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The tourist gaze and the ‘medieval’ landscape

Megan Arnott

If asked to identify a medieval landscape, no one's first thought would be Toronto, Ontario. But if you are a day visitor to the city, there are at least two attractions which will try to sell you a ‘medieval’ experience.¹ Visitors could take in some sightseeing at Casa Loma, Sir Henry Pellatt's early twentieth-century creation, ‘Toronto's Camelot’. Constructed ‘with soaring battlements and secret passageways’, it ‘paid homage to the castles and knights of days gone by’.² After a day spent at the castle, attention turns to Medieval Times Dinner and Tournament, where patrons enjoy a joust, some falconry and eating their meal with their hands. This venue promises a journey through time:

Travel through the mists of time to a forgotten age and a tale of devotion, courage and love – at Medieval Times Dinner and Tournament. Imagine the pageantry and excitement that would have been yours as a guest of the royal court ten centuries ago. That's exactly what you will experience at North America's most popular dinner attraction.³

While neither attraction refers to actual medieval artefacts or history (they don't commemorate a well-known historic event or necessarily house any medieval artefacts), they create two enclaves of the ‘medieval’ right in the middle of Canada's largest city. Both Casa Loma and Medieval Times offer visitors a chance to see and engage with commonly accepted signifiers of the ‘Middle Ages’, like jousting or castle crenellations. The average North American, who lives nowhere near the abbeys, cathedrals or geographic locations traditionally associated with the Middle Ages, can still often find a ‘medieval’ landscape close by – a space that has been coded for the tourist as a ‘medieval’ space. Through the tourist gaze, a ‘medieval landscape’ takes shape. Ongoing popular interest in the Western European Middle Ages (despite the inconstancy of that concept), particularly from the second half of the twentieth century onwards, has resulted in a plethora of locations where one could go to meet the ‘medieval’.

Ewa Skowronek et al. have recently worked to determine what is meant by a ‘tourist landscape’, acknowledging that academics use the term amorphously, depending on the aims of their research.⁴ Part of the difficulty is there are many definitions for even the concept of a ‘landscape’.⁵ Ewa Skowronek et al. come to the conclusion that

a tourist landscape is a significant type of landscape, functionally related to tourists and tourism activity. It's an integrated and complementary whole meeting the needs of tourists and tourism through its operationalising of natural and cultural elements. Tourist landscape is not uniform (there are different types and variations thereof). It is characterized by subjective evaluation and a confrontation by tourists, in connection with their perceptions and expectations, which affect its continuous transformation.⁶

Tourist landscapes are created when cultural representations that signify tourism are applied to places and interpreted by the tourist.⁷ And, as Theano Terkenli shows, those signs which indicate 'tourist space' are subject to change:

The development of new types of landscapes with the advent of new forms of tourism catering to new social needs, cultural preferences, and economic contingencies has certainly been an ongoing practice since the appearance of the phenomenon of tourism [. . .] the segregation, for instance, of leisure from home life that modernization instilled becomes more and more tentative and irrelevant in the postmodern Western world.⁸

In this chapter, I will look at different kinds of 'tourist landscapes' – landscapes shaped by and for tourists, that, in various ways and for various reasons, take the shape of 'medieval landscapes'.

There are several kinds of 'medieval' spaces created by and for tourists. The first, most obvious, example is the one attached to actual medieval artefacts or architecture. Despite their seemingly obvious medieval status, the way the structures have been preserved and interpreted reflects the tourist gaze. This tourist gaze creates a specifically 'medieval' space, since preservation is in part due to tourism, and since, despite ongoing use of the structures, for the tourist seeking a 'medieval' experience, these places have been coded as a place where the past, and specifically the medieval past, endures. A second kind of medieval space is that which has been recreated by historians and tourist boards in order to make objects for the tourists to gaze upon, attempting to draw attention to real history that would otherwise go unseen. This includes local attempts at commemoration, as well as signs or maps which help interpret landscape in light of the medieval history that has occurred there. A third kind of 'medieval' landscape is created as a site that temporarily houses the medieval. A 'medieval' themed event, whether bringing medieval enthusiasts together to celebrate objects or spaces dedicated to commemoration of the medieval period or bringing together medieval and fantasy enthusiasts with commonly acknowledged 'medieval' referents like dragons, creates medieval landscapes where they may not previously have existed. A fourth kind of 'medieval' landscape includes these 'medieval' inventions, which range from extensions of existing medieval sites to surrounding landscapes, like what has occurred on Newfoundland's Northern Peninsula, to nearly complete fabrications like Medieval Times. These are also spaces for the tourist to engage in the 'medieval'.

Authenticity is an important factor in the way that 'medieval' experiences are marketed to tourists, but what authenticity means is flexible. No one would really think

that Medieval Times is historical, but its use of signifiers that tourists have learned to associate with the medieval might be deemed, by some definitions, authentic. The tourist gaze, including those who participate in the gaze and those who construct for the gaze of others, has created many different kinds of 'medieval' landscapes and will continue to do so as long as 'medieval' as a concept has meaning for the target audience of tourism boards.

The tourist gaze and the landscape

Because tourism and the tourism industry are such complex phenomena, it is not easy to pin down the meaning of the terminology. According to Russell Staiff et al., "travel" to "special places" is one of the enduring legacies and characteristics of people of many cultures throughout history.⁹ Social practices like medieval pilgrimages are forerunners of our modern concept of tourism. Tourism as Western society experiences it has been traced to the nineteenth century, out of which emerged packaged tourism companies like Thomas Cook, which sanitized the travelling experience for patrons who could afford it.¹⁰ I will use the word tourist in the same way that Staiff et al. do, as meaning 'people performing tourism in performative contexts'.¹¹ It is an active intention on the part of the visitor, who has come to visit a specific locality.

John Urry's book *The Tourist Gaze* was originally published in 1995, but, with the help of Jonas Larsen, it is now in its third edition. In it, Urry and Larsen build on the theoretical framework of the gaze: 'people gaze upon the world through a particular filter of ideas, skills, desires and expectations, framed by social class, gender, nationality, age and education. Gazing is a performance that orders, shapes and classifies, rather than reflects the world.'¹² The tourist gaze shapes spaces into certain forms because tourists' expectations shape their experience of place and catering to those expectations further shapes a landscape. The tourist gaze is often associated with a hegemonic, white, middle class or male perspective, but it is not limited to this. The visual nature of the tourist experience is used here as an organizing principal, although the concept of the tourist gaze is not meant to exclude the other ways – like social interaction or touching – that tourists can experience a place.¹³ In this chapter, the idea of the tourist gaze will stand for the ways tourists expect to (or do) interact with a space, especially by sight, but also by sound, touch or feel. For example, in the discussion of the imagined 'medieval spaces' it will be clear that tourists come to gaze on a fabricated 'Middle Ages', but this doesn't exclude the expectation that they will smell it, taste it or otherwise experience it.

'Tourism' takes many shapes and has many definitions. As Steve Watson points out, 'tourism [. . .] depends to a large extent on the perception of distinctions of various kinds, most obviously between work and leisure, but more significantly, perhaps, between home and destination.'¹⁴ In this chapter, it is imagined as activities and practices associated with the tourist gaze: for one thing, the tourist gaze creates spaces coded for other kinds of behaviour into tourist spaces; for another, places are created

or altered to attract or hold the tourist gaze. These processes, where tourists form spaces and spaces are made for tourists, inform each other.

Scholarship and the tourist industry have identified several different categories of tourism, including 'eco-tourism' or 'adventure tourism'. 'Heritage tourism', as a subset of 'tourism', proves as hard to define as tourism itself. For Yaniv Poria et al., it is the personal connection to heritage – the active connection with the place visited – that is the core of heritage tourism, rather than any performance of 'history' on the part of the tourism location. Adding to this, Wiendu Nuryanti points out that 'the word *heritage* in its broader meaning is generally associated with the word *inheritance*; that is, something transferred from one generation to another'.¹⁵ Tourist locations that perform history are marketing a personal connection, but common associations of the term with different places means that 'heritage in this sense has been described as a commodified version of the received past that depends upon natural, built and artefactual resources in order to market tourist destinations for economic gain'.¹⁶ When discussing 'medieval' tourist sites, one is inevitably discussing 'heritage' tourist sites.

In the following analysis, the emphasis is on the self-conscious performativity of 'heritage' on the part of the tourist location, keeping in mind that the personal connection of the tourist is both manipulated by the marketing and feeds/creates the marketing. Not all tourists who travel to heritage tourism sites are there as 'heritage tourists' according to Poria et al., that is, tourists who come with a specific view of engaging with signifiers of 'the past' or 'history'. Some come to engage with a local outdoor spot that happens to involve castles. Yet, the site's performance as a site of 'history' or 'heritage' is often part of its existence, and the reason the outdoor space exists where it does, so that vicariously, the other kinds of tourists are participating in heritage tourism.

Dean MacCannell's 1973 theory that tourist spaces were organized around a kind of 'staged authenticity' has been very important for the development of heritage tourism, since from the perspective of those constructing a space, their concept of authenticity and its importance dictates the structure of these kinds of tourist landscapes.¹⁷ Likewise, tourists' concepts of authenticity help develop the character of heritage sites. 'Authenticity is [. . .] often consciously invoked as an actual marketing strategy', for heritage sites, like the Viking sites investigated by Chris Halewood and Kevin Hannam.¹⁸ In addition, tourists' perception of a site's 'authenticity' can influence the way they interact with it. 'Authenticity' is as amorphous as any of the other terms; it is very subjective. Thomas W. Paradis states that, while trying to nail down this term, 'more recent authors have tackled this conundrum by treating authenticity "as a social construction the meaning of which varies with different people, at different times, and in different places"'.¹⁹ The concept of authenticity is further complicated by the postmodern tourist. One of the criticisms of MacCannell's theory was that all cultures are invented, remade and reorganized, so what made the tourist experience that different from other cultural practices?²⁰ Some tourists, sometimes called 'post-tourists', deliberately engage in the inauthenticity of their experience, acknowledging that there is no 'authentic' experience, or at least acknowledging that the definition is important, but subjective.²¹ For instance, Leavenworth, Washington was rebranded as 'Bavarian', an 'authentic alpine village' despite the absence of any local German

heritage.²² The authenticity lay in the creation, not its origins. Authenticity is a moving target in a 'medieval' space aimed at tourists, but an important one for drawing the tourist gaze.

Built heritage and the medieval

The most obvious 'medieval' landscape is one populated with the remnants of things built in Europe between 400 and 1500 CE. This kind of landscape could be said to exist outside of the tourist gaze; still, it is most often the focus of heritage tourism. Emma Waterton notes that most often 'heritage is equated with the sum total of museums, galleries, cathedrals, castles, stately homes, ruins, industrial sites, palaces and cathedrals'.²³ Yet, as Nuryanti observes:

Heritage tourism, as a production or reproduction of the past, is particularly problematic in the case of built heritage. Interpretation of built heritage not only involves issues such as ascribing meaning to past events, cross-cultural sensitivity, professionalization and education or training [...] but also is influenced by a series of other interrelated activities including conservation planning, architectural design and reconstruction techniques.²⁴

Differing interpretations of the meaning of built heritage affect the way that a site is preserved. For instance, in England in the nineteenth century, preservation practices involved making alterations to churches to correct perceived imperfections. Those making the changes thought they were achieving a higher degree of authenticity. In 1877, William Morris founded the Society for the Preservation of Ancient Buildings, which challenged church authorities, insisting that these restorations undertaken by the Church of England and their lead architect, George Gilbert Scott, were damaging these ancient structures.²⁵ Since the Middle Ages, the built heritage has had a history which has involved intentional destruction, neglect, restoration, repurposing or additions. To see a structure with origins in the Middle Ages as 'medieval' is not necessarily to forget the ongoing history of that structure, but it is to focus on its origin. In marketing these sights/sites to tourists, 'medieval' is very deliberately invoked.

The United Kingdom has an enduring legacy of medieval structures. According to Steve Watson, the 'stock of abbeys and monasteries made picturesquely and conveniently ruinous by Henry VIII's commissioners after the dissolution in 1538', mean that 'it is hardly surprising that touring the medieval has long been a national pastime'.²⁶ In Britain, legislation such as the Ancient Monuments Protection Act of 1882 and 1900, or the Ancient Monuments Consolidation and Amendment Act of 1913, have had an impact on what has been preserved and to whom it belongs.²⁷ These enduring structures became the basis for much of the tourist draw in the UK. With globalization, certain spaces or countries were coded for certain 'kinds' of tourism, with Britain specializing in history and heritage.²⁸ From 1975 to 1994, there was a 23 per cent growth in visits to historic properties.²⁹ Watson argues that, since 1980, the past is fashionable in a way the future used to be and that 'the period since 1980

has seen a particularly vigorous increase in public interest.³⁰ According to English Heritage, in 2010 heritage tourism was worth £12.4 million.³¹ This tourist interest in the past means it is worthwhile for tourist boards to market the 'medieval' abroad, drawing attention to the origins of their built heritage.

The medieval wall surrounding the downtown core of the City of York actually marks out the majority of the city's tourist space. As in places like Leicester, circumstances have allowed many of the medieval structures to remain in the city, making the medieval a potent marketing tool for York. York Minster, the thirteenth-century cathedral, attracts more than 2 million visitors a year, 'second only to Westminster Abbey on the national scale.'³² In 2018, www.visitcityofyork.org invited the world to see Clifford's Tower, 'a proud symbol of England's medieval kings', to make yourself at home at Barley Hall, 'a stunning medieval townhouse', or to discover Bedern Hall, 'York's hidden medieval hall.' There is a deliberate nature to the theming; as Thomas Paradis notes, 'the proliferation of themed environments is central to the success of urban tourism, focused as they are on the consumption of products and places'.³³ 'Medieval' is the city of York's main brand, the theme of much of its downtown core.

This kind of urban branding is not limited to England. Paradis argues that 'large cities worldwide are responding to an emerging post-industrial economy by rooting their economic base less in traditional secondary manufacturing and more in the realm of tertiary tourism, sports, culture, and entertainment', which has had an effect on the way urban centres are themed.³⁴ Visitestonia.com, in 2018, invited visitors to Tallinn Old Town, 'the best preserved medieval city in Northern Europe boasting Gothic spires, winding cobblestone streets and enchanting architecture'. The website encourages the visitor to 'spend a day in an authentic medieval milieu and you will soon realise why so many visitors described Tallinn Old Town as mystical, mesmerizing and addictive'. The tourist board asks us to imagine the city as a moment in time, despite the ongoing presence of its citizens since the Middle Ages. Similar landscapes are created in places like Visby, Sweden or Dubrovnik, Croatia. All three of these cities are UNESCO World Heritage Sites because of the built heritage preserved there. Arguably, there is a medieval space that might exist outside of the tourist gaze at all these cities, but the tourist gaze helps shape these landscapes through promotion of preservation and by imposing an interpretation on these places.

There are three kinds of built heritage. 'Fixed' elements, such as buildings, town or ruins, make excellent bases for heritage tourism. Semi-fixed elements, like furniture and plants, or non-fixed elements, like attributes of the human occupants of the setting, must be gathered together to be gazed upon or interpreted.³⁵ Places where they are gathered are still coded as 'medieval' spaces, but instead of having medieval architecture or ruins, there are medieval artefacts. Some semi- or non-fixed artefacts are associated with fixed architectural elements if the building has been repurposed into a museum or there is a museum on the grounds, like at the Tower of London. But it is museums (in an ancient building or not) where tourists go to engage with the artefacts. Some examples include the boat museums in Scandinavia, such as the Viking Ship Museum in Roskilde, Denmark (a Michelin 3-star attraction) or the Viking Ship Museum in Oslo.³⁶ Tourists must travel to these spaces to engage with the medieval.

This is not to discount museums as research sites, but their function as spaces for public education and objects of the tourist gaze governs their organization.

Museums are all a mixture of artefacts and interpretations. The Viking Ship Museums have a greater focus on artefacts, presenting the reconstructed remains of several different boat burials: The Viking Ship Museum in Oslo features the ships found at Oseberg, Gokstad and Tune; The Viking Ship Museum in Roskilde displays the remains of the five Viking Ships found at Skuldelev. Yet, at the Roskilde location there are also several reconstructed boats:

Newly constructed replicas of fully equipped Viking ships invite tourists to step on board as fully clad Vikings. While intended for children and young families with the objects appearing as 'second-rate copies', many adults spend much time and take many pictures in this Viking experience. Almost everyone inspects the wood and the sails, sits in and walks around boats, hold objects in their hands and play with the various weapons. Many adults dress up in Viking costumes.³⁷

The interpretive element, including the seeing and playing in history, are an important attribute of this museum.³⁸ These museums create 'medieval' spaces by being sites where the medieval can be visited, but also by creating a site where the 'medieval' can be played at.

Even in places where there is less built heritage or material remains to work with, it is still possible to construct a 'medieval' landscape around the tourist gaze through reconstruction and interpretation. 'Medieval' York includes not only the architecture of the city centre, remnants of the High Middle Ages, but also 'Jorvik', Viking York, a medieval history which predates the Minster and city walls. The Jorvik Viking Centre, arguably, takes the creation of a 'medieval' landscape even further than the earlier examples, because it must create more, do more interpretation, to satisfy the tourist gaze. The Jorvik Viking Centre, a mix between theme park and museum, brings the Viking history of the city to life by taking visitors on automated cars around a reconstruction complete with the sights, sounds and smells of Jorvik. It then deposits visitors into an area that, while resembling a more 'traditional' museum, still has more of an emphasis on interpretation than on artefacts.³⁹

Louise D'Arcens argues that the Museum plays on visitors preconceived notions to signify 'medieval':

In particular, during a visit to the Centre in October 2009 (I have since returned three times) I was intrigued by how the headgear worn by the desk- and guide staff opted for the register of irony discussed earlier to negotiate the difficulties of embodying Vikingness in a way that was historicist and postmodern in equal parts. This was especially striking in the case of one young man who had been employed as a guide not only because he was clearly conversant with Viking England but also because of his stalwart build and impressive red-blond beard which evoked the popular modern signifiers of the Scandinavian warrior.⁴⁰

The museum brings varying concepts of authenticity to visitors, though authenticity is always at the forefront. Watson argues that the Jorvik Viking Centre, and other open air

museums, attempt to duplicate the reality of the past, 'but in the process they create their own reality, which is then re-represented elsewhere as tenth-century York'.⁴¹ The tourist gaze has perceived a 'medieval' space and one has been deliberately created for them in a more dramatic way than when there is already something for the tourist to gaze on.

Even Jorvik takes as its basis 'medieval' artefacts, though more of the space has been carefully created than in other examples. Built heritage, fixed, semi-fixed and non-fixed, are easy signifiers of the medieval, but the tourist gaze is very active in taking these medieval artefacts, architectural and otherwise, and making 'medieval' landscapes by coding a building as 'medieval' or creating a space where the 'medieval' can be gazed upon.

'Medieval' landscapes

The medieval can be transmitted in many ways besides through built heritage: it can be found 'preserved in place names, field and parish boundaries, patterns of land holding as well as oral traditions, local myths and legends and even the way that people speak'.⁴² Translating this into something the tourist can gaze on involves the creation of a 'medieval' tourist landscape. 'Medieval' maps of Europe have allowed tourists to see the 'medieval' around them. In the nineteenth century, 'medieval' maps of England allowed a certain class of tourist to view, analyse and catalogue the 'medieval':

Architectural and historical accounts are accurate and encyclopaedic, and lists are appended of all the medieval churches with their dedication and predominant architectural styles according to the Rickman taxonomy . . . the principal castles and towers, ruined churches and chapels and the remains of monastic houses. This was medievalism for the tourist (the principal hotels and inns are also listed), and the medievalist buildings of the nineteenth century are also included as objects of the tour.⁴³

These maps took built heritage as their starting point and re-imagined a landscape associated with a time and place (a landscape that very much reflected their own period, including their wants and needs as 'heritage tourists').

The Icelandic Saga and Heritage Association, formerly the Icelandic Saga Trail Association, has developed a vision of the whole country of Iceland as a place full of Viking, or at least Icelandic saga, specific cultural heritage. Iceland is 103,000 km², and is characterized 'by a varied rugged, volcanic topography, glaciated mountains, an uninhabited high-plateau desert interior and fjord coastal landscapes to the east and west'.⁴⁴ Since the global financial crisis of the 2000s, tourism has been one of the main tools identified for economic or regional development.⁴⁵ On www.sagatrail.is/en, it is possible to reimagine Iceland as a series of places mentioned in the medieval sagas, including places where that history is specifically interpreted. The saga trail requires tourists to reinterpret existing landscape, which could be tied to any age in its existence, in light of their understanding of the Viking Age. Only in a few places has the landscape been actually changed.

Starting from the harbour in Stockholm, Sweden, right beside city hall, you can take a ferry through the archipelago to the modern island of Björko, site of the Viking market Birka. Today, you will find a museum, Vikingastaden Birka, several reconstructed city blocks and, if you come on the right day, a Viking market with local re-enactors. And, in fact, who would go there save for the few families who continue to farm certain portions of the island, if it weren't for the museum? There are over 1,000 islands in the archipelago, but Birka is a significant destination. Ansgar's cross, a relic from a previous generation of public historians, reminds us of the changing tastes of the tourist or historian and of the changing signifiers of the 'medieval' that tourists respond to. Today, most tourists who come to Birka have been drawn by the promise of the Viking market town, but earlier historians and travelers were drawn here because it is where St. Ansgar carried out his missionary work. At Björko, the landscape of the island is altered by the physical presence of the museum and tourists to reflect a more medieval space, but the space is also reconceived to be 'medieval', like Iceland or York is, except that here the 'medieval' is the dominant interpretation.

Halewood and Hannam trace the rise of Viking tourism to the development of the heritage tourism industry broadly in Europe.⁴⁶ Iceland is not the only option if you want to tour Viking places. The tour company, 50° North Nordic, in 2018, offered a Viking Trail tour of Denmark. In 2004, you could take the guided Viking Land Tour:

The 'Viking Land Tour'! This is an awful tour; it is a terrible tour. You won't see anything but tombs and graves and so on. But don't worry. At the end you'll love it. [...] We're taking you out in the beautiful Danish countryside showing you a bit around. Then we are going to the renowned Viking Ship Museum. That'll make you specialists in the Vikings. On the way to a 5000 years old dusky old passage-grave we're again taking you on a picturesque crosscutting tour through the countryside. [...] Before we're having a typical Danish buffet at an old charming inn we are visiting the stunning cathedral of Roskilde.⁴⁷

And you would not be limited to Scandinavia if you wish to take a Viking tour. Outside of Rouen, France, there are also signs which let visitors know that they are 'sur le trace des Vikings'.⁴⁸ Whole regions are themed according to a perception of the medieval to shape a tourist experience. These are new spacial divisions of the landscape, new ways (hearkening back to old ways) of conceiving of the space.⁴⁹

The Vikings are particularly popular subjects for tours, just as they are for living history museums, because their material remains are less dramatic than the castles and cathedrals left by other cultures. The proliferation of Viking sites is in part because there is a sense that this history is connected to the people who live there; the proliferation is tied to identity politics and Europeans' sense of their own history. But these sites are building on a demonstrable history. They can make claims to 'authenticity', despite the wide variety of these 'medieval' landscapes. Halewood and Hannam show that 'degrees of authenticity are often consciously invoked at all the Viking tourism sites'.⁵⁰ Sites and maps that explore a 'medieval' heritage are constructed by and for the tourist gaze; the tourist gaze is more actively *creating* the medieval, as well as perceiving it.

‘Medieval’ events

Some subjects of the tourist gaze are located less in space than they are in time. As Chhabra et al. explain:

Built environments (such as historical homes, castles, and industrial sites) are perhaps the most obvious manifestations of heritage and the most popular destinations of heritage tourism. But in terms of cultural production (recreation and display of culture), some of the largest and most visited destinations are cultural heritage festivals.⁵¹

Events are popular since, even if they are repetitions of previous events, each one is different, so they appeal to tourists searching for novelty.⁵² Events are part of the collective tourist gaze. Urry and Larsen argue that this involves ‘conviviality’: ‘other people also viewing the site are necessary to give liveliness or a sense of carnival or movement. Large numbers of people indicate that this is the place to be.’⁵³ ‘Medieval’ events temporarily code landscapes as places to enjoy the past, bringing many people together to participate.

An event, however, more than built heritage, or even medieval themed re-imaginings of the landscape, creates its own Middle Ages. No longer is it just to be gazed at, but it is to be participated in. As Chhabra et al. argue, ‘the authenticity targeted today by heritage festival tourism is a blend [. . .] first, an attempt is made to copy the original; then the copy is modified to meet the needs of the modern community.’⁵⁴ They add:

According to Fine and Speer (1997), an authentic experience involves participation in a collective ritual, where strangers get together in a cultural production to share a feeling of closeness or solidarity. This cultural production is not a total re-creation of the past. In fact, nostalgic collective memory selectively reconstructs the past to serve needs of the present.⁵⁵

Many of these events are associated with places that already use ‘medieval’ to promote tourism. ‘Medieval’ cities often have ‘medieval’ events which try to concentrate those people interested in a ‘medieval’ experience, to capitalize the most on their pre-existing resources and maximize tourist revenues. These festivals have become very popular, so much so that it seems nearly possible to spend your year travelling from festival to festival: in June, there is the Provins Medieval Festival in Provins, France; in July you could visit Medieval Days in Tallinn, Estonia, followed by Medieval Week in Visby, Sweden; if you are around in February, why not check out the Jorvik Viking Festival in York. York had declared 2018 to be ‘the year of the Viking’.

These events are drawing on their local ‘medieval’ resources, built heritage and re-creations, to give them their theme.⁵⁶ All of these examples are located in cities with great medieval walls around certain portions of the city, which give these festivals atmosphere. According to Chhabra et al., ‘satisfaction with a heritage event depends not on its authenticity in the literal sense of whether or not it is an accurate re-creation of some past condition, but rather on its perceived authenticity (consistency with nostalgia for some real or imagined past).’⁵⁷

Some kinds of medieval events do not derive authenticity from the built heritage but by their association with certain peoples or events. One example includes the proliferation of Viking trading fairs or markets.⁵⁸ The first market was organized at Moesgård in Denmark in 1977. The idea came from the director and curator of the local museum, who organized a Viking ship show, a craft fair and a horse demonstration put on by the local Icelandic Horse Society.⁵⁹ In 2017, Blogger www.thevikingqueen.com counted twenty-one Viking/medieval markets in Norway alone. Halewood and Hannam argue about the Viking fairs:

Viking markets can be viewed as an attempt to replicate all the fun of medieval fairs; and, while they are not true carnivals, they are carnivalesque performances which emphasize the body and bodily processes, the community, and their relationship with their environment (Bakhtin 1984). The Viking markets are transgressive spaces where people can come to play and where the conventions of retailing are modified.⁶⁰

These kinds of events more obviously create a 'medieval' landscape because they create 'medieval' objects for the tourist gaze, where nothing was necessarily readily available.

Comparing the event landscapes here to those created by built heritage or re-interpretations of the pre-existing landscape, these are most obviously creations of the tourist gaze. The tourists or potential of tourists have made something, sometimes where there was nothing before. Rather than seeing this as less authentic than the gazing of the previous instances of 'medieval' landscapes, this instead draws attention to the way that our perceptions of a space impact its character. Instead of pointing to an object and saying 'that is medieval', or to a space where an event happened and saying 'that is medieval', people are engaging in practices that they have associated with the term 'medieval'.

Inventing a 'medieval' landscape

This chapter conceives of four different kinds of 'medieval landscapes', but it should be clear that there is significant overlap between all of these spaces. Even when a 'medieval' landscape is created using artefacts or built heritage which arguably have a medieval existence outside of the tourist gaze, it has been shown that the tourist gaze has still helped invent, or at least preserve, the 'medieval' space. If there isn't a medieval artefact to celebrate, an often intangible cultural heritage can be brought in to fill in the gap (weaving, woodworking, storytelling etc.), which is no less medieval than the physical object. Destinations which create a 'sight' or experience for the tourist gaze often have a comedic element, drawing attention to elements of artificiality while at the same time marketing authenticity. Interpretive sites vary in how seriously they take themselves or, alternately, how self-reflexively postmodern they are. Another example would be the Canterbury Tales attraction in Canterbury England, which recreates a literary scene (which would obviously have no specific built heritage to draw on) for tourists to gaze on. King Arthur's Labyrinth in Machynlleth, Wales, positions itself as

'authentic' by offering a more Welsh version of the legend (as opposed to an anglicized one), despite a lack of Arthurian literature associated with the site.⁶¹ Viking Land, a subsection of the theme park Tusenfryd in Vinterbro, Norway, makes few pretensions about the history represented at the site, except that Viking is a word with resonances for the local population, so that heritage is still being used as one of the marketing tools here.⁶²

Whether it is a ruined castle, a Viking tour or the annual celebration of 'Medieval Days', all of these things create 'medieval' landscapes by focusing the tourist gaze. All of them draw on different ideas of authenticity to market the 'medieval' to tourists. As Chhabra et al say, 'Authenticity – or more accurately, the perception of it – generates revenue and its preservation is considered important by the tourist.'⁶³ There are some landscapes, however, which have less to work with and so do more work than others to create something to be the object of the tourist gaze. North American 'medieval' sites engage in a lot of invention that is more obvious to the tourist than it would be in European locations. European commemoration of the 'medieval' is going to be different from North American. Coming back to Poria et al's point about how personal connection is at the heart of heritage tourism, in Europe explorations of the 'medieval' are easily marketable as local heritage, while in North America this heritage is linked primarily with North Americans' identity as a settler/invasor people. The Norse, who landed on North American shores around the year 1000, are of course not actually connected to the large-scale immigration of European settlers/invasors; however, they are perceived as the first Europeans, with first implying a link to the others that will follow.

Parks Canada is not inventing the Norse landing site at L'Anse aux Meadows in Newfoundland, Canada. Like other open-air museums mentioned earlier, it does build things for the tourist to gaze upon and hosts different interpretive guides to help 'bring the history alive' for the visitors; so in this way it creates a 'medieval' landscape similar to the recreations of Eiríkr the Red's home in Garða, Greenland. Norstead Viking village, the open-air museum beside the Parks Canada site, is a replica of a Viking port of trade. Its relationship with invention is different than the Parks Canada site. Norstead does not claim that there was such a thing as a Viking port of trade at that location, but the authenticity of the archaeology just two kilometres away and the effort taken in reproducing an authentic Viking Age port in both look and feel are part of the marketing to the tourists.

Wayne Fife argues that the primary method for creating authority for the site 'seems to be to create an association between the new tourist site and the older archaeological site of L'Anse aux Meadows through a symbolic process that emphasizes both the physical and verbal proximity of the two sites.'⁶⁴ Fife calls this authenticity by association 'semantic slippage', which is 'a process by which an original artifact or sign justifies the authenticity of a "similar" reproduction. Successful slippage occurs when what is taken to be the "original" meaning of an object (or event) largely collapses into the contemporary meaning of an object of enactment.'⁶⁵ In fact, in the last forty years the whole Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland has been reshaped to accommodate the Viking tourism that now drives much of the economy in that area. The road along the northern peninsula has been rebranded 'The Viking Trail'. Despite the inability to

definitively pin down the locations mentioned in the Vinland sagas, a large sign saying, 'Welcome to Vinland' has been placed on the road leading to L'Anse aux Meadows and St. Anthony (Figure 8.1).

As in Iceland, the whole area has been re-imagined in terms of Norse history, particularly in relation to saga literature. Applying a new map to the area makes it a 'medieval' landscape. Unlike Iceland, however, it is more of a stretch for the tourist to re-imagine that whole area in the light of the Viking Age. It is similar to Björko, where Viking tourism has literally altered the landscape and dominated other possible interpretations of the space, except that it is harder for the tourist to imagine, outside of the confines of the Parks Canada site, that all the land that is under their feet that is part of this 'medieval' landscape, was once walked on by Vikings. A small kernel has grown into a much larger area under the tourist gaze. In many ways, this is very similar to European sites, but the process of invention is made more explicit by placing it in a North American context, where the link to the history is more tenuous.

The Runestone museum in Alexandria, Minnesota, emphasizes again the tenuous link between history/heritage and tourism. As a site of Norse history, the link is dubious at best, which is confirmed by the Runestone Museum website. The museum celebrates Norse history, but as a local historical institution, it also hosts Fort Alexandria, which gives presentations about more credible local American (including Native American) history. But even though the history is tenuous, the impact of Viking tourism can be felt throughout the town. In 2018, you could attend the Vikingland Band Festival

Figure 8.1 A sign along Hwy 430 leading into St. Anthony and L'Anse aux Meadows, Newfoundland, Canada.

and Viking Plaza Crazy Days. You could visit the Scandinavian gift shop, take a turn around the Viking Speedway or go to Viking Pawn. As Paradis says,

culturally-based aspects of authenticity, trends in popular culture, and social status must also contribute to how and why theming occurs in certain places. Individual perception of authenticity engenders local discussions regarding the appropriateness of specific themes for representing their own collective identity.⁶⁶

Viking tourism has shaped the construction of the town in profound ways, despite the probable lack of actual Vikings. Alexandria plays with the signifiers of the medieval, despite no verifiable claim to medieval history, creating a 'medieval' landscape.

The postmodern playing with the symbols of the medieval is inherent in any 'medieval' event. A quick perusal of the Provins Medieval Festival website's pictures of previous events shows as many fantasy costumes as those going for a sense of historic realism. Participants at these kinds of events regularly (and many intentionally) play with the signifiers of the Middle Ages, creating a new sense of the 'medieval'. Without the backdrop of medieval architecture, North American medieval festivals cannot even make the claim that they are, as Halewood and Hannam argued the Viking markets were, creating a sense of local identity or culture – at least, not in the same way that they can in Europe. There is the link to the history of the settler/invasor culture, but these are as often transgressive spaces as they are hegemonic ones. Rachel Rubin calls the American Faires a 'functional paradox'.⁶⁷ According to Rubin, the festivals were born out of the counter culture of the 1960s in Laurel Canyon, California and originally imagined as a transgressive space.⁶⁸ Many of these festivals do still market an authenticity, relating their event back to an event or tradition that occurred in a medieval or renaissance time period, or claiming authenticity through references to medieval ballads or literature. The first fair in Laurel Canyon set itself in the Old Woodbury Hill Fair in Dorset, England.⁶⁹ As Rubin says, 'there has not been a year when the word "authentic" has not found its way into discourse about the faire: in marketing, praise or criticism, or insider debate. In the fifth decade of [. . .] faires, historical authenticity characterizes them, and their participants, unevenly'.⁷⁰ There is also a sense of authenticity in a North American medieval or renaissance festival, since many of the events in Europe, like Medieval Week in Visby, became traditions only after it was a popular pastime in the United States.

Rubin points out 'it is worth remembering in the twenty-first century that for every educated stickler, there are others who genuinely feel that the faire has enriched them by encouraging an interest in another time and place'.⁷¹ Daniel Kline agrees that 'the love of the medieval as remediated by amateur role-players and gamers is everywhere evident in the time and attention they devote to their characters and to their games in festivals and basements across the globe'.⁷² Authenticity is a conversation; it is a highly flexible term, while at the same time, conveying specific meanings to certain communities. These 'medieval' fairs do create a 'medieval' landscape since attendees agree that that is what they are participating in.

Just as the research function of museums should not be discounted, likewise the performative aspect of a 'medieval' faire is an important part of its *raison d'être*. Yet the

'coming to see', the tourist aspect, is a major part of their organization and existence. Arguably, since many of the fairs across the United States were corporatized, the focus on tourism (as opposed to performing in a transgressive space) has grown.⁷³ More performative events include LARPing or conventions of the SCA (Society for Creative Anachronism). The distinction between these kinds of events is blurry when investigated closely; however, fairs and events hosted by towns have more of an economic motive. They are created more for, and cater more to, tourists. The concept of the gaze is complicated here if we do not remember that the idea of a 'tourist gaze' was never meant to encompass just the looking; the looking was just the organizing principle. Indeed, many come to these fairs to participate, so it is a combination of a 'heritage tourism' with a 'performance tourism'.

In North America, and in places all over the globe where performance blurs the lines between 'medieval' and 'neomedieval' (often fantastic reinterpretations of medieval subjects, aesthetics and themes into new material, a kin to Tolkien's work), the invention of a 'medieval' landscape is more explicit and easier to see.

Conclusion

'Medieval' as a brand changes with different times and different places. What a society imagines to be 'medieval' depends on the time, geography and experiences of an individual. At Björko, one group of travellers themed the land with a cross of St. Ansgar, putting their interpretation of the 'medieval' up to be gazed upon. Later generations would build a Viking Age market, more in tune with their interpretation of the significant medieval history there. Neither group meant to exclude the other interpretations available of the island, including the interpretation of the island as a family farm, but the tourist gaze left different marks at different times, constructing different kinds of 'medieval' landscapes.

Built heritage is an obvious signifier of the 'medieval' that can be exploited (or explored if exploited has too many negative connotations) for tourism, but even there the interpretive work to get a tourist to experience built heritage as 'medieval' has often already been done for them, making 'medieval' a dominant theme. Without built heritage, things can be added to the landscape for tourists to see. If you link the built and re-created heritage together, you have reimagined the landscape, which could belong to any age, as specifically 'medieval' for tourist purposes. Different interpretive tools can be used to help the tourists create a 'medieval' in their mind, even when there is nothing already there to be gazed upon.

Some 'medieval' landscapes are more explicitly and purposefully created for tourists. These same processes are more clearly seen when there is not an immediate medieval signifier, which can be exploited (or explored). It may be true, as Watson laments, that

if postmodernity is accepted as the prevailing social and cultural condition (and this is by no means necessary) then the medieval is reduced in status to one of many depthless forms which may be consumed without significance. Touring the medieval is a meaningless activity for *touring* is the essential thing, it matters not what.⁷⁴

But medieval as an aesthetic is always subject to our interpretation; embracing the interpretations that shade more toward the postmodern may be to further acknowledge this. Nor is research and representation of different aspects of the Middle Ages likely to go away, as authenticity will always be part of the marketing strategy of selling the 'medieval' to the tourist.

Notes

- 1 In this chapter, I will use quotation marks around medieval when there is some question about how much the adjective is an accurate representation of what it is describing. Because this chapter argues that the tourist gaze creates 'medieval' spaces, these qualifiers will be used often.
- 2 Liberty Entertainment Group, 'The Early Days: Toronto's Camelot', *Casa Loma: Toronto's Majestic Castle*. Available at <http://casaloma.ca/camelot.html>, accessed February 26, 2018.
- 3 Medieval Times Dinner and Tournament, *Medieval Times Dinner and Tournament* (2018). Available at <https://www.medievaltimes.com/about-medieval-times/index.htm>, accessed 26 February 2018.
- 4 Ewa Skowronek et al., 'What Is the Tourist Landscape? Aspects and Features of the Concept', *Acta Geographica Slovenica* 58, no. 2 (2018): 77.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Skowronek et al. have further defined some of the variable aspects of 'tourist landscape', which is relevant to this chapter since the 'medieval' landscapes created by and for tourists take on such different shapes:

Genetic aspect – in this approach 'tourist landscape' is a form of cultural landscape. It is a consequence of landscape changes resulting from the development of tourist functions. It is a consecutive 'layer of cultural landscape, which can be homogenous or heterogenous (coexistence of different types of landscapes attractive for tourism in a given destination). It can be featured with different levels of authenticity.

Physiognomic aspect – tourist landscape reflects tourism development which is aimed at meeting tourists' expectations and the requirements of the tourist economy. It is a particularly physiognomy of tourist space, which links natural and cultural elements with the effects of tourism activity, which differs fundamentally from other types of landscape.

Functional aspect – tourist landscape has a potential (not necessarily used) to have tourist functions. It is an area where tourism can have, at least temporarily, a predominant role. Each stage of development of tourist function is accompanied by different stages of development whereby tourist and para-tourist facilities are built.

Interrelated network aspect – tourist landscape is composed of various network connections (internal and external), characterising internal coherence which consists of complementary facilities and services.

Social aspect – tourist landscape is closely connected with the presence of tourists, it is the object of tourists' interest and can potentially generate tourist movement. It is made to meet tourists' expectations and build a tourist economy. It is selected and used by tourists according to the preferred form of action. Tourist landscape is the object of subjective evaluation and confrontation by tourists having their expectations. It is taken into considerations in plans and implementation schedules. Skowronek, 'What is the Tourist Landscape', 80–1.

- 7 Theano S. Terkenli, 'Tourism and Landscape', *A Companion to Tourism*, eds Alan A. Lew, Michael Hall and Allen Williams (Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2004), 340; As Terkenli argues:

Tourism marketing reproduces images and discourses about landscapes through representations of cultural signs, on the basis of which the tourist, through processes of experiential reinterpretation of the sign, may assess the sight and validate the meanings of the visited landscape within the predominant discourse. Iconographical methods of construction, signification, decodification, and deconstruction are central to the making of tourist landscapes (Norton 1996; Stefanou 2000). Terkenli, 'Tourism and Landscape', 340.
- 8 Terkenli, 'Tourism and Landscape', 347.
- 9 Russell Staiff et al., 'Introduction – Place, Encounter, Engagement: Context and Themes', in *Heritage and Tourism: Place, Encounter, Engagement*, eds Russell Staiff, Robyn Bushell and Steve Watson (New York: Routledge, 2013), 3.
- 10 Steve Watson, 'Touring the Medieval: Tourism, Heritage and Medievalism in Northumbria', in *Appropriating the Middle Ages: Scholarship, Politics, Fraud*, eds T. A. Shippey and Martin Arnold (Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2001), 251; Louis D'Arcens, 'Laughing in the Face of the Past: Satire and Nostalgia in Medieval Heritage Tourism', *Postmedieval: A Journal of Medieval Cultural Studies* 2 (2011): 156; John Urry and Jonas Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (London: SAGE Publications, 2012), 6.
- 11 Staiff, 'Introduction', 6.
- 12 Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 2.
- 13 Ibid., 195; Poria et al. researched 'heritage tourism' and discovered that their 'research . . . challenges the perception that all those who visit a place come only to 'gaze', be educated or to enjoy themselves. For some, it is argued this is an emotional experience, that people come to 'feel' rather than to 'gaze'. Yaniv Poria et al., 'The Core of Heritage Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research* 30, no. 1 (2003): 239.
- 14 Watson, 'Touring the Medieval: Tourism, Heritage and Medievalism in Northumbria', 241.
- 15 Windu Nuryanti, 'Heritage and Postmodern Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research* 23, no. 2 (1996): 249.
- 16 Watson, 'Touring the Medieval', 241; Deepak Chhabra et al., 'Staged Authenticity and Heritage Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research* 30, no. 2 (2003): 703; In addition, 'Zeppal and Hall also Emphasize Motivation, and View Heritage Tourism, as "Based on Nostalgia for the Past and the Desire to Experience Diverse Cultural Landscapes and Forms" (1991:49); Chhabra, 'Staged Authenticity', 703.
- 17 Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 10–11.
- 18 Chris Halewood and Kevin Hannam, 'Viking Heritage Tourism: Authenticity and Commodification', *Annals of Tourism Research* 28, no. 3 (2001): 567.
- 19 Thomas W. Paradis, 'Theming, Tourism, and Fantasy City', in *A Companion to Tourism*, eds Alan A. Lew, Michael Hall and Allen Williams (Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2004), 198.
- 20 Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 11; Chhabra, 'Staged Authenticity', 706.
- 21 Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 13.
- 22 Paradis, 'Theming, Tourism, and Fantasy City', 202.
- 23 Emma Waterton, 'Heritage Tourism and Its Representations', *Heritage and Tourism: Place, Encounter, Engagement*, eds Russell Staiff, Robyn Bushell and Steve Watson (New York: Routledge, 2013), 70.

- 24 Nuryanti, 'Heritage and Postmodern Tourism', 252.
- 25 Watson, 'Touring the Medieval', 247.
- 26 Steve Watson, 'Country Matters: The Rural-Historic as an Authorised Heritage Discourse in England', in *Heritage and Tourism: Place, Encounter, Engagement*, eds Russell Staiff, Robyn Bushell and Steve Watson (New York: Routledge, 2013), 110.
- 27 Watson, 'Touring the Medieval', 248.
- 28 Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 54.
- 29 Watson, 'Touring the Medieval', 253.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 Waterton, 'Heritage Tourism', 69.
- 32 Watson, 'Touring the Medieval', 253.
- 33 Paradis, 'Theming, Tourism and Fantasy City', 197.
- 34 Ibid., 195.
- 35 Staiff, 'Introduction', 252.
- 36 Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 151.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 Bærenholdt argues, 'Debates on heritage tourism in general and Viking heritage in particular have revolved around the concepts of "authenticity" and "commodification" [...] Much of this debate has falsely presented the question as one of either/or, presenting museums as necessarily being either serious or entertaining, thus neglecting the ways in which visitors ascribe meaning to and inscribe their own practices within heritage sites.' Jørgen Ole Bærenholdt and Michael Haldrup, 'On the Track of the Vikings', in *Tourism Mobilities: Places to Play, Places in Play*, eds Mimi Sheller and John Urry (London: Routledge, 2004), 79.
- 39 D'Arcens shows that for 'comic medieval tourism . . . is a form of tourism in which odor is in fact vital to its aims, playing a central role in this niche-industry's production of what historian Linda Austin has described as a powerful non-cerebral or embodied nostalgia (Austin, 2007, 14–23)', D'Arcens, 'Laughing in the Face of the Past', 161.
- 40 Louise D'Arcens, *Comic Medievalism* (New York: Boydell and Brewer, 2014), 167.
- 41 Watson, 'Touring the Medieval', 255.
- 42 Ibid., 241; Skrowonek et al. argue that 'social awareness of the importance and function of landscape has been increasing in recent years. It is commonly considered as the primary element of European heritage, and as an important factor affecting the quality of life of people'. Skrowonek, 'What Is the Tourist Landscape?', 75.
- 43 Watson, 'Touring the Medieval', 251.
- 44 Gunnar Thór Jóhannesson et al., 'Icelandic Tourism: Past Directions – Future Challenges', *Tourism Geographies* 12, no. 2 (May 2010): 281.
- 45 Jóhannesson, 'Icelandic Tourism', 285.
- 46 Halewood, 'Viking Heritage Tourism', 568.
- 47 Larsen 148–9 qtd. In Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 202–3.
- 48 Bærenholdt, 'On the Track of the Vikings', 87.
- 49 Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 125.
- 50 Halewood, 'Viking Heritage Tourism', 574.
- 51 Chhabra, 'Staged Authenticity', 704.
- 52 Donald Getz, 'Geographic Perspectives on Event Tourism', in *A Companion to Tourism*, eds Alan A. Lew, Michael Hall and Allen Williams (Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2004), 412.
- 53 Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 19.

- 54 Chhabra, 'Staged Authenticity', 704.
- 55 Ibid., 705.
- 56 Getz, 'Geographic Perspectives', 414.
- 57 Chhabra, 'Staged Authenticity', 705.
- 58 Halewood, 'Viking Heritage Tourism', 573.
- 59 Ibid.
- 60 Ibid., 579.
- 61 Benjamin Earl, 'Places Don't Have to Be True to Be True: The Appropriation of KING Arthur and the Cultural', in *Mass Market Medieval: Essays on the Middle Ages in Popular Culture*, ed. David Marshall (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2007), 108.
- 62 Halewood, 'Viking Heritage Tourism', 571; 'At Viking Land, for instance, the mark of authenticity is provided by two of Norway's most renowned archaeologists, Helge and Anne Ingstad, who were consultants during the construction of the site. However, at Viking Land there is no archaeological site in the locality to provide a basis for the recreation nor even any finds from the period'. Halewood, 'Viking Heritage Tourism', 575.
- 63 Chhabra, 'Stages Authenticity', 716.
- 64 Wayne Fife, 'Semantic Slippage as a New Aspect of Authenticity: Viking Tourism on the Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland', *Journal of Folklore Research* 41, no. 1 (2004): 72.
- 65 Ibid., 63–4.
- 66 Paradis, 'Theming, Tourism and Fantasy City', 202.
- 67 Rachel Rubin, *Well Met: Renaissance Faires and the American Counterculture* (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 2.
- 68 Ibid., 4.
- 69 Ibid., 33.
- 70 Ibid., 36.
- 71 Ibid., 70.
- 72 Daniel T. Kline, 'Participatory Medievalism, Role-Playing, and Digital Gaming', in *The Cambridge Companion to Medievalism*, ed. Louise D'Arcens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 75.
- 73 'The first of these, Renaissance Entertainment Corporation (later Renaissance Entertainment Productions), a for-profit publicly traded entity, acquired its first faire in 1989: King Richard's Faire in Bristol, Wisconsin, which it renamed Bristol Renaissance Faire. This traceable network of business deals on the part of motivated individuals, with their own artistic vision and, later on, aggressive corporations methodically consolidating their holdings, is as important to the story of the faires' expansion across the country as is the spread of countercultural values or theatrical innovation'; Rubin, *Well Met*, 66–7.
- 74 Watson, 'Touring the Medieval', 256.