THE SINCEREST FORM OF FLATTERY:

AN ANALYSIS OF FULL-SCALE, EX SITU REPLICAS OF WORLD HERITAGE SITES

by

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(Under the Direction of WAYDE BROWN)

ABSTRACT

Full-scale, ex situ replicas of UNESCO World Heritage Sites can be found in five countries and their constructions predate even the World Heritage Convention itself. Clearly, the desire of humans to copy the architectural wonders of the world has a long and enduring history. This thesis will attempt to answer three related questions. First, what is the intent behind constructing these replicas? Second, how do the public and cultural heritage professionals receive these replicas? And third, how do these replicas fit into the ongoing discussions on authenticity and interpretation in historic preservation?

INDEX WORDS: Replica, Full-Scale, Ex Situ, World Heritage Convention, World Heritage Sites, Stonehenge, Maryhill Stonehenge, Foamhenge, Parthenon, Nashville Parthenon, Hallstatt Village, Luoyang Hallstatt, Great Sphinx at Giza, Chuzhou Sphinx, Duplitecture, Nara Document, Venice Charter, Postmodernism, Forgeries, Umberto Eco, Jean Baudrillard, Richard Handler, Albert Lessing, Biana Bosker.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my parents, who encouraged me to keep pursuing knowledge, and to Alex Green, Sophia Latz, and Lesa Miller for their support and editorial advice.

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I am indebted to Wayde Brown for his excellent guidance and feedback, without which this would be a very different thesis. Also to my undergraduate thesis advisor, Bonna Wescoat, for preparing me so well for this next challenge and always pushing me to be a better writer and thinker.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In September 2013, National Public Radio aired a story entitled "Visit Paris and Venice in the Same Afternoon (In China)."[1] The author, Frank Langfitt, recounts his strange visit to Zhejiang province's Sky City, a large residential community designed to feel like Paris. Langfitt begins by describing the picturesque Mansard roofs, delicate chimneys, and tree-lined boulevards, and then details the empty coffee shops, abandoned streets, and the ice cream truck that circles the Eiffel Tower playing "It's a Small World" into the silence. Sky City is one of the "One City, Nine Towns" project's nine copycat residential developments, which aim to provide China's growing upper-middle class a European-themed alternative to traditional Chinese housing. The project is a large-scale expression of China's infamous tendency towards copying, but mimicking architecture is not explicitly a Chinese phenomenon, nor explicitly a twenty first-century one.

Architectural replication takes things even a step further than "One City, Nine Towns" residential copycat cities. Whereas Sky City is designed to evoke the feeling of Paris using landmarks, architectural styles, and planning conventions, a Chinese version of Austria's Hallstatt Village replicates the UNESCO World Heritage Site exactly, from authentic roofing tiles to an entire mountain regraded to match its Austrian counterpart. The sheer scale of China's

[1] Frank Langfitt, "Visit Paris and Venice in the Same Afternoon (In China)," *National Public Radio,*September 20, 2013, accessed October 14, 2015, http://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2013/09/20/223040143/visit-paris-and-venice-in-the-same-afternoon-in-china.

Hallstatt is unusual and possibly unique; other duplitecture usually endeavors to copy merely one piece of architecture at a time. These copied buildings, structures, and landmarks are chosen for their perceived importance and, accordingly, a number of UNESCO World Heritage sites have become targets.

This type of site is the focus of this thesis. Full-scale replicas of UNESCO World Heritage sites can be found in five countries and their constructions predate even the World Heritage Convention itself. Clearly, the desire of humans to copy the architectural wonders of the world has a long and enduring history.

This thesis will attempt to answer three related questions. First, what is the intent behind constructing full-scale, ex situ replicas of UNESCO World Heritage sites? Second, how do the public and cultural heritage professionals receive these replicas? And third, how do these replicas fit into the ongoing discussions on authenticity and interpretation in historic preservation?

Answering these questions will require a qualitative analysis of primary and secondary resources, and will employ a case study model. The highly dispersed nature of the sites will not allow for site visits, but primary documents such as contemporary newspaper articles, site-specific publications, 'blogs,' and TripAdvisor (a travel review website) will provide similar insights. Secondary sources on this exact topic are few, but those that exist in related fields will serve as a point of departure. Secondary resources regarding reconstruction theory, replicas of other sorts, and historic preservation theory, will be used to ascertain what place, if any, these unofficial replicas have in modern historic preservation.

Chapters 1 through 4 will introduce the research and provide background context. Chapter 2 will explore the current state of the related fields that inform my analysis. Chapter 3 will explore the purpose-built UNESCO World Heritage replicas at Lascaux (France), Altamira

(Spain), and Kazanlak (Bulgaria) to set a baseline against which the unofficial replicas can be compared and contrasted. Chapter 4 will introduce my case study methodology and explain necessary terminology in more detail.

Chapters 5 through 8 will contain case studies that detail the history, site development, and interpretation of the five unofficial replica sites as well as begin to determine how the sites are received.

Chapters 9 and 10 will endeavor to answer the research questions. Chapter 9 will analyze the ways in which these replicas are perceived and received by both private individuals and historic preservation professionals as well as trying to determine why that might be. Chapter 10 will suggest ways in which full-scale, ex situ replicas can interact with modern historic preservation practice.

Chapter 11 suggests avenues for future research (currently outside the purview of this thesis) that would further our understanding of these types of replicas and how they may interact with historic preservation.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

No comprehensive literature exists regarding full-scale, ex situ replicas. In fact, the only text that explicitly addresses the phenomenon of full-scale architectural simulacra is journalist Bianca Bosker's *Original Copies: Architectural Mimicry in Contemporary China*. Bosker's standalone book attempts to identify the philosophical and theoretical drivers of the widespread phenomenon of copying European buildings in China. Her journalistic approach resulted in a work that combines philosophy, sociology, psychology, and interviews with the copies' builders and visitors. From Bosker's work, I have identified that the theoretical underpinning of architectural mimicry lies in the study of authenticity.

The study of authenticity has been a significant aspect of historic preservation since the field's inception. Despite this long history, however, 'authenticity' as it pertains to preservation is difficult to define. Definitions of, and approaches to, authenticity have changed with the field in keeping with evolving preservation philosophies and the gradual inclusion of ever more cultural heritage resource types. Nevertheless, it is possible to chart the large movements within the study of authenticity, especially as it pertains to World Heritage. The *Venice Charter*, *Nara Document*, and post-Nara documents such as the *Declaration of San Antonio* and the *Riga Charter on Authenticity and Historical Reconstruction in Relationship to Cultural Heritage* provide a professional framework for understanding the evolution of authenticity in historic preservation.

The definitions of authenticity suggested by these documents rest upon a longstanding theoretical framework. Western postmodernists in particular have attempted to explore the true nature of reality and the impact of replicas on reality. The treatment of the hyperreal – or the simulacrum, which is a replica of such high quality that it is indistinguishable from the original – is of particular importance. In his *Simulacra and Simulation,* Jean Baudrillard postulates that the existence of a hyperreal replica threatens the entire concept of true and false, real and unreal. Umberto Eco asserts in *Travels in Hyperreality* that the ability to create such a perfect copy is to prove the superiority of technology and civilization over nature and even reality. While such a replica has yet to be made, the basic tenet of postmodernist simulacra theory remains applicable to replicas of lesser quality: creating two (or more) from one will have a reality-bending and often deleterious impact on the status of the original.

The theoretical framework also extends in the other direction; instead of addressing replicas as too real, the study of forgeries addresses the idea of replicas as not real enough. Alfred Lessing's "What is Wrong with a Forgery?" and Leonard B. Meyer's "Forgery and the Anthropology of Art" (a chapter within his *Music, the Arts, and Ideas*) are two classic discussions about the philosophical considerations of forgeries upon which the field of study was constructed. In addition, Richard Handler's "Authenticity" and Lionel Trilling's *Sincerity and Simulation* will be consulted to attempt to understand why forgeries bother us on an anthropological and sociological level.

Each of the five unofficial replica sites is examined through case studies. These case studies will be developed through the use of newspaper and magazine articles, as well as the official websites or publications of the replica sites, as available. The case studies will also use online reviews from TripAdvisor to provide insight into visitors' experiences at each of the replica sites. TripAdvisor is one of the best established and longest running online review websites with reviews of an exceptional number and range of site and with reviewers from many demographics.

CHAPTER 3: CASE STUDY METHODOLOGY AND EXPLANATION OF TERMS

This thesis is built around a case study model. To select the case studies for this thesis, the entire corpus of the World Heritage List was assessed in two steps. First, each listed site was researched to determine if there were replicas of any sort in existence. The list of replica sites were then assessed by narrow criteria that allowed for me to identify a small group of similar sites within a list of extraordinary diversity.

To be included in this thesis, the replica site must:

1) Be a replica.
2) Replicate an entire or a contributing resource within a currently listed World Heritage Site.
3) Be an unofficial replica.
4) Be full scale.
5) Be ex situ.
6) Be extant.
7) Not be inside of a museum or have been created as part of a temporary exhibit or installation.

This process yielded five replicas of four original World Heritage Sites: Stonehenge, the Parthenon, Hallstatt Village, and the Great Sphinx at Giza all have replica sites that meet these criteria (Stonehenge has two). In every case, the World Heritage listing for the original site contains more resources than the replica site; for example, the Parthenon World Heritage listing includes the entire Athenian Acropolis while its associated replica, the Nashville Parthenon, only replicates the Parthenon itself. This phenomenon will be addressed in later chapters.

It cannot be ignored, however, that there is another class of full-scale, ex situ replicas of World Heritage Sites. These replicas, however, are sanctioned and commissioned by the World Heritage Committee for very specific purposes that exclude them from inclusion in the case studies. These official replicas are discussed in Chapter 4 in order to create a baseline against which the unofficial replicas can be evaluated.

Case Study Format

Each case study will follow the same format and contain the same types of information. Case studies are grouped into four chapters; each of the unofficial replicas is attached to its original site in the same chapter (e.g., both Stonehenge replica case studies are in Chapter 5 with that of the original Stonehenge). The case study for each original site is divided into two sections: Site Development and History, and (Original Site) as a World Heritage Site. Each unofficial replica case study is divided into three sections: Development and History, Site Interpretation, and Reception and Perception. This method assures that the same information is available for every site of the same type.

The case studies are intended to provide the necessary familiarity with the original or replica site to understand the analysis and discussion of each site. The combination of developmental history and the Reception and Perception of each unofficial replica case study answers the first research question: why are these replicas built? The remaining two research questions will be answered in Chapters 9 and 10.

Explanation of Terms

Within this thesis, the World Heritage Site building or structure will be referred to as the ‘original site’ or ‘the original.’ Any copies of that original will be referred to as ‘replicas.’

‘Replica’ will mean a copy of an extant original. The copy need not be exact but must be easily recognizable as a representation of the original. The replica may present the original site in a reconstructed form; the distinguishing factor that separates replica from reconstruction in this thesis is that the replica copies an extant original whereas a reconstruction attempts to recreate a non-extant item. This is simplified by the fact that the originals are within currently listed World Heritage Sites, which requires that the nominated features be extant by default.

‘Unofficial replica’ will be used to refer to those replicas that were not recommended and approved by the World Heritage Committee. Unofficial replicas are the focus of this thesis. Conversely, those replicas that did originate from a World Heritage Committee recommendation will be referred to as ‘official replicas.’

The unofficial replicas must also be full scale to be included in this study. ‘Full scale’ will mean a 1:1 scale replica. This requirement significantly narrows the replicas of interest for this thesis; there are, for example, over eighty extant Stonehenge replicas of varying scales but only two that can be confirmed as full scale replicas.

‘Ex situ’ translates literally to ‘off site,’ but for the purposes of this thesis will refer to replicas that are constructed outside the current boundaries of the original World Heritage Site.

This helps to further exclude the official replicas, which are all within the boundaries of the original site as listed.

A Note on the Word 'Replica'

As seen above, I have taken some liberties in the use of the term 'replica' in this thesis. Though determining a functional definition of a replica is necessary for this research, this seemingly small decision remains the most vexing aspect of this thesis. It may be useful to understand a few things about replicas and other 're' words in the context of historic preservation and allied disciplines in order to understand the basis for the specific usage of 'replica' in this thesis.

There is a long list of words that could describe these architectural copies. Some of them have been coined specifically for this phenomenon, such as Bianca Bosker's 'duplitecture.' Some, such as 'fake' or 'faux' inherently contain such strong negative connotations that they are not useful for objective analysis. The art/art history term 'homage' doesn't fit either, since the intention of these replicas is not to respectfully use styles or methods of the original in a new work but rather to copy the original. Most of these possible labels, however, are what I will call 're' words. These words are often used interchangeably but do have slight variations in meaning. Among the numerous words that fit into this category are these common ones: reconstruction, rehabilitation, restoration, representation, revival, reconstitution, replacement, and reproduction.

One obvious similarity between all these 're' words is that they all have the linguistic prefix 're,' indicating that the action is a copy of its root. For example, to replicate is to plicate again.[2] To reconstruct is to construct again and to rehabilitate is to habilitate again.[3] This prefix requires that something have existed prior to the replication, reconstruction, or rehabilitation that the second item is based on. It is from this aspect of the 're' words that my sixth case study requirement originated – that the replica and its original site both be extant.

Like most things, however, words are more than the sum of their roots and prefixes. While 'replica' may literally mean 'a thing folded again,' it is not used to mean such. Within historic preservation and related fields such as history, art history, and archaeology the definitions of these 're' words have been adapted for needs particular to that field. For example, historic preservation in the United States has defined three of these 're' words to standardize the profession's usage throughout the country.

According to the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation*, there are four levels of treatment that can be used to address historic properties. The first and least intrusive is preservation, which focuses on maintenance and repair of extant fabric. Rehabilitation is defined as "the act or process of making possible a compatible use for a property through repair, alterations, and additions while preserving those portions or features which convey its historical, cultural, or architectural values." Restoration, the third most intensive method and usually the highest level of treatment applied to historic resources, is defined as "the act or process of accurately depicting the form, features, and character of a property as it appeared at a particular period of time by means of the removal of features from other periods in its history and reconstruction of missing features from the restoration period." Finally, the most extreme treatment of a historic resource is reconstruction, which is "the act or process of depicting, by

[2] While the verbal form is technically correct, 'plicate' only survives in modern English as an adjective meaning 'folded' or 'crumpled.'
[3] Once more, 'habilitate' is a technically correct yet infrequently-used word in modern English.

means of new construction, the form, features, and detailing of a non-surviving site, landscape, building, structure, or object for the purposes of replicating its appearance at a specific period of time and in its historic location."[4]

Replicas in archaeology and art history are associated with forgeries, museum displays, or experimental archaeology (also known as reconstruction archaeology). In the case of museum displays, the replica is intended to be a visual copy of an object in whatever state that original object was displayed, including damage and any visible conservation techniques. By doing this, museum professionals can display the replica while the original is in storage, undergoing conservation, or being loaned out. In the case of experimental archaeology, the goal of archaeologists is not the final replica itself, but rather the process and materials involved in creating an archaeological object. Due to the inexact nature of this experimental field, the resulting object is never a replica of the original.

The replicas of interest to this research do not meet any of the 're' word definitions of historic preservation, nor the definitions commonly used by archaeologists and art historians. Nevertheless, these replicas advertise themselves as replicas. This last point is especially important – regardless of what word or words might most accurately describe these works, all four replica sites choose to use the word replica. In response, I chose to use 'replica' also and to attempt to redefine the word to meet the needs of this research. The resulting parameters I used to choose my case studies came from an objective observation of the type of replica of interest; these form the definition of 'replica' for the purposes of this research.

[4] All definitions from the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation*.

CHAPTER 4: OFFICIAL WORLD HERITAGE REPLICAS

In 1959, the governments of Egypt and Sudan filed an appeal in an attempt to stop construction of the Aswan Dam. The widely publicized dam project would have resulted in the complete destruction of the Abu Simbel temples, treasures of the Egyptian New Kingdom. The appeal did not succeed in stopping the project, but it did inspire an international UNESCO safeguarding campaign, accelerated archaeological rescue research, and the eventual dismantlement, relocation, and reassembly of the temples.[5] The intervention was considered a success and inspired a number of additional international safeguarding campaigns for other sites.

In light of the international community's newfound passion for cooperative cultural campaigns, UNESCO and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) drafted the first international convention on the protection of cultural heritage. UNESCO adopted the final version of that convention, the Convention concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage, on November 16, 1972.[6] Since then, 191 States Parties have signed and ratified the convention; the United States became a member in 1973.[7]

The World Heritage List is the primary product and most outward expression of the Convention. The list serves as a register for heritage sites with universal natural and/or cultural

[5] "Nubian Monuments from Abu Simbel to Philae," UNESCO, accessed January 11, 2016, http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/88.
[6] "The World Heritage Convention," UNESCO, accessed January 11, 2016, http://whc.unesco.org/en/convention/.
[7] "States Parties Ratification Status," UNESCO, accessed January 11, 2016, http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/.

significance. The World Heritage Committee (WHC) is the body that reviews nominations and amendments to nominations on an annual basis. The Committee may recommend delisting when the site's physical integrity or mismanagement has effectively eliminated the qualities for which the site was nominated.

In addition to reviewing nominations, the WHC is also responsible for making recommendations on the conservation and management of listed sites based on annual State of Conservation reports. These reports evaluate a site's physical state, management, and conservation challenges. When appropriate, the Committee makes recommendations to ameliorate these challenges and assure proper management of each site.

In three cases, the WHC recommended replicas of World Heritage Sites as a conservation and interpretation measure. Full-scale replicas were built at the Thracian Tomb of Kazanlak (Bulgaria), the Altamira Caves (Spain), and the Lascaux Caves (France). These three sites are located in different countries, have different nominating criteria, and are all managed by distinct entities but they do have a number of important similarities that can illuminate why the WHC elected to recommend replicas.

The Thracian Tomb of Kazanlak, Altamira Caves, and Lascaux Caves are all underground sites that are too small, too inaccessible, and too fragile to handle the impact of tourism. Since the main purpose of the Convention is to preserve these important sites and since one of the major benefits of listing is an increase in international tourist activity, each of these three sites needed to find a way to accommodate the level of tourism that could fund its preservation. For this reason, the World Heritage Committee approved replicas in each case.

These official replicas are similar to the unofficial replicas in terminology only. In this case, the replicas are exact copies of the original sites in their nominated condition,[8] as determined by high-quality imaging techniques, casts, and structural analyses. The replicas contain the same masonry flaws, chipping paint and plaster, and dimensions of the original. In many cases, the effect is so convincing that visitors do not realize that they are visiting a replica and not the historic original.[9] The original monuments, in fact, are often completely inaccessible to the public and available only in special circumstances to researchers or other special parties.

The benefits of these official replicas far exceed the physical preservation of the original, though that may be construed as their primary purpose. In addition, these replicas can serve as interpretive and experimental models. In all three cases, the underground replica is contained within a larger structure that serves as a museum. The replicas also allow for lighting and electrical components to be installed where they can best illuminate the site's points of interest; such would not be permissible in the fragile environment of the original. Finally, the replica can be used to experiment safely with environmental interventions that may aid in the conservation of the original, such as controlling moisture and pollutants through fans or other systems.

None of the unofficial replicas in this thesis were constructed for such straightforward reasons, but the existence of official replicas of World Heritage Sites indicates that the concept is neither unprecedented nor far-fetched. The motivations behind and details of the official replicas, in fact, may help inform our understanding of the five unofficial replicas that will be discussed herein.

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[8] It's unclear what the plan is in regards to keeping the replica accurate to the natural rate of change in the original.

[9] LB_1957, "Visiting 'the copy' of the ancient tomb," TripAdvisor, accessed February 13, 2016, http://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowUserReviews-g608697-d319571-r305314741-Thracian_Tomb_of_Kazanlak-Kazanlak_Stara_Zagora_Province.html.

CHAPTER 5: STONEHENGE AND ITS REPLICAS[10]

STONEHENGE

(Amesbury, Wiltshire, England, United Kingdom)

Figure 5.1: “An aerial view of Stonehenge, Wiltshire, England” by Szecska is licensed under CC BY-NC-SA 2.0.

[10] Two Stonehenge case studies are included in this chapter. There are over 80 Stonehenge replicas documented in the world (www.clonehenge.com), but only nine that could qualify under the criteria outlined in this thesis. Of those nine, only the two included here could be verified to meet the criteria. One or more of the remaining seven could qualify, but there is not sufficient information available at the time of publication to confirm their suitability.

Site Development and History

Stonehenge is one of the best recognized and most impressive of the ancient West's monumental structures. The distinct pattern of concentric standing stones near Amesbury, in Wiltshire, England was built in stages beginning in 3,100 BC and terminating in approximately 1,100 BC.[11] The site contains earthworks as well as the iconic standing stones. This composition includes both sarsen stones, a variety of sandstone native to southern England, and bluestones – called such due to their bluish hue when freshly cut or when wet – from Pembroke County, Wales.[12]

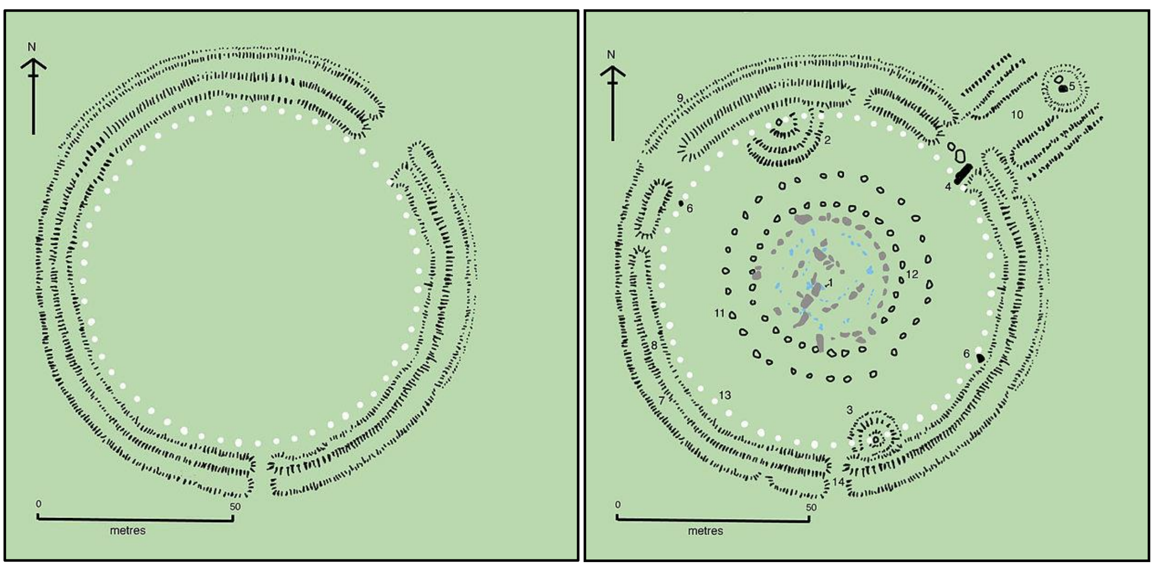

Figure 5.2: Stonehenge's first (left) and final (right) plans. "Stonehenge Phase One" (left) and "Stonehenge Plan" (right) by Adamsan are licensed under CC BY-SA 3.0.

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[11] ICOMOS, "Stonehenge, Avebury and Related Sites," *Advisory Body Evaluation* No. 373 (1985), 1.
[12] "Building Stonehenge," English Heritage, accessed November 14, 2015, http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/stonehenge/history/building/#.

The first phase was merely an earthwork enclosure encircling timber or stone posts. It wasn't until five centuries later that Stonehenge began to take its familiar shape. In approximately 2,500 BC, enormous sarsens and smaller bluestones were erected in a unique composition at the center of the earthen ring.[13] At this stage, the central composition consisted of an outer ring of the larger sarsen stones, a double bluestone arc opening to the southwest, a single horseshoe arc of sarsen trilithons opening to the northwest, and the Altar Stone at the center. Station stones are placed at the northwest and southeast, just inside the circular earthwork. The Heel Stone alone stands outside the earthworks, just beyond the earthen circle to the northeast.[14]

The final evolution of the site dates to circa 2,200 BC. At this stage, the changes are small but significant: the bluestones are rearranged and an unpaved avenue connects the site to others. The bluestones inside the outer ring of sarsens now form a complete circle one stone deep, rather than a half-circle two stones deep. In addition, a second layer of bluestones is added inside the sarsen horseshoe, forming a second horseshoe that separates the sarsens from the Altar Stone. This rearrangement is clearly in order to accommodate for the formalized entrance point, indicated by the unpaved avenue that crosses the earthwork circle from the northeast, since both the preexisting sarsen horseshoe and new bluestone horseshoe open in the direction of the avenue and frame the Altar Stone.[15]

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[13] The sarsens were likely quarried 32 km away and weigh up to 30 tons. The smaller bluestones came from more than 200 km away, in Pembroke County, Wales. Each bluestone weighs between 2 and 5 tons. "Building Stonehenge."

[14] "Stonehenge Phases," English Heritage, accessed November 14, 2015, http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/content/visit/places-to-visit/history-research-plans/stonehenge-phased-plan.

[15] Ibid.

Since attaining its final form, Stonehenge has remained essentially unchanged except for the effects of time and weather. In Medieval times, the lack of ground water in the area surrounding Stonehenge pushed settlements towards the River Till to the west and the River Avon to the east. Despite its location between two rivers, its elevated topography and poor soil relegated the Stonehenge area to grazing land rather than cultivated farmland. English Heritage suggests that it is this practical geological reason, rather than any early-seated affection or suspicion of the site, which preserved Stonehenge and the United Kingdom's other monumental henge sites during the Medieval period.[16]

There is very little early documentary evidence that mentions Stonehenge. It seems that the area surrounding Stonehenge was reserved as "common pasture"[17] until 1621, when the area passed for possibly the first time into private hands. At this point, the manor of West Amesbury held the sole right to pasture 150 sheep "upon Stonehenge Down."[18] Stonehenge and the surrounding down remained in private hands as pasture and farmland until 1918. Upon the death of Sir Edmund Antrobus – the third consecutive owner so named – Sir Cecil Chubb purchased the site in 1915 and donated it to the nation three years later. The deed of gift stipulated three major conditions: that the public have access to the site for a "reasonable fee" (Chubb suggested a shilling per person), that the site be maintained as much as possible in its current condition, and that no building be constructed except for a pay box.[19]

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16 David Field and Trevor Pearson, *Stonehenge World Heritage Site Landscape Project: Stonehenge, Amesbury, Wiltshire Archaeological Survey Report* (London: English Heritage, 2010), 29.

17 R.B. Pugh, ed., "Calendar of Antrobus Deeds before 1625," *Wiltshire Record Society* 3 (1947), 12.

18 Field and Pearson, *Stonehenge*, 110.

19 Ibid., 46-47.

In 1919, Her Majesty's Office of Works began a six-year campaign of excavations and remediation under the leadership of Colonel William Hawley, an archaeologist appointed by the Society of Antiquaries. Hawley's work built upon earlier and markedly less official studies carried out since the early seventeenth century, most notably those of William Harvey and Gilbert North, William Cunnington and Richard Colt Hoare, and William Gowland.[20] Research and excavations continued throughout the twentieth century, and the most recent archaeological survey was completed in 2010.

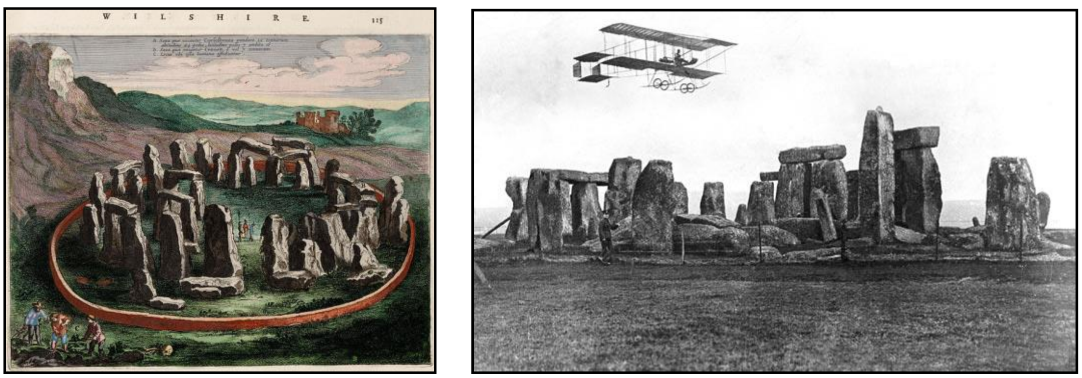

Figure 5.3: (Left) Etching of Stonehenge, 1645. (Right) Photograph of Stonehenge in 1911, as Sir Chubb would purchase it. "Anglice Wilshire," PD-1923 (left). "Bristol Boxkite 1911," courtesy of the RAF Museum (right).

Stonehenge as a World Heritage Site

On December 24, 1985, "Stonehenge, Avebury and Related Sites" became the 373rd inscription to the World Heritage List. It is nominated under Criterion I, as an example of "outstanding creative and technical achievements in prehistoric times," Criterion II, as an "outstanding illustration of the evolution of monumental construction and of the continued use and shaping of the landscape over more than 2000 years," and Criterion III, as a site which

[20] In the early 17th century, turn of the 19th century, and 1900, respectively. Ibid., 32-46.

provides "an exceptional insight into the funerary and ceremonial practices in Britain in the Neolithic and Bronze Age."[21]

The ICOMOS documentation indicates that, at the time of nomination, a number of sarsen standing stones and their associated lintel stones had fallen and that many of the bluestones had also fallen, broken, or disappeared. The site was pockmarked with the evidence of nearly seven centuries of invasive investigation and suffered from the attentions of 67 years of formalized tourism. ICOMOS and the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission (HBMC) were concerned for the suitability of the site for tourism, noting especially the intrusion of two major highway arteries into the nominated area and the delicate physical state of the site.[22]

In 1998, the UK's Ministry of Culture finally proposed solutions to the transportation issues and the location for a visitors' center. A management plan was approved in 2000 and management of the site was given to English Heritage. A visitors' center plan was approved in March 2007 but hobbled by continued disagreement about what to do with the highways running through the property. Planning permissions for new visitor facilities were granted by the Wiltshire Council in June 2010 and completion of a visitors' center was estimated for July 2013.[23] As of 2015, visitor facilities include parking near the visitor center, which includes a small museum exhibit, shop, and café, as well as a shuttle to bring visitors directly to the

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[21] UNESCO World Heritage Committee, "Stonehenge, Avebury and Associated Sites (United Kingdom)," *State of Conservation Report* (2008), 198-9.
[22] ICOMOS, "Stonehenge, Avebury and Related Sites," 3.
[23] UNESCO World Heritage Committee, "Stonehenge, Avebury and Associated Sites (United Kingdom), *State of Conservation Report* (2011), 237-8..

standing stone circle. The main body of the site's archaeological remains are housed and displayed at Salisbury Museum and Wiltshire Museum, Devizes.[24]

MARYHILL STONEHENGE

(Maryhill, Washington, United States of America)

Figure 5.4: Photograph of the Maryhill Stonehenge (2009, filters applied by photographer), looking out over the Columbia River with Mount Hood in the distance. "Stonehenge @ Maryhill, WA" by Michael D Martin is licensed under CC BY-ND 2.0.

The Maryhill Stonehenge's Development and History

The Maryhill Stonehenge is located in Maryhill, Washington, a small town two miles from where US Route 97 crosses the Oregon-Washington border. This full-scale Stonehenge

[24] "Stonehenge Facilities," English Heritage, accessed November 11, 2015, http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/stonehenge/facilities#.

replica and World War I memorial was constructed between 1915 and 1929 by wealthy patron of the arts Samuel Hill on a bluff overlooking the Columbia River.[25]

The inspiration for the Maryhill Stonehenge came to Maryhill native Sam Hill during a visit to the original Stonehenge in 1915. His host and guide was Lord Horatio Herbert Kitchener, England's Secretary of State for War. Lord Kitchener mistakenly informed Hill that Stonehenge was a site where "the ancients 4,000 years ago offered bloody sacrifices to their heathen gods of war," which Hill took to indicate that Stonehenge was a prehistoric altar for human sacrifice.[26] This misinformation instilled Stonehenge in Hill's mind as an embodiment of the worst aspects of war and humanity.

By 1918, Hill had decided to recreate the image of Stonehenge to memorialize the wartime deaths of Maryhill, Washington residents. Hill apparently did not want to settle for any copy, however. His determination to capture the emotions he felt as he learned of the original Stonehenge's supposed dark purpose is displayed in his attention to detail. He intended the Maryhill Stonehenge to be a "full-scale replica, meant to reflect how England's Stonehenge probably appeared just after its construction, with pillars standing tall."[27] First, he invited Professor W. Wallace Campbell of the Lick Observatory to decide on a site and the proper astronomical orientation of what was, to Hill, the replica's most important element: the Altar Stone upon which he believed human sacrifices were once made.[28] Hill then began ordering

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[25] Annie Pierce Rusunen, "Maryhill: Art, Replica Lure the Curious to the Gorge," *The Columbian*, October 4, 2000.
[26] John E. Tuhy, *Sam Hill: The Prince of Castle Nowhere,* (Portland, OR: Timber Press, 1983), 190.
[27] Paula Becker, "Altar stone of Stonehenge replica built to memorialize World War I soldiers is dedicated at Maryhill on July 4, 1918," accessed November 2, 2015, http://www.historylink.org/index.cfm?DisplayPage=output.cfm&File_Id=7809.
[28] Tuhy, *Sam Hill*, 191.

surveys of local quarries to find stones of the same size and general qualities as the sarsen and bluestone used at the original site; however, local stone proved to be unsuitable for the task and cost prohibited importing stones of the required size. Instead, Hill decided to approximate the appearance of stone by using concrete poured over crumpled tin.[29]

The Altar Stone was dedicated on July 4, 1918 and was inscribed with the names of six local men who had fallen in battle. The Goldendale Sentinel, a local newspaper, reported on July 11 that the Maryhill Stonehenge – or, more properly, its Altar Stone – was the first memorial in the United States for fallen World War I soldiers. By November 11, Armistice Day, the memorial had acquired seven more names.[30]

Figure 5.5: Memorial plaque for Evan Childs. "Maryhill Stonehenge – memorial plaque for Evan Childs" by Joe Mabel is licensed under CC BY-SA 3.0.

[29] "Stonehenge Memorial & Kickitat County Veterans' Memorials," Maryhill Museum of Art, accessed November 4, 2015, http://www.maryhillmuseum.org/visit/stonehenge-memorial.
[30] Becker, "Altar of Stonehenge."

The monument was completed in the spring of 1929 and dedicated on May 30.[31] In its final form, the site replicated Stonehenge's original form to the best of the time's archaeological knowledge. The Maryhill Stonehenge has two concentric circles of standing 'stones.' The outer circle consists of fifteen trilithons (two standing stones with their lintel stone) that stand sixteen feet tall, mimicking the sarsen trilithons of the original. The second circle of pillars consists of forty nine-foot pillars, the replica's version of the original's bluestone pillar circle. Five more trilithons of varying heights form a half-circle around the Altar Stone.

Sam Hill's attention to detail and desire for an authentic feel make his replica believable, but these same qualities make Hill's omissions even more interesting. Most of his omissions are physical; the Maryhill Stonehenge is missing archaeologically significant compositional elements that were visible and documented at the time of Hill's visit to England's Stonehenge. In addition, while Hill took great care in siting the replica in a picturesque location appropriate for a war memorial, he did not attempt to recreate the context or environment of the original.

Most noticeable are the compositional omissions that cannot be explained by a lack of archaeological investigation at the time of construction. The Maryhill Stonehenge omits the circular earthworks surrounding and demarcating the site, as well as the Station Stones. Hill also made no attempt to replicate the unpaved avenue or Heel Stone that mark the formal entranceway into the original Stonehenge. Indeed, any feature outside of the sarsen trilithon circle seems to have been of little interest to Hill.

This narrow interest in physical accuracy is also apparent in the siting of Hill's replica. The original Stonehenge is sited on an elevated part of the surrounding down, which affords it

[31] "Stonehenge Replica Dedicated in 1918," *The Columbian*, August 10, 1995.

not only visibility *from* the surrounding area but also an uncontested view *of* the surrounding area. The Maryhill Stonehenge, in contrast, is surrounded by foothills and can overlook only the Columbia River and the road that approaches the monument. This location combined with the lack of an approaching avenue creates a sense that Sam Hill's Maryhill Stonehenge is suspended in space, directionless except for when the stars to which the Altar Stone was aligned come out in the evening.

These differences tell the careful viewer much about Sam Hill's perspective on Stonehenge. It is unfortunate that, of all the information Lord Kitchener likely imparted about Stonehenge on that day in 1915, the piece of interpretation that resonated most strongly with Hill was violently-themed misinformation. It is the idea of ritual human sacrifice to heathen gods of war that undoubtedly formed Maryhill's Stonehenge replica. This is apparent in not only its stated purpose but in its composition. Rather than being experienced from the outside-in and from a predetermined direction, the Maryhill Stonehenge radiates only a limited distance from the true object of Hill's interest: the Altar Stone.

Samuel Hill died in 1931 and, as an expression of one of the original Stonehenge's purposes as well as his personal love for the site, had his ashes buried in a crypt below the Altar Stone of his Maryhill Stonehenge. This crypt suffered a structural failure in 1955 and was relocated to another part of the monument with less weight to support.[32]

In 1995, the Kickitat County War Memorial Project Committee raised $37,500 to refurbish the decaying site. Repairs included patching the concrete, removing graffiti, and applying a permanent weather coating. In addition, a new memorial for local men killed in

[32] "Stonehenge Memorial."

World War II, The Korean War, and The Vietnam War was erected nearby. The new memorial and refurbished Stonehenge replica were dedicated in August 22, 1995.[33]

Site Interpretation at the Maryhill Stonehenge

The site is currently under the care of the Maryhill Museum of Art. The museum does not charge admission to the site, but donations towards site maintenance are requested. Interpretation of the site is light. A brief (and oft-vandalized) informational sign is the only on-site interpretation besides the memorial's inscription itself. The nearby museum does not provide much more; the museum's website page on the monument largely replicates what is written on the on-site signage.[34]

The Reception and Perception of the Maryhill Stonehenge

Despite the Maryhill Stonehenge's compositional and interpretive shortcomings, visitor response to the site is overall positive; ninety-one online reviewers rated the Maryhill Stonehenge a 4.5/5. Reviewers seemed to divide into five groups. First, there are those who view the replica as purely a war memorial. Second, other reviewers see the replica as a mere road marker for an exceptional vista. Third, many perceive the replica as a suitable alternative to the original. Fourth, there are those who can appreciate the beauty of the replica but feel that it lacks authenticity. Fifth and finally, there are those who see the replica as a curious bit of 'Roadside Americana.'

[33] Randall Black, "Stonehenge Refurbished," *The Columbian*, July 30, 1995.
[34] "Stonehenge Memorial."

Those reviewers who perceive the Maryhill Stonehenge to be purely a war memorial are perhaps the smallest group within the ninety-one reviewers. These reviewers tend to self-identify as current or former members of the military and their families. They urge future visitors to look past the appearance of the site and focus their thoughts on "remember[ing] the fallen heroes."[35]

The second group of reviewers emphasize the scenic nature of the site, often minimizing the importance of the replica itself and instead praising the view of the Columbia River and surrounding mountains.

The third group of reviewers found the Maryhill Stonehenge to be a suitable substitute for the original. One reviewer stated that she could never afford to go visit the real thing, so she was glad that she had the opportunity to go to the Maryhill Stonehenge.[36]

The fourth group of reviewers reacts oppositely to the third. These recognize that the replica is a copy and seem to find inherently less importance in the site because of it. One reviewer stated that the site was impressive for what it was, but that it felt like the reproduction that it is and "has no feeling to it," noting that it has not yet acquired the weight of history and spiritualism that the original Stonehenge has.[37]

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[35] themoons2014, "Remember the fallen heroes from WWI," TripAdvisor, accessed February 13, 2016, http://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowUserReviews-g58594-d145928-r244807615-Stonehenge-Maryhill_Washington.html#REVIEWS; Cands2, "A real labor of love; worth a stop," TripAdvisor, accessed February 13, 2016, http://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowUserReviews-g58594-d145928-r305510510-Stonehenge-Maryhill_Washington.html#REVIEWS.

[36] KJB51862, "Cheap way to see Stonehenge," TripAdvisor, accessed February 13, 2016, http://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowUserReviews-g58594-d145928-r270843934-Stonehenge-Maryhill_Washington.html#REVIEWS.

[37] Lucia T, "Disappointing," TripAdvisor, accessed February 14, 2016, http://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowUserReviews-g58594-d145928-r275386686-Stonehenge-Maryhill_Washington.html#REVIEWS.

The fifth and final group of reviewers did not mention such weighty things as history and feeling. These reviewers emphasized the kitsch of the replica, considering it an example of 'offroad Americana' in the same league as the giant ball of twine in Kansas.[38]

There has been no published evidence that the world of academic architecture, history, or preservation even knows that the Maryhill Stonehenge exists. English Heritage and Stonehenge interest groups have not expressed their displeasure that the replica exists.

FOAMHENGE

(Natural Bridge, Virginia, United States of America)

Figure 5.6: "Foamhenge" by Cecilia is licensed under CC BY 2.0.

[38] TAMAN1951, "Thought provoking," TripAdvisor, accessed February 13, 2016, http://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowUserReviews-g58594-d145928-r317867746-Stonehenge-Maryhill_Washington.html#REVIEWS.

Foamhenge's Development and History

Foamhenge 'appeared' on April 1, 2004 in Natural Bridge, Virginia in a small ceremony led by creator Mark Cline.[39] While the Stonehenge replica did not actually appear out of thin air, the speed with which it was constructed and erected might as well have been immediate compared to the timeline of the original Stonehenge. Cline fabricated the entire monument in six weeks in his workshop near the final Foamhenge site, and he and five others erected the entire monument in two days.[40]

Mark Cline, a large-scale sculptor who primarily works in fiberglass, conceived of his foam replica nearly fifteen years before the April Fools' Day reveal in an Insulated Business Systems store. He claims that the name 'Foamhenge' occurred to him upon seeing a sixteen-foot tall block of beaded Styrofoam, the same material he would eventually use to create Foamhenge.[41]

The final sculpture is intended to replicate the original Stonehenge in its 2004 state. Cline went to great lengths to assure that his replica was as accurate as possible by aligning it astronomically and frequently consulting "the man who gives tours at Stonehenge" for design and dimensioning guidelines.[42] Cline achieved his goal of accurate appearance, but seems to have only applied that goal to a very select portion of the original monument, namely the outer trilithon circle. Cline's outer circle accurately represents that of the original as it stood in 2004.

Like Sam Hill, Mark Cline has focused on a particular aspect of Stonehenge's plan that represents all of Stonehenge's power and history. In this case, preference is given to the outer

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[39] "About Foamhenge," accessed November 10, 2015, http://www.thefoamhenge.com/about-foamhenge/.
[40] Peter Carlson, "Jurassic Lark," *The Washington Post,* April 24, 2006.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.

trilithon circle. The rest of the monument, including everything inside and outside of the trilithon circle, is missing from Foamhenge's plan. This design seems to have been deliberate, as Cline has stated that he is now capable of producing multiple standing stones per day but has not added to Foamhenge.[43] Cline has not given any indication that he wishes to add the missing elements and in fact has not publicly acknowledged that they are missing.

Foamhenge remains under the ownership of Mark Cline, whose workshop is nearby. The monument itself is in poor shape. Much of the protective paint layer has chipped away, exposing the yellow foam underneath. The foam itself was never intended to be an exterior material and has suffered greatly from the weather. As indicated by a sign asking visitors to be gentle with the fake stones, the human impact on the stones has also been great. Cline has no plans to do a formal refurbishment, but says that he's right there to care for the monument if it needs his help.[44] So far, however, his efforts seem unable to compete with the rate of decay at Foamhenge, and it is unclear how long the site will maintain its physical integrity.

Site Interpretation at Foamhenge

There is no formal interpretation program at the site except for an often-missing foam sign that indicates the name and history of the monument and asks people to be gentle. Cline has stated in more than one interview that he enjoys going out to the site when he sees visitors pull up and show them around,[45] but it is unclear what exactly he tells visitors during these informal tours.

[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid.

Access to the site is free of charge. Visitors, including those with appointments and directions, frequently complain that signage is insufficient and that the site is very difficult to find.[46]

Figure 5.7: "Foamhenge: Sign" by Vicky Somma is licensed by CC BY-NA-SA 2.0.

Figure 5.8: Signs outline two theories about Stonehenge's origins. The first theory (left) is based off of the archaeological record. The second theory (right) is that Merlin levitated the stones into place. "Theory 1, Foamhenge – Natural Bridge, VA" by Robert Kimberly (left) is licensed under CC BY-NC-SA 2.0. "Foamhenge" by Stephen Drake (right) is licensed under CC BY-NC-ND 2.0.

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46 Susan Harlan, "Foamhenge, Stonehenge's unholy twin, guards its mystery in byways of Virginia," *The Guardian,* August 24, 2015.

The Reception and Perception of Foamhenge

Despite Foamhenge's compositional and interpretive shortcomings, visitor response to the site is overall positive; 232 TripAdvisor reviewers rated the site a 4/5. Though there are more than twice as many reviewers for Foamhenge as for the Maryhill Stonehenge, the response to Foamhenge was much less wide-ranging. Perhaps because Foamhenge has a silly name and is often frequented by its wacky creator himself, no reviewers seemed to feel that Foamhenge imparted the experience of the original. The closest such review called the monument "kitschy fun for those who can't afford the real thing."[47]

Most reviewers identified with the Roadside Americana kitsch over all else.[48] In fact, one foreign visitor identified Foamhenge as "very juvenile" and something to be found "only in America."[49] Only Mark Cline's personality and stated 'fun' purpose for Foamhenge stops such reviews from reading as insults, even though many are clearly intended to be.

A final, small group of reviewers views Foamhenge as an art installation.[50] In the strictest sense, these reviewers are correct. Cline is a large-scale sculptor of fun and strange things meant for public consumption. However, if Foamhenge is just art as these few reviewers claim, the analysis of its purpose and its form becomes all the more ethereal. Does artistic license allow for

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[47] Ken and Cindy P, "Kitschy fun for those who can't afford the real thing," TripAdvisor, accessed February 14, 2016, http://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowUserReviews-g58003-d610843-r322974538-Foamhenge-Natural_Bridge_Virginia.html#REVIEWS.
[48] Just_a_normal_mom, "Fun and quirky place," TripAdvisor, accessed February 14, 2016, http://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowUserReviews-g58003-d610843-r324015971-Foamhenge-Natural_Bridge_Virginia.html#REVIEWS.
[49] Jim M, "Bizarre!!!" TripAdvisor, accessed February 14, 2016, http://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowUserReviews-g58003-d610843-r318682871-Foamhenge-Natural_Bridge_Virginia.html#REVIEWS.
[50] B Il'Cibo B, "Kitsch and Merlin," TripAdvisor, accessed February 14, 2016, http://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowUserReviews-g58003-d610843-r350531944-Foamhenge-Natural_Bridge_Virginia.html#CHECK_RATES_CONT.

a so-called replica to leave out most of the physical form of the original without it losing meaning? And even if the site retains its meaning, can an artistic representation truly be called a replica? While there are no certain answers to these questions, the fact that Cline labels Foamhenge as a replica suggests that he meant for the monument to be more than artistic.

There has been no published evidence that the world of academic architecture, history, or preservation even knows that the Foamhenge exists. English Heritage and Stonehenge interest groups have not expressed their displeasure that the replica exists.

CHAPTER 6: THE PARTHENON AND THE NASHVILLE PARTHENON

THE PARTHENON

(Athens, Attica, Greece)

Figure 6.1: The Parthenon, 1978. "The Parthenon Athens" by Steve Swayne is licensed under CC BY-SA 2.0.

The Parthenon's Development and History[51]

The Parthenon is perhaps the most well-known of the Greeks' golden age architecture. Over its 2,500-year history, the building has served as a physical embodiment of all the qualities that the world associates with ancient Greece: sophisticated culture, advanced intellect, and sparkling wealth. Its intended purpose, however, was as an elaborate shrine to Athena Parthenos (Athena the Virgin), the patron goddess and namesake of the city-state of Athens.

The Parthenon that survives today was not the first structure on the Athenian Acropolis and was not even the first Parthenon constructed there. Little is known about this first temple to the Virgin Athena except that it was still under construction when the Persians sacked the Acropolis in 480 BC; all that survived were a handful of column drums that were built into the Acropolis walls as a memorial to the destruction.

Following the conclusion of the Persian War, 100 of the independent city-states of Greece united for common defense under the Delian League. Athens positioned itself as the leader of this unprecedented grouping of powers with Pericles, a decorated Athenian general, at the helm. Member city-states committed money and military supplies to the alliance headed by Pericles, who took advantage of both his personal fame and his city's newfound wealth and influence to create an Athenian Empire.

To reflect Athens' elevated position in Greece, Pericles began a monumental building program that would become the golden standard of Greek architecture and would characterize the fifth century Athenian golden age. The crown jewel of this building program was the new

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[51] For a good overview of fifth century BC Classical Athens and the Parthenon, see: *The Parthenon: From Antiquity to the Present* (Jenifer Neils, Cambridge University Press, 2010), *The Parthenon and Its Sculptures* (Michael Cosmopoulos, Cambridge University Press, 2004), and *The Parthenon* (Mary Beard, Harvard University Press, 2010).

Parthenon, built on the rough footprint of the previous temple but grander in scale, detail, and cost. Records indicate that the 23,000 square foot temple cost up to an estimated 800 talents[52] to build and was completed in eight years (447-438 BC).

The temple was designed by the architects Ictinos and Callicrates and the sculptural program was designed by the artist Phidias. The Parthenon is a fairly typical, if particularly fine, Doric temple measuring 69.5 by 30.9 meters at the level of the stylobate and with a 46-column, 10.4 meter tall peristyle colonnade. The cella faces east, as was typical for Greek temples, and contained an interior colonnade, the altar, and a forty foot chryselephantine sculpture of Athena. The opistodomos is entered from the west and served as the treasury for the Delian League.

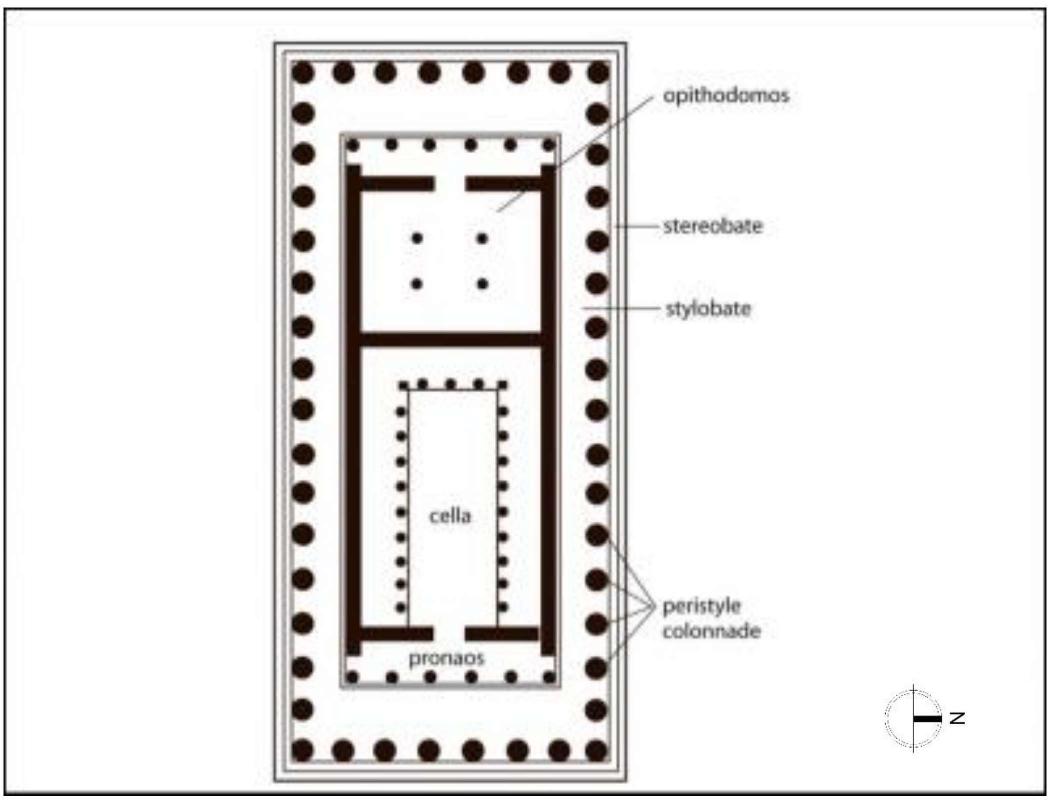

Figure 6.2: The plan of the Parthenon. Figure by author.

[52] For comparison, a single talent could pay a month's wages for 170 oarsmen.

The Parthenon remained a temple to Athena until approximately the sixth century AD, when the Byzantines conquered and Christianized Greece. When pagan religion was outlawed, the Byzantines modified the temple into a church. While physical changes were made to the temple, the Parthenon escaped some of the more identity-changing alterations that other Greek temples suffered. The main change was in the orientation; the east entrance was closed off to encourage worshippers to enter through the west, as is typical for Christian churches. Passages were cut through the rear wall of the opistodomos to allow access to the cella, where a marble altar and bishop's chair were placed.[53] Perhaps in keeping with its previous pagan use, the church later became the Latin cathedral of Parthenos Maria (the Virgin Mary).

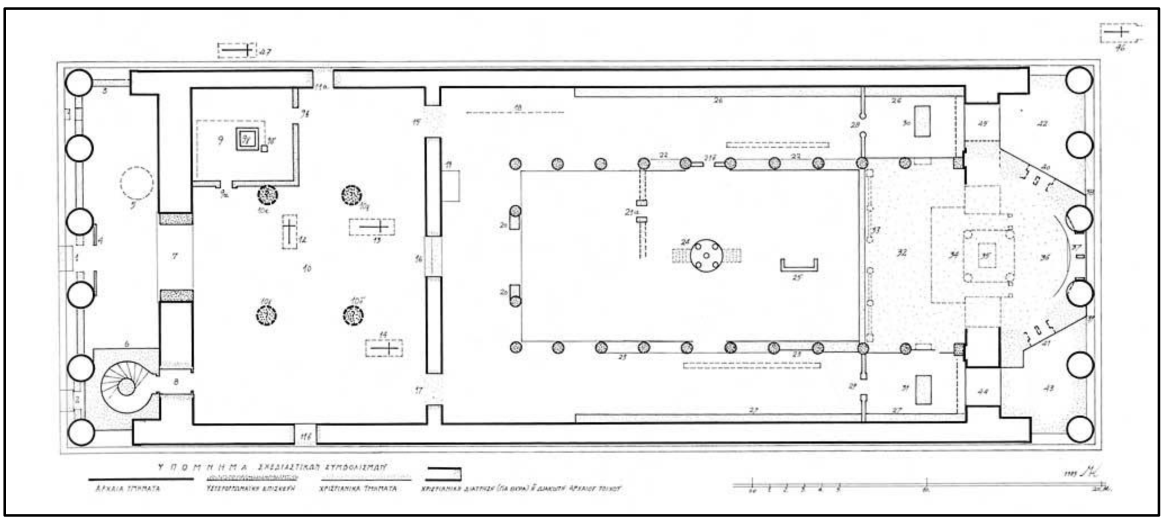

Figure 6.3: The plan of the Christian Parthenon. Photo of museum information poster

The Parthenon survived as a church until the Ottoman Turks invaded Greece in 1458. In the new Turkish Athens, the physically and culturally prominent Parthenon was once again

[53] At this point the statue of Athena had already been removed, perhaps due to a fire in the third century AD.

transformed, this time into a mosque. The Turks made nearly no changes to the fabric of the church-temple except for building a minaret. Evidence from the mid-1600s indicates that services were held under images of pagan, Christian, and Muslim figures.

The next evolution of the Parthenon was actually its first devolution. In 1687, the Ottomans were engaged in war with the Venetians. The Turks stored ammunition in the Parthenon, confident that the Venetians would not fire on a cultural and religious icon. Their faith was misplaced, however, and an estimated 700 Venetian cannonballs struck the temple's western façade alone. The ammunition inside was ignited and an immense explosion nearly completely decimated the building.

In the ensuing years, the Acropolis became nothing more than a looter's paradise. The most notorious of these looter's was Thomas Bruce, the 7th Earl of Elgin. Lord Elgin systematically removed the Parthenon's surviving sculptures between 1801 and 1812. His methods – including shaving off the back of sculptures to lessen their weight – were less than professional and it is still unclear whether or not he had permission to do more than observe and document the ruins. Nevertheless, the Elgin Marbles have been preserved in the British Museum and despite decades of conflict have not returned to Athens.

In the 1890's, Greek restoration engineer Nikolaos Balanos pushed to restore the buildings on the Acropolis. He endeavored to reconstruct colonnades from the rubble and to install casts of the Elgin Marbles into their proper places. Unfortunately, his work may have done more harm than good. Balanos did not try to put individual blocks back in the proper place and used poor-quality, unsheathed lead clamps which led to structural damage to the historic fabric through expanding iron corrosion.

It was not until nearly a century later, in 1975, that the Parthenon underwent any further restoration. The Acropolis Restoration Service, under the auspices of the Hellenic Ministry of Sports and Culture and led by Greek architect Manoles Korres, has spent upwards of $90 million on restoring the Acropolis' monuments, using and adapting to the best methods available in the field of architectural conservation. Korres' teams plan to replace every structurally sound block and fragment in their original position, as best as can be determined, and to infill with marble from the same quarry that provided the original stone.[54] The masonry will be joined with non-corrosive titanium rods. All remaining original sculptures have been relocated to the Acropolis Museum to avoid further damage and casts have been installed on the Parthenon itself.

The Parthenon as a World Heritage Site

In 1987, "The Acropolis, Athens" became the 404th inscription on the World Heritage List. The Parthenon is a primary contributing resource in the nomination. The Acropolis is nominated under Criterion I, as "the supreme expression of the adaptation of architecture to a natural site," Criterion II, as an enormously influential throughout time and across the world, Criterion III, as a "unique testimony to the religions of Ancient Greece," Criterion IV, as a site which "illustrates civilizations of Greece over a period of more than a millennium," and Criterion VI, as a site which is "directly and tangibly associated with events and ideas which have never faded."[55]

Since its listing, the main threats to the Acropolis have been from the surrounding area. A buffer zone was included in the nomination to assure that the Parthenon and other monuments

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[54] N. Toganidis, "Parthenon Restoration Project" (paper presented at the XXI International CIPA Symposium, Athens, Greece, October 1-6, 2007), 2-6.
[55] ICOMOS, "Acropolis, Athens," *Advisory Body Evaluation* No. 404 (1987), 1.

remained visible from much of the city below. An apartment complex building project threatened that view for three years but was ultimately stopped.[56]

The Acropolis Restoration Service's restoration plan continued as before nomination and listing. In 2004, a new Acropolis Museum at the foot of the hill replaced the previous one on the Acropolis itself.[57] This museum houses the remaining original sculptures that Korres' restoration team removed and has an entire second level devoted to a full-scale, correctly-aligned display replica of the exterior Parthenon and its sculptural program.

THE NASHVILLE PARTHENON

(Nashville, Tennessee, United States of America)

Figure 6.4: The Nashville Parthenon, with people for scale. "Nashville Parthenon" by Will Powell is licensed under CC BY-SA 2.0.

[56] UNESCO, "Acropolis, Athens (Greece)," *State of Conservation Report* (2004), 1.
[57] Ibid.

The Nashville Parthenon's Development and History

The Nashville Parthenon[58] is located in Centennial Park in Nashville, Tennessee and was the first building of the Tennesee Centennial Exposition to be constructed. The foundation stone was laid in 1895 by the Tennessee Centennial organizers and the remainder of the wood, brick, and plaster replica was constructed in just under two years. The Exposition was held from May to October of 1897 and hosted approximately 1.8 million people during those six months. By the following year, the majority of the Centennial buildings were either removed from the grounds or demolished. The Parthenon, however, remained standing.

Centennial Park was created in 1902 by the Nashville Board of Parks out of much of the Tennessee Centennial Exposition's grounds. The Parthenon still stood and became the center point of the new park. By 1915, however, it became clear that the building's construction – never intended to be permanent – was suffering from the effects of time and weather. The pedimental sculptures were removed for their own safety and the safety of those below, but further conservation took another five years to begin.

In 1920, the city of Nashville awarded local architect Russell Hart the commission for a permanent, concrete aggregate structure. Hart's Parthenon was intended to be an exact replica down to the smallest optical refinements, including the nearly invisible arching of the temple platform and the entasis of the columns. The exterior construction of the the new building was completed in 1925, but the interior was not completed until 1931. The new Parthenon opened to

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[58] The official name of the site is "the Parthenon," but it will be referred to in this thesis as "the Nashville Parthenon" to avoid confusion. All information about the Nashville Parthenon's development is from the official timeline as provided by the Nashville Board of Parks, accessible as a Microsoft Word document at http://www.nashville.gov/Parks-and-Recreation/Parthenon.aspx.

the public as an art museum on May 20, 1931. The first exhibit was a series of 63 paintings donated by wealthy insurance broker and art collector James Cowan.

In 1982, sculptor Alan LeQuire was commissioned to recreate the famous chryselephantine statue of Athens Parthenos, spoken of in ancient texts. The statue was erected in 1990 in the temple's cella, where the historic statue would have stood. At this point, the statue's golden sheen was just metallic paint due to budget issues; the statue would not be gilded until 2002.

Figure 6.5: LeQuire's chryselephantine statue of Athena Parthenos. "Pallas Athena in The Parthenon" by Reading Tom is licensed under CC BY 2.0.

In 1991, a ten-year gradual restoration program was approved. Restoration included interior upgrades to visitor facilities and physical conservation of the concrete structure. The museum reopened to the public in an unveiling celebration on December 31, 2001.

The interior of the Nashville Parthenon is used as an art museum. The replica temple serves as the upper level of the museum; the lower level of the museum is below and contains space for art exhibits and staff offices.[59] The temple's interior replicates the interior colonnades and architectural details thought to be present in both the cella and opistodomos of the original, including coloration, flooring, and doors.

The exterior of the Nashville Parthenon is an exact replica of the reconstructed exterior of the original with one exception. Due to budget issues, the Ionic frieze at the top of the cella wall has not been installed, though casts have been obtained for that purpose. Otherwise, the only major difference between the replica and the original is the color of the replica, which is a dark tan, large-aggregate cement with red and blue colored sculptures.[60]

Site Interpretation at the Nashville Parthenon

The Nashville Parthenon is owned by the Metropolitan Board of Parks and Recreation in Nashville and is operated by the Conservancy for the Parthenon and Centennial Park.[61] The Parthenon's exterior is accessible to visitors at all times and at no charge via the surrounding park. Visitors can access the interior of the monument for an admission fee during posted business hours seven days a week and for special after-hours events.

Interpretive programming at the Nashville Parthenon is the most robust of any of the replica sites discussed in this thesis. It is the only one of the five replica sites to employ staff

[59] "Exhibitions," Nashville Board of Parks, accessed November 28, 2015, http://www.nashville.gov/Parks-and-Recreation/Parthenon/Galleries.aspx.
[60] At the time of construction, these colors were the only ones known to have been present in the pedimental and metopal sculpture programs; research since then has determined that there are far more colors present than initially thought.
[61] "About the Conservancy," The Conservancy for the Parthenon and Centennial Park, accessed November 28, 2015, http://www.conservancyonline.com/about.

members, recruit volunteers, train docents, and have a director of education and programming. Formal tours are given to groups of ten or more people, and school tours synced to state educational standards can be arranged for up to 40 students and teachers at a time. According to the tours page of the Nashville Parthenon's website, the Nashville Parthenon can be used to explore "art, architecture, science, and even mathematical problems." Most visitors, however, choose to partake in a self-guided tour that takes a typical visitor forty minutes to complete. Brochures with floor plans are available for those who choose this option.[62]

The Reception and Perception of the Nashville Parthenon

Visitor response to the Nashville Parthenon is overall positive; 1,471 online reviewers rated their visit a 4 out of 5. Reviewers of the Nashville Parthenon fall into similar groups as those of the Maryhill Stonehenge. Some feel that the replica is a satisfactory stand-in for the original, while others vehemently oppose that viewpoint. A smaller number feel that the replica feels somehow off and others are simply there for the scenery.

Those who claim that the replica provides the full Greek experience often also state, oddly enough, that they have never been to the original Parthenon and do not have plans to.[63]

Those who are not willing to accept the replica as a replacement for the original are more diverse in experience. One reviewer who had visited the original Parthenon was adamant that the

[62] "Tours at the Parthenon," Nashville Board of Parks, accessed November 28, 2015, http://www.nashville.gov/Parks-and-Recreation/Parthenon/Tours.aspx.
[63] Veeraya K, "Magnificent Parthenon," TripAdvisor, accessed February 13, 2016, http://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowUserReviews-g55229-d106498-r338187708-The_Parthenon-Nashville_Tennessee.html#REVIEWS; Bill b, "Closed on New Year's day," TripAdvisor, accessed February 13, 2016, http://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowUserReviews-g55229-d106498-r336515974-The_Parthenon-Nashville_Tennessee.html#REVIEWS.

replica doesn't stand up to the original, even in (or perhaps because of) its reconstructed state.[64] Two others who had not visited Athens were still concerned that the replica felt fake; one stated that it "seems so out of place and odd."[65] Those who were unconvinced by the replica did not offer any reasons beyond feelings and hunches.

The smallest group of reviewers thought that the Nashville Parthenon's main attribute was its striking form and the surrounding landscape.[66] These reviewers did not usually mention anything inside the museum itself, but rather recommended it as a good picnicking spot or photo opportunity.

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[64] Travel_Addict_Cyprus, "Not impressed.. but if you have the time, worth visiting," TripAdvisor, accessed February 13, 2016, http://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowUserReviews-g55229-d106498-r337283375-The_Parthenon-Nashville_Tennessee.html#REVIEWS.

[65] MCAlvarezzz, "Peculiar concrete replica in a Greek Revival loving city," TripAdvisor, accessed February 13, 2016, http://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowUserReviews-g55229-d106498-r336395998-The_Parthenon-Nashville_Tennessee.html#REVIEWS; Alex C, "Weird…" TripAdvisor, accessed February 13, 2016, http://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowUserReviews-g55229-d106498-r337991399-The_Parthenon-Nashville_Tennessee.html#REVIEWS (quote by Alex C).

[66] PSmith1167, "Nice walk, interesting park," TripAdvisor, accessed February 13, 2016, http://www.tripadvisor.com/ShowUserReviews-g55229-d106498-r336760401-The_Parthenon-Nashville_Tennessee.html#REVIEWS.

CHAPTER 7: HALLSTATT VILLAGE AND THE LUOYANG HALLSTATT

HALLSTATT VILLAGE

(Hallstatt, Austria)

Figure 7.1: “Hallstatt” by John Mason is licensed under CC BY 2.0.

Hallstatt Village's Development and History

Hallstatt[67] is located in upper Austria in the Salzkammergut, a salt mining region in the Eastern Alps. The area is famous for its beautiful mountainous landscape but is also important for its archaeological heritage that dates back to the second millennium BC. Hallstatt grew up around the copper and salt mining industries and received second life as a resort town beginning in the mid-nineteenth century.

The earliest evidence of human presence at Hallstatt is the archaeological remains of primitive salt production. As early as the Middle Bronze Age, brine was evaporated in special stone and ceramic vessels and exported in exchange for luxury items such as ivory, amber, and glass. An underground mining technique taken from copper mining replaced the evaporation method at the end of the Late Bronze Age. Evidence of salt production disappears for a short time for unknown reasons, but the archaeological record indicates that the industry was revived in the eighth century BC using the drift mining method, which employs horizontal rather than vertical galleries. Production continues more or less unchanged through the Roman period, but once again drops off.

When salt mining reappears in the fourteenth century AD, title to the salt mines has been shifted to the Austrian Crown. The village of Hallstatt itself changed to suit its new role as imperial subject. The town received the right to hold markets, which required open market squares such as the triangular one at the center of the village. Certain residents were granted a special status, *Salzfertiger*, which allowed them exclusive rights to drying, packing, and selling

[67] All chronological information from the history section of: ICOMOS, "Hallstatt-Dachstein/Salzkammergut Cultural Landscape," *Advisory Body Evaluation* No. 806 (1997), 2-3.

salt. The lucrative nature of this status can be seen in the exceptional quality and design of their houses compared to those of lesser status.

In 1750, a fire near the center destroyed much of the Medieval portion of the village. The residents rebuilt almost immediately, choosing to use the Late Baroque style instead of the previous Medieval styles. This Baroque village center survives today and gives the city much of its recognizable character.

The second half of the nineteenth century saw a third decline in the salt industry at Hallstatt and the rise of a secondary industry: tourism. Writers such as Adalbert Stifter and Franz Grillparzer popularized the beauty of the region in their novels and poems, drawing the leading painters of the Biedermeier school to the region. Private individuals soon followed with the sole intention of enjoying the town's aesthetic, and the town welcomed and encouraged their patronage. The first hotel to serve tourists was constructed in 1855, and the first public brine baths followed in the early 1860's.

Salt mining ended for good in 1965, although Hallstatt still pipes brine to a modern treatment plant at Ebersee, a town in the valley below.

In its final form, the village of Hallstatt occupies the narrow strip between the mountainside of the Salzberg and a briny lake. Part of the town extends into the lake on a promontory created from centuries of dumping mining waste, called the Mühlbach. The inner market town is characterized by cobbled streets and market squares surrounded by Late Baroque houses. The houses are tall and narrow with stone foundations or lower levels with half-timbered upper stories. The city grew organically and the many periods of development in addition to the challenging topography has created a winding warren of streets and paths.

Figure 7.2: (Left) The main square. (Right) City center historic houses. “Hallstatt – Brunnen” by Jitka Erbenová (left) and “Vieux-village d’Hallstatt” by 0x010C (right) are licensed under CC BY-SA 3.0.

A number of buildings have been identified as having particular historic importance. These buildings generally fall into two categories: religious and mining buildings. Religious buildings of special importance include St. Michael’s Chapel and Charnel House, St. Mary’s Roman Catholic Parish Church, a Protestant Parish Church, the Mount of Olives Chapel, and the Calvary Chapel. Mining buildings of particular importance include the Mine Administration Building and the Rudolfsturm, a three-story building constructed in the late 13th century to protect the salt-works below.

Hallstatt Village as a World Heritage Site

The “Hallstatt-Dachstein Salzkammergut Cultural Landscape” became World Heritage List inscription number 806 in 1997. It is nominated under Criterion III, as an “outstanding example of a natural landscape of great beauty and scientific interest,” and under Criterion IV, as a site which “contains evidence of a fundamental human economic activity.”[68]

[68] ICOMOS, “Hallstatt-Dachstein,” 1.

Few alterations were made to the village as it had already been a popular resort town and could handle large numbers of visitors. The major changes were outside of the historic city and included parking facilities and other transportation resources. Hallstatt is still a functioning residential city and the local planning authorities are in charge of both day to day and long-term conservation management.[69]

THE LUOYANG HALLSTATT

(Luoyang, Guangdong Province, China)

Figure 7.3: A square in the residential section of the Luoyang Hallstatt. "3845-hallstatt-place" by Hanno Böck is licensed under CC0 1.0.

[69] UNESCO, "Section II – Hallstatt-Dachstein/Salzkammergut Cultural Landscape," *Periodic Report – Second Cycle* (2013), 5-7.

The Luoyang Hallstatt's Development and History

On June 2, 2012, a large residential development opened outside of Luoyang city in China's Guangdong province. The unnamed, walled complex covered 110 hectares and contained approximately 366 units for sale.[70] It was not, however, a typical suburban Chinese residential development, but rather a part of the growing Chinese trend of European-themed housing developments; in this case, the development was modeled closely after the Austrian village of Hallstatt.[71]

The center of the development is an exact replica of central Hallstatt. The New York Times reports that the Chinese carried out a quiet campaign of research and design before beginning to build their replica. Detailed images, material samples, and blueprints were gathered to assure that their replica is accurate in both appearance and fabric.[72]

Site Interpretation at the Luoyang Hallstatt

The only interpretation at the site seems to be aimed at potential buyers. Images provided by visitors show posters that outline the origin of the development's theme, a small bit of information about the original Hallstatt, and news clippings about the interactions between the original and the replica (see below). The complex's staff are costumed in traditional Austrian folk clothing and Austrian folk music, as well as the only tangentially-Austrian *Sound of Music* soundtrack, is played over loudspeakers. There is no indication that these themed aspects will remain after all of the units are sold. In fact, it is unlikely that the public will have access to this

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[70] Charmaine Acha, "China Has an Exact Replica of the Austrian Town of Hallstatt," *TripZilla Magazine*, April 10, 2015.
[71] For more on this trend, see Bosker.
[72] Didi Kirsten Tatlow, "A Real Copy of Austria in China," *The New York Times*, July 25, 2012.

walled complex after all of the units are filled, since its primary purpose does seem to be residential. Until then, however, the site is popular with the local Chinese who seem to enjoy the ambiance.[73]

Figure 7.4: (Left) The sign that marks the entrance to the development. (Right) An anachronistic British phone booth in front of a shop. “3834-hallstatt-entrance” and “3869-hallstatt-british-phone-booth” by Hanno Böck are licensed under CC0 1.0.

The Reception and Perception of the Luoyang Hallstatt

The Luoyang Hallstatt does not have any formal online reviews, however, a few journalists and bloggers have shared their experiences. For the most part, foreign visitors of this sort are unimpressed by the exactness of the replica but instead focus on the inaccuracies: palm trees line the streets and street corners are home to bright red English call boxes. A German tourist indicates that, despite the apparent accuracy of most elements, the site is missing an indescribable something that makes it feel less than authentic.[74]

[73] “Hallstatt, Guangdong, PR China,” Liongrass, accessed January 4, 2016, https://liongrass.hk/blog/?p=752.
[74] “Hallstatt in China,” Hanno Böck, accessed January 10, 2016, https://blog.hboeck.du/archives/836-Hallstatt-in-China.html.

The manner in which the original Hallstatt perceives the replica is, surprisingly, more forgiving. The mayor of Hallstatt was not aware of the Chinese's plans or the years of covert research in his village until construction of the replica was nearly complete. The New York Times quotes his response as, "They should have told us. I wasn't outraged, but I was surprised."[75] He decided, however, that the damage was already done and that he should make the best of the situation. He travelled to China to show the developers traditional cultural elements such as clothing, which they later used to clothe their staff members. The trip was well-publicized and was aimed at inspiring visitors to come to the original Hallstatt.[76]

[75] Tatlow, "A Real Copy."
[76] "Hallstatt-Double: China weit nachgebautes Alpendorf ein," *Spiegel*, February 6, 2012.

CHAPTER 8: THE GREAT SPHINX AT GIZA AND THE CHUZHOU SPHINX

THE GREAT SPHINX AT GIZA

(Giza, Egypt)

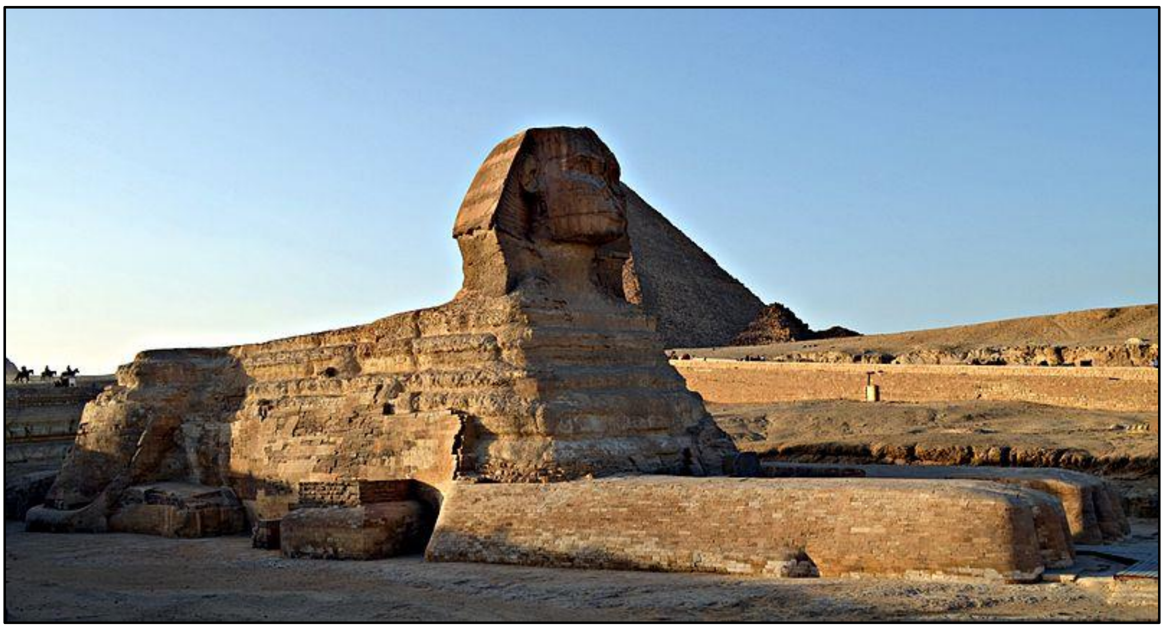

Figure 8.1: The Great Sphinx at Giza in 2013. "The Great Sphinx of Giza" by Faris knight is licensed under CC BY-SA 3.0.

The Great Sphinx at Giza's Development and History

The Great Sphinx at Giza is the largest and oldest of the ancient monoliths, recognizable across the world as the mysterious riddler of mythology. Located in Giza, in Egypt, it stands on the Giza plateau near the Great Pyramids.

While the exact construction details of the Sphinx remain unclear, the predominant theory dates it to approximately 2350 BC. The Sphinx was commissioned by the pharaoh Khafre, although it may date to the reign of Khafre's father. It was carved in one piece from the limestone bedrock of the plateau to which it is still connected; the stone excavated to create the sculpture can be found in the nearby pyramid of Khafre. The monumental sculpture takes the form of a hybrid creature with a human head and a lion's body, a creature whose name is unknown in Egyptian but is called the Sphinx by the Greeks.[77]

The Sphinx has undergone five rehabilitation efforts since its construction.[78] The first was by the pharaoh Thutmosis IV around 1040 BC. The so-called dream stele, which was erected by the pharaoh at about this time, tells of a dream in which the half-buried Sphinx offers him the throne in exchange for digging her out of the sands. This indicates that the surrounding desert had begun to obscure the monument by this time. Archaeological evidence does suggest that sand was cleared from around the Sphinx around this time and that a mud brick wall was built to hold back the encroaching sands. In addition, Thutmosis may have commissioned stones to fill gaps left in the deteriorating upper body of the Sphinx.

The second restoration effort was completed in approximately 500 BC. The Stele of the Daughter of Cheops, found on the eastern side of the Sphinx, indicates that eroded sections from the upper body of the Sphinx, including those installed by Thutmosis, were removed and replaced with new stone. The location of the erosion suggests that the Sphinx's lower body had once again become embedded in the sand over the approximately five centuries between restorations. This time, however, there is no evidence that any sand was removed.

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[77] Evan Hadingham, "Uncovering the Secrets of the Sphinx," *Smithsonian Magazine*, February 2010.

[78] "History of the Conservation of the Sphinx," Zahi Hawass, accessed January 10, 2016, http://guardians.net/hawass/sphinx2.htm.

The third restoration effort dates to the Roman period, approximately 30 BC to the end of the second century AD. By this period, the Sphinx had become a romanticized ancient monument that served as a popular gathering place for Egyptians and a backdrop for plays. The Romans seemed to hold the Sphinx in similarly high regard, sponsoring the largest conservation effort yet attempted. The sand burying the lower body was removed and repairs were made to disintegrating body. This time, however, the previous restorations' efforts were not removed before new stones were added. Perhaps out of respect for repairs that were now considered ancient themselves, the Roman restoration consisted of the addition of brick-sized limestone blocks that covered the body of the Sphinx like a protective casing.

Figure 8.2: The Great Sphinx at Giza in 1858. "The Great Pyramid and the Great Sphinx, Egypt" by Francis Frith. Public domain.

The fourth restoration was carried out by Emile Baraize from 1925 to 1936. Baraize's work was extensive, including resetting fallen stones from all periods of conservation and filling other gaps with concrete, most notably on the head. Baraize's greatest contribution, however, was the thorough graphic and textual documentation of the monument that is still today the basis for much Sphinx research.

The fifth conservation of the Sphinx occurred from 1975 to 1987 under the auspices of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization. These restorations were sporadic, unprofessional, and did more harm than good to the Sphinx. According to Zahi Hawass, the workmen who carried out the conservation and restoration were not supervised by an architect or archaeologist and were not following any sort of comprehensive plan. The frequent use of concrete damaged the fragile limestone, and changes were made to the appearance of the monument based on whim rather than archaeological evidence.

Since then, conservation work has been aimed at reversing the damaging effects of the previous modern restorations. In 1989, a comprehensive, three-phase conservation plan was put together by a dedicated Sphinx committee. This plan is currently in its second phase and will, at its conclusion, have encompassed the entire monument.

The Great Sphinx at Giza as a World Heritage Site

"Memphis and its Necropolis – The Pyramid Fields from Giza to Dashur" became the 86^{th} inscription to the World Heritage List in 1979. The Great Sphinx at Giza is an important contributing resource in the larger listing. The listing is nominated under Criteria I, III, and VI as the "most known…wonders of the world."[79]

The main challenges facing the World Heritage Site are encroaching development, continued deterioration, and the burden of tourism. Almost $200,000 has been provided by UNESCO and other international sources towards conservation and research to ameliorate these challenges. Housing encroachment still threatens the site, but two trash dumps near the site were closed in 1995 and a major development was halted in 1998. A major highway project has been in flux since 1994, with four evolutions of plans for a ring road around the entire plateau falling through. There has still not been a satisfactory plan proposed.[80]

THE CHUZHOU SPHINX

(Chuzhou, Anhui Province, China)

Figure 8.3: The Chuzhou Sphinx in the muddy construction zone of the World Heritage Expo Park. "Changcheng Sphinx" by Ho Xian is licensed under CC BY-SA 3.0

[79] UNESCO, "Section II – Memphis and its Necropolis – The Pyramid Fields from Giza to Dashur," *Periodic Report – First Cycle* (2000), 2.
[80] UNESCO, "Memphis and its Necropolis – The Pyramid Fields from Giza to Dashur (Egypt)," *State of Conservation Report* (2007), 1.

The Chuzhou Sphinx's Development and History

The Chuzhou Sphinx is located near Chuzhou city in China's Anhui Province. It was constructed in late 2014 in a World Heritage Expo Park created by Chinese movie and television culture company Changcheng. Construction of other monuments at various scales has been ongoing since early 2013.[81]

The monument is a 1:1 replica of the Great Sphinx at Giza in steel and concrete.[82] The replica is partially reconstructed, and the Chuzhou Sphinx's head has been reconstructed in blue and gold, with all facial features intact. The body of the Chuzhou Sphinx, however, remains unreconstructed and mimics the rough, eroded form of the current Giza Sphinx.

The Sphinx replica itself is fairly accurate even with the reconstructed aspects, but its surroundings do not at all mimic those of the original. Photographs of the monument indicate that there is a high-speed elevated train line nearby, and the other monument replicas in the park will be built in close quarters. The emphasis on the Sphinx itself as a stand-alone monument, rather than a part of a larger complex, indicates a narrow interest on the part of Changcheng.

Site Interpretation at the Chuzhou Sphinx

The Chuzhou Sphinx is located in the second phase of the park, which is still under construction. Nevertheless, newspaper articles and photographs indicate that the replica is

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[81] "Look: Another knock-off Sphinx spotted in Anhui Province," Shanghaiist, accessed January 16, 2016, http://shanghaiist.com/2015/03/04/new-sphinx-knockoff-anhui-province.php.
[82] Simon Tomlinson, "Mystery of the Great Sphinx? No, an incredible Chinese copycat," *DailyMail*, March 4, 2015.

accessible to the public. There is no interpretative programming evident, which makes sense if the park's primary purpose is to provide replicas for filming.

The Reception and Perception of the Chuzhou Sphinx

The park is still under construction and does not seem to be widely open to the public. As such, there are no TripAdvisor reviews of the site. As of yet, the park is not drawing tourists from very far away and local residents seem to be the only visitors.[83]

The Egyptian government, however, is likely to be skeptical of this replica. The Chuzhou Sphinx was not the first full-scale Sphinx replica in China. A since-demolished replica in Hanui drew the attention of the Egyptian government, which filed a formal complaint with UNESCO on the grounds that the replica cheapened the original. Mohammed Ibrahim, Egypt's Minister of Antiquities, stated that the replica was a "violation of Egypt's rights to its cultural heritage and a bad imitation that disfigures the original."[84] Egypt has not yet publicly commented on this new, Chuzhou replica, but the situation is so similar to the previous one that it seems likely to end similarly.

[83] Ibid.
[84] "Look: Another Knock-off Sphinx."

CHAPTER 9: AUTHENTICITY, FORGERIES, AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION

The preceding case studies have illuminated the 'why' behind the existence of these full-scale, ex situ replicas and touched upon the ways that they are perceived by visitors. Most visitors view the replicas positively, but fewer consider them in relation to the original. Of those visitors who do, the percentage of positive comments is markedly lower. One reviewer of the Nashville Parthenon complains that the replica "seems so out of place and odd."[85] Another stated that she felt only uncomfortable at the Maryhill Stonehenge site, adding that "the place has no feeling to it."[86]

A second layer of complexity is added when one considers how professional historic preservationists must view replicas of this sort. It cannot be ignored that preservation professionals are individuals who cannot escape their own personal receptions of the replicas, but preservationists and other cultural heritage professionals must also evaluate these unofficial replicas in the framework of the profession's standards, particularly in the realm of authenticity. Egypt's call for the removal of the first Chinese Sphinx replica reflects this concern with authenticity, as does the prediction that they will take similar action with the second Chinese Sphinx replica. Even Hallstatt's mayor, who eventually decided to support the Chinese Hallstatt

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[85] TripAdvisor, Nash Parth, Alex C.
[86] TripAdvisor, Maryhill, Lucia T.

replica, was at first upset that the residential development existed.[87] What is it about these replicas that inspires such discomfort and even anger in both private individuals and cultural heritage professionals?

Historic preservation and authenticity have been intertwined since the genesis of the field. Authenticity is inextricably linked with value and is, to varying extents, the measure by which significance is ascertained by every cultural heritage body. Each of these bodies has differing policies surrounding the definition and identification of 'the authentic,' but there are a series of documents, resolutions, and decisions produced at the international scale that form a basis for many of these individual efforts. Due to the international nature of the original and replica sites, these international works will be the focus here.[88]

The first international document to consider a definition of and approach towards authenticity was the *Venice Charter: International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites*, authored in 1964 and adopted by ICOMOS the following year. As its name suggests, the *Venice Charter* was intended to be a set of guidelines for conservation and reconstruction work performed on extant historic sites and monuments. Reconstruction is approached as a "highly specialized operation" based on historic and archaeological research, intended to use proven scientific methods to assure the safety of the historic site or monument.[89]

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[87] See Chapter 8 for a discussion of the Egyptian case against the Chinese. See Chapter 7 for a discussion about the Chinese Hallstatt and the Austrian Hallstatt's mayor.

[88] While the original sites and unofficial replica sites of interest to this research can be found in six independent countries, it is important to note that all five unofficial replicas can be found in only two: the United States and China. There is definitely something to the fact that this type of replica can be found only in two cultural and economic powerhouses with international reputations for cultural appropriation and intellectual thievery. It would be interesting for future research to consider the source and implications of such a fact.

[89] The *Venice Charter*: International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, Articles 9 And 10.

The charter insists that reconstruction "must stop at the point that conjecture begins" and suggests that anastylosis, the reassembly of extant members in their scientifically-determined original place, is an ideal degree of reconstruction.[90] In short, the *Venice Charter*'s (unstated) definition of authenticity is found in the original form and fabric of the historic site or monument.

In the following decades, the *Venice Charter* proved to be insufficient to historic preservation's understanding of authenticity. The matter had become more complicated with the *World Heritage Convention* of 1972, which included more diverse cultures than the *Venice Charter*'s mostly European authors were equipped to assess. Asian cultural heritage practices were particularly problematic. For example, the Shinto shrines at Ise are re-built as an exact replica of itself every twenty years.[91] This practice is seen as an important and entirely natural progression of these structures but they would not qualify as authentic under the *Venice Charter* despite the clear indication that they are authentic by the values of their originating culture.

The Japanese Agency for Cultural Affairs hosted a second international gathering in Nara in 1993 to discuss this issue. This congress was determined to pin down a professional standard of authenticity that would be at once inclusive enough to be applicable to the international community and narrow enough to be effective in practice. The result of this gathering was the *Nara Document on Authenticity* which contains the international cultural heritage community's evolved approach to authenticity in a mere four pages. The *Nara Document* supports the fundamental UNESCO principle of cultural internationalism, or the idea that the world's cultural

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[90] *Venice Charter*, Article 15.
[91] Rachel Nuwer, "This Japanese Shrine Has Been Torn Down and Rebuilt Every 20 Years for the Past Millenium," *Smithsonian Magazine*, October 4, 2013.

heritage belongs to humanity as a whole and not its originating culture alone.[92] It also, however, recognizes that such an approach combined with the increasingly intertwined world of the twentieth and twenty first centuries threatens cultural heritage practice with homogenization. Articles 11 through 13 of the *Nara Document* acknowledge that, while authenticity is undoubtedly the measure by which the cultural heritage community ascertains value, no strict definition of authenticity will be sufficient for the diversity of cultural values found throughout the world. Instead, the *Nara Document* suggests a series of qualities, much like the United States' Aspects of Integrity,[93] by which authenticity can be assessed by those with a thorough understanding of the values systems of the originating culture.[94] This system allows for all cultural heritage to be assessed by the same metrics and given allowances for its individuality.

If historic preservationists across the world are evaluating historic resources via an assessment of authenticity, it stands to reason that these replicas should be evaluated in terms of authenticity. It is first important to determine what authenticity looks like with these replicas. There is no doubt that the replicas can be evaluated in isolation, as authentic or inauthentic to their own histories. This is not, however, a concern for the larger preservation community. Instead, to understand how preservationists view replicas of this sort it is necessary to evaluate the replicas as authentic or inauthentic in their representation of the original and to determine how that might impact the original (which has already been determined to have authenticity). It is also important to note that replicas are not expressly addressed in any of these documents on

[92] The *Nara Document on Authenticity*, Article 1.
[93] The seven Aspects of Integrity are used to determine whether or not a resource has maintained enough of its significant features to merit continued significance. They are similar in that the Aspects are also a series of qualities by which integrity (authenticity) can be determined which are flexible enough to apply to most resources.
[94] Ibid., Article 13.

authenticity. Authenticity as defined in historic preservation is a quality inherent to the original that can be lost, rather than a standard to be gained.

Replicas are, if anything, most closely related to additions to an original historic structure. If evaluated by these standards, the full-scale, ex situ replicas seem to do no harm. They are distinguishable from the original in form and material, as the *Venice Charter* requires, and do not threaten the fabric of the original. Four of the five replica sites do not have interpretation programs that could impart incorrect information about the original. The fifth, the Nashville Parthenon, makes clear that it is an experimental replica and educates with widely-accepted archaeological and historical information. In addition, only the Maryhill Stonehenge's inherent purpose contradicts currently-accepted theories about the original structure it replicates. Even a cursory examination of visitation patterns indicates that the replicas do not threaten visitation numbers and other income-producing metrics at the original site.

The replicas also do not threaten the authenticity, and therefore the significance, of the original site. The *Nara Document* identifies form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, and spirit and feeling as aspects of authenticity that permit "elaboration of the specific artistic, historic, social, and scientific dimensions of the cultural heritage being examined."[95] The existence and operation of these replicas does not impact the physicality, function, history, or geography of the original and therefore poses no threat to its authenticity.

Why, then, are these replicas viewed with such disdain? Why would Egypt put time, money, and effort into removing the first (and likely second) Chinese Sphinx replica? Why was the mayor of Hallstatt's first reaction to be appalled by the Chinese Hallstatt replica? And why

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[95] *Nara Document*, Article 13.

do visitors to the United States replicas feel the need to repeatedly point out the inferiority of the replicas to the originals?

The answer may lie outside of historic preservation itself. Preservationists were hardly the first to contemplate authenticity and in fact built the very documents by which the profession determines authenticity on a longstanding theoretical framework. It is useful to revert back to this framework in analyzing full-scale, ex situ replicas of World Heritage Sites. By doing this, we can better ascertain whether or not replicas of this type are unpopular due to an inherent incompatibility with preservation practice, to some inherent quality that disquiets visitors, or perhaps due to something else entirely.

Theories about replicas and authenticity span a spectrum of approaches. Postmodernist theory contemplates the simulacrum, that is, a 'too real' replica that threatens the fabric of reality with its mere existence. On the other side of the spectrum, forgery theories discuss fakes that are not real enough. These two opposing approaches – the 'too real' and the 'not real enough' – hold the most potential for determining why these replicas are unpopular.

Postmodernism is a twentieth century philosophical movement that ponders the qualities of reality and our ability to observe and comprehend that reality.[96] The treatment of the hyperreal – or the simulacrum, which is a replica of such high quality that it is indistinguishable from the original – is of particular importance. In his *Simulacra and Simulation,* Jean Baudrillard postulates that the existence of a hyperreal replica threatens the entire concept of true and false, real and unreal.[97] Umberto Eco asserts in his *Travels in Hyperreality* that the ability to create such a perfect copy is to prove the superiority of technology and civilization over nature and

[96] Not to be confused with the Postmodernist architectural movement.
[97] Bianca Bosker, *Original Copies: Architectural Mimicry in Contemporary China* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'I Press, 2013), 23.

even reality.[98] While such a replica has yet to be made, the basic tenet of Postmodernist simulacra theory remains applicable to replicas of lesser quality: creating two (or more) from one will have a reality-bending and often deleterious impact on the status of the original.

It is clear that the unofficial replicas sites are not simulacra. Nevertheless, this 'bent reality' theory might account for the feeling of unease that some visitors report when they visit these replicas. This theory loses clout, however, when the official replica sites are also considered. The official replicas come significantly closer to simulacra than the unofficial ones, excepting their difference in material from the original. Despite this fact, no reviews of the official replica sites indicate the same unease that visitors to the unofficial replica reported feeling. It does not seem, therefore, that it is the simulation alone that makes the unofficial replicas so disliked.

Perhaps the answer lies in another aspect of Postmodernist theory. Both Baudrillard's and Eco's discussions of hyperreality often used theme parks as a relatable example. Places like Disneyland, they claim, were created to look as real as possible to remove the visitor from the outside world (the 'real') and to mentally transport you into an alternate and idealized reality (the 'unreal'). This unreality allows for the enjoyment of what Baudrillard calls a fantastical past. This enjoyment can only be achieved, however, by the complete success of the illusion. If the acknowledgement of the 'real' original is allowed to remain, the cognitive dissonance of conflicting realities creates discomfort.[99] Where Disneyland succeeds in creating a complete illusion, the unofficial replica sites fail. Despite attempting to duplicate their originals, the unofficial replica sites do not succeed in removing the visitor from the knowledge of the original.

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[98] Ibid., 24.
[99] Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation* (Paris: Editions Galilee, 1981), 12-14.

The resulting dissonance, in these cases, seems to result in the disappointed reviews of numerous visitors who expected a seemingly undefinable something more.[100] Reviewer Bill b laments that the Nashville Parthenon doesn't feel like the "Greek experience" he expected, and Travel_Addict_Cyprus was disappointed that it didn't "stand up to the original."[101] Jim M rated Foamhenge particularly low, complaining that the replica felt "very juvenile" and is just the sort of distasteful representation that can only be found in America. It seems that the unofficial replicas' worst offense, therefore, is not that they are reality-rending simulacra, but that they are not.

The conclusion that the replicas are unpopular and uncomfortable due to their 'not real enough' status is supported further by theories on forgeries and counterfeits. Counterfeit is defined in two ways. The modern definition of something that is counterfeit is an object "made in imitation so as to be passed off fraudulently or deceptively as genuine." The historic definitions of the word, however, drop the deceptive intent and focus instead on the copying aspect of counterfeits; instead of a fraud, a counterfeit is merely "a copy" or "a close likeness."[102] In short, a forgery is an unofficial copy of something. By this definition, the unofficial replicas could very well be considered forgeries. But which of these approaches makes visitors so uncomfortable and why?

Alfred Lessing further unpacks the concept of what exactly makes a forgery and why forgeries are perceived negatively in his 1965 essay, "What is wrong with a forgery?" Lessing

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[100] Notably, this conclusion is in contrast to those who state that they went into their replica experience expecting a piece of roadside Americana and had a resultant excellent time, such as Just_a_normal_mom at Foamhenge, TAMAN1951 at the Maryhill Stonehenge, and Veeraya K at the Nashville Parthenon.

[101] TripAdvisor reviews, Bill b and Travel_Addict_Cyprus.

[102] Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 'Counterfeit'.

asserts that even though the most common knee-jerk dislike of forgeries is on visual grounds that aesthetics are not, in fact, a contributing factor in the evaluation of a what is or isn't a forgery. If that were so, every "forgery would be an aesthetically inferior work of art."[103] This is clearly not the case, since many forgeries have passed authentication as so-called 'great' works of art. In reality, a forgery can be anything from the scribbling of a child to a work of superior visual and aesthetic value to the original.

Why, then, are we nearly universally opposed to forgeries? The first answer recalls the first dictionary definition of a counterfeit, which states that there is something inherently deceptive, unethical, and immoral in forgery. This is a commonly-used explanation that does not satisfy Lessing. Though the popular concept of a forgery has become a normative antithesis to authenticity, however defined, it is not necessarily intended to deceive. Take, for example, the official replica sites. The replica of the Thracian Tomb of Kazanlak is a forgery in all other senses; it is a copy of an original of such accuracy as to be of equal aesthetic and informational value. Its purpose is not to deceive, however, or to pass itself off *as* the original site, as evidenced by the copious signage identifying the replica as a copy. The value of an original, therefore, is not in its ethical superiority.

Lessing makes the excellent distinction between the creative and performing arts as an example of his meaning. There has never been, he states, a claim of forgery or immoral deception in the production of *Oedipus Rex* or *Hamlet*. One may find fault in the copying of acting styles or techniques particular to an actor or musician, but there is nothing inherently immoral in a production of *Oedipus Rex,* even if the ancient script is followed to the letter. It is,

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[103] Alfred Lessing, "What is Wrong with a Forgery?" *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 23 (1965): 461.

therefore, the copying of creativity and originality and not reproduction or technique that is at issue.[104] In other words, the physicality of the forgery is just as innocent as its visual aesthetics and the true issue is with the theft of originality and creativity.

Lessing's final conclusion is that forgeries are disliked because of the fact that, "whatever kinds of originality [they] can claim… it is *not* original in the sense of being the product of a style, period, or technique which, when considered in its appropriate historic context, can be said to represent a significant achievement."[105] By this standard, the dislike of the unofficial replicas can finally be explained. Egypt's claim that the Chinese Sphinx replica's mere existence devalues the original is not a possessive outcry, but rather an ineloquent expression of Lessing's conclusion. The Chinese Sphinxes, both extant and destroyed, are neither creative nor original. The Great Sphinx at Giza is valuable due to its accumulated history, its continued survival throughout that history, and its status as a significant technological and artistic achievement. The Sphinx replicas, on the other hand, are quick constructions of steel and concrete that are not significant achievements in the historic context of the original. Foamhenge is perhaps an even better example of the devaluing effect of a modern-built replica on the original. If Mark Cline can create an entire Stonehenge in one week using only five workers, what remains valuable in Stonehenge's long and arduous evolution? When a Sphinx can be deconstructed and reconstructed within a matter of months, what then is the achievement in having created the original over so many years and with such great effort? Why should we celebrate the exacting joinery of the original Parthenon when we can produce the same end product with a few trucks' worth of concrete?

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[104] Ibid., 464.
[105] Ibid., 468. Emphasis by Lessing.

It is this instinctual knowledge of the damaging effects of forgeries that I believe makes both individual visitors and some cultural heritage professionals, such as Egypt's Minister of Antiquities, wary of the full-scale, ex situ, unofficial replicas of World Heritage Sites. Each of the four original World Heritage Sites is significant under Criterion I, which states that the resource is an excellent example of human accomplishments and technology. In truth, the fact that a replica can be built does not actually destroy the contextual achievements of the original. Nevertheless, viewing the replicas through the lens of forgery theory begins to chip away at the basis of the World Heritage List's methods for evaluating authenticity and, therefore, significance and value.

This concern with forgeries is particular to Western cultures, the progenitors of copyrights, trademarks, and Romantic individualism.[106] Richard Handler and Lionel Trilling explain this Euro-American preoccupation with the authentic anthropologically and sociologically. It begins with the European "modern epoch" concept of sincerity, which Trilling defines as "the absence of dissimulation or feigning or pretense" and "a congruence between avowal and actual feeling."[107] In the post-Medieval period, unprecedented social mobility and a world view focused decreasingly on divine will and increasingly on the power of man allowed for an individual to create a self outside of his social and economic class or occupation; this is what Trilling calls the sincere self. The related concept of authenticity became so important, Handler argues, because the ability to create a sincere self comparatively unhindered by outside factors allowed not only for the opportunity for man to discover his 'real' self but also to pretend

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[106] Bosker, *Original Copies*, 24 and Richard Handler, "Authenticity," *Anthropology Today* 2 (1986): 2.
[107] Lionel Trilling, *Sincerity and Authenticity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), 2, 13 and 26.

to be other than they 'truly' are.[108] In this way, Handler and Trilling hypothesize, Western culture became obsessed with authenticity, individualism, and private innovation.

Eastern cultures, such as the Chinese, also prize the achievements of the individual but concurrently recognize the ability to make a convincing copy as a sign of cultural and technical superiority. This tolerance for copying is reflected in the Chinese language, in which there is a lexical distinction between words than can be translated into English as 'copy.' *Fangzhipin* is used to refer to a reproduction or 'knockoff' and has more negative implications, while *fuzhipin* is used for high-quality reproductions meant for study and museum display and carries no negative connotations. Despite the more negative aspects of a *fangzhipin*, the continued existence of *shanzai* culture – the umbrella term for the counterfeit culture in China – indicates a widespread tolerance for copying that cannot be found in the West.[109] This Western intolerance for copying is a significant problem for a field that remains tied to a Western model and to standards set by Western precedent, despite efforts at international relevance and inclusiveness such as the *Nara Document*.

Answering this problem is not as simple as reassessing the field's approach to authenticity once again. The problem is not one of inclusion; the *Nara Document*'s criteria for assessing authenticity could apply to these unofficial replica sites both individually and as representatives of a movement within architecture just as it already can apply to both Western and Eastern resources of varying types. Instead, the *Nara Document*'s inherent flexibility merely draws the preexisting Western bias against copying to the forefront.

[108] Handler, "Authenticity," 3.
[109] Bosker, *Original Copies*, 24-25.

But is this problem truly a problem? It is undeniable that the author would like to see unofficial replicas have a more valued place within historic preservation, architecture, and archaeology, but the Western bias against copying that makes these replicas so unpopular may not be something that can or should be changed. It is, at this current moment in history, a defining characteristic of the Western value system that is inherent to assessments of integrity and authenticity for all cultural heritage. Should preservationists actively campaign to change this tendency of Western cultural heritage practice in favor of the Eastern model? The answer, in short, is probably not, or at least not all at once. Instead, gradual inclusion of replicas in small-scale historic preservation activities (discussed in Chapter 10) may be able to introduce a less contrived acceptance and appreciation for replicas in the West.

CHAPTER 10: FULL-SCALE, EX SITU REPLICAS AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION

The above analysis poses a number of questions and suggests a number of conclusions about how these full-scale, ex situ replicas of World Heritage Sites interact with the profession of historic preservation in a practical sense. Do these replicas have a role in modern historic preservation practice or should they be relegated to the "inauthentic" world of roadside attractions and theme parks? How can these sites be gradually included into the historic preservation world in such a way as to gradually influence a shift in the Western values system? While it is not within the scope of this research to consider whether or not each individual site *should* strive to contribute to historic preservation, it is appropriate to show that these types of replicas *could*. Full-scale, ex situ replicas of World Heritage Sites can benefit historic preservation as interpretive tools, experimental and experiential stand-ins, and as historic sites in their own rights.

Full-Scale, Ex Situ Replicas as Interpretive Tools

TripAdvisor reviews show that visitors to the unofficial replica sites often visit in addition to or in lieu of visiting the original site. Despite this, only the Nashville Parthenon has a formal interpretation program that educates visitors about the original site that it replicates. The four other replica sites could also serve as additional tools to educate about the original sites.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the concept of interpreting sites with full-scale replicas currently is being employed at three World Heritage Sites: the Lascaux Caves (France), Altamira Caves (Spain), and the Thracian Tomb of Kazanlak (Bulgaria). These official replicas seem to have served as successful replacements for the original caves or tomb that they replicate; their continued existence and funding indicates as much. These replicas are significantly different from the unofficial replicas in a number of important ways but can still serve as an initial template for a replica site that desires to serve as an interpretive tool for its original.

The replica of the Thracian Tomb of Kazanlak is a good example of how a full-scale replica can be used to interpret an original site. Located only meters away from the underground brick beehive tomb that it replicates, the Kazanlak tomb replica is built into the same hillside as the original and accessed through a small museum. The replica is clearly marked as a copy by both directional signs and a sign near the museum's entrance. Inside the small museum, a handful of artifacts found in the tomb, schematics, and high-quality images of the tomb's frescos (which can be hard to see when in the small tomb) are displayed. The replica is accessible through the museum and does not have any interpretation inside – in fact, the tomb is so small that only one or two visitors can enter at a time. Other objects from this tomb and the dozens of other subterranean, monumental, Thracian tombs in the area are displayed at the National Archaeological Museum in Sofia, the capital and a main cultural and academic center of Bulgaria.

Figure 10.1: Signage at the replica. Photo by author.

The unofficial World Heritage Site replicas could achieve similar kinds of interpretation fairly simply. All of the unofficial replicas already acknowledge that they are copies of something, to varying degrees. It would take little effort to include more information about the original site at the replica itself or in a nearby museum. For example, the Maryhill Stonehenge is already associated with the Maryhill Museum of Art and could employ either or both methods. In addition, associated or purpose-built museums can invite temporary or semi-permanent exhibits of artifacts from the original site. In the case of the Nashville Parthenon, the replica itself is a museum and already contains gallery space that could be used for this purpose.

It is not my intention to make a value judgement about the mode and detail of interpretation at the unofficial replica sites but rather to suggest what is possible. The Egyptian government has already expressed their displeasure at the existence of the previous iteration of the Sphinx replica and is likely to do so with the current one; it is unlikely that they would look kindly upon any sort of formal relationship with a replica. On the other hand, the mayor of Hallstatt has already entered into a cordial partnership with the Chinese replica development and might be willing to build upon that relationship.

There are also other challenges that the unofficial replica sites face in implementing interpretation of this sort. Most importantly, the replica sites must take extra care to be clear about the relationship of the replica to the original in both history and form. It would not do for a replica to forfeit its identity as a replica and place a priority on interpretation of the original. Even if it were preferable to do so, each replica's unique form and setting would not allow it; this kind of absorption of the replica's own history is only possible at the official replica sites, where the copy is exact in nearly all aspects. Instead, the unofficial replica site could prioritize its own history and distinct physicality while providing sufficient information about the original site to provide a solid basis for understanding the original site and its relation to the replica site.

Full-Scale, Ex Situ Replicas as Stand-ins

Another potential use for the unofficial replica sites is as experimental and experiential stand-ins for the original sites. Replicas have frequently provided the performance arts and academics with access to the aesthetics, materials, or other aspects of a site that would be challenging at the original site. Full-scale replicas can be particularly useful for these groups, allowing for more accurate representations of size and scale without having to rely on calculations or technology to account for the difference between replica and reality.

The Nashville Parthenon has already fulfilled this role numerous times. Throughout the 1920's and 1930's, the Nashville Parthenon served as a set for Classically-themed performances such as an adaptation of Sophocles' *Antigone*.[110] In 2010, the movie *Percy Jackson & the Olympians: The Lightning Thief* was filmed using both the inside and outside of the Nashville

[110] Nashville Board of Parks, "The Parthenon."

replica.[111] This allowed for advantages both in cost and convenience for the cast and crew, although it did prevent the original Acropolis from benefitting from potential filming fees. In 2012, Dr. Bonna Wescoat led a team of Emory University students in an experiment to determine what optical and environmental factors influenced the visibility of the Ionic frieze that runs along the top of the temple's cella wall.[112] Theories have long been proposed to account for the seemingly strange placement of this nearly-invisible frieze, but Wescoat's experimental archaeology approach was the first to take advantage of an accurate physical replica.

Both the Maryhill Stonehenge and Foamehenge have also already served as stand-ins for the Wiltshire original. Despite the fact that Stonehenge's original purpose is still unclear, these replicas have become gathering places for Druids and other groups who celebrate the summer solstice, as has the original Stonehenge.[113]

Using full-scale, ex situ replicas as sites for performances, cultural gatherings, and experimental models is just the beginning of what could be possible. These activities provide companies, groups, and individuals with an alternative to often inaccessible or pricey sites at a scale that likely won't impact visitation at the original site.

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[111] Ashley Miller, "Percy Jackson & the Olympians: The Lightning Thief filmed inside Nashville's Parthenon," *The Examiner*, June 29, 2010.

[112] Information from auther, see http://esciencecommons.blogspot.com/2012/11/optical-experiment-brings-new-eyes-to.html for full story. Ironically, the frieze in question is the only sculptural part of the Parthenon that is not replicated on the Nashville Parthenon. This allowed the Emory team an opportunity to test new color and dimension theories and required further replication based on replica casts.

[113] "Dozens mark summer solstice at replica Stonehenge," *The Columbian*, June 20, 2014.

Full-Scale, Ex Situ Replicas as Historic Sites

It is also important to note that these full-scale, ex situ replicas will eventually become eligible for recognition as historic in their own rights. Two of the three replicas found in the United States, the Nashville Parthenon and Maryhill Stonehenge, are both old enough to be considered historic by American standards. The Nashville Parthenon is already listed on the National Register of Historic Places. The two Chinese replicas and Foamhenge are too new to be considered historic by any standard but may survive to be significant in the future. When more than a handful of these types of replicas come of age, the international preservation community will have to decide if full-scale, ex situ replicas of World Heritage Sites are representative of a significant human activity. When that time comes, we can only hope that these structures receive the recognition they deserve.

CHAPTER 11: AVENUES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

There are a number of aspects of this thesis that merit further research in the future. These aspects are not immediately relevant to the questions of this research but would help preservationists to better understand these full-scale, ex situ replicas going forward.

First, as mentioned in a previous footnote, these replicas are currently only found in the United States and China. Both the US and China have reputations for appropriating and, in some opinions, bastardizing culture for public consumption and profit. It would be interesting to try and determine if there are identifiable characteristics of these two nations that make them particularly hospitable for this type of replica or if this unique geography is due to something else entirely.

Second, I was unable to delve as deeply into the psychology of these replicas as I would have liked and I still believe that attempting to further unpack the 'why' of these replicas would be valuable. In addition to trying to determine what drives people to create replicas of this sort, it would also be useful to explore the psychology behind those who visit them and those in the preservation profession who are for or against them.

Third, a discussion of site would be useful to undertake in the future. None of the replicas attempted to replicate the surrounding context of the original monuments. Why might that be and what impact does it have on the experience of the replicas? Do the official replicas 'work' because they replicate underground sites that isolate the visitor from a knowledge of his or her surroundings? Do the unofficial replicas fail because the visitor has the opportunity to notice that he or she is not, in fact, standing on top of the Acropolis when they visit the Nashville Parthenon?

Finally, preservationists must answer the question of whether or not the conclusions of this thesis apply to unofficial replicas of other scales and whether or not replicas of other sizes can be considered significant culturally, as well. More and more replicas of World Heritage Sites reach historic age every day and it is within the best interests of cultural heritage professionals to consider how their presence interacts with the field before we begin to lose them to time.

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