



A different view on (world) heritage. The need for multi-perspective data analyses in historical landscape studies: The example of Schokland (NL)

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ABSTRACT

The awareness that cultural heritage plays an influential role in shared identities and in both spatial and environmental development has significantly increased in recent years. International collaboration and treaties, such as the 'FARO-convention' in 2005 emphasize the importance of heritage in relation to aspects of human rights and demography. Furthermore, it is becoming increasingly clear that historical perspectives are essential for making well-informed choices regarding environmental challenges (e.g. spatial planning, sustainable development, climate adaptation). This increased awareness not only emphasizes the importance of cultural heritage for present-day challenges, but equally presents a new set of conditions and standards, and requires the development of new methodologies. Besides conservation, more than ever there is a need for cultural heritage to become contextualized and sustainably accessible.

The organisational pinnacle of cultural-heritage conservation is world heritage: sites that are judged to contain a set of cultural and/or natural values which are of outstanding value to humanity. However, to what extent world heritage meets these newly set criteria is unknown. Nevertheless, these sites often reflect an eminent status, scientifically as well as economically (i.e. through tourism). Consequently, world heritage often enjoys interest from multiple stakeholders including governmental, scientific, public, and commercial parties, all of whom engage in contrasting activities and have different interests and needs. As a result the need for accessibility and integrated overviews of these sites is high but equally challenging.

In this paper we will focus on the world-heritage site of Schokland (NL). This former island in the Dutch *Zuiderzee* both reflects outstanding historical and archaeological importance. We will show that the dynamics surrounding this site require tailor-made conservation methodologies, which greatly depend on data integration. We present a new Historical Geographical Information System (HGIS) specifically designed to integrate cultural and geoscientific data and facilitate dynamic heritage management. Results show that such a system greatly adds to the contextualization and (digital) accessibility of the heritage site and is essential for substantiating conservation methodologies. Furthermore, it shows great research potential for diachronological reconstructions of dynamic-lowland development. The system facilitates multidisciplinary scientific analyses, integrated monitoring, and public outreach and shows great application potential for other (world-)heritage sites.

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1. Research aim

Wetland environments are amongst the most dynamic types of landscapes. Their distinct geomorphological characteristics makes them strongly susceptible for environmental changes (e.g. climate, demography, economy, and politics), but equally provide outstanding

ing preservation conditions (of especially organic materials). As a result these landscapes represent unique and invaluable archives of long-term natural and cultural development. Additionally, recent years have shown the potential of wetlands as valuable ecosystem services systems for e.g. carbon sequestration and water management. Consequently, the variety of stakeholders active in these landscapes is high and wetlands worldwide are undergoing rapid change and development. The precise impact of these dynamics on the heritage contained in these complex landscapes remains

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unclear. This study presents a newly developed methodology (i.e. HGIS) for managing and analysing heritage in dynamic environments such as wetlands. By focusing on world-heritage Schokland, a site renowned for its long-term human-landscape interaction, we show that (world) heritage in dynamic landscapes requires multi-perspective, tailor-made research approaches and preservation strategies. Our outcomes show that: (1) multidisciplinary is key for long-term (world) heritage preservation and understanding in dynamic landscapes for all stakeholders, and (2) through the HGIS-methodology it is possible to model and analyse environmental dynamics and also determine their impact on heritage.

2. Introduction: modern-day challenges, world heritage, and HGIS

Traditionally, cultural heritage always has been associated with the conservation of historical remains ranging from monumental objects and buildings to archaeological sites and cultural landscapes. However, over the last decades the emphasis in heritage studies increasingly has moved away from mere preservation towards its role in community formation, shaping shared identities, and the environment (e.g. [[10],[21],[23],[25],[31],[54]]). This trend is underlined by the increasing ratification in recent years of the ‘council of europe (CoE) Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society’-treaty, the so-called ‘FARO-convention’ by EU-member states [5]. The definition of heritage has proven dynamic and has increasingly broadened, moving away from being object-orientated to preserving whole landscapes and including intangible heritage [[10],[12],[54]]. Consequently, the set of demands associated with heritage has equally shifted and there is an increasing need for heritage to become more contextualized, integrated, and (digitally) accessible (e.g. [[2],[47]]). This need is further underlined by recent studies that increasingly point to the importance of cultural heritage for meeting environmental (e.g. climate adaptation, soil subsidence) and spatial-planning challenges (e.g. [[11],[25],[48]]). Present-day landscapes generally consist of numerous historical elements, which to a large extent have defined modern layouts such as parcelling, infrastructural networks, and waterways. Modern-day development or adaptation strategies are becoming increasingly important and require knowledge of the past in order to make informed choices for the future (e.g. [48]). As a result cultural heritage as a concept is increasingly transcending its conservation meaning and is becoming an integral part of meeting present-day challenges and designing future approaches. This, however, does present a new set of prerequisites for dealing with heritage and requires the development of new methodologies. Contextualization for example, requires multidisciplinary datasets, integrated overviews of diachronic development, and illustration and presentation means.

World heritage is the organisational pinnacle of cultural-heritage conservation. The World Heritage Convention was adopted by UNESCO in 1972 and resulted in the formation of the World Heritage List. Originally this list differentiated between cultural and natural sites only, the former being appraised by ICOMOS (the International Council on Monuments and Sites) and the latter by IUCN (the International Union for Conservation of Nature; [39]). Each world-heritage site is judged to contain either cultural or natural characteristics that are of ‘Outstanding Universal Value’ (OUV) for humanity. However, already in the 1980s it became clear that in several potential sites differentiating between ‘culture’ and ‘nature’ was not evident. Subsequent discussions eventually led to the introduction of cultural landscapes to the list in 1993 (e.g. [59]). Cultural landscapes are defined by UNESCO [[39], art. 47] as “..cultural properties and represent the “combined works of nature and of man”.. They are illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints

and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal.”. To simplify matters, cultural landscapes are further divided into: (1) the clearly defined landscape designed and created intentionally by man, (2) the organically evolved landscape (further subdivided into: (a) relict or fossil landscape and (b) continuing landscape), and (3) the associative cultural landscape [39]. It is important to note that cultural landscapes, although containing clear natural heritage factors, differ from ‘mixed’ sites. The latter reflect both cultural and natural OUVs and are judged by ICOMOS and IUCN collectively. Cultural landscapes however are appraised based on their cultural values only, although ICOMOS can be advised by IUCN for the natural components of the potential site [59]. Currently, the World Heritage List holds 1121 (predominantly cultural) sites (Table 1).

Following the definition of ‘cultural landscapes’ by UNESCO, these sites are the product of a complex interplay between cultural and natural factors. Renes [31] already advocated that the protection of these landscapes, and heritage sites in general, is only possible by a movement towards ‘management of change’ (cf. [11]). Since landscapes are dynamic in nature and heritage sites never isolated from their environment a flexible and dynamic approach towards heritage management is essential for sustainable preservation (e.g. [35]). Renes [31] continued by concluding that within UNESCO’s framework change is possible but needs to be done with care and caution and in search of quality. Rather than solely focusing on the authenticity of the original situation, development and conservation should be based on ideas of layering and path dependency of the landscape.

Unravelling these layers and path-dependent relations is complex and requires new tooling mapping the diachronic development of, not only cultural landscapes, but heritage sites in general. This tooling should support dynamic and integrated heritage management, and facilitate contextualization, accessibility, multidisciplinary data integration, and multi-perspective data analyses (i.e. data analyses that suit specific interests from a wide range of different stakeholders). Mapping methodology proven to have potential in this area can be found in concepts derived from Historical Geographical Information Science (HGIScience) and Geographical Information Science (GIScience). HGIScience is an interdisciplinary field of research which uses methodology from Geographical Information Systems (GIS) in order to design and facilitate tailor-made spatial analyses for integrated historical research purposes (e.g. [9],[18],[26]). Its theoretical framework is especially well suited for integrated knowledge management and multi-perspective data analyses because it highlights the role of spatial context and interrelationships within historical systems and cultural-landscape development [56]. Systems designed in line with HGIScience are typically well suited for integrating both spatial and non-spatial data pertaining the genesis of landscapes and creating integrated diachronic overviews based on multiple sources. GIScience is the scientific discipline that studies computational techniques and data structures (e.g. data models; standards) in order to process, visualize and analyse spatial information [[7],[15]]. It differs from HGIScience as it focuses much more on the technical aspects of spatial analyses and less on the historical context. Within GIScience, traditional GIS are regarded as mere tooling for visualisation and representation purposes, which by themselves lack the conceptual frameworks for scientific analyses (e.g. [16]).

In this paper we present a Historical Geographical Information System (HGIS) specifically designed to help contextualize, manage, and analyse the world-heritage site of Schokland (NL; Fig. 1). This former island is characterized by a highly dynamic landscape setting and a long-term history of human-landscape interaction resulting in complex historical layering and extensive path-dependent relations (Section 3). This complexity neces-

Table 1

Global overview of world-heritage sites and specification of sites located in the Netherlands. Overview: October 2021.

Total WH sites	Cultural	Natural	Mixed
1154	897	218	39
World heritage in the Netherlands			
Total WH sites	Cultural	Natural	Mixed
12	11	1	0
Site description			
Name of site		Type of site	
Schokland and Surroundings		Cultural site	
Dutch Water Defence Lines		Cultural site	
Historic Area of Willemstad, Inner City and Harbour, (Curaçao)		Cultural site	
Mill Network at Kinderdijk-Elshout		Cultural site	
Ir.D.F. Woudagemaal (D.F. Wouda Steam Pumping Station)		Cultural site	
Droogmakerij de Beemster (Beemster Polder)		Cultural site	
Rietveld Schröderhuis (Rietveld Schröder House)		Cultural site	
Wadden Sea		Natural site	
Seventeenth-Century Canal Ring Area of Amsterdam inside the Singelgracht		Cultural site	
Van Nellefabriek (Van Nelle factory)		Cultural site	
Colonies of Benevolence*		Cultural site	
Frontiers of the Roman Empire – The Lower German Limes*		Cultural site	

* Transboundary property.

**Fig. 1.** Left: the location of Schokland within the Netherlands. Right: Seen from the north, the old contours of the former island are still clearly visible in the modern-day landscape (aerial photograph by: Jan Willem Schoonhoven, Wikimedia).

sitates a new dynamic, integrated approach towards managing and studying the historical landscape. By applying concepts derived from HGIScience and GIScience we developed a HGIS facilitating integrated-knowledge and dynamic-heritage management, diachronic reconstructions, and multi-perspective data analyses. The system is specifically designed to integrate cultural and geoscientific data. The main goal of this study is to (1) show the necessity of multi-perspectivity and multidisciplinary when analysing and managing (world-)heritage sites in dynamic environments, and (2) determine the versatility and the application potential of the HGIS-methodology for dynamic heritage management. This is operationalised by presenting four selected analytical results: (1) high-resolution chronological reconstructions of the integrated cultural and natural development of Schokland, (2) detailed historical site maps on professional occupance and (3) property rights, and (4) high-resolution maps facilitating informative heritage man-

agement. Additionally, we explore how the HGIS-methodology increases the (digital) accessibility of the site, helps to analyse the complexity of historical landscapes, and its implementation potential for other (world-)heritage sites, especially those located in culturally or naturally dynamic environments

3. The former island of schokland

3.1. Palaeogeographical development

The site of Schokland is located near the centre of the Netherlands, in the present-day *Noordoostpolder* (Fig. 1). It is a former island located in the *Zuiderzee* and has been part of the Dutch mainland since the final reclamation of this area in 1942 (e.g. [45]). The formation of Schokland started during the Saalian glaciation (ca. 150.000 years ago) when ice covered the northern parts of the Netherlands and formed a ground moraine along the line

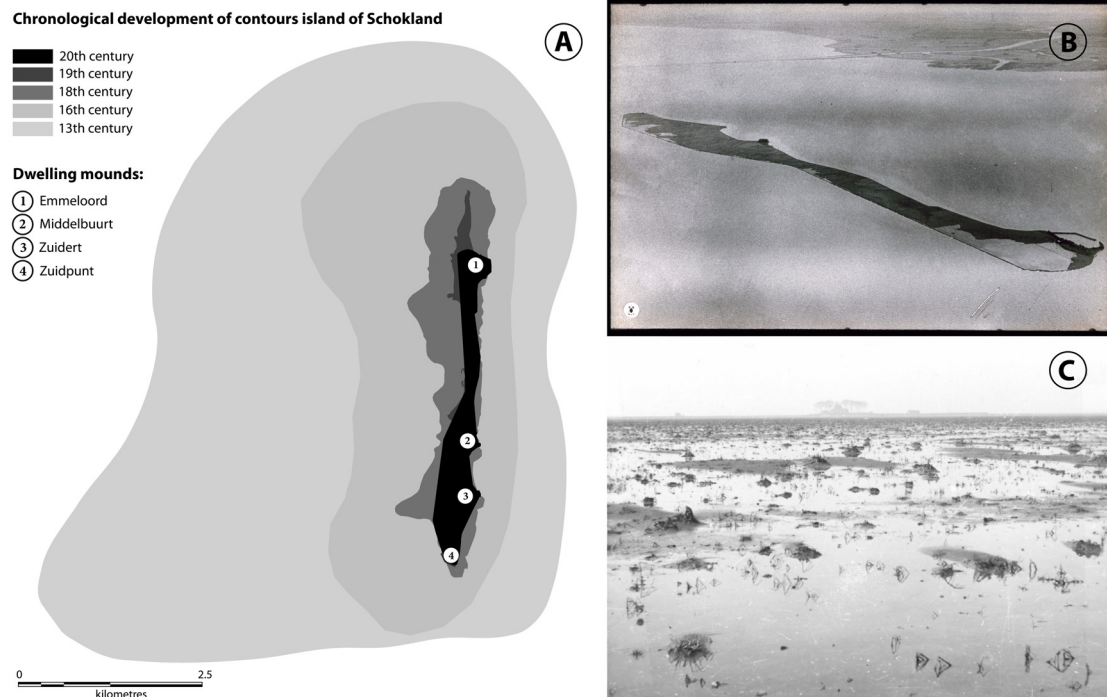


Fig. 2. (A): Chronological development of the contours of the island of Schokland, including large dwelling mounds mentioned in the text. Gradual (from grey to black), mainly westward erosion is clearly visible from the middle ages to the 20th century. (B): Aerial photograph of the island of Schokland in 1933 (facing southwest). (C): Recently reclaimed land (bottom of former *Zuiderzee*) surrounding Schokland in 1941, the outlines of the former island are visible on the horizon.

Urk-Vollenhoven, creating the oldest deposits on the island [61]. In the course of the following glacial period, the Weichselian (ca. 120.000–8.000 BCE) the colder climate promoted aeolian transportation and cover sands were deposited, resulting in several river dunes further enhancing the elevation of the area [17]. During the Holocene (starting ca. 8.000 BCE) higher temperatures led to rising sea- and groundwater levels and the formation of peat in the area [17],[57]. These processes eventually led to the closing of sea ingressions and the formation of the so-called Flevo lakes around 1500 BCE [57]. The long-term formation of peat in the lower areas, and the erosion of the elevated Pleistocene soils generally decreased height differences in the region. During the first century AD the Flevo lakes slowly turned into a lagoonal system (the Almere) and salinization took place [51],[52]. Around AD 800, a new tidal inlet opened in the north-western part of the Dutch coastline, resulting in renewed drainage of, and increase marine influence on, the study area [43]. In the following centuries, this increased drainage combined with subsequent soil subsidence and increased marine influences such as storm events led to increased erosion of the clay and peat soils [14]. These reoccurring storm events eventually led to the deterioration of the peat barrier separating the Almere and the North Sea, resulting in the gradual formation of the *Zuiderzee* during the 12th and 13th century [4]. A storm surge around 1446 eventually eroded the last peat area connecting Schokland to the mainland, resulting in the definitive formation of the island of Schokland [41]. During the following centuries gradual erosion continued, steadily reducing the size of the island ([53, 57]; Fig. 2). This process was only halted in the 20th century by the construction of the *Afsluitdijk* (“Enclosure Dam”; 1933), which transformed the salient *Zuiderzee* to the freshwater lake *IJsselmeer* (e.g. [57]). The geomorphological transformation of Schokland reached its current state in 1942, when the former island was converted to a (fully) man-made landscape by its incorporation into large-scale and systematic reclamation of the *Noordoostpolder* ([45]; Figs. 1 and 2).

3.2. Cultural development

Archaeological data demonstrate that the island has a long-term cultural history with the first humans inhabiting the area around 12.000 years ago (e.g. [[6],[36–38], [40],[52],[55]]). The earliest archaeological remains are remnants of a late-Palaeolithic flint-working site (ca. 10.000 BCE) found on the relatively higher Saalien ground moraine in the north-eastern part of the study area [42],[44]. With the increasingly wetter conditions during the early- and middle-Holocene (8000–1000 BCE), archaeological finds are confined to the higher Pleistocene deposits. As is the well-preserved Neolithic and Bronze Age site “*Kavel P14*” (Lot P14), which is internationally renowned especially for the Neolithic burial site that was excavated there. The site gave essential insights in the gradual adoption of small-scale agriculture, animal domestication, and the prehistoric habitation of low-lying wetlands [36]. However, around 1900 BCE the area appears to have been completely abandoned again (Geurts, 2005; [45]). With the exception of some isolated and sparse Roman finds (i.e. pottery and tiles) of indecisive context, Schokland remained uninhabited until the 9th century AD [[44],[45]]. This repopulation synchronously occurred with increased natural drainage through the development of a new tidal inlet (Section ‘Landscape setting’). From this period onwards the human impact on the landscape of Schokland increased drastically. Ongoing exploitation and reclamation in the following centuries increasingly led to soil subsidence (through the oxidation of peat), marine influences, and related erosion of the peninsula [42]. To cope with these wet conditions numerous artificial dwelling mounds (*terpen*) were constructed from the 9th century onwards [53]. The ongoing subsidence, storm surges, and erosion increasingly hardened habitation conditions and subsequent construction of embankments started in the 11th to 12th century. Archaeological finds suggest that habitation during the Middle Ages (AD 1050–1500) increasingly moved to the peripheral areas of the peninsula, most probably using the higher central parts for agricultural ac-

tivities and animal husbandry [33]. At the end of the 14th century four larger dwelling mounds were created, designed to house multiple families: Emmeloord, Middelbuurt, Zuidert, and Zuidpunt (Fig. 2). The construction of these mounds suggests that storm surges had an increasing effect on Schokland (i.e. most notably the storm of 1375; Geurts, 2005). These mounds were located on the east side of the study area, sheltering them from most storm and flooding events and facilitating fishing activities which increasingly became important after the formation of the island [53]. Continuous erosion, combined with general poverty and unsafe living conditions eventually led to the evacuation of Schokland by royal decree in 1859 [45]. During the following decades the former island functioned as a breakwater and navigational beacon. After the construction of the *Afsluitdijk* in 1933 and the following reclamation of the *Noordoostpolder* the island of Schokland (again) became part of the Dutch mainland.

3.3. World-heritage protection

The newly reclaimed land was intended to facilitate large-scale food production. Consequently, during the first years awareness of the cultural-historical importance of Schokland was generally low. However, this quickly changed with the planting of trees on the local ground moraine (which was less suited for agricultural use) as a first sign of landscape planning. As a result, these trees fixated the contours of the former island in the landscape [13]. From the 1940s onwards archaeological interest in Schokland intensified and especially its prehistoric significance became increasingly clear (e.g. [[30],[36],[45]]). This raised awareness accumulated in Schokland receiving the world-heritage status in 1995, as the first heritage site in the Netherlands [50]. According to UNESCO the site symbolizes the heroic, age-old struggle of the people of the Netherlands with water [24]. OUVs are mainly based on two criteria: (1) Schokland representing the last surviving evidence of a prehistoric and early historic society continuously adapting in wetland environments and (2) Schokland as an integral part of a newly reclaimed agricultural landscape. Since receiving its world-heritage status, the former island has been intensively managed by varying parties in order to preserve its natural and cultural values [49]. This results in complex tensions between amongst other agricultural activities, historical landscape elements, ecological values and the preservation of archaeological remains (e.g. [22]). The world-heritage status therefore reflects a new chapter in the development of Schokland, one where natural and human-induced events have to coexist in preserving the long-term historical dimension of this cultural landscape.

4. Materials and methods: a HGIS of schokland

Preserving historical elements is precarious and starts with available information, especially in culturally and naturally dynamic sites such as Schokland. Our HGIS is designed to integrate multiple data sources, qualitative as well as quantitative, historical and modern. In line with a methodology presented by Van Lanen & Kosian [48], we developed a HGIS specifically designed to combine cultural and geoscientific data pertaining Schokland. The system is however not limited to these scientific domains (cf. Section 6). Below each of the datasets imported into the system are presented, differentiating between cultural, present-day topographical, and geoscientific data (Fig. 3; Sections 4.1–4.2). Monitoring data are not included in the system since these are often frequently updated and would require active knowledge management which was beyond the scope of the current study. This section is concluded with a short overview of the technological background and design of the HGIS (Section 4.3).

4.1. Cultural data

Several cultural datasets were incorporated in the HGIS ranging from archaeological to genealogical data, including recently-developed overview studies (Fig. 3).

4.1.1. Archaeological data

Data on archaeological finds and monuments were extracted from the Archaeological Information System of the Netherlands (ARCHIS; [[34],[60]]). ARCHIS is maintained by the Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands and contains an overview of archaeological sites and finds in the Netherlands registered from 1992 onwards. In order to improve data quality the extracted archaeological data were compared with and enhanced by data published in recent overview studies (Van Popta, 2015; [52]).

4.1.2. Cultural-historical elements

Cultural-historical elements on Schokland such as dwelling mounds, dikes, ditches, canals, roads etc. were extracted from CultGIS (Cultural-historical GIS). This online dataset contains a national overview of historical-geographical phenomena in the Netherlands (e.g. [1]). Combined with regional descriptions published in individual reports (e.g. [[19],[20]]) the dataset describes 82 historically-geographically characteristic areas in the Netherlands. For the study area, these data were enhanced and expanded by including recently-published reconstructed elements on Schokland (e.g. mounds, dikes) and its surroundings ([28],[42]; Van Popta 2015; [52]).

4.1.3. Intangible heritage

The legacy of Schokland includes both tangible and intangible cultural heritage. Mainly due to its navigation and fishing importance many stories and anecdotes, especially from the 19th century, have survived. The HGIS facilitates combining for example transcriptions with spatial information (through e.g. cadastral maps). We added examples of these anecdotes, oral history, and portraits to the system through online (mainly genealogical) sources provided by the *Schokkervereniging* (i.e. local association founded in 1985 aimed to improve the preserve and present the history of Schokland).

4.2. Spatial data

The HGIS is designed to combine spatial datasets, ranging from historical maps, to modern topographical and geoscientific data (Fig. 3).

4.2.1. Historical maps

Several historical maps were used to enhance existing reconstructions or datasets (Table 2). Rather than georeferencing these maps, we applied a similar regression-mapping method as developed by Van Lanen & Kosian [48]. Regression mapping originates from GIScience and is a technique designed to link specific present-day landscape elements with their counterparts depicted on historical maps in order to gradually work back from present to past. This approach allowed us to fixate historical information on existing landscape elements and reconstruct the location of vanished cultural and natural features in the past without the need of georeferencing each individual map. As a result we were able to improve existing reconstructions and increase the number of chronological reconstructions (cf. Section 5).

4.2.2. Topographical data

Besides historical spatial data, the HGIS also contains several topographical datasets (Table 2). These datasets provide information on past and present-day elevation, modern topography, existing buildings and addresses, and the world-heritage contour. For

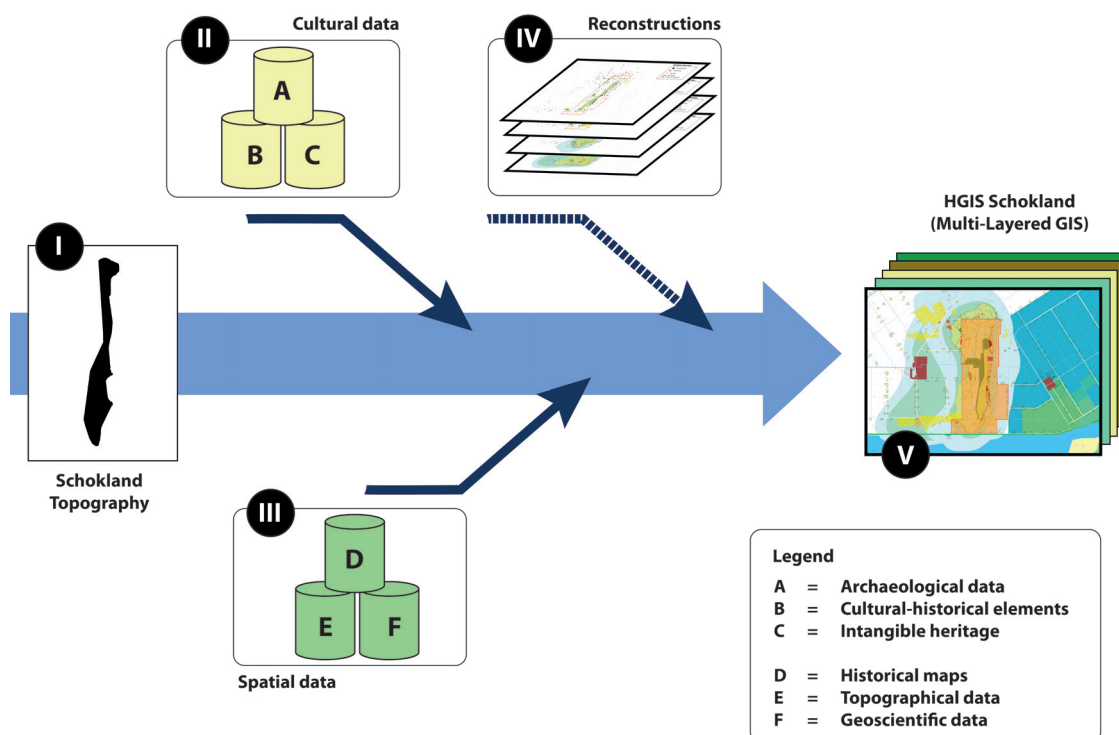


Fig. 3. Methodological overview of the development of the Schokland HGIS. Based on present-day topographical data the outline of the study area was selected (step: I). Cultural and spatial data pertaining our research focus or reflecting stakeholder interests were then included based on spatial correspondence (steps: II and III). As a next step, these datasets were used to improve the data quality of individual datasets where possible and to create improved chronological reconstructions (step: IV). These reconstructions were subsequently incorporated into the system (dashed line) as new data layers to further aid our research goals. As a final step all data layers were thematically grouped and tailor-made queries developed resulting in the Schokland HGIS (step: V). (For more detailed information on individual datasets see: [Sections 4.1](#) and [4.2](#)).

Table 2

Overview of the historical maps and modern topographical and geoscientific data used in the HGIS. For more detailed referencing compare the Reference list.

Historical maps		
Van Deventer map	1558	Jacob van Deventer, <i>Hollandt</i> .
sGroten map	1588	<i>Tabula XII Continens Phrisios qui versus Meridiem in Palustribus sedent iuxta Sicambros et Batavos</i> .
Schokland map 1600	ca. 1600	Map of the island of Schokland. Anonymous, no title.
Visscher map 1670	1670	<i>Comitatus Hollandiae tabula pluribus locis recens emendata a Nicolao Visscher</i> .
Schokland map 1762	ca. 1762	Map of the island of Schokland. Anonymous, no title.
Kadaster: <i>Minuutplans</i>	1832	Minute plans of the Netherlands' Cadastre, Land Registry and Mapping Agency (Kadaster).
Kadaster: <i>Verzamelplan</i>	1832	Collected plans of the Netherlands' Cadastre, Land Registry and Mapping Agency (Kadaster).
Topographical Military Maps	1850	Topographical Military Maps (TMK) of the kingdom of the Netherlands (1:50,000).
Bonnebladen	1933	Chromo-topographical map of the kingdom of the Netherlands (1:25,000). Successor of the TMK.
Topographical data		
BAG	2014	Basic registration (polygons) for addresses and buildings in the Netherlands.
TOP10NL	1995	Basic registration topography in the Netherlands.
AHN 1	2004	National LIDAR survey data of the Netherlands, version 1 (grid-cell resolution 5 × 5 m; measuring date Schokland 1997–1998).
AHN 2	2012	National LIDAR survey data of the Netherlands, version 2 (grid-cell resolution 0.5 × 0.5 m; measuring date Schokland 2009).
AHN 3	2019	National LIDAR survey data of the Netherlands, version 3 (grid-cell resolution 0.5 × 0.5 m; measuring date Schokland 2019).
TOPhoogteMD	1992	Historical elevation model of the Netherlands (prequel to the AHN).
Water-system management information of the Dutch waterboards	2020	Portal for sharing and combining water-system management information of the Dutch waterboards. Consisting out of administrative areas polygons, information on watersupply and discharge areas, and polder datum areas.
World heritage contour	1995	Contour of world-heritage protected site of Schokland [24].
Geoscientific data		
Geomorphology	2017	Geomorphological map of the Netherlands (1:50,000)
Palaeogeography	2018	Palaeogeographical reconstructions of the Netherlands during the Holocene [58].
Soil	2018	Soil map of the Netherlands (to a depth of 1.2 metres; scale 1:50,000).
Top Pleistocene	2018	Top soil during the Pleistocene, extracted from the palaeogeographical reconstructions of Vos et al. [58].

each of the datasets the geographical outlines were clipped to the study area. Topical information on amongst other parcelling and buildings were derived from the BAG and TOP10NL datasets. Past-elevation data were included in the HGIS based on TOPhoogteMD-data. This national overview is maintained by the Ministry of Infrastructure and Water Management and provides data on historical elevation mainly to be used for soil-subsidence monitoring (which is increasingly becoming a problem also in the region of Schokland). Present-day elevation data were derived from AHN 1–3, reflecting a higher resolution with each update. Current data on water-system management were added through the centralized portal of Dutch waterboards. The exact contours of the world-heritage site were extracted from UNESCO [24].

4.2.3. Geoscientific data

The HGIS incorporates a number of geoscientific datasets (Table 2). Geomorphological data were added to the system through the Geomorphological Map of the Netherlands. This map, maintained by Wageningen University and Research (WUR), provides data on relief, genesis, and age of landscape elements. Although it presents the present-day Netherlands the data contain invaluable information on historical-landscape elements. Soil data were derived from the Soil Map of the Netherlands (also maintained by WUR) and provide an overview of all current soil types. Especially in dynamic wetlands such as Schokland geomorphological and soil conditions are susceptible to change. Therefore the HGIS also includes palaeogeographical data and TOP Pleistocene data. The first provide information on the palaeogeographical development of the Netherlands during the Holocene (< 8000 BCE). The latter offers a detailed overview of the top soil during the end of the Pleistocene era (> 8.000 BCE).

4.3. The HGIS

Our HGIS combines these cultural and spatial data into one integrated system (Fig. 3). The system is best described as a multi-layer GIS consisting of multiple folders and tables. Each of these folders reflects a specific thematic group (e.g. scientific domain) storing a variety of datasets (e.g. attribute tables or polygons; Table 3). Such a design purely based on spatial correspondence has three main advantages: (1) it makes the system flexible allowing for an easy integration of new datasets within existing domains or groups, (2) the system is not limited to a predefined set of data sources, and (3) full data integration in for example the area of normalization, standardization, and (inter)relationships is not needed.

4.3.1. The HGIS data structure

The HGIS consists of 15 thematically divided groups which are further subdivided between one of more base tables. Each of these tables in turn reflects one dataset (Table 3). In the system, cultural data are stored in groups 1 and 2, modern topographical data (e.g. present-day parcelling and buildings) in group 3, 19th-century cadastral information in group 5, newly developed reconstructions in groups 4, and 6–9, and geoscientific data (e.g. hydraulics, soil, geomorphology, elevation etc.) in groups 10–15.

By applying this multi-layered approach we were able to create overviews based on multiple datasets covering a multitude of chronological periods. The approach allowed us to improve general data quality in the system and design pinpointed analyses. Data quality of individual datasets was enhanced by combining datasets or thematic groups. Integrated spatial analyses were designed and implemented for each of the four selected results based on unique combinations of datasets ranging from cultural, topographical, and geoscientific (Section 5).

5. Results

The first results of our ‘Schokland-HGIS’ are promising and underline the versatility of the system. The datasets currently included in the system already reflect a large part of the dynamic cultural and natural history of the site. To underline the application potential and versatility of the system for management- and analytical purposes we present four selected results below: (1) new high-resolution chronological reconstructions of the island, (2) detailed maps of the 19th-century town of Emmeloord depicting amongst other professional occupation and (3) property rights which can be used for explorative genealogical analyses, and (4) high-resolution maps facilitating informative heritage management (cf. Introduction section).

5.1. Chronological reconstructions

By combining cultural and geoscientific data stored in the HGIS we were able to manufacture five high-resolution reconstructions of the island of Schokland (Figs. 4 and 5). We have limited our reconstructions to depicting the islandic phase of the site because: (1) data availability is higher during these later periods, and (2) information on especially these later phases are of crucial importance for site preservation and future development. All reconstructions were based on palaeogeographic and archaeological data provided by Vos [58] and Van Popta (2015; [52]) and further enhanced using other datasets (e.g. historical maps) stored in the HGIS (Table 2). This allowed for more detailed reconstructions and time slices for the period between the 13th–20th centuries.

Our first reconstruction shows Schokland during the 13th century (Fig. 4). Since detailed historical sources for this early period are lacking our model is solely based on archaeological and palaeogeographical data. Using these integrated data we were able to reconstruct the extent of the island including artificial dwelling mounds used by contemporary inhabitants. The model clearly shows that during this time the area was characterized by strong marine influences (i.e. numerous mounds, and extensive salt marshes and mudflats).

Towards the 16th century many changes occurred on Schokland (Fig. 4), most of which can be extracted from historical maps dating to this period ([63],[65],[67]; Table 2). Our reconstruction clearly shows that ongoing erosion and subsidence strongly reduced the surface area of the island and habitation was no longer scattered but concentrated on four large dwelling mounds. The large-scale construction of dikes underlines the considerable impact of water incursions from the 13th century onwards.

During the 18th century the size of the island was further reduced (Fig. 5). Contemporaneous dike systems, inhabited areas, and organizational structures were modelled based on palaeogeographic, archaeological, and historical data (cf. Table 2; Visscher, 1670; [64]). The reconstruction shows even more clustering of inhabited areas (most notably the abandonment of the southernmost dwelling mound *Zuidpunt*) and an evolution in the types of dikes (i.e. pole dikes). Perhaps most noticeable during this period is the subdivision of the island in a northern Catholic part: Emmeloord (governed by the province of Holland and owned by the town of Amsterdam), and a southern Protestant part: Ens (governed by the province of Overijssel). The impact of this organizational subdivision is well known in historical sources but also clearly visible in the distribution of dikes during this phase. Whereas the northern part of the island was completely diked, the south still had an open connection to the sea.

In the following 19th century storm surges, soil subsidence, and ongoing erosion further reduced the extent of the island and conditions became increasingly wetter (Fig. 5). By additionally extracting data from cadastral and topographical maps we were able to

Table 3

Overview of thematic groups and corresponding datasets in the Schokland-HGIS. For more information on abbreviations see Table 2 and the Reference list.

#	Thematic group	Dataset (base table)	Description
1	Archaeology	ARCHIS data Coring data RAAP Archaeological monuments	Data extracted from ARCHIS Coring data into old dikes RAAP Contours of archaeological monuments
2	Cultural-historical Elements	World-heritage contour Dwelling mounds Dikes River dunes CultGIS data	Contour of world-heritage site Dwelling mounds in the study area (Historical) Dikes in the study area River dunes in the study area Data extracted from CultGIS
3	Topography modern	BAG TOP10NL	Data extracted from the BAG dataset Data extracted from TOP10NL dataset
4	Schokland 20th century	Schokland_topo_1933	Reconstruction Schokland AD 1933
5	Cadastral data 1832	Schokland_1832	Thematic outline of habitation information based on the cadastral information included in the Schokland 1832 dataset.
6	Schokland 19th century	Schokland_1832	Reconstruction Schokland AD 1832
7	Schokland 18th century	Schokland_1700	Reconstruction Schokland AD 1700
8	Schokland 16th century	Schokland_1550	Reconstruction Schokland AD 1550
9	Schokland 13th century	Schokland_1250	Reconstruction Schokland AD 1250
10	Water-system management information of the Dutch waterboards	Aanafvoergebied	Information on watersupply and discharge areas
11	Soil data	Peilgebied (level area) Soil-map data	Information on polder datum areas Data extracted from the soil map
12	Geomorphological data	Geomorphology-map data	Data extracted from the geomorphological map
13	Top Pleistocene data	Plmgeul (top layer Pleistocene)	Data on the top layer during the Pleistocene
14	Palaeogeography	AD 2000 AD 1850 AD 1500 AD 1250 AD 800 AD 100 250 BCE 500 BCE 1500 BCE 2750 BCE 3850 BCE 9000 BCE	Palaeogeographical reconstruction AD 2000 Palaeogeographical reconstruction AD 1850 Palaeogeographical reconstruction AD 1500 Palaeogeographical reconstruction AD 1250 Palaeogeographical reconstruction AD 800 Palaeogeographical reconstruction AD 100 Palaeogeographical reconstruction 250 BCE Palaeogeographical reconstruction 500 BCE Palaeogeographical reconstruction 1500 BCE Palaeogeographical reconstruction 2750 BCE Palaeogeographical reconstruction 3850 BCE Palaeogeographical reconstruction 9000 BCE
15	Elevation models	AHN 3 AHN 2 AHN 1 TOPhoogteMD	Current altitude data, version 3 Current altitude data, version 2 Current altitude data, version 1 Historical elevation model

not only reconstruct the contour of each dwelling mound, but also to reconstruct towns on an individual-household level (Cadastral map, 1832; [66]; cf. Table 2). During this time the organizational subdivision of the island was dissolved and the dike system improved to shield the whole of the island. A new type of dam was also introduced within the system, the cofferdam.

In 1859 Schokland was abandoned, but the island itself persisted until the reclamation of the area in 1942 (cf. Section 3). This final phase of the island could be reconstructed using high-resolution data from the Bonnebladen [62] and palaeogeography. According to our reconstruction erosion of the island has come a standstill during the mid-19th-20th century and dike systems only slightly changed (Fig. 5). Houses were deconstructed on a large scale and only a handful of buildings remained. The increased wetter conditions on the island are also clearly visible with marshes substituting grasslands.

5.2. Professions in nineteenth-century Emmeloord

Next to chronological reconstructions, the HGIS also facilitates high-resolution small-scale spatial analyses. These analyses require the availability of detailed information, which for Schokland are available from the 19th century onwards mainly through the cadastral map (1832). Using these data we made a high-resolution

reconstruction of 19th-century Emmeloord (Fig. 6). The modelled outcome demonstrates the potential of the HGIS for spatial analyses on multiple scales. Using cadastral data we were able to reconstruct individual houses and parcels, and to combine these with professional occupation at the time. Our analysis shows that the vast majority of the inhabitants of Emmeloord were involved with fishing, which is not surprising since this period reflects the islandic phase of the study area. Besides fishermen the town population consisted of various government officials, two ferrymen, several day laborers, a shopkeeper, a baker, and a carpenter. These kinds of analyses greatly aid the reconstruction of everyday life on Schokland during the 19th century.

5.3. Property data and the potential of the HGIS for genealogical analyses

Cadastral data provide a wide variety of information, for example on property rights. Through the HGIS we were able to connect house-owners' names to reconstructed properties in 19th-century Emmeloord. It was beyond the scope of the study to present a complete genealogical overview of the town. Therefore, we have limited the presented results to two inhabitants: Jacob Alberts Goosen (1776–1840) and Dubbel Alberts Goosen (1781–1847; Fig. 7). Our analysis shows that these men were brothers,

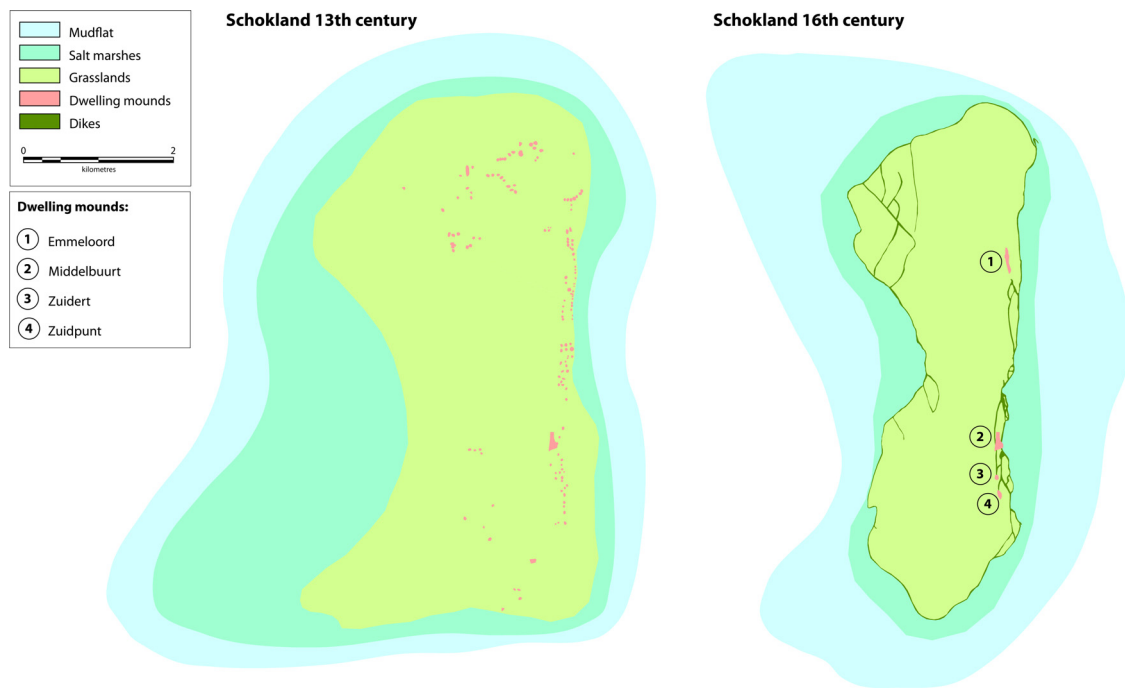


Fig. 4. Chronological reconstructions of the island of Schokland for the 13th (left) and 16th century (right). Ongoing erosion and water incursions are clearly visible through the reducing size of the island and implementation of dike systems.



Fig. 5. Chronological reconstructions of the island of Schokland for the 18th (left), 19th (middle), and 20th century (right). Further reduction of the island's surface area and increasingly wetter conditions are clearly visible towards the most recent reconstruction.

both lived in the northern part of Emmeloord, and were fishermen (Fig. 6). As an exploration we combined these data with genealogical information available online (see: Reference list). This allowed us to add information on birth- and death dates to the system, and to determine ancestors and descendants. These data can easily be expanded with links to oral history, anecdotes, other genealogical connections, of family-history information on 'Schokland-families'. An example of this can be found via the 'Schokkervereniging' where

a portrait of Dubbel Alberts Goosen's son was found (see Reference list: Genealogical data).

5.4. Informative heritage management through the HGIS

Besides scientific analyses, the HGIS is also designed to facilitate heritage-management applications. To illustrate this we created two integrated overviews showing: (1) the distribution of ar-

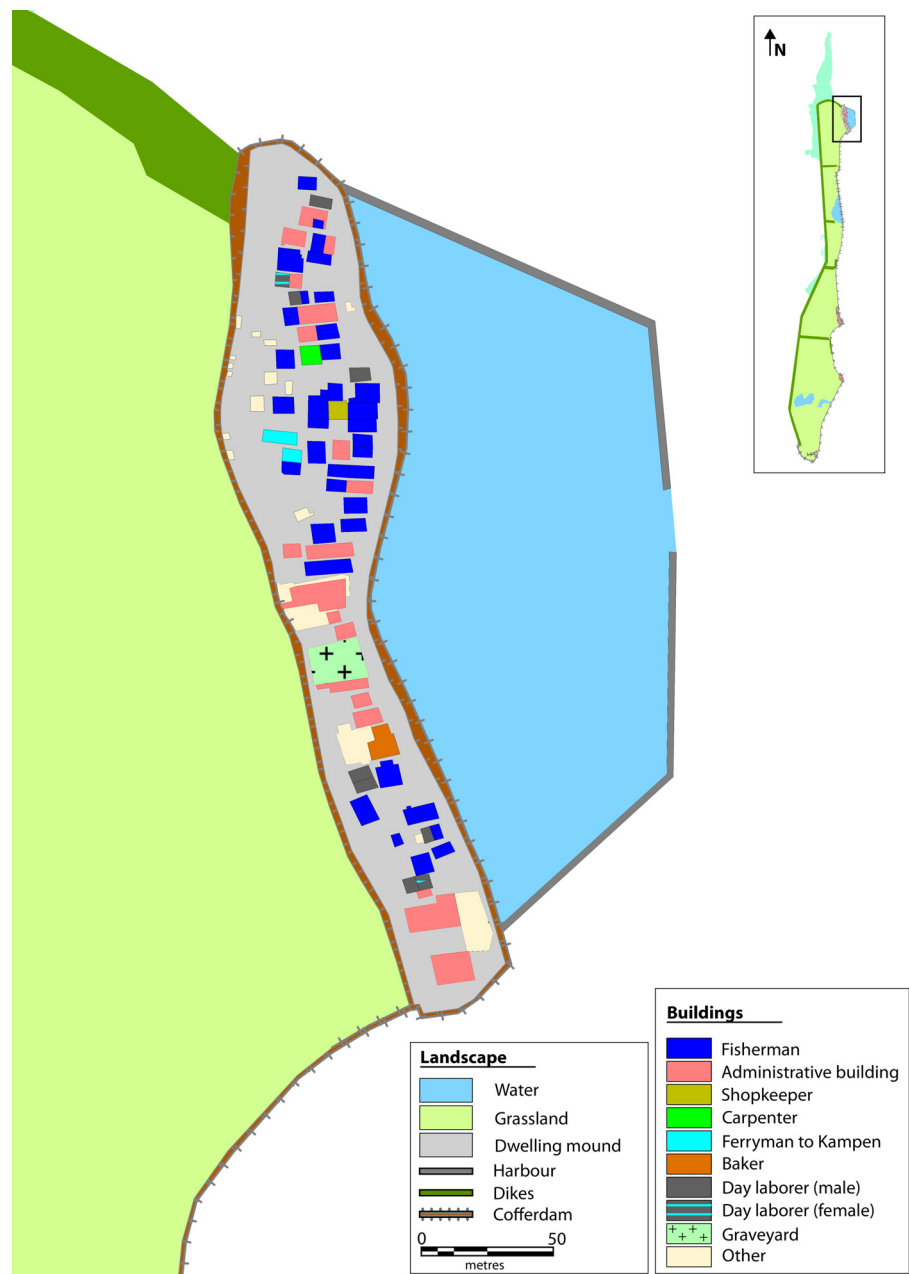


Fig. 6. Detailed reconstruction of 19th-century Emmeloord located on the northside of Schokland. Based on cadastral data dominant professions for each individual household were determined and depicted. The majority of the towns' occupancy was fishery.

chaeological finds per reconstructed period, and (2) a present-day survey of cultural-historical elements located in the study area. Archaeological data were plotted on the four reconstructions reflecting the inhabited phases of the island: 13th-19th centuries (Fig. 8; A-D). For each of these overviews we only selected archaeological finds relevant for the reconstructed period (Table 4). These surveys give insight in the dispersal of archaeological remains in the study areas and can be used amongst other for predictive-modelling purposes or to create new heritage-management maps.

The HGIS also facilitates other heritage-management applications, such as integrated overviews of cultural-historical elements located in the present-day landscape (Fig. 9). Because the system supports selecting or alternating between cultural and topographical data, it is possible to create dynamic overviews. Consequently, we combined present-day data on spatial planning and

Table 4
Overview of archaeological finds and their corresponding Schokland-reconstruction phase. Archaeological finds were linked to reconstructions based on period classifications derived from the Archaeological Basic Register (see Reference list).

Schokland phase	Historical period ABR
13th century	Middle Ages
16th century	Early modern history
18th century	Modern history
19th century	Modern history

heritage for integrated spatial analyses. These combined overviews prove essential for multi-perspective data analyses and integrated-knowledge management. This is underlined by our overview which shows areas of archaeological importance that have been assigned



Fig. 7. Property listing of two brothers (J.A. Alberts Goosen and D.A. Goosen) living in the northern part of 19th-century Emmeloord.

values ranging from extremely high to medium, and the exact location of world-heritage protection. Our map clearly points out that not all archaeologically valued areas are part of the world-heritage site. The same applies for part of the historical dike systems, archaeological finds, and dwelling mounds which sometimes are not legally protected at all. In facing future redevelopment issues, awareness of these data is essential for making durable and informed choices. This underlines the application potential of the HGIS for heritage management.

6. Discussion and outlook

6.1. Schokland results

Our Schokland-HGIS shows great potential for creating chronological reconstructions of cultural landscapes. However, the reconstructive potential of the system greatly depends on the availability of accurate cultural and geoscientific data. Despite containing data covering the whole of the Holocene, the reconstructive capacity of the HGIS greatly improves in more recent phases thanks to the increased availability of high-resolution data. This became evident in the two earliest reconstructions (13th and 16th century) where resolution was limited to individual dwelling mounds, island contours, and first dike systems (Fig. 4). In spite of the island increasingly becoming smaller, later reconstructions (18th–20th centuries) show a greater amount of detail (Fig. 5). This is especially true for the 19th and 20th century where we were able to locate and analyse individual households and professions (Section 5; Figs. 6 and 7). Including more datasets (e.g. through future fieldwork) will help to enhance the reconstructive potential of the HGIS further, especially for earlier periods.

The results of the current study underline the versatility and broad application potential of the HGIS methodology for managing and analysing historical landscapes. This was further underlined by our professional-occupance and property-rights analyses of 19th-century Emmeloord. These results demonstrate the potential of the HGIS for multi-perspective and multidisciplinary data analyses on multiple scales. Moreover, the HGIS facilitates integrating quantitative and qualitative data and is well suited for conduct-

ing amongst other genealogical analyses and incorporating intangible heritage. Within the system new data are easily added and in turn linked to spatial locations (Figs. 6 and 7). By linking genealogical data, images, or anecdotes with family names and parcels (e.g. houses) it is possible to include eyewitness reports or other intangible heritage (e.g. stories, images, or videos). It would be worthwhile for future research to explore the incorporation of intangible heritage in a HGIS further. Linking spatial data with intangible heritage would greatly benefit amongst other participation and public outreach purposes and the formation of shared identities.

The heritage-management potential of the HGIS was underlined by the creation of several heritage-management maps (Figs. 8 and 9). Results show that the HGIS facilitates the creation of flexible or integrated overviews. In this study we have focused on archaeological and cultural-historical data, but the HGIS is not limited to these scientific fields. By alternating between datasets, queries, and surveys the system provides flexible overviews which are essential for modern-day heritage management. This is especially important in dynamic environments, where data are essential for making informed choices regarding the presentation, conservation, or (re)development of cultural heritage remains (cf. Introduction). This became particularly apparent during our spatial analysis of cultural-historical elements (Fig. 9). Here, results showed that some of the elements belonging to older phases of the island (e.g. dwelling mounds and historical dike systems) are located outside the world-heritage protection. Awareness of these elements is essential for the future conservation Schokland's history.

6.2. Application potential HGIS

The HGIS presented in this study was designed in line with a modelling technique developed by Van Lanen & Kosian [48]. Our results show that the HGIS-methodology is not limited to their subject or region alone, and can be transferred to other areas, (smaller) scale levels, and periods. Our analyses of Schokland underline that the HGIS-approach is highly useful to diachronologically analyse cultural landscapes by supporting multidisciplinary, tailor-made solutions, and research flexibility. Contrary to the study by Van Lanen & Kosian [48] who mainly focused on re-

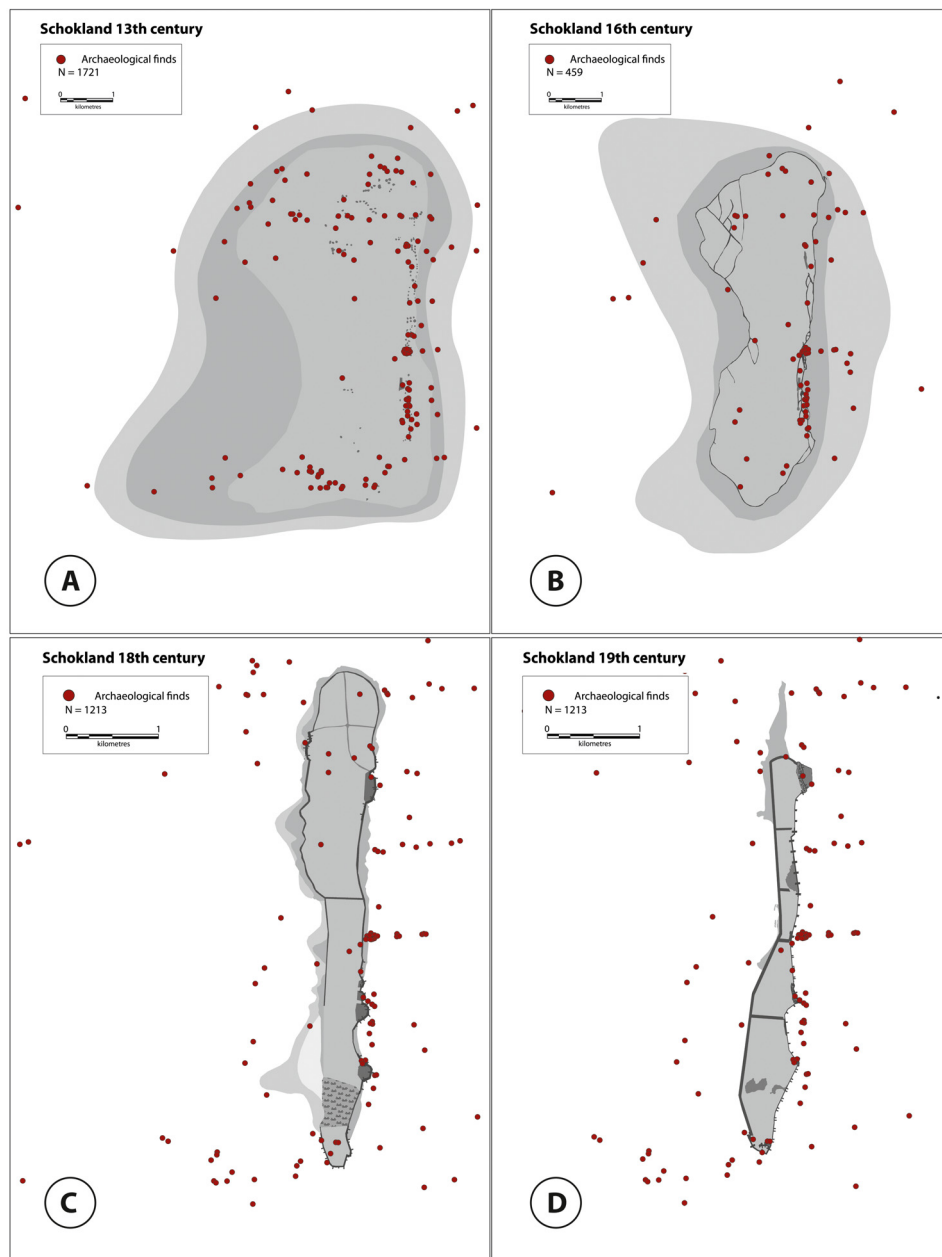


Fig. 8. Distribution of archaeological finds per reconstructed period of Schokland (A = 13th century, B = 16th century, C = 18th century, and D = 19th century). Reconstructions were limited to inhabited phases of the island. Archaeological dispersal clearly shows the influence of reclamation activities on find collection.

gression mapping, our analyses fixated on stacking multiple data sources embodying the layeredness of the cultural landscape in order to create high-resolution reconstructive overviews. The differences between both studies underline the versatility and flexibility of the HGIS-methodology which is essential for unravelling the diachronic complexity of cultural landscapes.

A method that has increasingly gained interest for unravelling the diachronic complexity of landscapes is deep mapping (e.g. [8]). The concept of deep mapping involves the accumulation and layering of different kinds of geo-locatable data within GIS. 'Deep maps' provide fundamentally explorative environments consisting out of a near limitless range of sources [3],[32]. Recently, the approach has been described as the next essential step for humanity studies. However, the approach in itself does not present accessible tooling. In line with deep mapping, the HGIS-methodology

provides data flexibility, near limitless expansion of datasets, layering, easy querying, and the possibility to create multiple integrated overviews. We argue that the HGIS-approach therefore is well suited to also function as tool for deep-mapping analyses.

Such tooling is highly desirable in the context of rapidly changing environments and increasing computational possibilities and the growing number of available data in Digital Humanities (e.g. [27],[46],[47]). These developments require new theories and methodologies in order to adapt to these changing circumstances. The HGIS-methodology represents a way to meet these challenges by: (1) allowing the continuous addition of new data or datasets, (2) thematically grouping of data, (3) spatial querying, and (4) generating tailor-made integrated overviews. It is important to note that although we have limited ourselves in current study to only include existing cultural and geoscientific datasets, the system

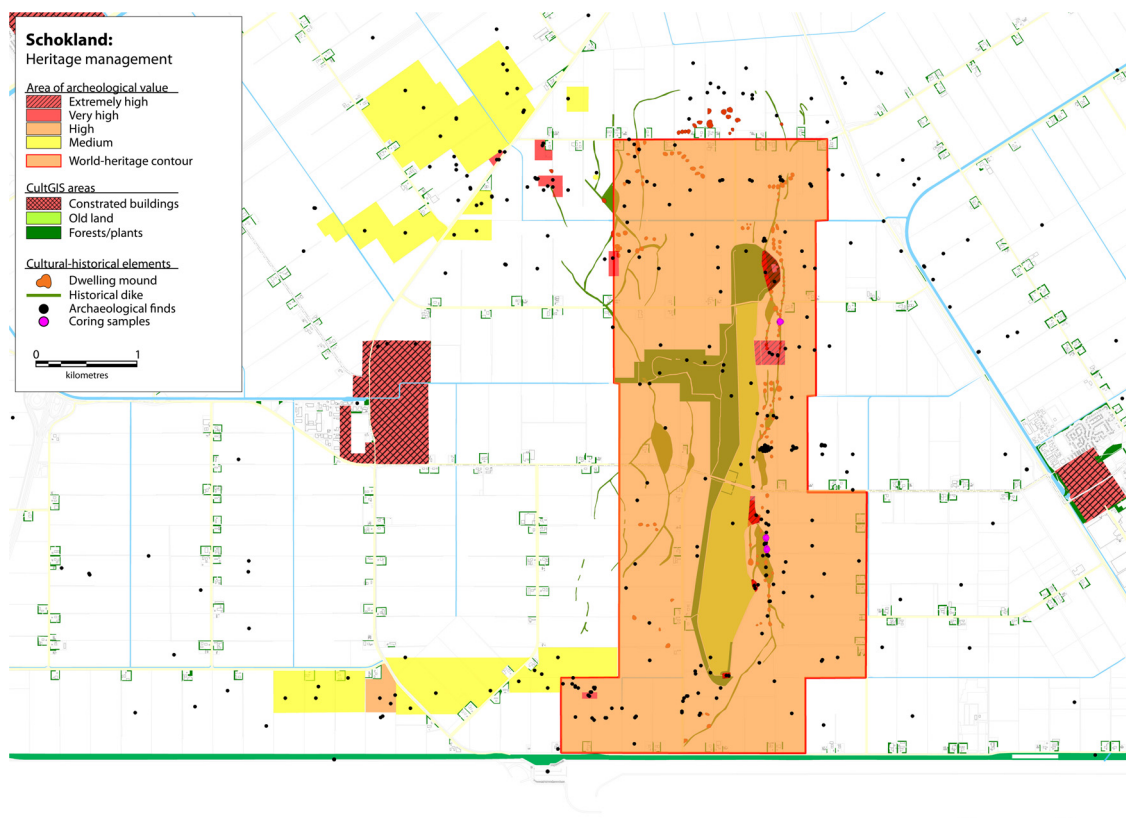


Fig. 9. Heritage-management map for het world-heritage site of Schokland. The map depicts areas of archaeological value (ranging from extremely high to medium), world-heritage protected area, CultGIS areas, and cultural-historical elements such as dwelling mounds, dikes, archaeological finds, and coring samples.

could easily be expanded to include other datasets (e.g. monitoring data) or scientific domains (e.g. social sciences).

Flexibility is one of the major advantages of the HGIS-methodology. The multi-layered approach allows creating overviews based on multiple datasets. Through querying it is possible to analyse data covering different time periods and depicting these within one integrated overview. Furthermore, the easy addition of datasets or thematic groups facilitates data management even in highly dynamic environments. The HGIS achieves this by only linking data together based on spatial characteristics. Consequently, there is no need for datasets to be directly linked (through e.g. database relations), integrated, or standardized. These processes often prove to be extremely costly. And although data analyses benefit greatly from such processes, our presented approach provides means to choose between both the timing and selection of these processes. Additionally, data included in the HGIS functions as an overview of available datasets (i.e. integrated knowledge hub) which helps to better design and substantiate (conservation) strategies and scientific analyses. Based on these decisions, efforts then can be directed to link, integrate, or standardize selected datasets. This way the HGIS does not differentiate between stakeholders and analyses from all interested parties (representing multiple perspectives) are facilitated. This makes the HGIS a low-cost, low-energy management tool facilitating tailor-made analyses, substantiating strategies, and developing informed choices which can be executed by specific stakeholders interested in targeted analyses.

6.3. (World-)Heritage management

World heritage, or heritage in general requires sustainable conservation and accessibility. Since heritage sites are never isolated

from their surrounding (dynamic) landscape, heritage management requires the development of tailor-made conservation strategies supporting the movement towards 'management of change' ([11, 31]; cf. Introduction Section). Our study of world-heritage Schokland underlines the need for such an integrated and flexible approach. In line with the definition of a typical cultural landscape, the site is the result of a long-term complex interplay between natural and cultural factors (Sections 3 and 5). Despite being classified as a 'cultural' world-heritage site, the history of Schokland can only be understood by preserving both cultural and natural values. One could argue that classifying Schokland as merely 'cultural' insufficiently reflects the complex interplay between cultural and natural processes that originally created the site. And such a focus is too unilateral for sustainable conservation strategies. Heritage conservation requires a different view. We argue that world-heritage sites set in dynamic environments do not benefit from strongly differentiating between cultural and natural settings. Such sites require flexible and integrated management approaches facilitating the development of tailor-made conservation strategies incorporating the layering and path dependency of historical landscapes. For built heritage such a framework has increasingly been recognized and implemented through Building Information Modelling (BIM; e.g. [29]). However, such a framework is not yet available for cultural landscapes or heritage sites in dynamic environments. And although recently Schepers et al. [35] presented an interesting conceptual model for the Wadden-Sea region based on a triangular perspective on landscape development, their efforts mainly focus on visualisation and actual quantitative tooling for such an integrated management approach is still lacking. Based on our results we argue that the HGIS-methodology could prove highly useful in this respect.

6.4. Outlook

The HGIS presented in this paper was specifically designed for Schokland as a first step towards tooling facilitating dynamic, integrated heritage management and scientific analyses. However, as previously stated the approach is not limited to this merely this site. Through supporting integrated knowledge management based on multiple datasets, the approach can prove useful for other (world-)heritage sites as well. This especially applies to those sites located in dynamic environments or having a strong natural context. With the concept of heritage increasingly moving away from mere conservation towards contextualization and digitization, integrated approaches (such as the HGIS) are becoming progressively important.

Accessibility of heritage is one of the key concepts of world heritage and in redefining the concept of heritage (cf. Introduction Section; [39]). In this context, accessibility is defined in the broadest sense, including digital accessibility. Increased access to the internet, combined with new technological developments and improving computational possibilities, can improve the global accessibility of heritage. We advocate that our HGIS-approach can greatly contribute to raise (digital) accessibility of (world-)heritage sites. For example, our analyses of 19th-century Emmeloord (Figs. 6 and 7) showed that the system was able to reconstruct local history on a household level. These high-resolution data easily could serve app-development providing pinpointed, localised information using techniques such as augmented or virtual reality. Such techniques would allow visitors to experience history at first hand or hear anecdotes while visiting the actual locations in the landscape or sitting at home. Increasing the accessibility of the site for visitors and non-visitors alike.

7. Conclusion

In this study we developed a HGIS for the world-heritage site of Schokland. This approach proves versatile and extremely helpful in analysing the diachronic development of heritage sites. The system lets researchers stack multiple datasets and integrate these in well-defined thematic groups. As such the HGIS embodies the layeredness of the landscape and helps to unravel the complex interrelationships responsible for the development of the cultural landscape. By combining cultural and geoscientific data we were able to model five high-resolution chronological reconstructions of Schokland from between the 13th–20th centuries. The system also facilitates detailed small-scale spatial analyses on an individual household level and the creation of various heritage-management maps.

Versatility of the HGIS-methodology is underlined by its application potential for informative-heritage management, public outreach, and digital accessibility. Through multi-disciplinary data integration the system provides an overview of datasets pertaining world-heritage Schokland reflecting a variety of application possibilities. Because data in the HGIS is linked based on spatial characteristics only, a wide variety of data sources can be included without the need for full integration. This makes the HGIS a low-cost management system perfect for creating integrated overviews of datasets pertaining a specific heritage site or cultural landscape. The HGIS is flexible and open-ended, which is essential in dynamic environments. It allows frequent data updates, expansions, and queries and can contain a near limitless number of datasets. Consequently, the system supports multi-perspective data analyses representing the full scope of stakeholders connected to a site.

World-heritage classifications are limited to cultural, natural or mixed sites. Our analyses of Schokland show that such a rigid differentiation between culture and nature in dynamic environments is at least impractical and hampers the development of sustain-

able conservation strategies. The complex interplay between cultural and natural factors has been essential for the development of world-heritage Schokland. Since these factors remain to continuously influence one and other, insight in to their interactions is crucial for understanding the development of the site and conserving it for the future. Our HGIS shows great potential in unravelling these complex, path-dependent interactions and facilitating integrated, dynamic heritage management. We would argue that such management is not only needed for Schokland but for all (world-)heritage sites located in dynamic environments. Sustainable conservation and presentation of these sites requires dynamic, flexible, and integrated approaches (like the HGIS) within heritage management, allowing for multi-disciplinary data integration and multi-perspective data analyses. We need to change our view on (world-)heritage, moving away from rigid classifications and find methods to help embrace the layering and path dependency of the landscape.

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Supplementary materials

Supplementary material associated with this article can be found, in the online version, at [doi:10.1016/j.culher.2021.11.011](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.culher.2021.11.011).

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