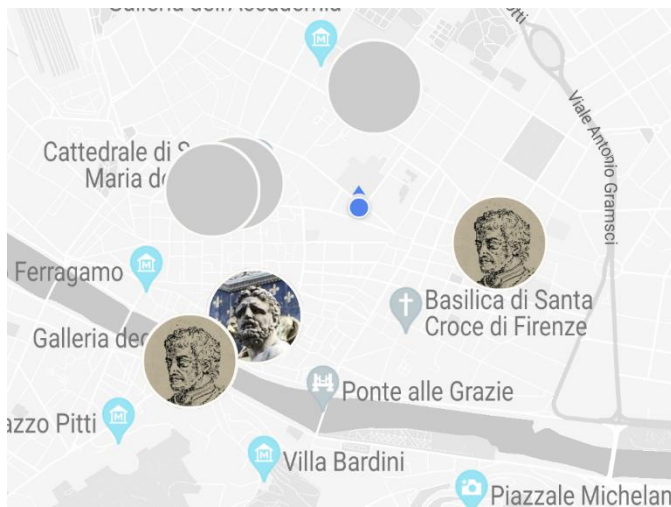


Figure 60: *Hidden Florence* walking tour map, Accessed: 4th December 2023, “*Hidden Florence*,” 4.9.0, (Calvium Ltd, 30 October 2023), app by Fabrizio Nevola, Donal Cooper, Nicholas Terpstra, Daniel Jamison, David Rosenthal.

The “characters” who guide you through “Renaissance Florence” are a broad church, encompassing a Medici, a weaver, a widow, a policeman and others besides.³⁶⁸ Therefore, there is an attempt to represent insights into the past of Florence from a variety of perspectives of the social hierarchy. Even within this hierarchy diverse aspects of Florentine life are evoked; sacred life, torture methods and the female experience all find their way into different characters’ stories. The app melds the traditional, more patrician view of Renaissance Florence, of great wealthy patrons and the art and artists they fund, with something approaching a history from below,³⁶⁹ closer to a social history of the city.³⁷⁰ Only two of the tours are available in English and Italian, that of the “neighbourhood world”³⁷¹ and “Politics and People,”³⁷² this suggests these are perhaps the most fundamental tours from the perspective of the app developers. This may also be because they take the most generalized approach to local history in contrast to the tour that constitutes case study 5 which elucidates on women’s lives in early modern Florence. Thus, the more “hidden” aspects history, referring to the oft suppressed

³⁶⁸ Ibid.

³⁶⁹ Fabrizio Nevola, David Rosenthal, “Locating Experience in the Renaissance City,” 196.

³⁷⁰ See, for example, Giovanni’s neighbourhood tour or Ercole’s insight into the lives of the *Malcontenti* in “*Hidden Florence*,” app by Fabrizio Nevola et al.

³⁷¹ “Il mondo del quartiere.”

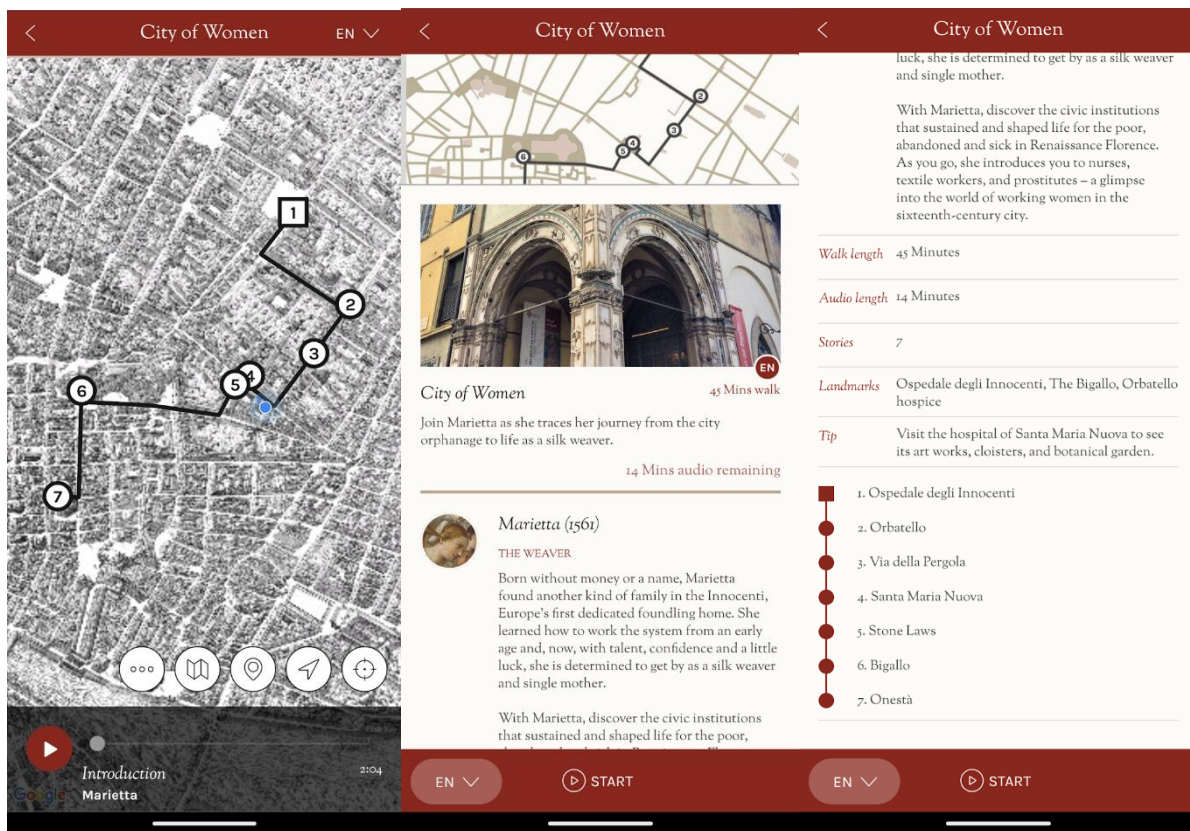
³⁷² “Popolo e Politica.”

female experience,³⁷³ unfortunately remain “hidden” for the Italian speaking audience. While the translated headline tours certainly counter “an aristocratic vision of . . . Florence,”³⁷⁴ the neighbourhood world and political life of men retain the same prominence in the app that they arguably did in patriarchal Early Modern Florence. Hence, the app reflects the values of historical world it attempts to describe in this sense, however, it remains to be seen if these other tours will be translated in the near future.

³⁷³ Hughes, Diane Owen, Marina Bocconcelli, Raul Mordenti, Lucia Ferrante, and Anna Benvenuti Papi. “La Famiglia e le Donne Nel Rinascimento Fiorentino.” *Quaderni Storici* 24, no. 71 (2) (1989): 629–51. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43778140>, 360.

³⁷⁴ John K. Brackett, “The Florentine Criminal Underworld: The Underside of the Renaissance,” 294.

Case Study 5 Discussion: The City of Women



Figures 61-63: The "City of Women" walking map, indicating the geographical scope of the tour along with the style and functionality of the app interface, Accessed: 4th December 2023, Hidden Florence, app by Fabrizio Nevola et al.



Figures 64-67: Stops 1, 3, 6 and 7 on the City of Women Hidden Florence walking tour, captured on 8 December 2023, (Author's Own)

This next section will focus on a specific tour within the app: “City of Women.” The character who “narrates” this version of Florence’s history is *Marietta*, voiced by Candida Gubbins.³⁷⁵ In a historical context where “male youth below thirty were considered imperfect “idiots,” as were all women,”³⁷⁶ the very focus on a female, working class (the character is a weaver) history of the city challenges the “aristocratic vision of . . . Florence.”³⁷⁷ Using historical sources as documented on the *Hidden Florence* Blog,³⁷⁸ the walking tour speculates a sympathetic inner life for those women who existed to deliver children and nought else,³⁷⁹ complicating assumptions that Early Modern Florence’s “City of Women” was something separate and isolated from the “Renaissance City” as a whole.

The app attempts to create a fully immersive experience with all un-narrated walking sections scored by “renaissance style” music and uses the Bonsignori map,³⁸⁰ a renaissance creation, for navigation. This map is notable as it represents an early form of touristic material³⁸¹ according to Frangenberg, however, this is countered by the creators of the app who suggest it was originally “not. . . designed for”³⁸² navigational use. The fact remains that the app permits a kind of virtual time-travel, repurposing and recontextualising primary sources to achieve a historical affect and effect, exaggerated by the immersive music and first-person narration. This is also seen in the way that the “hidden” fictionalized history challenges the conventions of the Bonsignori map itself. The early modern map highlights and visually prioritizes religious and political sites in the city, see the outsized “3D” Duomo of the map in figure 33, whereas living spaces of all kinds are rendered as “a standardized

³⁷⁵ “Credits,” Hidden Florence, 23 October 2019, Accessed: 21 May 2024, <https://hiddenflorence.org/about/credits/>.

³⁷⁶ Richard C. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, 11.

³⁷⁷ John K. Brackett, “The Florentine Criminal Underworld: The Underside of the Renaissance,” 294.

³⁷⁸ “Marietta’s Story” Hidden Florence, 12 October 2018, Accessed: 21 May 2024, <https://hiddenflorence.org/2018/10/12/mariettas-story/>.

³⁷⁹ Richard C. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, 16.

³⁸⁰ “About Bonsignori’s Map,” Hidden Florence, 7 June 2019, Accessed: 21 May 2024, <https://hiddenflorence.org/about/about-bonsignori-map/>.

³⁸¹ Frangenberg, Thomas. “Chorographies of Florence. The Use of City Views and City Plans in the Sixteenth Century.” *Imago Mundi* 46 (1994): 41–64. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1151186>, 52.

³⁸² Fabrizio Nevola, David Rosenthal, “Locating Experience in the Renaissance City”, 192.

‘model’ of what a Florentine home looked like.”³⁸³ In contrast, the sites brought to life by the *Marietta* narration include a foundling hospital, working class apartments and a charitable public loggia, all pictured above. Such a focus disrupts the self-fashioning energy of the Bonsignori map, which glorifies institutional sites of power which nowadays constitute the “big sites” any member of the tourist hordes has likely “seen already” as *Marietta* puts it.³⁸⁴

³⁸³ Rose, Colin, “Thinking and Using DECIMA: Neighbourhoods and occupations in Renaissance Florence,” essay, in *Mapping Space, Sense, and Movement in Florence: Historical Gis and the Early Modern City* (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016), 19.

³⁸⁴ “Hidden Florence” app by Fabrizio Nevola et al.

Case Study 5 Conclusion: What Does *Hidden Florence* Reveal About the Early Modern City?

*Through walking, in short, landscapes are woven into life, and lives are woven into the landscape, in a process that is continuous and never-ending.*³⁸⁵

The above quote by Timothy Ingold summarizes the experience that the *Hidden Florence* app develops in its novel communication of historical information. With its immersive audio tour combining ancient materials with modern technology in all senses, and for all senses, the “continuous” nature of experience comes to the fore. The modern landscape and modern interpretation of historical material, built and written, anecdotal and scholarly, is forced into confrontation through the live experience of walking in the living city with an app that lets you relive the historic one. This allows the app to present early modern Florence as a similarly diverse, living place, of working women like *Marietta*, for example. However, one must question the extent to which this parallels a *strange* past, with a quite different culture to that of present-day Florence with our own, beyond the bounds of historical responsibility. While the contrast between the walked present and the narrated past is a key aspect of this project³⁸⁶, and as such the app generally never strays too far into such potential decontextualisation of history, this is a feature of communication that the public historian must remain vigilant to.

Moreover, if we accept that “city can be experienced as historically permeable, adaptive, and layered,”³⁸⁷ as the project leads intend, where does this leave the characterisation of Renaissance Florence? Does this scramble the “Grand tour gaze,”³⁸⁸ so indebted to and arguably directed by histories of the renaissance city, such as Burckhardt’s *The Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy*³⁸⁹ and

³⁸⁵ T., Ingold, “Culture on the Ground,” 333.

³⁸⁶ Fabrizio Nevola, David Rosenthal, “Locating Experience in the Renaissance City”, 190.

³⁸⁷ Ibid, 93.

³⁸⁸ Melotti, “Florence: Tourism, Heritage and Consumption”, 186.

³⁸⁹ Burckhardt, Jacob., translated by Middlemore, S.G.C., *The Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy*, (LONDON: GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN LTD, Project Gutenberg, 2021), Accessed: 21 May 2024, <https://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/2074/pg2074-images.html>.

those historical tidbits parroted for over a century by each Murray and Baedeker guide? Eckstein proposes that such walking tour experiences “transform visitors from passive listeners into active participants”³⁹⁰ and perhaps these “active participants” may be better equipped by such an app to conceive of a more nuanced vision of this oft imagined and reimagined past, in slight contrast to those romantic travelers described by Melani.³⁹¹ However, for these “active participants” discovering *Hidden Florence* not to be lost in the “historically permeable” identification of the past with the present, a historical awareness, outside the bounds of this app is required. For if Florence is where one may “play”³⁹² with history perhaps it follows that such play should be supervised. This is of course the domain of the education system, and other institutions, and yet the capacity for critical thinking and historical literacy amongst the public remains a limit on the success of projects like *Hidden Florence*.

³⁹⁰ Nicholas A. Eckstein, “Mapping Fear: Plague and Perception in Florence and Tuscany,” 177.

³⁹¹ Melani, Igor., “The Cradle of the Renaissance?”, 229-249.

³⁹² Melotti, “Florence: Tourism, Heritage and Consumption”, 188.

Case Study 6 Introduction: Feeling Through Footsteps around Florence, A Jewish History Walking Tour

The museum space has always been entangled with emotions. It is a space of history intended for a public, for an audience that must be catered to and whose emotions must be engaged.³⁹³ In the *Hidden Florence* walking tours the immersive features of the app and the relatable historical “guides” were key in capturing and sustaining this engagement. Taking the “Jewish Florence” walking tour published by the *Feel Florence* official tourist website as a case study, this next section will consider what happens when we make a community museum of the living city, walking through it with an interpretation in hand, walking from place to place as though they are exhibits in the Uffizi rather than streets in a living city. This section will analyse how walking in the footsteps of an imagined past community, rather than fictionalised historical characters, encourages certain emotional responses in the present within the context of Jewish Heritage Tourism. The extent to which the walking tour case study suggests an emotional community in “Jewish Florence” of the past and whether this leads to some “historical empathy”³⁹⁴ will also be analysed.

To provide a brief introduction to the historical context of the walking tour, and the spatialisation of historically situated otherness that the tour attempts to walk into, the period of foremost importance is that of the 16th to 19th century when the community in Florence was ghettoised. This began in 1570 with Cosimo I, Grand Duke of Florence, and Siena, forcibly transferring the Jewish population dispersed across this region³⁹⁵ to a small walled and gated space between the Mercato Vecchio and the Duomo as depicted in Figure 68.

³⁹³ Geerte M. Savenije and Pieter de Bruijn, “Historical Empathy in a Museum”, 832.

³⁹⁴ Geerte M. Savenije and Pieter de Bruijn, “Historical Empathy in a Museum” 833.

³⁹⁵ Stéphanie B. Siegmund, *The Medici State and the Ghetto of Florence: The Construction of an Early Modern Jewish Community* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2006), xv.



Figure 68: A zoomed in portion of the Buonsignori map of 1584 depicting the Ghetto of Florence between the Mercato Vecchio and the Duomo, image from Siegmund, Stephanie B., *The Medici State and the Ghetto of Florence*, originally: Detail from Map of Florence, Stefano Buonsignori, Scala / Art Resource, NY. Museo di Firenze com'era, Florence, Italy. Ibid. 202.

This ghettoisation was in the aftermath of several similar expulsions across Europe,³⁹⁶ however, at this point in history the act of *ghettoising within* as opposed to *expulsion from* the state was relatively new, with those larger Italian ghettos in Venice and Rome only founded in 1516 and 1555.³⁹⁷ This brings to light an interesting tension of the tour investigated in this section, for while there are “significant architectural remains”³⁹⁸ of ghettos in these other cities, the Early Modern Florentine ghetto was lost to the Risanimento redevelopments of the 1800s and its remains are mostly

³⁹⁶ Siegmund, Stephanie notes “larger, more contiguous Jewish populations were expelled when edicts were issued in Spain in 1492, in Navarre in 1498 and in the Kingdom of Naples in 1510 and more decisively in 1541. In Portugal all Jews, including large numbers of refugees from Spain, were forced to convert in 1497”, in *The Medici State and the Ghetto of Florence: The Construction of an Early Modern Jewish Community*, xvi.

³⁹⁷ Stéphanie B. Siegmund, *The Medici State and the Ghetto of Florence*, 8.

³⁹⁸ Ibid., 6.

relegated to those paintings of the *Macchiaioli* group and such publications as Guido Carocci's *Firenze Scomparsa*,³⁹⁹ rather than easily accessible via the built history. Where once the ghetto stood today the grand archways, cafes, and the perennial carousel of the Piazza Repubblica⁴⁰⁰ are found, with the wealthier families moving to the then fashionable Mattonaia⁴⁰¹ area upon the destruction of the ghetto. Progressing along the timeline, we then meet with the travails of the 20th century when the Jewish community in Florence and across Italy fell victim to first to the racial laws and then to deportation following the fascist government's allyship with Germany during the Second World War.⁴⁰² Thus, while many centuries of Jewish experience in the city may be mapped within the confines of the ghetto walls, there remains a considerable, and undoubtedly important influence outside of this space, and as such, the walking tour encompasses a greater span of the city than the tours considered thus far.

³⁹⁹ Renard, Thomas., "For the defence of Florence", 533.

⁴⁰⁰ Siegmund, *The Medici State and the Ghetto of Florence*, 1

⁴⁰¹ Mancuso, Piergabriele , Alice S. Legé, and Sefy Hendler. *Gli Ebrei, I Medici E Il Ghetto di Firenze*. 2023. Exhibition. Palazzo Pitti, October 24, 2023.

⁴⁰² Salvatici, Silvia., "Between National and International Mandates: Displaced Persons and Refugees in Postwar Italy," *Journal of Contemporary History* 49, no. 3 (2014): 514–36, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022009414528262>, 520.



Figure 69: The ghetto prior to reconstruction as captured by Telémaco Signorini, one of the so-called Macchiaioli painters who provide some fleeting glimpses into Florence prior to Poggi changes/Risanimento project, 1885, *Il Ghetto di Firenze*, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea, Rome, https://it.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Telemaco_Signorini,_Il_ghetto_di_Firenze,_1882,_95x65_cm.jpg.

The *Feel Florence* “Jewish Florence” walking tour leads the participant through 8 “Points of Interest”⁴⁰³ linked to Jewish History in the city, from the ancient ghetto to more modern memorials responding to the Holocaust. Therefore, this is not a tour tracing a specific period of history but rather discovering the traces of the Jewish community in the city across time. Whether this thematic, rather than periodic, approach to a community’s history represents a continuous “emotional community” that, as such, stimulates historical empathy, remains to be seen. First, let us consider the history walk as a format, and the possibilities or limitations of this activity in the context of community history.

⁴⁰³ FeelFlorence, “Jewish Florence,” Jewish Florence | Feel Florence, Accessed: 2 December 2023, <https://www.feelflorence.it/en/node/22411>.

Case Study 6 Discussion: The Imagined Past and Wandering Into Jewish Experience in Florence

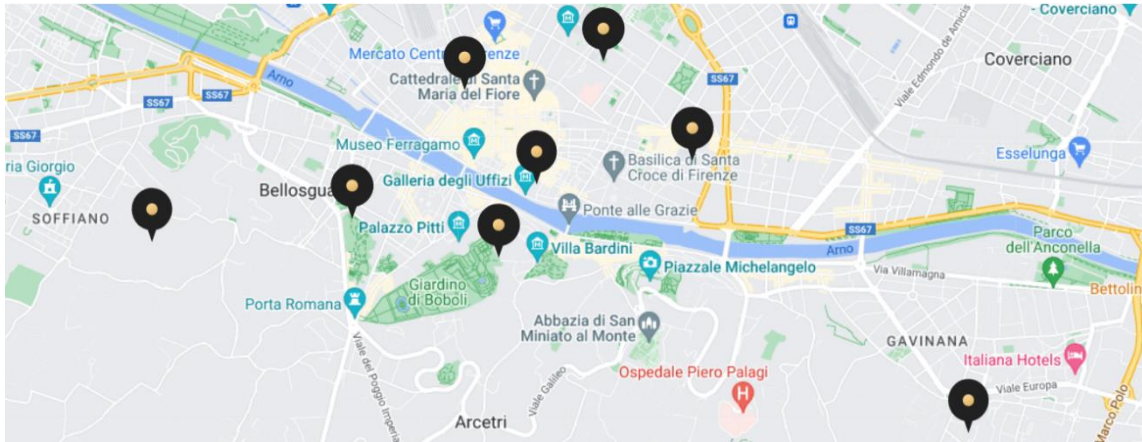


Figure 70: Feel Florence, Jewish Florence, Accessed: 2 December 2023, <https://www.feelflorence.it/en/node/22411>.



Figures 71-74: Various stations on the tour: The Synagogue and Jewish Museums, Museo San Marco, Platform 16 memorial and Via dei Ramaglianti, Captured on 8 December 2023, (Author's Own)

The “Jewish Florence” walking tour begins in the following manner:

*“If you think you have already visited everything in the city . . . discovering the widespread traces of Jewish culture: an alternative way to explore . . . if possible, around January 27, the International Holocaust Remembrance Day - and an infallible system to get in touch with a world different from yours.”*⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

Therefore, this tour presupposes a non-Jewish audience and specifies those who are searching for a “different” historical city experience. Furthermore, the tour suggests a distinct temporality for enactment, Holocaust Memorial Day, putting the walk in conversation with memory as well as history and potentially casting the different areas traversed as spatially nebulous *Lieux de mémoire*.⁴⁰⁵ The invocation of this sombre Memorial Day introduces an uncomfortable tension with the introduction’s concurrent treatment of Jewish experience in Florence as an “alternative”⁴⁰⁶ touristic experience for someone who is not like the “other tourists.” This juxtaposes an intensely emotional, traumatic, history with the language of modern destination marketing. “Jewish Florence,” and the history of an urban population, as imagined by the tour introduction, is strangely constructed as an alternative to capitalistic holiday consumption for those who have “visited everything in the city and . . . are wandering a little dazed between shops.”⁴⁰⁷ While the experience is given some moralistic weight as a memorial action, “Historical empathy” is nevertheless neutered by the callous language of the modern tourist context. This limits the capacity of the tour to provide an “authentic” emotional experience of the Jewish past in the city. As described earlier in this thesis the “personal connection”⁴⁰⁸ necessary to construct such an experience is circumscribed by a rather superficial call to action that mixes advertising spiel with memorialisation.

⁴⁰⁵ Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire,” *Representations* 26, no. 1 (1989).

⁴⁰⁶ FeelFlorence, “Jewish Florence,” <https://www.feelflorence.it/en/node/22411>.

⁴⁰⁷ FeelFlorence, “Jewish Florence,” *Jewish Florence | Feel Florence*, Accessed: 2 December 2023, <https://www.feelflorence.it/en/node/22411>.

⁴⁰⁸ Genevieve Alelis, Ania Bobrowicz, and Chee Siang Ang, “Exhibiting Emotion,” 437.

Case Study 6 Discussion: Where and What is Jewish Florence?

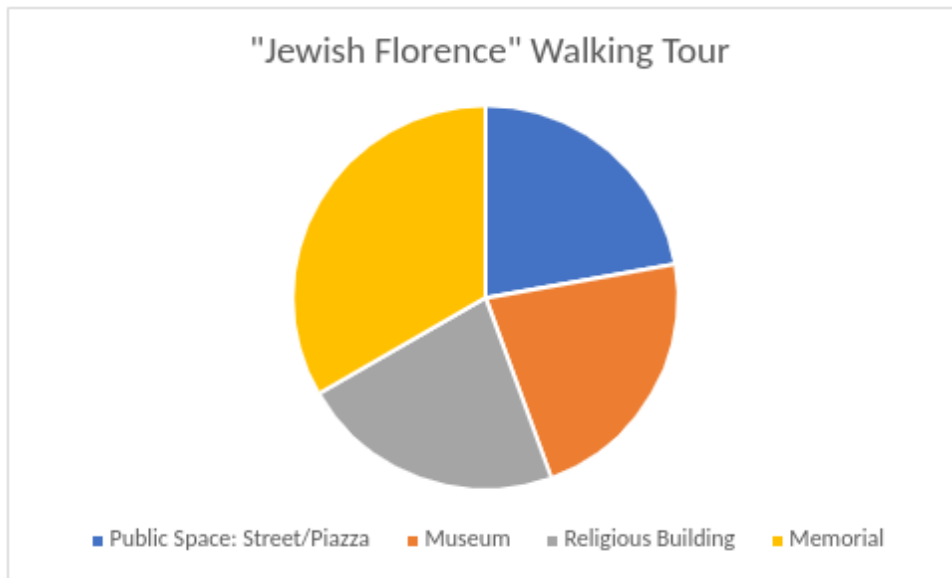


Figure 75: Pie chart showing the kinds of sites represented on the “Jewish Florence” walking tour, Data Sourced: 12 December 2023, (Author’s Own).

For all formats of public history “the narrative structure of historical representations affects how people relate to historical events and figures presented in a narrative”⁴⁰⁹ and this affect is heightened in the walking tour where the historical narrative structure is bolstered by the physical directionality of walking. Transit is physically through space and imaginatively through time. Emotions are felt in the present moment and, if the tour is successful, “historical empathy” provides access to past emotional communities, an increased relation to historical events, and a greater sense of historical “authenticity.” Therefore, a consideration of the sites that form the narrative presenting “Jewish Florence” to the walker is key in divining whether the tour generates a relational emotional response.

The graph in Figure 7 indicates that the tour locates “Jewish Florence” primarily in memorial sites relating to the Holocaust, an undeniably traumatic period in the history of the Jewish Diaspora. However, in the narration of these monuments' connection to a dark period in Italy’s history, the text tends towards the use of the passive voice. For example, at the Platform 16 station we are informed

⁴⁰⁹ Geerte M. Savenije and Pieter de Bruijn, “Historical Empathy in a Museum,” 834.

that “in 1943, more than 300 people, mostly Jewish, were deported by train to the Auschwitz concentration camp. 107 people were killed on the day of arrival, only 15 survived.”⁴¹⁰ This use of the passive voice dulls the immediacy of the horrific events and inserts a level of distance from the contrastingly geographically near sites of trauma as walked through. The walker stands at platform 16 with an awareness that the allied Fascist and Nazi powers sent a huge proportion of Florentine Jews to their deaths in Auschwitz, and yet the walking tour script attempts to detach some of the emotional power of the event. In general, this script does not entirely commit to an approach, neither entirely celebrating the Jewish community of the Florentine Ghetto nor commemorating, with indications towards complicit actors, the “anti-Jewish violence,”⁴¹¹ that has sadly formed part of the experience of this “emotional community.”

While, unlike the walking tours discussed in the Japanese context, in this specific case *Feel Florence* does discuss the reason for a depleted Jewish community in modern Florence⁴¹² there is still an attempt to search for “strongest and broadest consensus”⁴¹³ in the way that the emotional power of the text is limited to eschew inevitable discomfort. Like the two primary Japanese case studies, this walking tour, as a product of official tourism, remains “suspicious of memory.”⁴¹⁴ While Isnenghi suggested that in the Italian context “subjective and collective pasts are not dead”⁴¹⁵ with the added complication of tourism and leisure, subjective pasts are, if not dead, at least shrouded. This is particularly salient as the tour introduction reminds the pedestrian of the stumbling stones embedded

⁴¹⁰ FeelFlorence, “Jewish Florence,” <https://www.feelflorence.it/en/node/22411>.

⁴¹¹ Barbu, Daniel., “Feeling Jewish: Emotions, Identity, and the Jews’ Inverted Christmas,” in *Feeling Exclusion: Religious Conflict, Exile, and Emotions in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2019), 187.

⁴¹² 1000 members according to Comunità ebraica, “History of the Jewish Community of Florence,” Comunità ebraica di Firenze, 8 June 2021, Accessed 2 December 2023, <https://www.firenzebraica.it/comunita-ebraica-di-firenze/?lang=en#:~:text=The%20Jewish%20Community%20today%20has,Italian%20or%20western%20Sephardic%20origin> as compared with 3000 recorded at the turn of the century census, “Firenze (Florence) Jewish Genealogy: Census of the 17th and 19th Centuries - Births, Matrimonies, Deaths, Registers of Property,” Jewish Genealogy in Italy, Accessed March 13, 2024, <https://www.italian-family-history.com/jewish/Firenze.html>.

⁴¹³ MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist*, 139.

⁴¹⁴ Nora, Pierre., “Between Memory and History,” 9.

⁴¹⁵ “rappresenta . . . un caso più mosso, contrasto e complesso . . . i passati soggettivi e collettivi non sono morti”. Ibid., 521.

throughout the city,⁴¹⁶ and yet while that memorial, or counter-memorial,⁴¹⁷ project intends to counter the “distraction” of the modern city,⁴¹⁸ this walking tour acts as an “alternative”⁴¹⁹ distraction within it.

Case Study 6 Conclusion: Conjuring the Lost “Jewish Nation” of “Frascato”⁴²⁰

A reason not yet considered, for the attention given to modern monuments memorialising the Holocaust in Florence is, a running trend with the tours, the scant remaining built evidence of the Ghetto or other Jewish spaces in the city. When one reaches the Piazza della Repubblica “Jewish Florence” is accessed only via acts of imagination, due to the dismantling of the neighbourhood during Florence’s brief stint as a capital city. This section has explored how the emotional experience of a historical space shapes visitor memories, and yet “Jewish Florence” presents a problem to the public historian. It must conjure histories without a haptic reality, arguably a necessary process for a walking tour. Yet, “the way a museum, or a certain exhibition makes them feel, is what visitors will remember most after their visit,”⁴²¹ so perhaps this imaginative experience, even when presented with the physical reality of the Synagogue or Cemetery, is more crucial to generating some sense of “historical empathy” and of an “authentic” history of a much maligned community, than the evidentiary fact of built remains. The language of “alternative”⁴²² tourism here makes for an uncomfortable bedfellow with Holocaust memorial sites and memories invoked along the tour route. The “Jewish Florence” walking tour therefore represents the risks of attempting to sublimate powerful emotional content in favour of generating a pleasant touristic experience. Such actions have very real political consequences as by “Trying to avoid emotions, the idea of equality ‘becomes docile and we end up speaking vaguely of things like tolerance, diversity, and multiculturalism that become drained of their intended

⁴¹⁶ FeelFlorence, “Jewish Florence,” <https://www.feelflorence.it/en/node/22411>.

⁴¹⁷ Gould, Mary Rachel, and Rachel E. Silverman. “Stumbling upon History: Collective Memory and the Urban Landscape.” *GeoJournal* 78, no. 5 (2013): 792.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 797.

⁴¹⁹ FeelFlorence, “Jewish Florence,” <https://www.feelflorence.it/en/node/22411>.

⁴²⁰ FeelFlorence, “Jewish Florence,” <https://www.feelflorence.it/en/node/22411>.

⁴²¹ Baier, Julia. “Exhibiting Feelings,” 47.

⁴²² FeelFlorence, “Jewish Florence,” <https://www.feelflorence.it/en/node/22411>.

energy’.”⁴²³ Public history, particularly popular public history with some dimension of tourism involved, must integrate emotional engagement to ensure vitality and contemporary significance. When we walk in the footsteps of historically marginalised communities there must be a good faith attempt to understand the emotions situated in the past and triggered in the present, that is, if we want to ensure we edge closer to something approaching “authentic” Jewish Florence.

⁴²³ Tarantino, Giovanni., “Feeling White: Beneath and Beyond,” essay, in *The Routledge History of Emotions in Europe, 1100-1700* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2020), 314.

Conclusion: At the End of “Play”⁴²⁴ with Florence’s History

The introduction to this chapter questioned what the relationship between tourism and history is when treading atop the “kid activity carpet”⁴²⁵ of Florence’s history and to what level the long-sighted grand tour gaze continues to frame the historical city as encountered via official tourist walking trails. While during the 1800s Florentine city planners created many “a modern façade offering an idea of the past”⁴²⁶ these walking tours all projected said “idea of the past” onto whatever built cityscape they traversed to various effects. The four walking tours analysed in this section admittedly, apart from the two Dante tours, have rather different foci. However, they inevitably arrive physically and spiritually at the same streets of the old town with stones underfoot long worn smooth by the passage of similar English-speaking tourists. Via the contrast of the two alternative tours, the self-styled “alternative”⁴²⁷ walking tour through “Jewish Florence” versus the academic consortium behind the *Hidden Florence* app, some of the key inevitabilities of the official state tourist products begin to come to the fore. The *Hidden Florence* app creates an immersive experience on multiple levels engaging with a diverse range of historical narratives and voices and even in the historic centre manages to highlight lesser visited sites.⁴²⁸ This renders these spaces “the things and places worthy of one’s gaze”⁴²⁹ without necessarily integrating them into the existing narrative of the “imaginary. . . aristocratic vision of . . . Florence.”⁴³⁰ The only aspect perhaps a little lacking from this guide is, in line with current scholarship and regarding Florence’s place in the Renaissance world, some suggestion of the “vast European and pan-Italian networks” the city was a part of.⁴³¹ However, the local emphasis is understandable for a necessarily localised walking tour. In

⁴²⁴ Melotti, “Florence: Tourism, Heritage and Consumption”, 188.

⁴²⁵ Ibid.

⁴²⁶ Ibid., 189.

⁴²⁷ FeelFlorence, “Jewish Florence,” <https://www.feelflorence.it/en/node/22411>.

⁴²⁸ Such as a sign on a wall in a side road on Via Della Pergola, “Hidden Florence” app by Fabrizio Nevola et al.

⁴²⁹ Urry, J. and Larsen, J., *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 227.

⁴³⁰ John K. Brackett, “The Florentine Criminal Underworld: The Underside of the Renaissance”, 294.

⁴³¹ Findlen, Paula, Fontaine, Michelle M. and Osheim, Duane J., *Beyond Florence: The Contours of Medieval and Early Modern Italy*, (Redwood City: Stanford University Press, 2003).

contrast, the “Jewish Florence” walking tour from *Feel Florence* can only see the history it represents as an “alternative”⁴³² to the “Grand Tour Gaze”⁴³³ and from this initial framing as a response to one kind of city experience it does not quite do justice to the history of the community it intends to relay.

This is the same issue that we encounter in the two Dante tours where, despite the historical reality that “Italian religion of secularity had its God in Dante,”⁴³⁴ the tours cannot help but frame the man via Florence’s postcard-perfect churches. The previous chapter appraised the extent to which the generalising force of tourism came into conflict with collective memory spaces which have the power to legitimise potentially undesirable public identities “social actors and groups—and, indeed, entire nations,”⁴³⁵ and yet in Florence this dynamic is flipped. When the identity of the city has been defined from within and without by tourism for centuries, there is a memory, a history of tourism itself, which infuses all other narratives from the onset.

It is evident from the examples of *Feel Florence* and *Visit Tuscany* that the official tourist board walking tours seem unable to prevent themselves from falling into cliché and following in the footsteps of many a “short-lived urban experience”⁴³⁶ produced by the coach tours⁴³⁷ of mass tourism. Although *Feel Florence* may have been created during the COVID-19 pandemic from a desire to promote sustainable tourism and “to direct people to less busy areas,”⁴³⁸ this is hardly the case in the examples discussed here. There is a limit to the ability of official tourist bodies to provide historical information in the format of a walking tour, that is, without some academic support, if the

⁴³² FeelFlorence, “Jewish Florence,” <https://www.feelflorence.it/en/node/22411>.

⁴³³ Melotti, “Florence: Tourism, Heritage and Consumption”, 186.

⁴³⁴ Poettinger, Monika., Roggi, Piero., *Florence: Capital of the Kingdom of Italy*, 4.

⁴³⁵ Reuben Rose-Redwood, Derek Alderman, and Maoz Azaryahu, “Collective Memory and the Politics of Urban Space: An Introduction,” *GeoJournal* 73, no. 3 (2008): 162.

⁴³⁶ Loda, Mirella et al. “History to Eat”, 2.

⁴³⁷ The less economically minded tourist may enjoy this tour of “Florence in a day” for just over one hundred euros, “Florence in a Day: Michelangelo’s David, Uffizi and Guided City ...,” Viator, accessed March 13, 2024, <https://www.viator.com/tours/Florence/Small-Group-Florence-In-a-Day-with-David-and-Duomo-and-Uffizi/d519-15693P27>.

⁴³⁸ “Indirizzare le persone nelle zone meno affollate.” “‘Feel Florence’: Guardare Al Futuro Del Turismo, Tra Dati, Sicurezza, Partecipazione e Sostenibilità,” FPA, 9 June 2023, Accessed: 30 April 2024, <https://www.forumpa.it/temi-verticali/cultura-turismo/feel-florence-guardare-al-futuro-del-turismo-tra-dati-sicurezza-partecipazione-e-sostenibilita/>.

city truly desires to walk into the “futuro del turismo”⁴³⁹ and use history and walking tours to direct visitors away from the path *more* travelled by overtourism. The offering from *Hidden Florence*, however, indicates that the self-guided walking tour format has the potential to challenge these clichés in a playful way without playing with history in such a superficial, and short-lived, manner.

⁴³⁹ Ibid.

Chapter 4: Vienna Case Studies

Introduction: The Red and Golden Ages of Vienna, “Political Utopia”⁴⁴⁰ and Imperial Glamour

*Most tourists come to consume Vienna’s past, not experience its present*⁴⁴¹

Vienna represents something of a mid-way point between Tokyo and Florence, a capital city like Tokyo, although on a considerably smaller scale,⁴⁴² defined by its iconic old town whose walls, like Florence, came down in the 1800s to create an “Open air museum.”⁴⁴³ In Tokyo we encountered concrete plastered over fissures rent in the earth by ravages of nature and acts of war, and in Florence we gazed across terracotta roofs through the eyes of the many tourists before us. In Vienna, while the Opera house was rebuilt after a bombing raid of 1945,⁴⁴⁴ and the city exhibits more than a few “convenient clichés which are successfully marketed for tourism,”⁴⁴⁵ the “past,”⁴⁴⁶ that pervades touristic materials related to the city has a different quality. “Nostalgia” is the term that appears again and again in writings regarding the city, whether “sentimentality, waltzes, Habsburg nostalgia, choir boys, and jumping white horses . . . served with Apfelstrudel, a double portion of whipped cream, and charm”⁴⁴⁷ or “expertly sold . . . Sachertorte, Kaiserkitsch, Mozartkitsch— even, alas,

⁴⁴⁰ “Red Vienna Guide”, Vienna Tourist Board, “ivie - Wien City Guide”, vienna.info, 3.6.1 (12/04/2024), Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://play.google.com/store/apps/details?id=at.vienna.ivie>.

⁴⁴¹ Lehne, Inge, and Johnson, Lonnie, *Vienna, the Past in the Present : A Historical Survey*, 2nd ed. (Wien: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1995), 177.

⁴⁴² “Tokyo vs Vienna: What Is the Difference?,” VERSUS, Accessed: 9 May 2024, <https://versus.com/en/tokyo-vs-vienna>.

⁴⁴³ Medium references Vienna as an “Open-Air Museum” in the title of the article, The Commentary 101, “Vienna, Austria: An Open-Air Museum...but at What Cost?,” Medium, January 21, 2024, Accessed: 9 May 2024, <https://medium.com/@TheCommentary101/vienna-austria-an-open-air-museum-but-at-what-cost-a5fb443defdb>. and Piazza della Signoria is Florence’s “Open air museum” in Destination Florence’s “Things to See in Florence: Piazza Della Signoria, an Open-Air Museum,” www.destinationflorence.com, Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://www.destinationflorence.com/en/blog/383-Piazza-della-Signoria-in-Florence>.

⁴⁴⁴ Parsons, Nicholas. *Vienna: A Cultural History*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 250.

⁴⁴⁵ Lehne, Inge, and Lonnie Johnson. *Vienna: the Past in the Present*, 10.

⁴⁴⁶ “The cultural heritage of the city’s imperial past has nowadays become a decisive feature as a ‘soft skill’ in marketing the city.” as suggested in Hatz, Gerhard, “Vienna”, *Cities*, Volume 25, Issue 5 (2008): 310-322, ISSN 0264-2751, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2008.02.002>, <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0264275108000206>, 320.

⁴⁴⁷ Lehne, Inge, and Lonnie Johnson. *Vienna: The Past in the Present*, 10.

Klimtkitsch.”⁴⁴⁸ Nostalgia, that slippery term located somewhere between memory, history and imagination, and considered in the same breath as kitsch, that colourful invocation of ironic bad taste, perhaps defines the characteristic Viennese approach to the “past.” A past supposedly indispensable for an understanding of the city⁴⁴⁹ that is the draw for so many travellers to the former Habsburg seat of power.⁴⁵⁰

The quotation that begins this chapter from Inge Lehne and Lonnie Johnson’s *Vienna, the Past in the Present* divides the “past” of the city as an object of consumption and the “experience” of the city available only via interactions with its present reality. However, the walking tours examined here arguably complicate this division, as they walk through the present city, unavoidably experiencing it, while searching for the past, extrapolating the information provided by the walking tour narratives onto the built environment before them. If the tourist is “instantly bombarded” with clichés⁴⁵¹ in Vienna, can these “corporate efforts to commodify place and culture in cities”⁴⁵² be entirely separated from the “present” of urban space? We have discussed how Urry in the *Tourist Gaze* unpacks the “the contemporary fascination with gazing upon the historical,”⁴⁵³ however, the example of Vienna allows us to question the idea of the Modern city “as an ever-increasing palimpsest of historized memory and the intrinsic need for its inhabitants to constantly negotiate with the images of a tangible Past.”⁴⁵⁴

Both Nora’s work on *Lieux des Mémoires* and Isnenghi’s similar discussions of Italian memory consider in different ways the “present” experience of the city is inextricable from the “tangible”

⁴⁴⁸ Parsons, Nicholas. *Vienna: A Cultural History*, 42.

⁴⁴⁹ “One of the keys to understanding and enjoying Vienna is becoming acquainted with the city’s past” Lehne, Inge, and Lonnie Johnson., *Vienna: The Past in the Present*, 11.

⁴⁵⁰ “Cultural heritage. . . ‘Vienna as Imperial Residence’ or ‘Vienna as World Capital of Music’ have become unique selling points . . . Vienna ranks top within European Metropolitan Areas regarding arrivals and overnight stays of visitors from abroad.” Hatz, Gerhard, ‘Vienna,’ 320.

⁴⁵¹ Parsons, Nicholas. *Vienna: A Cultural History*, 37.

⁴⁵² Fox Gotham, Kevin. 21 Jul 2010, “Tourism and Culture” from: *Handbook of Cultural Sociology*, Routledge, Accessed: 6 Oct 2023 <https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9780203891377.ch58>, 614.

⁴⁵³ Urry, J. and Larsen, J., *Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 135.

⁴⁵⁴ Michi, Maximillian, “Remembrance to Repression: Public Space, Memorial Landscape and Collective Memory in Post-WWII Vienna,” *TU Delft* (Thesis, TU Delft Architecture and the Built Environment, 2022), <https://repository.tudelft.nl/islandora/object/uuid%3Af7c9faed-7e5e-4794-bd96-bd29c962e77f>, 34.

pasts that are inevitably encountered in the cityscape, and which are actively strung together to form a walked narrative by the walking tour. Therefore, what the “past” represented in these case studies says about the present city takes on a new significance as the tourist gaze becomes enmeshed in nostalgic visions of old times mixed up with this sense of “kitsch,” potentially stripping these histories of some of their gravitas.

Whether this renders such histories simply consumable will be discussed with regards to two walking tour case studies from the ivie app, provided by the official tourist board, and the example of a Stadtwanderweg⁴⁵⁵ designed by Stadt Wien directly, rather than delegated to the tourist board. The first section of the chapter will consider the actual urban history of Vienna and the space traversed by the tours, followed by an analysis of the “Ringstrasse Walk” available on the ivie app. The next case studies compare a walking tour of “Red Vienna,” again created by ivie, with a similarly themed offering from Stadt Wien. The “useable pasts” which construct Viennese “local identity”⁴⁵⁶ for the pedestrian tourist are thus also mythic pasts, contrastingly of imperial grandeur or progressive politics. Kevin Gotham argues that this “intensification of government . . . efforts to commodify place and culture in cities around the world have triggered an explosion of authenticities over the last several decades.”⁴⁵⁷ This is authenticity in the sense described by MacCannell, formed of “experiences, perceptions, and insights”⁴⁵⁸ in “other historical periods and other cultures.”⁴⁵⁹ Therefore, this chapter questions if the “other historical periods” represented on the walking tours do, in fact, perform authenticity or instead become immured in the elaboration of past glories.

⁴⁵⁵ City walking trail

⁴⁵⁶ Marschall, Sabine, “‘Personal Memory Tourism’ and a Wider Exploration of the Tourism–memory Nexus,” *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change* 10, no. 4 (2012): 326.

⁴⁵⁷ Fox Gotham, Kevin, “Tourism and Culture”, 614.

⁴⁵⁸ MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist*, 105.

⁴⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 3.

Case Studies 7-9: A Brief Urban History of the Space Traversed by the Tours

One key differentiating factor that sets Vienna apart from both Florence and Tokyo, other than the obvious differences in population and size,⁴⁶⁰ is its Central European position. Once the last Christian Bastion against Ottoman Islamic forces, and in the 20th century the last outpost of the "West" before the iron curtain,⁴⁶¹ it is "a city poised on a climatic, geopolitical and cultural divide."⁴⁶² Today the baroque edifices, and the unifying force of the Habsburg empire that installed them, define the "built image of Vienna today."⁴⁶³ This chapter will follow the example of the Florence case studies looking particularly at the evolution of the historical centre of the metropolis where most of the walking tour stops are located. Thus, the following four maps depict the development of the city from the mid 1500s to the early 1900s with an eye to its historic heart.



⁴⁶⁰ Regarding the urban planning of Vienna Lutter also raises an important differentiating aspect of the city "one of the most remarkable differences between Vienna and other European metropolises is that the splendid bourgeois architecture of Vienna extended well beyond the Ringstraße and the centre and into the suburbs," Lutter, Christina. "Spacing History, Historicizing Culture: Urban History, Cultural Studies, And Vienna." *Modern Intellectual History* 9, no. 2 (2012): 463–75. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1479244312000133>, 466.

⁴⁶¹ *ibid*, xvii.

⁴⁶² Parsons, Nicholas. *Vienna: A Cultural History*, 45.

⁴⁶³ Hatz, Gerhard, "Vienna", 311.

Figure 76: Vienna in 1547, Albert Camesina and Bonifaz Wolmuet, via Wikimedia Commons (<http://www.wien.gv.at/kultur/kulturgut/karten/wolmuet/index.html>, October 7, 2017), Accessed: 31 May 2024, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/55/Map_Vienna_1547.jpg.



Figure 77: Vienna in 1770, Joseph Neusner and Karl Braun, 1770 Vienna Map, Wikimedia Commons (mapire.eu, February 8, 2018), Accessed: 31 May 2024, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Grundriss_der_kaiserlich k%C3%B6niglichen Residenz-Stadt Wien, ihrer Vorst%C3%A4dte und der ansto%C3%9Fenden Orte, unter der Direction des Hof-Mathematici aufgenommen von den Ingenieuren Joseph Neusner und Karl Braun \(1770\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Grundriss_der_kaiserlich_k%C3%B6niglichen_Residenz-Stadt_Wien,_ihrer_Vorst%C3%A4dte_und_der_ansto%C3%9Fenden_Orte,_unter_der_Direction_des_Hof-Mathematici_aufgenommen_von_den_Ingenieuren_Joseph_Neusner_und_Karl_Braun_(1770).jpg).

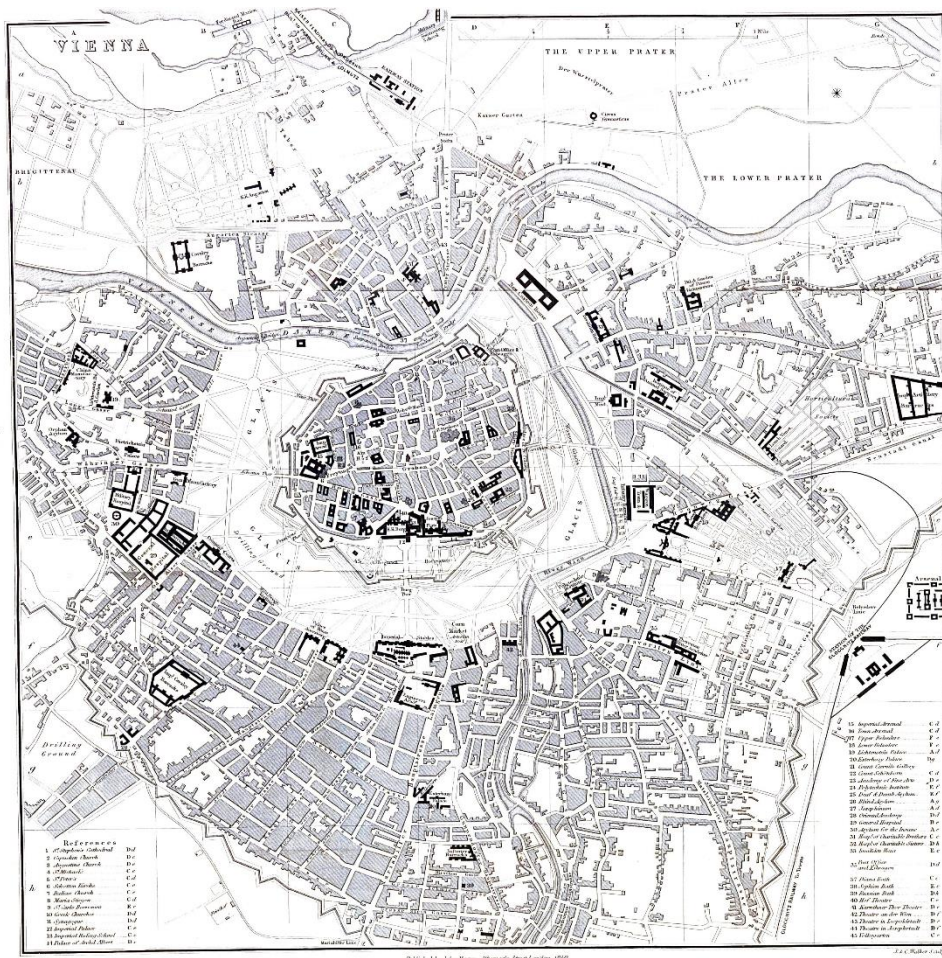


Figure 78: Vienna in 1858 directly prior to the development of the Ringstrasse, Plan von Wien, March 10, 2006, Wikimedia Commons, Accessed: 1 June 2024, <https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Wien1858.jpg>.

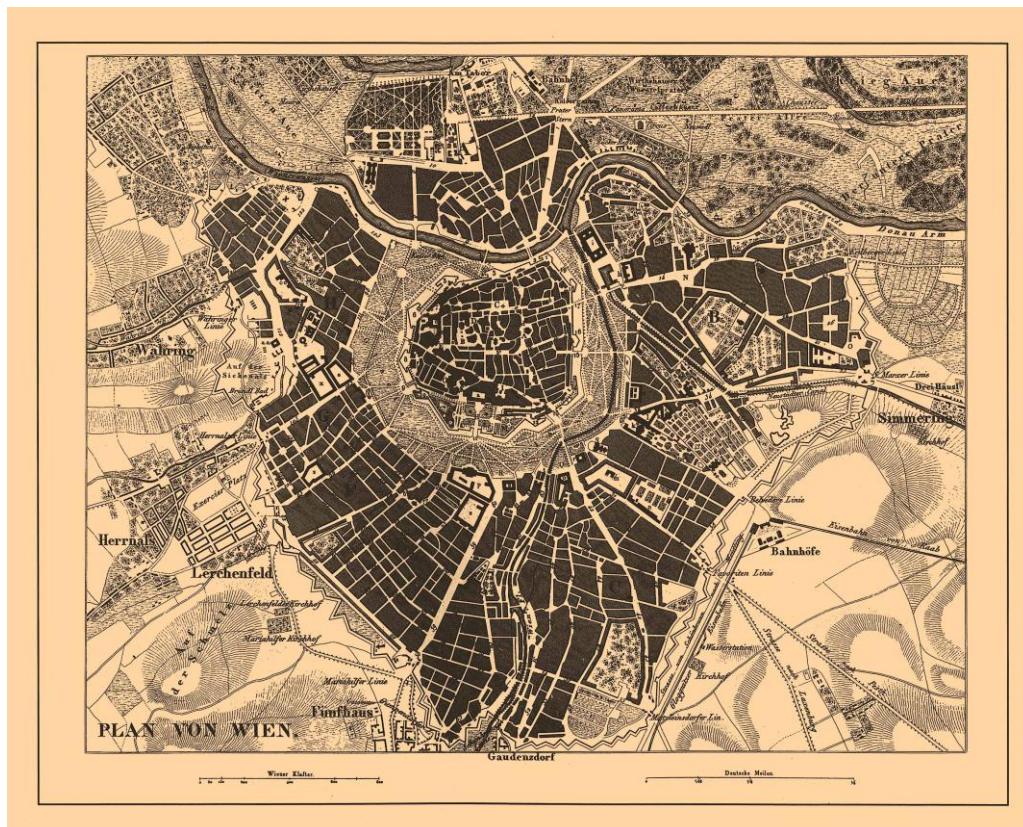


Figure 79: Vienna between 1890 and 1907 in the aftermath of the construction linking the suburbs and the old inner Stadt where the city walls once stood. Illustration from Brockhaus and Efron Encyclopaedic Dictionary (1890—1907), via Wikimedia Commons (reproduction from DVD <http://www.iddk.ru/ru/cdrom/73147.html>, July 7, 2009), https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Iconographic_Encyclopedia_of_Science,_Literature_and_Art_205.jpg.

A cursory perusal of these maps shows that, long prior to the development of the Ringstrasse, Vienna was already spreading beyond the bounds of the fortified walls. Its shape in the 1700s, following the Baroque building boom after the defeat of the Turks in 1683,⁴⁶⁴ largely remaining the same until the 19th century fervour for building began. However, the old walled town, from which the present city has expanded, did not spring into existence in 1547. Like Florence, Vienna's birth can be credited to a Roman settlement more than 2000 years ago,⁴⁶⁵ rising to prominence as a mercantile centre in the Middle Ages⁴⁶⁶ due to its position on trade routes from the Baltic to the North Adriatic throughout

⁴⁶⁴ Parsons, Nicholas. *Vienna: A Cultural History*, 150.

⁴⁶⁵ The central city today traces the shape of the old roman town. Kostov, Martin, "Origins And Evolution Of The Urban Form : A Case Study on the Street Pattern of the City Center of Vienna, Austria," *Bulletin of Japanese Society for the Science of Design*, 2001, Volume 48, Issue 2, Pages 9-16, Released on J-STAGE July 19, 2017, Online ISSN 2186-5221, Print ISSN 0910-8173, https://doi.org/10.11247/jssdj.48.9_2, https://www.jstage.jst.go.jp/article/jssdj/48/2/48_KJ00001647630/_article/-char/en, 11.

⁴⁶⁶ Hatz, Gerhard, "Vienna", 310.

previous millenia.⁴⁶⁷ While its Roman history was only honoured in the 1880s when two streets were named for Marcus Aurelius,⁴⁶⁸ the workshops of the busy local markets during the medieval era⁴⁶⁹ are remembered by Färbergasse, from Färber meaning dyers of cloth, and Naglergasse, from Nagler meaning makers of arrows.⁴⁷⁰ These are histories which are difficult to find⁴⁷¹ outside the echoes of the past in the street names. The phantom trace of the old city, hidden beneath the stones of the new, is accessible solely via "guesswork and imagination."⁴⁷² It is perhaps for this reason that the walking tours considered here, and all of those provided by the ivie app, steer clear of this older history, opting to focus on conspicuous built history, as opposed to inconspicuous lost history.

One aspect of the city lost to history, its old fortifications, is testified to by the shape and route of the Ringstrasse. It follows the older line of the "tracé italien, the new Italian system of fortifications built round the city after the Turkish siege of 1529."⁴⁷³ However, the built landscape encountered by the tourist today is much indebted to the "enlightened Habsburgs" making "Vienna bigger, cleaner, greener . . . and a better organised city."⁴⁷⁴ The changes wrought during the Ringstrasse era, depicted in the changes between the final two maps, are part of the "massive transformation of the inner districts"⁴⁷⁵ that took place during Franz Joseph's reign. These are labelled by some scholars as the "culmination of Vienna's development"⁴⁷⁶ and the Ringstrassenstil⁴⁷⁷ architecture is present in many promotional images of the city. Indeed, this golden age of imperial building has an appropriately mythic name in "Gründerzeit (the so- called "Founding Period," 1850-

⁴⁶⁷ Lehne, Inge, and Lonnie Johnson. *Vienna: The Past in the Present*, 13.

⁴⁶⁸ Parsons, Nicholas. *Vienna: A Cultural History*, 96.

⁴⁶⁹ Lehne, Inge, and Lonnie Johnson, *Vienna: The Past in the Present*, 18.

⁴⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 19.

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid*, 14.

⁴⁷² *Ibid*, 15.

⁴⁷³ Parsons, Nicholas. *Vienna: A Cultural History*, 146.

⁴⁷⁴ Lehne, Inge, and Lonnie Johnson. *Vienna: The Past in the Present*, 70.

⁴⁷⁵ Kadim, Justin & Walter Matznetter, "The long history of gentrification in Vienna, 1890–2020", *City*, 26:2-3, 450-472, DOI: 10.1080/13604813.2022.2054221, (2022): 458.

⁴⁷⁶ Lehne, Inge, and Lonnie Johnson. *Vienna: The Past in the Present*, 89.

⁴⁷⁷ The architecture of the ring has been known by this term. Lehne, Inge, and Lonnie Johnson. *Vienna: the Past in the Present*, 99.

1914, when Vienna was rapidly expanding economically and territorially).⁴⁷⁸ While Florence's attempts to modernise following the decree in 1857 to demolish the old city bastions⁴⁷⁹ were stunted by its brief time as capital, Vienna was able to accomplish its response to Haussmann's reconfiguration of Paris.⁴⁸⁰ This resulted in the grand boulevards of the Ringstrasse today, fringed with such famed buildings as the opera house, the Rathaus and countless other monumental buildings. It is this product, this street, and the era which created it, which is the focus of the first case study covered by this chapter. It will consider the extent to which the tour narrative problematizes this vision of Ringstrasse as an uncomplicated product of a golden age⁴⁸¹ tied as its buildings and founding philosophies are to the city identity.

However, far from the "luxurious dwellings" of the Ringstrasse project,⁴⁸² the growing population, evidenced in Figure 79 by Vienna's increasing urban sprawl, were mostly relegated to "miserable suburban conditions"⁴⁸³ with Tuberculosis becoming known as "the Viennese disease."⁴⁸⁴ While Otto Wagner's stint as Head of City Planning ensured the presence of Secessionist masterpieces in the urban fabric,⁴⁸⁵ and the turn of the century saw the rise of that great Viennese tourist cliché: the coffee house,⁴⁸⁶ the increasingly dire living conditions of the populus, particularly in the aftermath of the First World War with the dissolution of the Habsburg empire, eventually led to the housing reforms of "Red Vienna." These will be discussed in greater detail in the section regarding their legacy, however, it is already fascinating to see how a "political utopia"⁴⁸⁷ is essentially the response to the demise of the Imperial Golden age.

⁴⁷⁸ Parsons, Nicholas. *Vienna: A Cultural History*, 11.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid, 208.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid., ix.

⁴⁸² Kadi, Justin & Walter Matznetter, "The long history of gentrification in Vienna," 456.

⁴⁸³ Lutter, Christina, "Spacing History, Historizing Culture," 466.

⁴⁸⁴ Parsons, Nicholas. *Vienna: A Cultural History*, 239.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid, 225.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid, 231.

⁴⁸⁷ "Red Vienna Guide", Wiener Tourismusverband, "ivie - Wien City Guide"

Leaving behind utopias and golden ages, throughout the 20th century the changes in the city were defined by the Anschluss and its aftereffects, with “200,000 of the 1.9 million inhabitants” falling under “Nazi definitions of Jewish ancestry”⁴⁸⁸ and thus losing their homes and often, tragically, their lives. This led to population depression across the remainder of the 20th century and it was only in the 1970s that Vienna began to move out of “the phase of post-war reconstruction into that of restoration,”⁴⁸⁹ and to begin repairs to 20% of buildings damaged.⁴⁹⁰ Population depression, combined with a focus on the restoration of existing structures post-war, has led to almost half of Vienna’s current residential buildings dating their construction to before the First World War.⁴⁹¹ Thus, Vienna’s past, beyond any notion of “consumption” alone is bound up in the fabric of its residents’ lives. As Kostov states in his study of the city, the “pattern of the present . . . Vienna is famous mostly . . . for Modern reconstruction and Ringstrassezone,”⁴⁹² this is maintained by a powerful conservationist movement in the city⁴⁹³ and the tendency to conservation mixes with a certain degree of conservatism⁴⁹⁴ such that there is a risk these groups “preserve the good and not so good as the ingredients of the present and future of a great city.”⁴⁹⁵ The magnitude to which the “good and not so good” of Vienna’s past are conserved for and exhibited to the tourist, and whether this is a “consumption” of the past divorced from the reality of the present, will form a crucial point of analysis in the following case studies. This section questions how we locate the “political Utopia”⁴⁹⁶ of Red Vienna and Imperial Glamour, both important eras of investment in building and

⁴⁸⁸ Kadi, Justin & Walter Matznetter, “The long history of gentrification in Vienna”, 459.

⁴⁸⁹ Parsons, Nicholas. *Vienna: A Cultural History*, x.

⁴⁹⁰ Lehne, Inge, and Lonnie Johnson. *Vienna: The Past in the Present*, 156.

⁴⁹¹ *Ibid*, 169.

⁴⁹² Kostov, Martin, “Origins and Evolution of the Urban Form”, 10.

⁴⁹³ “The conservationists, while they do not have it all their own way, are always a force to be reckoned with by the Stadtregierung (municipal government) and developers itching to get their hands on desirable sites,” Parsons, Nicholas, *Vienna: A Cultural History*, 7.

⁴⁹⁴ “Despite the changes wrought by modernization and the political and economic impact of the European Union, Vienna remains a deeply conservative city,” *Ibid*, 41.

⁴⁹⁵ Parsons, Nicholas. *Vienna: A Cultural History*, ix.

⁴⁹⁶ “Red Vienna Guide”, Wiener Tourismusverband, “ivie - Wien City Guide”

city infrastructure, in the same cityscape and how is this presented for “consumption” in the present by the pedestrian tourist.

Case Study 7 Introduction: “Stroll Around the Ring”⁴⁹⁷ with the ivie App

In the historic city centre, however, the legacy of Vienna’s historic building fabric has been turned to advantage in marketing the city. Conservation of architectural monuments has become a decisive feature in ‘imaging’ and ‘theming’ Vienna as ‘Imperial Residence.’⁴⁹⁸

While it was the “charming scenery” of Vienna that fascinated visitors in the 1843 Baedeker guide,⁴⁹⁹ today it is the baroque world of extreme wealth⁵⁰⁰ and the elegant Ringstrassenstil of the city centre provides the visual “signs or tourist clichés” which, as opposed to the case of the “pretty English village” which can be “read as representing the continuities and traditions of England,”⁵⁰¹ arguably represents the continuities and traditions of wider Austria. Marketing Vienna, and its history, as discussed in the introduction to this chapter, is tied up in the “eighteenth- and nineteenth-century imperial and domestic architecture of its golden age.”⁵⁰² Hatz’s quotation above suggests that any “experience” of its “present” is through a historicized veil of signification as what is conserved in the built environment is indebted to the “theming” of Vienna as this magnificent royal space. Therefore, Vienna, as associated with a “golden age” of past grandeur which is entangled with its architectural monuments, and as an open-air “Imperial residence,” offers an engaging prospect to the audience of a history walking tour. “Imperial” Vienna’s historic heart, as discussed by Hatz, is encircled by the subject of the 7th walking tour Case Study: The Ringstrasse. The “Ringstrasse walk” was published on June 18th 2022 by the ivie app platform which is a product of the official Vienna

⁴⁹⁷ “Ringstrasse Walk”, Written Introduction, Wiener Tourismusverband, “ivie - Wien City Guide”, vienna.info, 3.6.1 12 March 2024, Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://play.google.com/store/apps/details?id=at.vienna.ivie>.

⁴⁹⁸ Hatz, Gerhard, “Vienna”, 313.

⁴⁹⁹ John Murray (firm), *A handbook for travellers in Southern Germany. Being a guide to Bavaria, Austria, Tyrol, Salzburg, Styria, &c., the Austrian and Bavarian Alps, and the Danube from Ulm to the Black Sea* (London: J. Murray and son, 1843), Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://archive.org/details/b22022260/page/156/mode/2up?q=vienna>, 185.

⁵⁰⁰ “The Baroque world was one of extremes, of enormous wealth for the upper classes and grinding poverty for those at the bottom of the heap” Parsons, Nicholas. *Vienna: A Cultural History*, 173.

⁵⁰¹ Urry, J. and Larsen, J., *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 17.

⁵⁰² Parsons, Nicholas, *Vienna: A Cultural History*, xvii.

tourist board. The route the tour takes around the ring is detailed in Figure 80. This appears in-app along with images of each station signposted along the trail.

Case Study 7 Discussion: Jewels in the Ring, or Content on the ivie “Ringstrasse Walk”

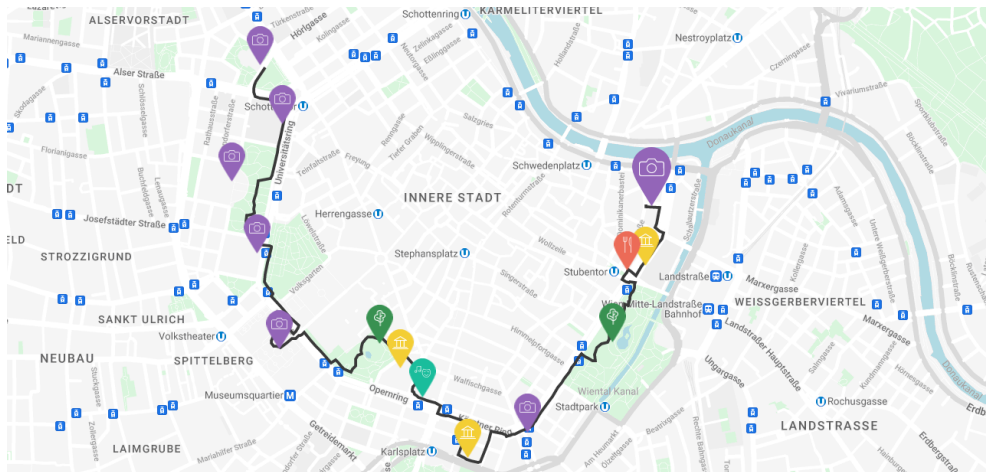


Figure 80, Vienna Tourist Board, Ringstrasse Walk, Accessed: 9 May 2024, ivie app



Figures: 81-94 of the Ringstrasse Tour, Captured 23 February 2024, (Author's Own)

The Ringstrasse walk features 14 stops and traverses the entire length of the road beginning on the Eastern side and progressing in an anti-clockwise direction. The “things and places worthy of one’s gaze”⁵⁰³ on this walking tour are; the Post Savings Bank, the MAK, Cafe Prückel, the Stadtpark, the Palace of Archduke Ludwig Viktor, the Albertina Modern, the Vienna State Opera, the Heidi Horten Collection, the Burggarten, the Maria Theresia Monument, Parliament, the Vienna City Hall, the University of Vienna, and finally the Votive Church. All these locations are pictured in Figures 81-94 alongside the maps provided by the app for navigation. Each of the stops is signposted by a map pin which one can use to access either written historical information regarding the location or to activate an audio guided tour. There are also “Counted and Measured” info boxes which display entertaining statistics and numerical facts for each location, which is a new tactic not deployed by any of the other walking tours which, in general, eschew statistics.



COUNTED AND MEASURED

63

size shoes

As far as footwear is concerned, the Rathausmann would struggle to buy off the shelf. The 3.4-meter-tall statue takes size EU 63 shoes.

⁵⁰³ Urry, J. and Larsen, J., *Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 227

The written and audio guide contain different information and the audio guide tends to actively direct the gaze “Are you looking at the facade of the Austrian Post-Savings Bank?. . . turn around 180 degrees.”⁵⁰⁴ In contrast, the text, although it maintains a conversational tone, announcing “The outside’s flashy. And as for the inside . . .,”⁵⁰⁵ it discusses the locations in more general terms. The attempt to “construct and develop”⁵⁰⁶ the tourist gaze is therefore at the forefront of the way the app organises historical information, particularly in the audio tour format, where historical facts and tales are linked not just to individual locations but specific areas the tourist looks towards, with each station including similar calls to action. Any prominent sites, buildings, or histories that the tour not only walks past, but specifically chooses *not* to direct the gaze towards accordingly acquire a heightened significance as *not* “worthy of one’s gaze.”⁵⁰⁷ This will be considered in greater detail when we examine those histories avoided by the tour and the potential significance and effect of *not* signposting them.

On this occasion, and in contrast with the preceding case studies, rather than taking a thematic, periodic, or biographical approach to history, the “Ringstrasse Walk” avails itself of the topography of the street to discuss the various histories of the buildings and locations passed. In one sense, this remains a periodized approach to history in that the vast majority of the Ringstrasse was, of course, built during the Ringstrasse era, or the Gründerzeit. Accordingly, the past prior to the demolition of the old bastions and the construction of the ring does not figure into the walk narrative, as speculated would be the case in the section dedicated to Vienna’s urban history. This is despite those 16th century fortifications carving out the very shape of the Ringstrasse. Instead, the discussion of the Gründerzeit usually flows into elaborations of the restoration artefacts associated

⁵⁰⁴ “Ringstrasse Walk”, Post-Savings Bank audio, Wiener Tourismusverband, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁶ Urry, J. and Larsen, J., *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 1.

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid, 227.

with that era during the 1950s and up to the present day.⁵⁰⁸ There is no historical “guesswork and imagination”⁵⁰⁹ of any history preceding the Gründerzeit era.

⁵⁰⁸ The Café Prückel audio, Heidi Horton Collection Audio and text and the parliament stops all discuss refurbishments, renovations and conservations over the past 50 years.

⁵⁰⁹ Lehne, Inge, and Lonnie Johnson, *Vienna: The Past in the Present*, 15.

Case Study 7 Discussion: “One Ring to Rule Them All”⁵¹⁰ or Imperial Glamour Around the Altstadt

While the audio guide narration of the “Ringstrasse Walk” claims to take the walker by the hand through “a version of Vienna that is less well-known,”⁵¹¹ the tour in fact leads one around some of its most venerated institutions; the opera house, the university, the Stadtpark, the list goes on. Moreover, an initial appraisal of the Ringstrasse walk indicates that the “nineteenth- century imperial and domestic architecture of its golden age”⁵¹² is, predictably, its focus. The written and audio narrative does not directly refer to this period as the city’s “golden age” but the repeated, and rather tiresome, repetition of superlatives throughout conjures this imagery in all but name. The Ringstrasse is not just a street but the “most impressive urban planning project of the 19th century,”⁵¹³ the Archduke Ludwig Viktor palace is one of the “the most elegant mansions in all of Vienna,”⁵¹⁴ and the Albertina is literally described as an “art museum of superlatives.”⁵¹⁵ The University of Vienna is the “largest” and “oldest” (with the highly specific scope of the “German-speaking world”)⁵¹⁶ and the Votive Church is one of the “greatest gothic revival churches.”⁵¹⁷ The effect of this is to set Ringstrassenstil architecture upon a pedestal, associating its historical period with heightened positive language to a far greater extent than those tours previously considered. The Ringstrasse hence forms a linguistic halo around the historic city centre, or the Altstadt, where the gaze is directed to “look” to endless examples of Viennese excellence.

⁵¹⁰ This is the humorous phrase used in a video advertisement for the walking tour, The Official Channel of Vienna, “Ivie’s Audio Walk Ringstrasse,” YouTube, 10 June 2022, Accessed: 31 May 2024, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rw1Nd7twjbk&ab_channel=Vienna.

⁵¹¹ “Ringstrasse Walk”, Audiotour Introduction, Wiener Tourismusverband, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

⁵¹² Parsons, Nicholas., *Vienna: A Cultural History*, xvii.

⁵¹³ “Ringstrasse Walk”, Audio Tour Introduction, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

⁵¹⁴ “Ringstrasse Walk”, Ludwig Viktor Palace Audio, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

⁵¹⁵ “Ringstrasse Walk”, Albertina Audio, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

⁵¹⁶ “Ringstrasse Walk”, University of Vienna Audio, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

⁵¹⁷ “Ringstrasse Walk”, Votive Church Audio, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

To continue this metaphor, the tour consistently pivots towards the lighter side of history, a number of the locations even deemed “highlights,”⁵¹⁸ with any more violent or darker aspects permitted only when couched in humorous asides, whether the discussion of fistfights in the parliament,⁵¹⁹ or the counter-intuitive, non-circular design of the ring as an antidote to any potential rebellions.⁵²⁰ If we return to the definition of Disneyisation as a strategy “to increase the value of goods and services by transforming them into differentiated experiences, ‘magically’ making the ordinary extraordinary,”⁵²¹ it is difficult not to see something like this process at work here. The ordinary, if beautiful, institutional and public structures of the city (the parliament, the city hall, the bank, the gallery, and the opera house) become extraordinary in the heaped praise of the tour narration. Therefore, these spaces, the products of a particular historical time, the Gründerzeit era, characterise the period that created them as similarly superlative, perpetuating the association of Vienna with this “golden age.”⁵²² The walking tour imagines and themes in totality “Vienna as ‘Imperial Residence,’”⁵²³ in the sense that this glorified architecture was borne of an imperial project under Habsburg rule. Furthermore, in fulfilment of the quotation that began this section, we see in action that the “historic building fabric has been turned to advantage in marketing the city.”⁵²⁴ The tourist board capitalises on this “advantage” as the ivie app is integrated with the “Vienna City Card” product, a card that is “all you need for Vienna,”⁵²⁵ providing the tourist with access, for a limited time between 24 and 72 hours, to discounts on museums and tourist attractions, public transport, and airport transfers. Whenever one of the locations linked to the card is included on the walking

⁵¹⁸ This includes Café Prückel, the section of the Wienfluss flowing through the Stadtpark and the parliament building which is similarly “shining in new splendour” in the written narrative, “Ringstrasse Walk”, Audio and written tour information, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

⁵¹⁹ “Ringstrasse Walk”, Parliament Audio, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

⁵²⁰ “But don’t worry” the narrator immediately cajoles, the strategy was never put into practice “Ringstrasse Walk”, Audio, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

⁵²¹ Urry, J. and Larsen, J., *The Tourist Gaze 3.0.*, 64.

⁵²² Parsons, Nicholas., *Vienna: A Cultural History*, xvii.

⁵²³ Hatz, Gerhard, “Vienna”, 313.

⁵²⁴ Ibid.

⁵²⁵ Vienna Tourist Board, “All You Need for Vienna!,” Vienna City Card, accessed May 10, 2024, <https://www.viennacitycard.at/index.php?lang=EN>.

tour, additional information regarding potential discounts is included, sandwiched between the historical information as displayed below.

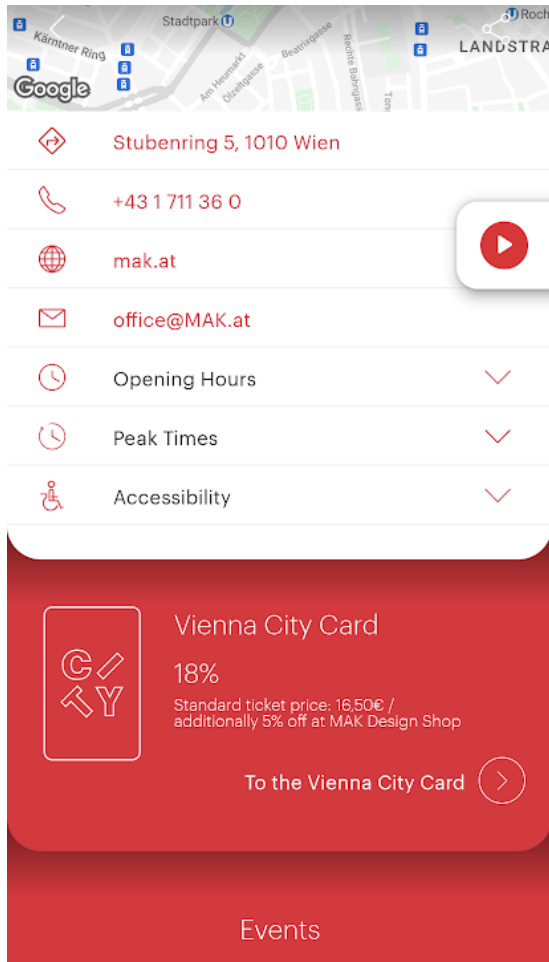


Figure 96: The Ringstrasse Walk, 2022, Accessed: 10 May 2024, ivie app

It follows that the perceived “value” of these stops on the walking tour increases the value of the card, making it more likely to be purchased by the customer. In the jovial and broadly uncritical glorification of the Ringstrasse imperial project, and with a member of the Habsburg royal family mentioned at almost every station on the audio tour, we encounter something approaching “Kaiserkitsch”⁵²⁶ particularly in the way these royal figures are knowingly juxtaposed with the modern celebrities who have visited the same spots, from Pamela Anderson to Michael Jackson, not to mention the frequent references to films set in the city such as *Before Sunset* and *The Third*

⁵²⁶ Parsons, Nicholas. *Vienna: A Cultural History*, 42.

*Man.*⁵²⁷ Vienna's past, here a glorious one presenting the Ringstrasse as the crowning achievement of the city, if not itself a thing to "consume,"⁵²⁸ is certainly being invoked to encourage the act of consumption, via a product of the official tourist board. As with the "Understanding Edo" tour we again come upon a situation where history sells, and the perceived "authenticity," and authentic glory of "other historical periods and other cultures"⁵²⁹ promotes the value of a product via free walking tour content. In a paradoxical twist, the experiential walked "present,"⁵³⁰ is sold by virtue of the city's past, by a highly selective vision of its history that focuses on surfaces, aesthetic triumphs, and superlative grandeur.

⁵²⁷ "Ringstrasse Walk", Introduction Audio, "ivie - Wien City Guide."

⁵²⁸ Lehne, Inge, and Lonnie Johnson. *Vienna: The Past in the Present*, 177.

⁵²⁹ MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist*, 3.

⁵³⁰ Lehne, Inge, and Lonnie Johnson. *Vienna: The Past in the Present*, 177.

Case Study 7 Discussion: Another “Alternative” History in Vienna, Are “Queer Facets”⁵³¹ Enough?

The very notion of Vienna having a “golden age”⁵³² brings us to another concept raised in the introduction to this chapter: nostalgia. While the idea of nostalgia is an undercurrent in both the foundational works on memory previously discussed in this thesis, those of Nora and Halbwachs, it is not directly addressed in a similar long-form study by either author.⁵³³ In Stephen Legg’s “Contesting and surviving memory: space, nation, and nostalgia in *Les Lieux de Mémoire*,” he suggests that “nostalgia . . . is . . . not simply wistful. It excludes some groups from a formative role in national identity and forecloses a pluralistic conception of the contemporary, postcolonial nation.”⁵³⁴ In this sense the exaggerated praise of the Ringstrasse area is not entirely a harmless marketing tactic. Those honeyed words are laced with the venom of omission and a non-pluralistic conception of the city space.

An attempt is made to give “space for resonances not before encountered,”⁵³⁵ or at least less encountered, with the inclusion of “queer facets” of Vienna’s history, encompassing the scandalous⁵³⁶ exploits of Ludwig Viktor in the 19th century and the proximity of the annual Pride parade to several of the historical sites walked past. When these, often historically tangential, “facets” are considered in tandem with LGBT walking tour offered by the app, which promotes the “long LGBT history”⁵³⁷ of the city via only sites with an entry fee,⁵³⁸ the acknowledgement of this community’s heritage by the app creators errs on the side of rainbow washing. This is the act of “companies, displaying the rainbow flag [as] a marketing feature . . . this exemplifies the *Pink Pound*

⁵³¹“Ringstrasse Walk”, Introduction Written Information, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

⁵³² Parsons, Nicholas. *Vienna: A Cultural History*, xvii.

⁵³³ Legg, Stephen, “Contesting and Surviving Memory: Space, Nation, and Nostalgia in *Les Lieux de Mémoire*,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 23, no. 4 (August 2005): 481–504, <https://doi.org/10.1068/d0504>, 481-2.

⁵³⁴*Ibid.*, 492.

⁵³⁵ Divya P. Tolia-Kelly, Emma Waterton, and Steve Watson, *Heritage, Affect and Emotion*, 4.

⁵³⁶ One of the “scandals” noted in the introduction, “Ringstrasse Walk”, Introduction Audio, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

⁵³⁷ “LGBT Guide”, Introduction, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

⁵³⁸ Ranging from museums to bars to a famous gay sauna in the city, none of the sites included in the LGBT tour of Vienna are accessible without paying an entrance fee or buying the Vienna card attached to the app.

and *Rainbow Marketing*.⁵³⁹ Indeed, even the inclusion of Ludwig Viktor sustains the idea of an idealised past drowning in superlatives for, as a member of the aristocracy during that feted “golden age”⁵⁴⁰ of the Ringstrasse, he remains an appropriate focus for the narrowly directed gaze on “Vienna as ‘Imperial Residence.’”⁵⁴¹ Once again, nostalgia for a “fairytale”⁵⁴² past which one is directed to “consume,”⁵⁴³ takes place instead of a truly “pluralistic conception”⁵⁴⁴ and experience of Vienna’s history. Indeed, it must also be noted that the full quote applies nostalgia as foreclosing on such a “pluralistic conception” in a specifically “Post-colonial”⁵⁴⁵ nation, and the tour narrative additionally features no references to the many ethnic groups that made up the empire that built the “fairytale”⁵⁴⁶ buildings of the Ringstrasse.

If LGBT community history *is* signposted in the introduction to the Ringstrasse walk and has a specific walking tour on the ivie app, then what of those historical “facets” and communities which do not make the cut? Despite the emphasis on the splendid products of the imperial past, the fact that all the monumental buildings on the ring were damaged by bombing⁵⁴⁷ appears nowhere in the audio or written version of the walking tour apart from the brief mention of the damage to the opera house. This is glossed over as the audio quickly moves to the triumphal reopening in 1955 which came to “symbolise the newly established second republic.”⁵⁴⁸ In general, the pedestrian encounters numerous facts and events from the construction of the Ringstrasse of 19th century up to the 20s, however, there is generally a gap between the 30s and the 40s before events such as the refurbishment of Café Prückel, and more recent histories, are brought to the audience’s attention.

⁵³⁹ Rusch, Michaela, “True Colours or Rainbow-Washing Exposed!? – Company Pride in and through Digital and Social Media Reviewed,” *ILCEA*, no. 51 (June 12, 2023), <https://doi.org/10.4000/ilcea.17655>, 2-4.

⁵⁴⁰ Parsons, Nicholas. *Vienna: A Cultural History*, xvii.

⁵⁴¹ Hatz, Gerhard, “Vienna,” 313.

⁵⁴² This is a description of the Palmenhaus in the “Ringstrasse Walk”, Burgarten Audio, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

⁵⁴³ Lehne, Inge, and Lonnie Johnson. *Vienna: The Past in the Present*, 177.

⁵⁴⁴ Legg, Stephen, “Contesting and Surviving Memory,” 492.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁶ “Ringstrasse Walk”, Burgarten Audio, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

⁵⁴⁷ Lehne, Inge, and Lonnie Johnson. *Vienna: The Past in the Present*, 149.

⁵⁴⁸ “Ringstrasse Walk”, Vienna opera House Audio, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

Although *post-war* architecture and art is noted on a number of occasions,⁵⁴⁹ and there is a brief reference to a resistance fighter exhibited in the MAK,⁵⁵⁰ these allusions are fleeting. Additionally, like the “Understanding Edo” and the “Follow the Footsteps . . .” walking tours reviewed in the Second Chapter, the Ringstrasse trail walks the tourist past certain conspicuous sites of memory without comment, particularly those associated with the Anschluss and the period of Nazi rule in the city.

To illustrate, the “Ringstrasse walk” guides one right past the monumental gates of Heldenplatz, where Hitler made his famous speech to cheering crowds⁵⁵¹ from the now controversial balcony,⁵⁵² a space which is arguably marks “in Austria’s collective memory . . .the beginning of Nazi

⁵⁴⁹ Notably concerning the Albertina Modern and, once again Café Prückel.

⁵⁵⁰ This is Margarete Schütte-Lihotzky, “Ringstrasse Walk”, MAK Audio, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

⁵⁵¹ These crowds can be seen from 02:40 in this British Pathé newsreel, *Hitler in Vienna (1938)* (United Kingdom: British Pathé, 1938), Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://archive.org/details/hitler-in-vienna-1938-british-pathe> and again from the Pathé archive in colour from minute 2 of the newsreel *German Troops March Into Austria (1938) (Colorized)*. United Kingdom: British Pathé, 1938, Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://archive.org/details/german-troops-march-into-austria-1938-color> and this is further substantiated by images in an American film at 04:50 of *GERMANY INVADES AUSTRIA WORLD WAR II NEWSREEL ANSCHLUSS CASTLE FILMS SOUND VERSION* (USA: Periscope Film LLC archive, 1938), Accessed: 31 May 2024 <https://archive.org/details/70792GermanyInvadesAustria>.

⁵⁵² A number of articles of 2021 chronicle the height of the debate around the opening of the balcony including Liam Hoare’s “Should Vienna’s ‘Hitler Balcony’ Be Opened to the Public?,” *Moment Mag*, April 2, 2021, Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://momentmag.com/hitler-balcony/> rising initially from the 2018 the calls from some activists for the total destruction of the balcony, which is an extension of the original Habsburg palace, as noted in the international press, for example The Times of Israel, AFP, “Activists Call for Destruction of ‘Hitler Balcony’ in Vienna,” *The Times of Israel*, October 18, 2018, Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/activists-call-for-destruction-of-hitler-balcony-in-vienna/>. Despite the eventual ruling in May 2021 that the Balcony would not open to the public, Hubert Kicking, “„Hitler-Balkon“ Wird Nicht Geöffnet,” *ORF*, May 11, 2021, Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://wien.orf.at/stories/3103243/> and the suggestion of the then museum director that guided tours could be a solution to the difficult history of the space, “Should the ‘Hitler Balcony’ Open to the Public?,” *Deutsche Welle*, March 17, 2021, Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://www.dw.com/en/should-the-hitler-balcony-in-vienna-be-open-to-the-public/a-56887522>, the controversy surrounding the balcony has not died down. In recent months it became the centre of a new scandal as it was used as a backdrop to a video published by the far-right freedom party’s youth wing. This was seen to be “glorifying fascist thinkers and . . . the country’s Nazi past”, AFP, “Alarm over Austria Far-Right Party Video as Its Support Soars,” *France 24*, September 1, 2023, Accessed: 31 May 2024, https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20230901-alarm-over-austria-far-right-party-video-as-its-support-soars?utm_slink=f24.my%2F9krr. One solution proposed to this new wave of potentially dangerous interest in the balcony and the ideas once declaimed from it was again guided tours of the balcony and square Ben McPartland writes in “Vienna Tour Aims to Demystify ‘hitler Balcony’ after Far-Right Clip,” *The Local Austria*, September 9, 2023, Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://www.thelocal.at/20230909/vienna-tour-aims-to-demystify-hitler-balcony-after-far-right-clip>. Therefore, is perhaps even more egregious that the dark history of Heldenplatz is walked past by the ivie app, and that fact that a state museum is seen as capable of presenting

rule.”⁵⁵³ Moreover, there is no mention made at the Rathaus stop of the fact that Rathausplatz was renamed Adolf-Hitler-Platz throughout the period of Nazi rule.⁵⁵⁴



Figure 97: The Adolf-Hitler Platz sign in the Heeresgeschichtliches Museum taken down upon Rathausplatz returning to its original name, Quine, Thomas, via Wikimedia Commons (<https://www.flickr.com/photos/quinet/28942527582/>, September 13, 2013), https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Enamel_signs_from_Gross-Wien_The_former_Adolf-Hitler_Platz,_V%C3%B6lkischer_Beobachter_advertisement,_Reichssender_Wien._Heeresgeschichtliches_Museum_Vienna,_Austria,_2013.jpg.

One could counter that these darker histories would clash with the kitschy, jubilant tone and the walk’s focus on the fabulous exteriors of the Ringstrasse architecture, which, despite the promise of a “a version of Vienna that is less well-known,”⁵⁵⁵ regurgitates one of its most visible histories, the grandiose Ringstrassenstil of the “nineteenth- century. . . golden age.”⁵⁵⁶ However, as the walk is curated to avoid all mention of the Anschluss and the Second World War it also inevitably also omitting to mention the Holocaust and its huge effect on the city.⁵⁵⁷ Thus, there is a sense that these

this history and yet it is incompatible with the tourist history of the walking tours shows, once again, the triumph of palatable tales on the trail.

⁵⁵³ Kutenberg, Eva. “Austria’s Topography of Memory: Heldenplatz, Albertinaplatz, Judenplatz, and beyond.” *The German Quarterly*, no 80.4 (Fall 2007), 469.

⁵⁵⁴ Parsons, Nicholas. *Vienna: A Cultural History*, 250.

⁵⁵⁵ “Ringstrasse Walk”, Introduction Audio, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

⁵⁵⁶ Parsons, Nicholas., *Vienna: A Cultural History*, xvii.

⁵⁵⁷ “While Austrians had constituted under ten per cent of the Third Reich’s population, there was ‘extensive proof that Austrians were responsible for the deaths of three million Jews (out of the estimated six million who were killed)’ Pick, Hella, *Guilty Victim: Austria from the Holocaust to Haider*. (London: Tauris, 2000), 84.

“facets” of the Ringstrasse are not “worthy of one’s gaze.”⁵⁵⁸ As in the case of the Tokyo walks in Chapter 2, this is conceivably a side-effect of touristic products tending towards the “strongest and broadest consensus”⁵⁵⁹ in the pursuit of marketability, reproducing a version of history which is “suspicious of memory.”⁵⁶⁰ On this occasion, certain eras with a broadly appealing aesthetic take precedence over other available histories locked in the cityscape. Hence, it is perhaps predictable that a walking tour, created by the official Stadt Wien tourist board, is “suspicious” of including these key moments in its tour of the city centre. A strong and broad “consensus,” particularly a historical “consensus” performed for an international audience,⁵⁶¹ has historically been difficult to reach for the nation, and these tensions play out in miniature in the omissions of the Ringstrasse walking tour and across the ivie app in general.

The omissions and careful avoidance of certain histories and memory spaces by the Vienna tourist board on this and other walks has quite the historical precedent. War histories and Holocaust memories are entangled and ideologically knotty in the case of Austria, especially regarding the “victim thesis” of the Moscow Declaration of 1 November 1943,⁵⁶² followed by the 1955 State Treaty,⁵⁶³ which allowed Austria to view “itself as the first victim of Hitlerite aggression.”⁵⁶⁴ This led to “the ‘Jewish question’ [taking] a subordinate place in Austria’s official public” memory,”⁵⁶⁵ and any

⁵⁵⁸ Urry, J. and Larsen, J., *The Tourist Gaze 3.0.*, 227.

⁵⁵⁹ MacCannell, Dean., *The Tourist*, 139.

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid., 9.

⁵⁶¹ Hella Pick discusses at length the ambiguities, ambivalences and controversies regarding the nation’s treatment of War and Holocaust histories, particularly on the international stage, in *Guilty Victim: Austria From the Holocaust to Haider* concluding that towards the end of that period “the gap had to be closed between the myth and the reality of Austria’s relationship with Nazi Germany, and the Austrian people had to be confronted with the historical truth. . . at last, Austrians were emerging from their amnesia, and the international community applauded” Pick, Hella, *Guilty Victim*, 196.

⁵⁶² Beniston, Judith, “‘Hitler’s First Victim’? — Memory and Representation in Post-War Austria: Introduction,” *Austrian Studies*, 11 (2003): 1–13. <http://www.istor.org/stable/27944673>, 2.

⁵⁶³ Pick, Hella, *Guilty Victim*, 15.

⁵⁶⁴ Uhl, Heidemarie, “The Politics of Memory: Austria’s Perception of the Second World War and the National Socialist Period,” essay, in *Austrian Historical Memory & National Identity*, ed. Günter Bischof and Anton Pelinka (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1997), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351315128>, 68.

⁵⁶⁵ Wodak, Ruth, and Richardson, John E., *Analysing Fascist Discourse: European Fascism in Talk and Text* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 1.

state responsibility was deferred until “seriously confronted with its Nazi past . . . during the Waldheim debate,”⁵⁶⁶ when the former secretary general of the United Nations and (then prospective) President of Austria Kurt Josef Waldheim was revealed in high profile articles in *Profil* and the *New York Times* to have been a member of both the Nazi Youth League and to have served in the Wehrmacht.⁵⁶⁷ This did not, however, hinder his election campaign in which he gained 53.87 per cent of the vote,⁵⁶⁸ however, it revealed on an international stage the “contradictions inherent in the country’s official version of the past,”⁵⁶⁹ where a president with direct links to the Nazi past could be voted into the government of a “victim” nation. However, despite Waldheim’s victory, this remained a moment of reckoning for the country and while “crimes against minorities within Austria have been acknowledged only with reluctance and much delay,”⁵⁷⁰ supposedly by 1997 “the upcoming generation of Austrian historians sees its task as educating the nation, and . . . acknowledgement of Austria’s responsibility.”⁵⁷¹ This has led to an increase in Holocaust memorials in Vienna in recent years⁵⁷² and a “general agreement” that this is a past which cannot be denied,⁵⁷³ and yet this “general agreement” does not make its way into the tourist histories transmitted by the ivie app walking tours. As Heidemarie Uhl notes, this “general agreement” contains within its shades of acceptance “attempts to play down and gloss over the impact of National Socialism” alongside the “Austria-as-perpetrator view of the Nazi period,”⁵⁷⁴ and it is the “gloss over” tactic we seem to be encountering in these walking tours.

It is an interesting side note that, despite the importance of the Jewish community, the Holocaust, and its aftermath in the city and nation’s history, the app offers no exact equivalent of the

⁵⁶⁶ Uhl, Heidemarie, “The Politics of Memory”, 87.

⁵⁶⁷ Pick, Hella, *Guilty Victim*, 160.

⁵⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 178.

⁵⁶⁹ Uhl, Heidemarie, “The Politics of Memory”, 87.

⁵⁷⁰ Beniston, Judith, “‘Hitler’s First Victim’?”, 11.

⁵⁷¹ Uhl, Heidemarie, “The Politics of Memory”, 89.

⁵⁷² Pirker, P., Kramer, J. & Lichtenwagner, M. “Transnational Memory Spaces in the Making: World War II and Holocaust Remembrance in Vienna.” *Int J Polit Cult Soc* 32, 439–458 (2019). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10767-019-09331-w>, 440.

⁵⁷³ Uhl, Heidemarie, “The Politics of Memory,” 90.

⁵⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 93.

“Jewish Florence” tour hosted by *Feel Florence*. Indeed, while the “Karmeliterviertel Walk” explores a “relaxed neighbourhood with a Jewish history that is evident everywhere,”⁵⁷⁵ unfortunately published too late to be included in this thesis as a case study,⁵⁷⁶ it falls into many of the same traps as the “Jewish Florence” walking tour. Both the German and Italian language editions frame Jewish history and spaces as “alternative,” or in this case between “cool and Kosher”⁵⁷⁷ in their titles, while the English subtitle declaring that the walk is “off the beaten track,”⁵⁷⁸ is not far from this moniker. Indeed, in the English version the phrase “cool and Kosher” is saved for the specific “Karmeliterviertel” station of the walk, which is noted as Freud’s birthplace⁵⁷⁹ and deemed the “centre of Jewish life in Vienna.”⁵⁸⁰ The stress here is on the vibrant living Jewish community, rather than the histories of expulsion, ghettoisation, the Holocaust, or the numerous monuments to those events. Perhaps this is the reason for the limited historical consideration of Jewish Vienna as, despite being intended as walk into the Jewish past and present, the tour only mentions Jewish people or culture in the introduction and at the “Karmeliterviertel” station. Indeed, one could contest that reference to the Holocaust is relegated to a single, rather evasive phrase in the introduction⁵⁸¹ to celebrate the contributions of the Jewish community to the present-day city rather than exhibiting

⁵⁷⁵ “Karmeliterviertel Walk”, Written Introduction, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

⁵⁷⁶ While the walking tour went live on the app some time a website post publicising the walk was published on the 2nd of May 2024, Vienna Tourist Board, “Let Ivie Guide You through the Karmeliterviertel,” [vienna.info](https://www.wien.info/en/travel-info/ivie-app/ivie-walk-karmeliterviertel-606908), May 2, 2024, Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://www.wien.info/en/travel-info/ivie-app/ivie-walk-karmeliterviertel-606908>.

⁵⁷⁷ “tra cool e Kosher” in the Italian translation, Vienna Tourist Board, “Karmeliterviertel: Tra – Cool E Koscher,” [vienna.info](https://www.wien.info/it/ristoranti-bar/mercati-quartieri-tipici/il-sobborgo-karmeliterviertel-349594), 2021, Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://www.wien.info/it/ristoranti-bar/mercati-quartieri-tipici/il-sobborgo-karmeliterviertel-349594> and “Zwischen cool und Kosher” in the German, Vienna Tourist Board, “Karmeliterviertel: Zwischen Cool Und Koscher,” [wien.info](https://www.wien.info/de/essen-trinken/maerkte/karmeliterviertel-349618), 2021, Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://www.wien.info/de/essen-trinken/maerkte/karmeliterviertel-349618>.

⁵⁷⁸ “Karmeliterviertel Walk”, Written Introduction, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

⁵⁷⁹ The ivie app also offers a Freud walking tour which is not considered here, however, similarly to the Karmeliterviertel it is light on information regarding his Jewish identity, or the life of the Jewish community during his time in the city, rather focusing on his contribution to the history of psychoanalysis and psychology with the inclusion of a number of medical-adjacent establishments such as Altes AKH or the Old General Hospital, the Josephinum and the University of Vienna, alongside such favourite haunts of the intellectual such as Cafe Landtmann. “Karmeliterviertel Walk”, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

⁵⁸⁰ “Karmeliterviertel Walk”, Karmeliterviertel written information, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

⁵⁸¹ “A large proportion of Vienna’s Jewish population lived in the 2nd district up until the Holocaust” “Karmeliterviertel Walk”, Written Introduction, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

the previously discussed tendency of touristic products to be “suspicious”⁵⁸² of memory. However, this theory does not hold water when we consider the historical content included on other stations of the walk. For example, the entire Augarten section focuses on the park’s history as a war victim, as detailed in Figures 99-101.

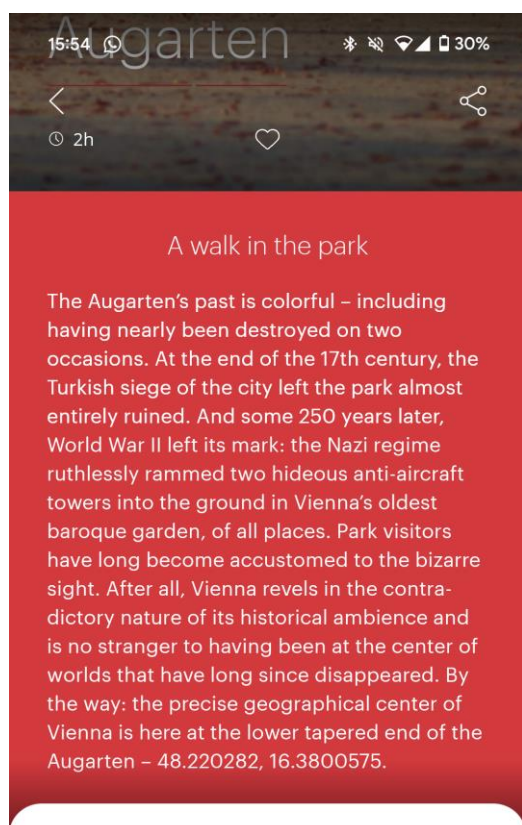


Figure 98: Augarten info screen, 2024, Accessed: 12 May 2024, ivie app

Therefore, on a tour where Jewish History is “evident everywhere,”⁵⁸³ it is somehow the suffering of a baroque garden, another golden age, imperial creation, whose suffering at the hands of the “Nazi Regime” is lamented, rather than, in the words of the walking tour, the “large proportion of Vienna’s Jewish population lived in the 2nd district up until the Holocaust.”⁵⁸⁴ Therefore, is it any surprise that there is no walking tour through “Jewish Vienna,” perhaps encompassing the site of the former ghetto in Judenplatz⁵⁸⁵ which is also the location of Rachel Whiteread’s Shoah memorial, or

⁵⁸² Nora, Pierre., “Between Memory and History,” 9.

⁵⁸³ “Karmeliterviertel Walk”, written Introduction, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

⁵⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁵ Lehne, Inge, and Lonnie Johnson, *Vienna: The Past in the Present*, 20.

stopping at the Jewish Museum of Vienna, and that the appropriation of a synagogue to build Leopoldskirche goes unmentioned?⁵⁸⁶ Even in this small section of the tour we see a glimpse of “the contradictions inherent in the country’s official version of the past,”⁵⁸⁷ as it is the “Nazi Regime” rather than “Austria-as-perpetrator”⁵⁸⁸ that is the villain of the tour narrative. In a microcosm of what is generally considered an issue of the previous century by the scholarship,⁵⁸⁹ that is, outside the interventions of far-right actors, this walking tour, while initially appearing to be an innocent stroll “off the beaten track”⁵⁹⁰ in fact perpetuates the “subordinate place” of “the ‘Jewish question’ . . . in Austria’s official public” memory.”⁵⁹¹ To return to the quote that began this section, that “nostalgia . . . is . . . not simply wistful. It excludes some groups from a formative role in national identity and forecloses a pluralistic conception of the contemporary, postcolonial nation.”⁵⁹² In the case of the “Karmeliterviertel Walk” we see this in action, as a product of a state tourist board, the ivie app, clings to a nostalgic, “fairytale,”⁵⁹³ image of Vienna as “Imperial Residence”⁵⁹⁴ and this necessarily excludes the histories of any communities which cannot easily be integrated into this model. If “convenient clichés” allow Vienna to be “successfully marketed for tourism,”⁵⁹⁵ the inconvenient facts of history must be avoided.

Moreover, like the LGBT walking tour offered by the ivie app the “Karmeliterviertel Walk” also features predominantly paid activities that history is used to sell, with 7 out of 11 of the stops requiring paid access and those 4 that do not often encouraging the pedestrian to step into one of the nearby restaurants or hop on a river cruise.

⁵⁸⁶ Parsons, Nicholas., *Vienna: A Cultural History*, 154.

⁵⁸⁷ Uhl, Heidemarie, “The Politics of Memory,” 87.

⁵⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 93.

⁵⁸⁹ Uhl, Heidemarie, “The Politics of Memory”, 89.

⁵⁹⁰ “Karmeliterviertel Walk”, written Introduction, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

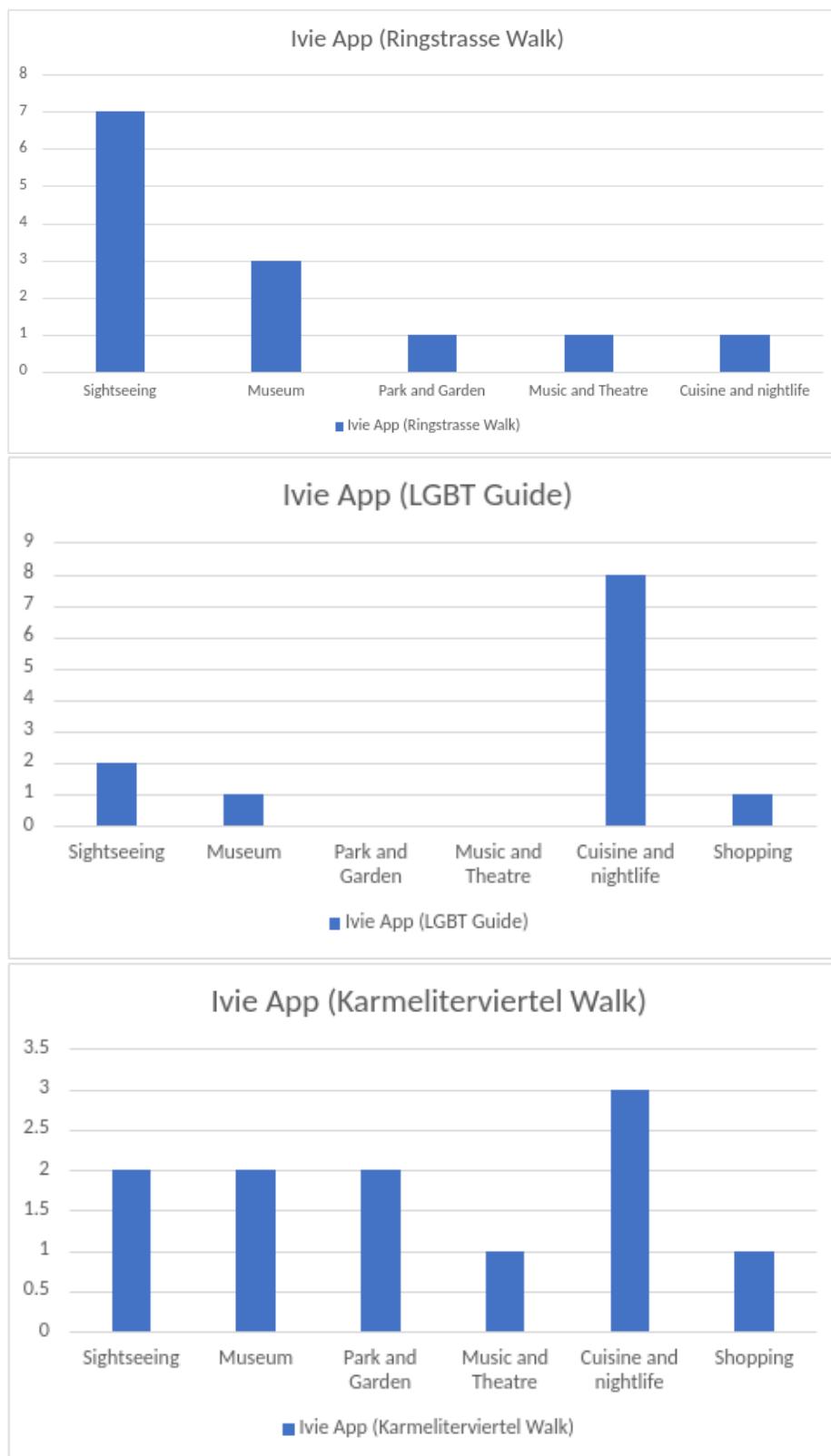
⁵⁹¹ Wodak, R., & Richardson, J.E., *Analysing Fascist Discourse*, 1.

⁵⁹² Legg, Stephen, “Contesting and Surviving Memory,” 492.

⁵⁹³ “Ringstrasse Walk”, Burgarten Audio, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

⁵⁹⁴ Hatz, Gerhard, “Vienna”, 313.

⁵⁹⁵ Lehne, Inge, and Lonnie Johnson. *Vienna: The Past in the Present*, 10.



Figures 99 to 101: The range of sites on the Ringstrasse Walk, as compared with those on the Karmeliterviertel Walk and the LGBT Guide. Both the LGBT and Karmeliterviertel walks feature more “consumption” experiences, with cuisine and nightlife the median kind of station on the walking tour as opposed to the Ringstrasse walk which features a surfeit of sights one must merely see, rather than purchase. Data and graphs Author’s own.

“Space for resonances not before encountered”⁵⁹⁶ can only be permitted when, like Freud’s house or the “enticing restaurant scene”⁵⁹⁷ of Karmeliterviertel, they can be co-opted as “cool and Kosher” to present a modern fairytale to the tourist, but a fairytale, nonetheless. It is troubling that these two histories outside the “norm” presented by the jubilant celebration of Vienna’s “historic ambience”⁵⁹⁸ on the Ringstrasse, both explorations of traditionally marginalised communities, tend towards the extreme end of the penchant to “consume Vienna’s past”⁵⁹⁹ in a literal sense.

Case Study 7 Conclusion: Vienna Puts a Ring on It: The “Most Beautiful Boulevard in the World”⁶⁰⁰

This chapter took as its initial focus the Ringstrasse walk because, as one of the great tourist thoroughfares of the city, and the crowning modernising achievement of an empire mere decades from collapse, it presents the ideal site to explore “tourist clichés.”⁶⁰¹ In turn, this permits insight into the “continuities and traditions”⁶⁰² of the nation, via what histories are selected and performed for the external tourist gaze. The discussion of Case Study 7 has been split into two sections, the first exploring the presentation of the Gründerzeit era, the hyperbolic idealisation of the chocolate box buildings of the Innere Stadt, and the second covering the cursory attempts to present a pluralistic and inclusive city history on the trail. The clichés which define this tour are shown to be essential in understanding why certain incompatible memory spaces and communities are neglected by the walking tour narrative, even when it is counterintuitive to avoid them. For example, the vague discussion of Jewish history in Vienna on the “Karmeliterviertel Walk.” The ivie “Ringstrasse Walk” may endeavour to diversify the pedestrian experience of the city by introducing “queer facets,”

⁵⁹⁶ Divya P. Tolia-Kelly, Emma Waterton, and Steve Watson, *Heritage, Affect and Emotion*, 4.

⁵⁹⁷ “Karmeliterviertel Walk”, written Introduction, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

⁵⁹⁸ “Karmeliterviertel Walk”, Augarten written information, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

⁵⁹⁹ Lehne, Inge, and Lonnie Johnson, *Vienna: The Past in the Present*, 177.

⁶⁰⁰ “Ringstrasse Walk”, Introduction Written Information, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

⁶⁰¹ Urry, J. and Larsen, J., *The Tourist Gaze 3.0*, 17.

⁶⁰² Ibid.

however, rather than ringing in the changes, the approach feels rather tokenistic and performative, particularly considering the emphasis on paid experiences where the past of a historically marginalised group is concerned.

Instead, it is the “flashy”⁶⁰³ outside of the formerly imperial city that is “worthy of one’s gaze,”⁶⁰⁴ and while this proclivity is partially a result of “Habsburg nostalgia”⁶⁰⁵ ripe to be “expertly sold,”⁶⁰⁶ the focus on the beautiful artefacts of one “facet” of the past rather than the bloody remains of darker histories also represents a continuity with the nation’s 20th century memory politics, suggesting that the “broadest consensus”⁶⁰⁷ of tourism inevitably becomes coupled with a conservative approach to history. Nostalgia excludes and romanticisation simplifies, and crucially both require acts of imagination to sustain, interpretive versions of history which curate the past to maintain the ambivalence of the present. The walking tours discussed here, as created by the Vienna Tourist Board certainly succeed in this. The “Ringstrasse Walk,” and those other related walks referenced, encourage the tourist “to consume Vienna’s past, not experience its present”⁶⁰⁸ with the vision of the present begot on the Ringstrasse walking tour predicated on the idea of an impossible and glorious past.

The paradoxical Lehne and Johnson quote juxtaposes a present, experienced act of consumption of the past which, despite being the subject of consumption, exists outside the concept of present experience, and similarly the official “‘imaging’ and ‘theming’” of “Vienna as ‘Imperial Residence’”⁶⁰⁹ by the tourist board ensures the perpetuation of clichés even while the walks claim to lead the walker “off the beaten path.”⁶¹⁰ It is not a jewelled ring but the image of the encircled ouroboros that defines the approach to history here, the snake eating its own tail, as this static

⁶⁰³ “Ringstrasse Walk”, Post-Savings Bank audio, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

⁶⁰⁴ Urry, J. and Larsen, J., *The Tourist Gaze 3.0.*, 227.

⁶⁰⁵ Lehne, Inge, and Lonnie Johnson. *Vienna, the Past in the Present*, 10.

⁶⁰⁶ Parsons, Nicholas. *Vienna: A Cultural History*, 42.

⁶⁰⁷ MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist*, 139.

⁶⁰⁸ Lehne, Inge, and Lonnie Johnson. *Vienna: The Past in the Present*, 177.

⁶⁰⁹ Hatz, Gerhard, “Vienna”, 313.

⁶¹⁰ “Karmeliterviertel Walk”, Written Introduction, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

repetition and clichéd praise of 19th Imperial palaces ensures undifferentiated consumption of historical “experience” while precluding a true “experience” of the present. Indeed, considering that in the modern city of Vienna “neighbourhood segregation along ethnic lines is emerging as a key component of the city’s social geography,”⁶¹¹ ensuring that community histories are accurately and appropriately communicated and reproduced has a very real bearing on the “present experience” not just for the tourist but the city’s residents. In the past Vienna may have been the “focal point for the clash between those who feel it is best to . . . draw a veil over the recent past, and those who feel it must be examined”⁶¹² but that tension is little felt upon the ivie app walking tours considered in this section.

Case Study 8&9 Introduction: Painting the Town Red or The Second Vienna Modernism on Two Walking Tours

*The tourist . . . goes to see . . . society and its works*⁶¹³

Having explored the “convenient clichés”⁶¹⁴ which define the use of history on the first walking tour in Vienna, it is time to step away from “Vienna as ‘Imperial Residence’”⁶¹⁵ and into a time when “political utopia became reality” in the city.⁶¹⁶ While the transformation of the area within and adjacent to the Ringstrasse represents the “culmination of Vienna’s development,”⁶¹⁷ particularly regarding the “cliché” image of the city, “many remnants of “Red Vienna” . . . continue to shape the city’s urban development trajectory.”⁶¹⁸ These remnants, ranging from public baths to the vast state-run housing projects exemplify the “experiments with municipal socialism in the 1920s”⁶¹⁹

⁶¹¹ Pacione, Michael, “Ethnic Segregation in the European City: The Case of Vienna.” *Geography* 81, no. 2 (1996): 120–32. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40572757>, 131.

⁶¹² Parsons, Nicholas. *Vienna: A Cultural History*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 33.

⁶¹³ MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist*, 55.

⁶¹⁴ Lehne, Inge, and Lonnie Johnson. *Vienna: the Past in the Present*, 10.

⁶¹⁵ Hatz, Gerhard, “Vienna”, 313.

⁶¹⁶ “Red Vienna Guide”, Wiener Tourismusverband, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

⁶¹⁷ Lehne, Inge, and Lonnie Johnson. *Vienna: The Past in the Present*, 89.

⁶¹⁸ Orum, A.M., Kadi, J. and Suitner, J. “Red Vienna, 1919–1934.” In *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Urban and Regional Studies*, A.M. Orum (Ed.).(2024) <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118568446.eurs0259>, 4.

⁶¹⁹ Kadi, Justin. “Recommodifying Housing in Formerly ‘Red’ Vienna?” *Housing, Theory and Society* 32, no. 3 (2015): 247–65. doi:10.1080/14036096.2015.1024885, 249.

now known variously as "Red Vienna,"⁶²⁰ or The Second Vienna Modernism, in which housing was an important aspect of city welfare provision. Vienna, continually winning the title "most liveable city" in recent years,⁶²¹ and with its state subsidised housing system earning it the title "perfect city" on a recent BBC podcast,⁶²² is one of the leading landlords in Europe.⁶²³ Hence, the housing projects of the past are deeply connected with the housing policy of the present administration. The following two walking tours, one hosted by the ivie app and the second a Stadtwanderwege hiking trail maintained directly by Stadt Wien, both traverse several key developments from this period when the Social Democratic Workers' Party (SDAP) built over 60,000 city-owned social rental dwellings.⁶²⁴

Oft named for those officials and politicians who inspired and implemented these social welfare policies,⁶²⁵ these developments were and are unavoidably political and thus the two walking tour case studies provide an insight into how the tourist gaze is directed when confronted with the products of a political party, which continue to be integrated into the political life of the city in the present. In this case, "to consume Vienna's past"⁶²⁶ one must experience its present, as many of the sites included on the tour continue to function in much the same way as they did in the 1920s. It is here that MacCannell's discussion of the "work display," a tourist product that is a "museumization of work and work relations,"⁶²⁷ comes into play. For, while it is the history of social housing and early 20th century social welfare that is traversed by these tours, the estates *are* the products of a labour movement, and their form and function is indebted to this.

⁶²⁰ "Rotes Wien"

⁶²¹ Vienna Tourist Board, "Twice Confirmed: Vienna Is the Most Livable City in the World," [meeting.vienna.info](https://meeting.vienna.info/en/current/news-en/vienna-most-livable-city-in-the-world-454826), June 22, 2023, Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://meeting.vienna.info/en/current/news-en/vienna-most-livable-city-in-the-world-454826>.

⁶²² Glover, Fi, host. "My Perfect City: Housing in Vienna", The Compass (podcast). January 6, 2021, Accessed: 3 November 2022, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/w3ct1czm>.

⁶²³ Hatz, Gerhard, "Vienna," 313.

⁶²⁴ Lehne, Inge, and Lonnie Johnson note that between 1922 and 1923 63000 new units were constructed in *Vienna: The Past in the Present*, 131 and the figure of more than 64,000 is provided by Kadi, Justin. "Recommodifying Housing in Formerly 'Red' Vienna?," 252.

⁶²⁵ Parsons, Nicholas. *Vienna: A Cultural History*, 239. A site that is included on both walking tours "Karl-Marx Hof" provides perhaps the most obvious example of this.

⁶²⁶ Lehne, Inge, and Lonnie Johnson, *Vienna: The Past in the Present*, 177.

⁶²⁷ MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist*, 34.

While the tourist does not gaze upon a performance of “workplace”⁶²⁸ industrial activity, there remains something of an “alienated leisure”⁶²⁹ in the tourist wandering through buildings created for the city’s historic working class and where up to 60% of the present-day citizens continue to live.⁶³⁰ If the “The becoming public of almost everything . . . is a necessary part of the integrity of the modern social world,”⁶³¹ to what extent do the self-guided walking tours “make public” state hegemony? In the following two case studies, how the walking tours navigate the tension between living space and ideologically charged history and the degree to which the tours promote or decontextualise the politics of “Red Vienna” will complement the discussion of “golden age”⁶³² imperial Vienna with the “political utopia”⁶³³ that followed its demise. Where do we locate the “strongest and broadest consensus”⁶³⁴ that defines tourist writings when the sites or sights are inherently political in nature? Beginning with a brief discussion of the context of “Red Vienna” and the history supposedly traversed by the tours, this chapter will then analyse two official state walking routes regarding this period of city construction.

Case Study 8&9 Introduction: “Red Vienna”/“The Second Vienna Modernism” a Brief Historical Survey

When the Social Democrats (SDAP) came to power in 1919, Vienna was “financially and socially in ruins,”⁶³⁵ and in the aftermath of the war there was “little sense of a national “Austrian” identity” in the capital that was the “beheaded giant”⁶³⁶ of the former Austro-Hungarian empire. Interestingly, with regards to this thesis, the tourist trade had been adversely affected by the demise

⁶²⁸ Ibid., 57.

⁶²⁹ Ibid.

⁶³⁰ Glover, Fi, host. “My Perfect City: Housing in Vienna”, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/w3ct1czm>

⁶³¹ MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist*, 50.

⁶³² Parsons, Nicholas. *Vienna: A Cultural History*, xvii.

⁶³³ “Red Vienna Guide”, Wiener Tourismusverband, “ivie - Wien City Guide”

⁶³⁴ MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (1976): 139.

⁶³⁵ Lewis, J., “Red Vienna: Socialism in One City, 1918-27”. *European Studies Review* 13, no. 3, (1983): 335-355. <https://doi.org/10.1177/026569148301300303>, 350.

⁶³⁶ Barnett, William P., and Michael Woywode. “From Red Vienna to the Anschluss: Ideological Competition among Viennese Newspapers during the Rise of National Socialism.” *American Journal of Sociology* 109, no. 6 (2004): 1452–99. <https://doi.org/10.1086/381774>, 1455.

of the Habsburg monarchy⁶³⁷ and this may provide an additional motivation for the idealisation of the Imperial age on the touristic “Ringstrasse Walk.” It was an age itself more associated with high tourism than those that followed it, with “Red Vienna” straddling the two world wars when movement was, understandably, limited. Furthermore, the association of a lack of “Austrian” identity” with the removal of the monarchy again may indicate that local and national identity is more easily located in the nostalgia for the “fairytale”⁶³⁸ of the regal past. However, to return to the task at hand, without the networks and resources of empire the country, and its capital city where almost a third of the population resided,⁶³⁹ was defined by poverty,⁶⁴⁰ high infant mortality,⁶⁴¹ and crucially, poor housing.⁶⁴²

This is the context in which the “utopians”⁶⁴³ of “Red Vienna” began their communal building projects which had their “heyday” until 1927,⁶⁴⁴ before the labour movement was finally overcome by the Austro-Fascist military coup of 1934.⁶⁴⁵ The spaces of “Red Vienna” aimed to build Austro-Marxist inspired socialism into everyday life and the thousands of rental units were characterised by state maintained “Spacious green courtyards, playgrounds for children– but also kindergartens, health centres, libraries, and laundry rooms,”⁶⁴⁶ each estate functioned as “a self-contained village.”⁶⁴⁷ Similar housing schemes had been attempted in various European cities following the 1918 revolutions,⁶⁴⁸ however, Vienna was differentiated by the sheer scale of its

⁶³⁷ Lewis, J., “Red Vienna: Socialism in One City, 1918-27,” 348.

⁶³⁸ “Ringstrasse Walk”, Burgarten Audio, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

⁶³⁹ Lewis, J., “Red Vienna: Socialism in One City, 1918-27,” 335.

⁶⁴⁰ Orum, A.M., Kadi, J. and Suitner, J. “Red Vienna, 1919–1934,” 1.

⁶⁴¹ Lehne, Inge, and Lonnie Johnson. *Vienna: The Past in the Present*, 123.

⁶⁴² Lewis, J., “Red Vienna: Socialism in One City, 1918-27,” 336.

⁶⁴³ Parsons, Nicholas. *Vienna: A Cultural History*, 239.

⁶⁴⁴ Lewis, J., “Red Vienna: Socialism in One City, 1918-27,” 335.

⁶⁴⁵ Orum, A.M., Kadi, J. and Suitner, J. “Red Vienna, 1919–1934,” 4.

⁶⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁶⁴⁷ Parsons, Nicholas. *Vienna: A Cultural History*, 239.

⁶⁴⁸ Lewis, J., “Red Vienna: Socialism in One City, 1918-27,” 335.

ambition⁶⁴⁹ facilitated by progressive luxury taxes, strict rent regulation⁶⁵⁰ and the fact that the federal government was unable to veto Viennese municipal taxation.⁶⁵¹

However, in an economic landscape formerly dominated by private landlords profiting off housing scarcity, the “political utopia” was not enjoyed by all. An enfranchised working class meant a newly *disenfranchised* petit bourgeoisie, inadvertently leading to the growth in popularity of Fascist parties in the city.⁶⁵² This is despite the SDAP desire for welfare projects to create a “self-conscious proletariat and thus set a counterpoint to. . . fascism.”⁶⁵³ Such criticisms of the project included that it was “a socialist conspiracy to bleed the city dry,” that “Red Vienna would . . . inevitably lead to Red Terror”⁶⁵⁴ and that the flats were “small fortresses, from which the socialists would launch a revolution.”⁶⁵⁵ This is to say that, regardless of how sensational these claims appear in hindsight, the story of “Red Vienna” is by no means an easy, neutral history, to be simply expropriated for the tourist gaze. Although the Social democrats have maintained a majority in Vienna since the 1920s, with the obvious exception of the Nazi regime of the 1930s and 1940s,⁶⁵⁶ the class politics that defined this era have been broadly disregarded in favour of “a corporatist top-down model of regulation.”⁶⁵⁷ The present political alignment of those “former bulwarks of socialism,” the municipal housing estates, ironically now favours the populist right “Austrian Freedom Party” (FPÖ).⁶⁵⁸ Therefore, far from the simple “political utopia”⁶⁵⁹ as suggested in the ivie tour introduction, there is a more complex, and still evolving history that these walking tours must navigate.

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid., 340.

⁶⁵⁰ Kadi, Justin. “Recommodifying Housing in Formerly ‘Red’ Vienna?,” 252.

⁶⁵¹ Lewis, J., “Red Vienna: Socialism in One City, 1918-27,” 341.

⁶⁵² Orum, A.M., Kadi, J. and Suitner, J. “Red Vienna, 1919–1934,” 2-3.

⁶⁵³ Ibid., 2.

⁶⁵⁴ Lewis, J., “Red Vienna: Socialism in One City, 1918-27,” 352-353.

⁶⁵⁵ While no such revolution ever came to fruition, in February 1934 Karl Marx Hof suffered mortar attacks from Dollfuss’ government during the February Riots of the Austrian Civil War, Ibid, 337.

⁶⁵⁶ Kadi, Justin. “Recommodifying Housing in Formerly ‘Red’ Vienna?,” 252.

⁶⁵⁷ Novy, A., Redak, V., Jäger, J., & Hamedinger, A. “The End of Red Vienna: Recent Ruptures and Continuities in Urban Governance.” *European Urban and Regional Studies* 8, no.2 (2001): 131-144. <https://doi.org/10.1177/096977640100800204>, 135.

⁶⁵⁸ Essletzbichler, J., & Forcher, J. ““Red Vienna” and the rise of the populist right,” 126.

⁶⁵⁹ “Red Vienna Guide”, Wiener Tourismusverband, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

Case Study 8 and 9 Discussion: The ivie “Red Vienna Guide” and Stadtwanderweg 11

As the historical survey of the time of “Red Vienna” indicates, this is hardly a theme which is easily appropriated into the touristic “consensus”⁶⁶⁰ which has been the approach of many of the official history walking tours thus far. Even though the ivie tour begins its introduction declaring “Red Vienna” a “political utopia,”⁶⁶¹ the reality is that these spaces and the associated social welfare projects were far from uncomplicated at their inception. This discussion will therefore consider in tandem how two walking tours traverse this undeniably ideologically charged history, considering the different formats of the two walks, the framing of “Red Vienna” and the history of social housing in the city, before finally addressing the ethics of appropriating living spaces as historical experience. While the one of the walking tours has been sourced from the ivie app, which was discussed at length in the previous section, this chapter also introduces the Stadtwanderwege, which are maintained directly by Stadt Wien, rather than delegated to the tourist board. The Stadtwanderwege are typically city hiking trails⁶⁶² which are waymarked and signposted across Vienna’s green spaces, however, rather than traversing the Wienerwald, Stadtwanderwege 11 centres its gaze on the “highlights of Municipal Housing.”

⁶⁶⁰ MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist*, 139.

⁶⁶¹ “Red Vienna Guide”, Wiener Tourismusverband, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

⁶⁶² Stadt Wien, “Hiking Paths in and around Vienna,” Stadt Wien - Offizielle & aktuelle Infos und Services der Wiener Stadtverwaltung, August 17, 2012, <https://www.wien.gv.at/english/leisure/hiking/paths.html>.



Figure 102: Stadtwanderweg 11 Map, Wiener Wohnen “Wiener Wohnen - Gemeindewohnungen,” Accessed: 1 November 2022. <https://www.wienerwohnen.at/wiener-gemeindebau/stadtwanderweg.html>

The route traverses one of the largest social housing areas in Europe⁶⁶³ connecting nine “stations” (see Figure 102). Heritage surfaces in manifold ways around this trail; firstly, on the information boards erected onsite at the “stations,”⁶⁶⁴ secondly, via the suggested reading on the Stadtwanderweg 11 webpage⁶⁶⁵ detailing the history of municipal housing in Vienna, and thirdly, in the buildings, parks, public spaces (see figures 115-7) themselves which are drawn into conversation by this walking route. This therefore sets the Stadtwanderweg apart from the other walking tour case studies of this thesis, as there is a considerably larger range of information sources. Additionally, as a city hiking route, the walk can be embarked upon completely offline, using the signage dotted about the city (see figures 104-7). These various narratives jostle for position, with the autonomy of the self-guided walker, and their spontaneous response to the real urban space in a manner not yet encountered. With the tourist gaze aimed in so many directions, between online and offline

⁶⁶³ Wiener Wohnen, “Wiener Wohnen - Gemeindewohnungen,” Accessed: 1 November 2022. <https://www.wienerwohnen.at/wiener-gemeindebau/stadtwanderweg.html>

⁶⁶⁴ Stadt Wien, and Wiener Wohnen, 2020, “Stadtwanderweg 11: Station 3” Signage, Stadt Wien: Vienna.

⁶⁶⁵ Stadt Wien, “Geschichte des Wiener Gemeindebaus” [www.wiener.gv.at](https://www.wienerwohnen.at/wiener-gemeindebau/geschichte.html). Accessed: 3 November 2022, <https://www.wienerwohnen.at/wiener-gemeindebau/geschichte.html>

information, not to mention the sights themselves, the Gemeindebauten,⁶⁶⁶ there is conceivably more opportunity for autonomy with various options regarding the interpretation. This perhaps reflects the ideology of the Gemeindebauten, mirroring the effort of the original housing schemes to create a “self-conscious proletariat”⁶⁶⁷ through increased access to services by creating a “self-conscious” tourist via the history walk with increased access to information. One could argue that the “Red Vienna” tour of the ivie app similarly offers greater autonomy to the pedestrian as it does not use a directed route to link together the stations but allows for free roaming through Vienna between the sites (see figure 103).

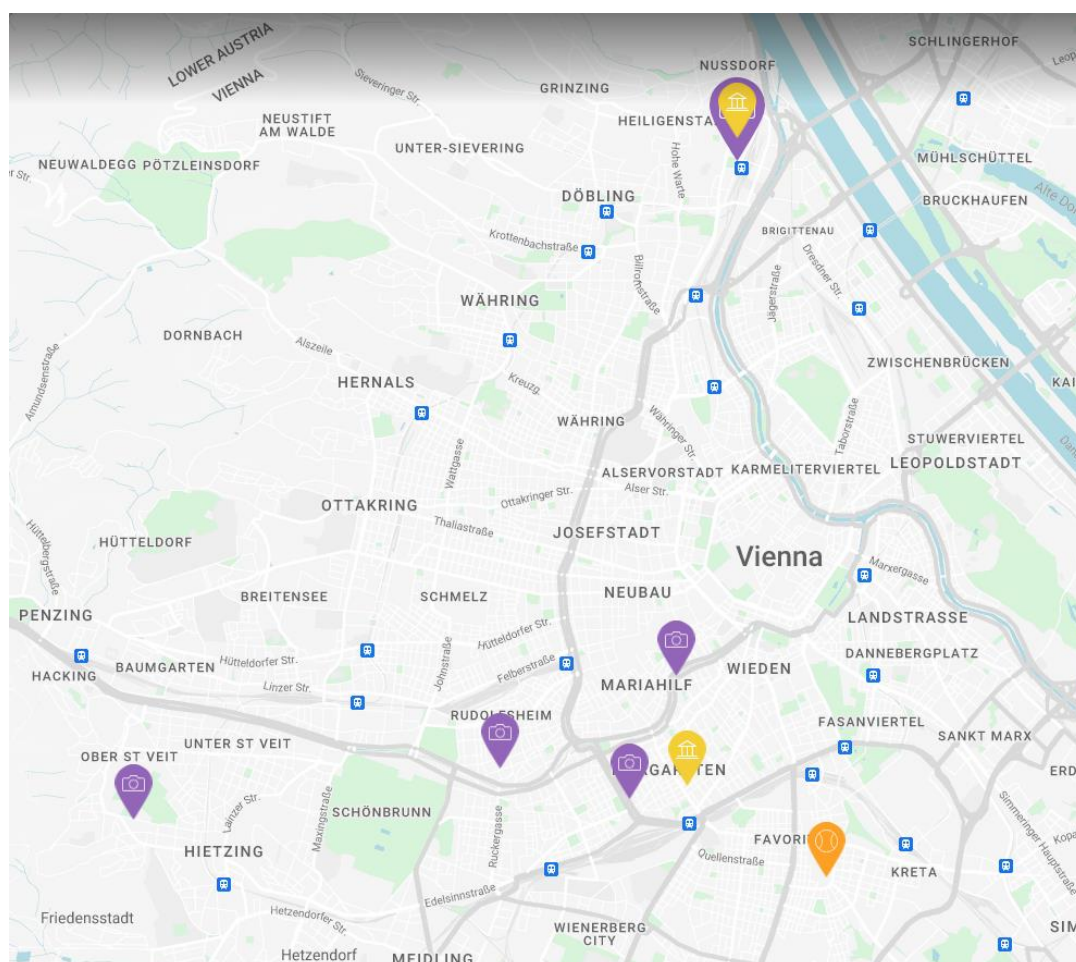


Figure 103: Red Vienna Guide: The Second Vienna Modernism, Vienna Tourist Board, ivie app

⁶⁶⁶ “State housing”

⁶⁶⁷ Ibid, 2.

Nonetheless, the history tour offered by the “Red Vienna” tour remains circumscribed by the experience presented in app, delimited to the historical narratives represented on screen which direct the gaze in person. The range of choice offered to the audience of the Stadtwanderweg 11, regarding how they consume history, instead suggests the quote from MacCannell that “the tour you get is not necessarily the tour you are given. There is always a gap. Humans Interpret.”⁶⁶⁸ The interpretation “gap” is potentially greater where the tourist is presented with multiple forms of information via which they can pursue their own interests at the level of detail they desire. This side-steps the requirement for touristic “consensus”⁶⁶⁹ on the trail as the political content and ideology of the sites can be consumed in the desired modality.

⁶⁶⁸ MacCannell, Dean, *The Tourist*, 192.

⁶⁶⁹ Ibid, 139.

The range of historical information presented to the tourist on Stadtwanderweg 11, additionally, can be traced to the dual audience of this tour, in comparison with the ivie app, which is

explicitly aimed at those on short-term trips to the city.⁶⁷⁰ As detailed in figures 104-7, while the Stadt Wien website dispenses walking tour information in English, the in-situ information boards present interpretation solely in German. This suggests that more in-depth knowledge regarding municipal housing is a local interest as opposed to being “worthy” of anything more than the engagement of the external visitor’s “gaze”⁶⁷¹ specifically. This fulfils Urry’s assertion that the “tourist gaze” is a predominantly visual phenomenon, with Stadt Wien considering the anglophone tourist content to merely sightsee, even when attempting to explore beyond the “convenient clichés”⁶⁷² of Imperial Vienna. In contrast, of course, the tourist-centred ivie app is available in both English and German. This difference in format and language goes on to influence the historical framing of the walks.



Figures 108-114: stops 1, Karl-Marx-Hof, and 3-8, Amalienbad, Rüdigerhof, the Museum for Social and Economic Affairs, Margaretengürtel, the Anton Brenner apartment and the Werkbund estate, on the ivie “Red Vienna Guide”, captured 23 February 2024, Stops 3 and 6, Amalienbad and Reumann Hof are also included as part of the Stadtwanderweg 11 (Author’s own)

⁶⁷⁰ The Vienna city card is available for 24, 48, and 72 hours specifically, a long weekend of activity at most . . . Vienna Tourist Board, “All You Need for Vienna!” Accessed: 31 May 2024, <https://www.viennacitycard.at/index.php?lang=EN>.

⁶⁷¹ Urry, J. and Larsen, J., *The Tourist Gaze* 3.0, 227.

⁶⁷² Lehne, Inge, and Lonnie Johnson. *Vienna: the Past in the Present*, 10.

The Stadtwanderweg 11 focuses mainly on sites in and around Favoriten, going some way to explaining its prioritisation of a local audience, and the ivie “Red Vienna” walk takes a more city-wide approach to the built remnants of the SDAP. Both tours may traverse Amalienbad and the housing estates of Margaretengürtel but they do not frame the history negotiated in the same manner. This is instantly clear from the titles of the walks. While the ivie “Red Vienna” walk makes plain the political movement the city developments were built by, the Stadtwanderweg 11 maintains its generic title, the same numbered format given to all city hiking trails,⁶⁷³ adding the vaguer subtitle “Highlights of municipal housing development in Vienna.” The Stadt Wien framing removes the buildings from their political context, drawing attention to the “highlights” that exist in the present with no clear sense of their author, the political movement behind the “development” that makes the walk possible. This is reflected in the informative, informal style of the signage which, although similar in tone to the “Red Vienna Guide,” instead foregrounds the present reality of the buildings: “Interesting! Did you know that the green area of the entire municipal housing estate is the size of 854 soccer pitches?”⁶⁷⁴ The current provision of the state is emphasised by the Stadtwanderweg, perhaps due to the increased proximity of Stadt Wien to this provision of this services and the associated need to depict the state in a positive light. In this case “the appearance of the past . . . [is] loaded in favour of the present which is not shown as an extension of the past but as a replacement for it.”⁶⁷⁵

On the contrary, the “Red Vienna Guide” may extol “revolutionary,”⁶⁷⁶ and “groundbreaking ideas”⁶⁷⁷ and a zeitgeist influenced by “Russians, reds, revolution”⁶⁷⁸ with impunity. Initially, this may appear to go against the conclusions of the preceding chapters, with the politically charged content available to the external tourist and yet suppressed in the tour provided directly by the state with a

⁶⁷³ Stadt Wien, “Hiking Paths in and around Vienna,” <https://www.wien.gv.at/english/leisure/hiking/paths.html>.

⁶⁷⁴ “Interessant! Wussten Sie, dass die Grünfläche des gesamten Gemeindebau-Habitats so groß ist wie 854 Fußballfelder.” Stadt Wien, and Wiener Wohnen, “Stadtwanderweg 11: Station 3”.

⁶⁷⁵ MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist*, 89.

⁶⁷⁶ “Red Vienna Guide”, Café Rüdigerhof station, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

⁶⁷⁷ Ibid, Museum for Social and economic affairs station.

⁶⁷⁸ Ibid., Café Rüdigerhof station.

local focus. However, the “Red Vienna Guide” in many ways sustains the idealising approach we encountered in the “Ringstrasse Walk,” repeating the superlative language of that tour in a new context. The walker is guided towards “Monumental and magnificent construction,”⁶⁷⁹ where “Highly functional living” is possible and “visionary,”⁶⁸⁰ and its synonyms, are the go-to descriptors for everything from ideas to apartments. In evoking this impossible “political utopia,”⁶⁸¹ which exists only as an imagined past, where the politics of said “utopia” were uncontroversial and did not indirectly lead to a rise in interest in the Austro-Fascist party amongst the petit bourgeoisie, the “Red Vienna Guide” places this history within the realm of the mythical, detached from the convoluted reality of the buildings’ past. Consequently, while the ivie app certainly includes more political content regarding the socialist ideology of “Red Vienna,” the ideological power of this movement is denatured, defined rather by mythical pastness, offered up as an alternative “golden age”⁶⁸² to be consumed by the tourist. The “Red Vienna Guide” makes palatable a political history by creating a modern fairytale, an alternative to the “fairytale”⁶⁸³ of Imperial might on the Ringstrasse.



Figure 115-117: Stadtwanderweg 11, Captured 1 November 2022, (Authors own)

⁶⁷⁹Ibid., Margaretengürtel station.

⁶⁸⁰ Ibid., Werkbund Estate Station.

⁶⁸¹ Ibid., Introduction.

⁶⁸² Parsons, Nicholas. *Vienna: A Cultural History*, xvii.

⁶⁸³ “Ringstrasse Walk”, Burgarten Audio, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

In a similar vein, Stadt Wien cannot help but tend towards a promotional tone throughout Stadtwanderweg 11. For instance, one of the additional materials provided by Stadt Wien's website is a timeline of municipal development which superimposes a linear history on the meandering trail. The timeline culminates with the recent successes of the Stadt, celebrating "To get 4,000 new council apartments on track by the end of 2020: This target has been achieved."⁶⁸⁴ If "the narrative structure of historical representations affects how people relate to historical events and figures presented in a narrative"⁶⁸⁵ this clearly designates Stadt Wien the hero of the hour, and the walking tour makes the pedestrian complicit in a victory lap. In this case, the tourist may encounter "society and its works,"⁶⁸⁶ but those "works" are defined by their provision in the present rather than the political movement that originated them. The ivie app walk, in contrast, exists to attract tourists to city and ideally encourage the purchase of the associated city card, where the Stadt Wien walk must cater also to current city residents. The additional local audience for this tour and the knowledge that the residents of these estates presently favour politics on the opposite end of the spectrum⁶⁸⁷ to "Red Vienna" may also factor into the lower visibility of "Red" politics on Stadtwanderweg 11.

⁶⁸⁴ ""bis Ende 2020 4.000 neue Gemeindewohnungen auf Schiene zu bringen: Dieses Ziel ist erreicht." Wiener Wohnen, "Wiener Wohnen - Gemeindewohnungen".

⁶⁸⁵ Geerte M. Savenije and Pieter de Bruijn, "Historical Empathy in a Museum," 834.

⁶⁸⁶ MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist*, 55.

⁶⁸⁷ Essletzbichler, J., & Forcher, J. "'Red Vienna' and the rise of the populist right," 126.

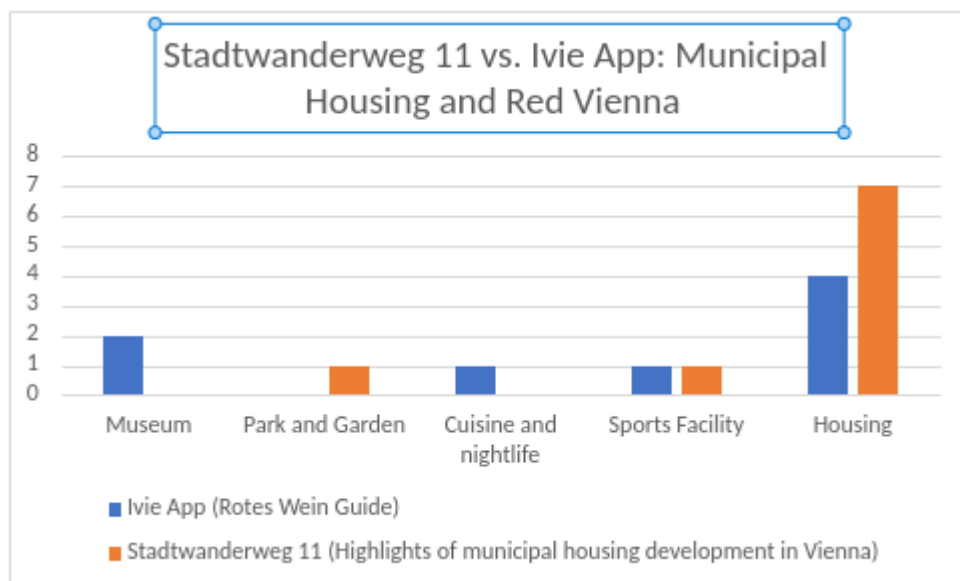


Figure 118: Ivie “Red Vienna Guide” and Stadtwanderweg 11 station types compared, data and graphs Author’s own.

Besides the different format and framing of the two tours through Vienna’s social housing, and notwithstanding the “Red Vienna” guide’s ostensibly broader focus, both walking tours mainly locate the legacy of The Second Vienna Modernism in the housing blocks, the *Gemeindebauten* that have largely been the focus of this study thus far (see figure xxx). The preponderance of housing, real living spaces, on the walking tours brings us to a tension which has permeated all the walking tours analysed previously by this thesis. These all circled living cities and spaces, directing the gaze, and sought the historical in the spaces of quotidian life. If the public sphere “mediates between society and state,”⁶⁸⁸ both walks are consequently a state incursion into the private under the guise of an apparently innocent city walk. On Stadtwanderweg 11 and the “Red Vienna Guide” the walker wanders from the public street to the liminal privacy of the *Gemeindebauten* garden,⁶⁸⁹ those “Spacious green courtyards”⁶⁹⁰ cultivated to propagate “self-conscious proletariat”⁶⁹¹ citizens to defend the ideas of

⁶⁸⁸ Habermas, Jürgen, “The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article,” 30.

⁶⁸⁹ “In den Innenhöfen herrscht eine ganz eigene Romantik”/“The courtyards have their own Romantic atmosphere” as listed on another locally targeted version of the walk. Stadt Wien, “Stadtwanderweg 11: Urbaner Gemeindebau-Wanderweg,” www.stadt-wien.at, accessed May 31, 2024, <https://www.stadt-wien.at/freizeit/sport/wandern/stadtwanderweg-11.html>.

⁶⁹⁰ Orum, A.M., Kadi, J. and Suitner, J. “Red Vienna, 1919–1934,” 2.

⁶⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 2.

the SDAP. While Solnit asserts that "walking maintains the publicness and viability of public space"⁶⁹², what happens when private living space is co-opted into the "The becoming public of almost everything"⁶⁹³ under the tourist gaze? This is where we come to the idea of "alienated leisure,"⁶⁹⁴ for while these are by no means spaces where work is performed for a captive audience, the Gemeindebauten are, nevertheless, the built remnants of a labour movement. As such, when drawn into the range of the tourist gaze on a walking tour as some kind of historical experience, there is a certain degree of othering and alienation in the reimagining the lived space of the city as a "political utopia,"⁶⁹⁵ for example. These were spaces defined by state intervention that shaped, and continues to shape, the private worlds of their inhabitants, so when the tourist comes to see "society and its works,"⁶⁹⁶ it is not wholly unpredictable that the history of those works is somewhat simplified, and its politics decontextualised such that the past remains ripe for consumption.

Case Study 8-9 Conclusion: What is Palatable and What is Political? Curating Urban History for the Tourist Gaze

More so than the previous case studies, on these tours the pedestrian tourist gazes directly upon "society and its works."⁶⁹⁷ However, this does not prevent the walk narratives from becoming bound up in the same "corporate efforts to commodify place and culture in cities"⁶⁹⁸ we encountered in the case of Vienna as "Vienna as 'Imperial Residence.'"⁶⁹⁹ Certainly, the municipal housing of "Red Vienna" is quite divorced from the "'imaging' and 'theming'" of "Vienna as 'Imperial Residence.'"⁷⁰⁰ However, in depicting a history of state sponsored projects on state walking tours, both tour creators are rather more spiritually involved in the narratives and histories communicated leading to a certain

⁶⁹² Solnit, Rebecca, *Wanderlust*, 176.

⁶⁹³ MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist*, 50.

⁶⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁹⁵ "Red Vienna Guide", Wiener Tourismusverband, "ivie - Wien City Guide."

⁶⁹⁶ MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist*, 55.

⁶⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁹⁸ Fox Gotham, Kevin, "Tourism and Culture," 614.

⁶⁹⁹ Hatz, Gerhard, "Vienna", 313.

⁷⁰⁰ Hatz, Gerhard, "Vienna", 313.

depoliticising, or decontextualising of the Gemeindebauten. And while this period has not quite yet been appropriated into one of the “convenient clichés”⁷⁰¹ that the name “Vienna” conjures, this history, and the continued significance of its built remnants in the city, are increasingly one of the “useable pasts” which construct the Viennese “local identity.”⁷⁰² Case Studies 8 and 9 indicate the difficulty of integrating ideologically charged history into the touristic format of the walking tour, particularly regarding how this history is framed by interpretation along the trail. The tour through the municipal housing of Vienna cannot avoid the lure of transforming “history, culture and great men . . . from agents of change into mere sources for inspiration, into attractions.”⁷⁰³ Additionally, these studies have supplied the opportunity to consider the effect of the walking tour structure on how historical information is encountered, and the uneasy tension between living space and the historically focused tourist gaze.

Conclusion: From Ringstrassenstil to The Second Vienna Modernism, History is Always in Style in Vienna

*Theatre city, music city, Residenzstadt, village, melting pot of ethnicity, crucible of intellectual genius, provincial backwater of complacent philistinism, “experimental laboratory for world endings” (Karl Kraus), an oasis of piety, a breeding ground for racial hatred, a city of hedonism and frustrated artists, of easy-going pragmatism, of Schlamperei (muddle), of bureaucratic obsessions— these are just some of the perceptions of Vienna that have materialized through the ages.*⁷⁰⁴

In the quotation above Parsons suggests a multifaceted vision of Vienna that, although outside the scope of the three case studies discussed in the chapter, is nevertheless absent from the ivie app walks surveyed and Stadtwanderweg 11. This chapter opened with the assertion that one could easily walk around Vienna as an “Open air museum,” however, the two walks in “Red Vienna” and the turn about the Ringstrasse, suggest that the interpretation of the exhibits is currently lacking.

⁷⁰¹ Lehne, Inge, and Lonnie Johnson. *Vienna: The Past in the Present*, 10.

⁷⁰² Marschall, Sabine, “‘Personal Memory Tourism,’ 326.

⁷⁰³ MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist*, 86.

⁷⁰⁴ Parsons, Nicholas. *Vienna: A Cultural History*, xviii.

This is because to maintain the “imaging” and “theming” Vienna as “Imperial Residence”⁷⁰⁵ anything that tarnishes this glistening golden age must be brushed aside. In the case of “Red Vienna” both the Stadt Wien walking route and the ivie tourist guide grapple, rather unsuccessfully, with the products of the socialist past, opting to either avoid this ideologically charged heritage in the case of Stadtwanderweg 11 or on the “Red Vienna Guide” trail searching for the same “golden age” content in an era which sits rather strangely with this approach.

This develops our understanding of the difficulty that official tourist boards encounter when attempting to deal with so-called “alternative histories,” as was previously discovered in the analysis of the “Jewish Florence.” Not only in the presentation of progressive political histories do we encounter some vague or unwieldy historical approaches but, once again the representation of Jewish history and additionally LGBT+ histories, the ivie walks prove prone to tokenism and euphemism. While the tourist board has this app introduce itself as “a Vienna aficionado, curious, refreshing, an avid story-teller and mad about the quirky things in life,”⁷⁰⁶ this “quirky” take on city history does not materialise in any substantial way. This leads to another issue confronted on these walks, the ethics of walking through a living city as a historical and touristic experience. With the Tokyo and Florence chapters these tensions surfaced in the discussions of Disneyization and the commodification of the city and in the case of Florence how the attractiveness of its historic offer feeds into problems of overtourism and gentrification.

While the idea of “Nostalgia” was discussed predominantly with regards to the “Kaiserkitsch”⁷⁰⁷ on the Ringstrasse, the similarly self-congratulatory timbre of the “Red Vienna Guide” and its impossible “utopia” arguably has a similar effect. These tours fall into the nostalgia trap in the way they all attempt to depict a utopia located in the past, whether or not this is directly referenced by the tour narrative of the walk, as with the Ivie “Red Vienna” tour. It is not the “past” in

⁷⁰⁵ Hatz, Gerhard, “Vienna”, 313.

⁷⁰⁶ Vienna Tourist Board, “Ten Questions for Ivie,” [vienna.info](https://www.wien.info/en/travel-info/ivie-app/ivie-416470), Accessed: 16 May 2024, <https://www.wien.info/en/travel-info/ivie-app/ivie-416470>.

⁷⁰⁷ Parsons, Nicholas. *Vienna: A Cultural History*, 42.

its totality that is necessary to “understand” the city⁷⁰⁸ but a very specific version of it, at least according to these 3 walking tours. Hence, “the intrinsic need . . . to constantly negotiate with the images of a tangible Past”⁷⁰⁹ is, more often than not, a navigation past, away from or around as opposed to a true negotiation. In essence, the “good” does indeed triumph over the “not so good” when it comes to history on the trail in Vienna. The quote that this chapter has persistently returned to, that “Most tourists come to consume Vienna’s past, not experience its present,”⁷¹⁰ exemplifies this problem of the propensity for touristic versions of history to deal with that material superficially, and with little meaningful criticism.

⁷⁰⁸ “One of the keys to understanding and enjoying Vienna is becoming acquainted with the city’s past” Lehne, Inge, and Lonnie Johnson., *Vienna: The Past in the Present*, 11.

⁷⁰⁹ Michi, Maximillian, “Remembrance to Repression: Public Space, Memorial Landscape and Collective Memory in Post-WWII Vienna,” *TU Delft* (Thesis, TU Delft Architecture and the Built Environment, 2022), <https://repository.tudelft.nl/islandora/object/uuid%3Af7c9faed-7e5e-4794-bd96-bd29c962e77f>, 34.

⁷¹⁰ Lehne, Inge, and Lonnie Johnson. *Vienna: The Past in the Present*, 177.

Chapter 5 Conclusion: Representing History Underfoot

*Itineraries rarely penetrate lovingly into the precious details of a society . . . Such potential exists in the structure of the tour, but it goes for the most part untapped*⁷¹¹

*Being a tour guide. . . is increasingly difficult these days. Everywhere we look we see the smiling face of Mickey Mouse and other self-conscious substitutes for touristic experience strategically placed as cover for blandness, waste, and exploitation*⁷¹²

For the most part, the case studies examined by this thesis have been a story of untapped potential and “touristic experience” as a strategy which avoids not only the “precious details” of society but its history. History, historical periods and historical experience have been used as one of these “self-conscious substitutes,” directing the gaze towards certain attractive touristic clichés. This is demonstrable in the analysis of the “Understanding Edo” tour, the Dante Tours and the “Ringstrasse walk.” The introduction to this thesis declared that the “appropriation of history,”⁷¹³ was an inevitable aspect of the walking tour format and yet is this act a “sin,”⁷¹⁴ and an obfuscation of discourse in the public sphere, as Habermas suggested? The answer to this is apparent the kinds of history which, despite varying spatial, temporal and thematic foci, have been foregrounded by all the institutional tours, that is, those created by the official Tourist Boards: *Go Tokyo!*, *Feel Florence*, *Visit Tuscany*, *Stadt Wien* and the *ivie* app. A trend identified by the existing literature in Chapter 1 was that there are two kinds of history walking tour, beyond the division into guided and self-guided formats. These are the institutionally backed tour which is shaped by notions of the city as a commercial product and the “alternative” tour which permits access to a more inclusive, democratic history of city space. This thesis has developed this premise, and the examination of official, institutionalised, history trails has, time and again, demonstrated their tendency to favour commercially friendly versions of history, with a penchant for various emblematic golden eras, whether Imperial Vienna, Old Edo or Renaissance Florence.

⁷¹¹ MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist*, 51

⁷¹² *Ibid.*, 197

⁷¹³ White, S. K., “Ethics, Politics and History,” 439.

⁷¹⁴ *Ibid.*

In the Tokyo case studies this resulted in tours which rebuilt “an idealized past”⁷¹⁵ eschewing mention of memorials and spaces which were tainted by local and regional memory wars. This section set up several trends which coloured the case studies that followed in Florence and Vienna. Firstly, that the historical experience of the city, as interpreted and encouraged on multiple levels by the walking tour narration, favours palatable histories, and secondly that these walks are designed such that they sit side by side with the sales tactics of the tourist industry, ensuring that the “Tourist Gaze” is rose tinted and, crucially, primed to savour the consumption, literally and figuratively, of the city space. These characteristics feed into the well-worn tracks that define the Florence walking tours created by the official organisations, that is, the Dante tours and the “Jewish Florence” guide which, notwithstanding their temporal basis, re-tread the same ground as many guides before them. They favour the iconic images of the city which proliferate everywhere as souvenirs and postcards such that the tourist is easily as distracted by their simulacra as the sites themselves.

This superficial approach is countered by the multi-disciplinary academic project *Hidden Florence* which, combining scholarly rigour with the touristic self-guided walk, underscores the multi-vocal, pluralistic and more difficult aspects of history interpretation which are missing from the other walking tours in an entertaining and immersive format. This offers a true “alternative” history which challenges touristic clichés as opposed to the ostensibly “alternative”, an adjective of questionable appropriateness, offering of *Feel Florence’s* “Jewish Florence.” The touristic clichés reach their apotheosis in the “Ringstrasse Walk,” created for the Vienna Tourist Board’s ivie app where the “themeing” of Vienna as “Imperial residence”⁷¹⁶ is a search for a broad “consensus”⁷¹⁷ that looks away from the less “flashy”⁷¹⁸ wartime and Holocaust histories which had an important impact on the city. While one might imagine that the two tours through Vienna’s municipal housing,

⁷¹⁵ Akiko Takenaka, *Yasukuni Shrine: History, Memory, and Japan’s Unending Postwar*, 169.

⁷¹⁶ Hatz, Gerhard, “Vienna”, 313.

⁷¹⁷ MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist*, 139.

⁷¹⁸ “Ringstrasse Walk”, Post-Savings Bank audio, “ivie - Wien City Guide.”

Stadtwanderweg 11 and the ivie "Red Vienna" tour, might diverge from the "convenient clichés"⁷¹⁹ of the Habsburg city, the need to render lived space attractive and thus an "attraction" means that the socialist politics of the sites must be integrated into the same touristic format we have already encountered. All of these case studies, the official walking tours, though separated by time and space are united by their use of "useable pasts," pasts which can be molded into a touristic and *attractive* format, which constructs a "local identity"⁷²⁰ that is, in turn, an identity which serves the needs of the tourist board (and the local government or state) behind it. The suppression of war histories, Holocaust memory and the superficial approach to the historical suffering of marginalised communities in general is outside this definition of "useable pasts." With the rise of "Dark tourism" as a response to these clichés of an "oversaturated" market,⁷²¹ and whose less palatable subjects range from vampires and folklore to the sites of historic natural disasters,⁷²² potentially the less triumphal moments of city history will have an increasing prominence on state-produced walking tours. However, this has not been the situation observed in the walks studied by this thesis.

Regarding the limitations of this research, the transnational nature of the project and the locatedness of the walking tour case-studies has restricted the author's ability to prepare prospective case studies and the capacity to complete new, potentially more relevant or comparable walks as the thesis evolved. After walks were completed and documented, due to financial, logistical and time constraints, there was limited opportunity to return to distant cities, such as Tokyo, upon further investigations in the other locations. While sufficient information was sourced in each location to become familiar with the touristic climate and the popular histories performed for the visitor, perhaps a stronger thematic thread at the onset would have led to more robust analysis of the effect of the tourist gaze on walked histories.

⁷¹⁹ Lehne, Inge, and Lonnie Johnson. *Vienna: The Past in the Present*, 10.

⁷²⁰ MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist*, 326.

⁷²¹ Minić, Natalija. "Development of dark "tourism in the contemporary society." *Зборник Радова Географског Института "Јован Цвијућ"*, 81-103, САНУ 62, no. 3 (2012): 100.

⁷²² *Ibid.*, 82.

Additionally, when discussing the histories not represented by the walking tours, and despite the attempt to provide a comprehensive summary of each city's urban and cultural history, this thesis inevitably performs a similar process of curation as the walks themselves. Although it is outside the scope of this essay, the lack of ancient and pre-medieval histories of all three cities could be a productive line of research to follow. All the walks offered by the tourist boards broadly ignore the founding eras of the cities and make no attempt to seek out the phantom signs of this past which, the vast majority of the time, are hidden by the many sedimentary layers of urban development.

Another problem encountered during the completion of this research was the fact that the tourist board websites and apps, as live tourist products, were constantly being updated with new information, new walking tours, and new content. This led to the need to revise certain sections of the thesis regarding new information and means that some of the information, and the memory gaps noted in this study, may no longer be relevant at the time of submission. Regarding these online sources, there was also minimal information regarding the usage of specific walking trails. While general touristic information and statistics were easy to come by, such as website traffic, and app download numbers, information regarding the exact popularity of individual trails and the extent to which they are religiously followed by users is difficult to access and not shared publicly by tourist boards.

Again, regarding limited access to information, although this thesis took as its focus English language self-guided walking tours, it may have been a fruitful endeavour to compare the information available to audiences of various linguistic backgrounds. While on some level this was discussed regarding Stadtwanderweg 11, and the availability of English and Italian versions of the *Hidden Florence* tours, this aspect of the project was checked by the author's limited ability and varying skill with the three languages most important to this case study: Japanese, Italian and German. Admittedly, the lingua franca of tourism at the time of writing remains English and the bulk

of the tourist writings reviewed favoured English. However, while primary origin market for tourists remains the USA, Chinese and German Tourists follow closely behind, or at least they did in 2019 period to the pandemic.⁷²³ As such, the stranglehold of English language interpretation may decrease over the proceeding decades. Further research could therefore analyse the extent to which the “Tourist Gaze” varies across cultures and any deviations in the theming or curation of walking tours that is dependant on the assumed background of the audience.

Albeit outside the scope of this study, it would be interesting to recruit volunteers to complete the walking tours discussed here, and to follow up with a poll regarding the historical ideas they had absorbed. Future research could also track the extent to which participants followed the tour narratives or autonomously looked for additional information online, and how this changed their perception of the historical narratives confronted. Furthermore, while this thesis took as its focus self-guided history walking tours because of the lesser amount of scholarship regarding this format, a comparison between the historical interpretation provided on a self-guided tour versus an equivalent guided tour could develop and complicate the analyses of how walking tours curate the cityscape, particularly regarding the increased opportunity for discussion and for participants to challenge and interrogate the narrative they receive on in-person tours.

Ultimately, this thesis suggests that a heterogenous, and empathetic, self-guided history walking tour is not impossible. While hiking paths and pilgrimage routes often traverse wild and isolated terrain where failing to stay on the trail introduces an aspect of personal danger and possible environmental damage, these case studies are all situated in city centres, and there are many opportunities for individual discovery, informal on-site research, and productive distractions. Certainly, there is no guarantee that the walker will have sufficient historical literacy to unpick the threads of politics, historical fact and marketing vernacular which weave together on the city tour,

⁷²³ Mastercard, “Global Destination Cities Index 2019,” <https://www.mastercard.com/news/media/Wexffu4b/Gdci-Global-Report-Final-1.Pdf>, Mastercard, May 5, 2019, Accessed: 23 May 2024.

and it remains to be seen whether emphasising the “self” in self-guided places an unwarranted level of historical responsibility on the walking tour participants. However, without a doubt the “potential” of the walking tour need not go “untapped.”⁷²⁴ These self-guided walking tours, in the context of the tourist experience of history, have the capability to realize De Certeau’s “Walking in the City,” and his idea that pedestrian movement can subvert, resist and reappropriate the city as conceived by the state, and its planners, even within the products they disseminate. The fact that this research was even possible provides some evidence as to the power and autonomy of the walker. The histories omitted by the tour narratives are but a search-query away and, while the Tourist Gaze *is* directed by these walking tours, there is always the opportunity to rebel; for the inquisitive city-breaker to recognise and investigate the curiosities of the living city. As the author of this thesis has unpacked the various erasures of these walking tours and problematised their narratives, this too is an option for the pedestrian tourist.

⁷²⁴ MacCannell, Dean. *The Tourist*, 51.

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