THE HOLLERROUTE – LANDSCAPE AWARENESS AS A DRIVING FACTOR IN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

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Abstract: The Holler Landscapes are a European testimony of a marsh and dyke landscape through land reclamation starting in the High Middle Ages. This Dutch originating cope cultivation were found in many places in Europe, but spread particularly in Germany and Poland. These landscapes had, and for most of their part still have in common that they were created by Dutch water experts – most often on demand from local authorities, like archbishops or kings - and are therefore called Holler Colonies. The tangible landscape heritage was often linked to the import of many Dutch society features (e.g. related to laws, habits, equal rights of men and women), making the Holler Colonies a unique document to the intangible heritage as well. Today, the remainders of these landscapes give an important testimony to European economic and social history. These landscapes were predominately shaped during the great clearances in the High Middle Ages, with some of them, in particular Poland, dating from a later period. Of course, not all landscapes and associated traditions have survived until today. Several Holler landscapes have been completely transformed by more recent land reclamation processes or due to abandonment. The examples that still bear the vivid impression of the land transformation are therefore not only a unique but as well rare testimony of tangible and intangible heritage of European history. The article focusses on an awareness raising process that took place in the Altes Land (Lower Saxony, Germany) within the last 15 years: After a difficult beginning, finally the understanding of the historical transformations and of the particularity of this traditional cultural landscape became a trigger towards local and regional development strategies. The awareness on the Dutch landscape heritage lead to an identification process among the inhabitants and last but not least, triggered local development. It helped finally to start the will to sustain the historic regional character, allowing a sustainable economic development, and is accompanied by tourism and awareness building measures. One of them is the "Holler Route" – a project recognized within the European Year of Cultural Heritage, which will develop, among others, teaching materials about Holler Landscapes which will be integrated into the official geography curriculum for schools and will be available at the online-education server (NibiS) of the Federal State of Lower Saxonia.

Introduction

Holler Colonies are settlements in European marsh and dyke landscapes, mostly along rivers, not to be confused with coastal marsh landscapes. They were created by land reclamation starting in the High Middle Ages by Dutch water experts that had most often been hired by local leaders, e.g. kings or archbishops. We find Holler Colonies in the Netherlands, in Germany, Poland, and France but also in South England, South Sweden, Denmark and certainly other countries (Danner et al. 2005; Figure 1 and 2). Some Holler colonies were later abandoned others remained. Several of those that have survived were often changed by later land reclamation processes (Renes and Piastra 2012). Today, the remaining of these landscapes are visible proof of the intangible and tangible heritage of European economic and social history.

Holler Colonies are a European landscape typology in many different regards: First, they are the consequence of a large-scale European knowledge transfer of Dutch water pioneers. Especially important, they have always been built on demand by local leaders also including the social diffusion of Dutch laws, traditions and society models (Kruse and Paulowitz 2019). Second, they may be considered a European landscape type as such, defining European wetland areas along large rivers from the Middle Ages onwards. However, their uniqueness is based on the techniques applied, the social processes involved, and their long duration.

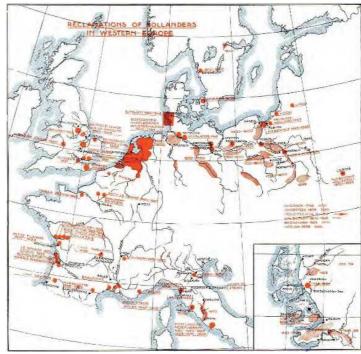


Figure 1. Land reclamation and improvement measures carried out by the Dutch (Source: Renes 2005, according to Van Veen 1955)

The following article illuminates the potential that traditional landscapes may have on regional society and economic development even today. The focus is on one of these Holler Landscapes, the Altes Land, located at the southern shores of the Elbe River close to Hamburg, which bears still many tangible features and as well strong expressions of the land use and popular traditions going back to the "colonists". The remnants that still exist to the century old way of live find their manifestation in a citizen's initiative that wants to raise awareness on this unique European heritage and to motivate the local producers, mainly fruit growers, to see this unique heritage not as a limitation but as a chance for sustainable development (http1) that could be used for branding, too. Thus, increasing the resilience of the landscape. The citizen's movement, formalized as a non-profit association in 2008, uses the nomination for recognition as World Heritage as a tool to work for a common future of the region (http2).



Figure 2. This aerial view of the fields of Ladekop in the Altes Land shows the distinctive linear structure echoing that of the mother landscapes in the Netherlands, e.g. Lopikerwaard, Wowbrugge, Teckop; it can also be found in other Holler Colonies, e.g. Malborg in Poland. (Source: With kind permission of Martin Elsen).

The Altes Land is characterized by a linear landscape structure: long-stripe fields, canals, ditches, roads, ways and settlements following these ditches (figure 2, 3). It is a traditional fruit production landscape, today the biggest closed fruit production area in Northern Europe. Some figures about extent and economy can be found at http3, http4. Particularly for the fruit producers, the envisaged protection status would mean some limitations and obligations, not least keeping the historic ditches intact, although they limit the working width appreciated for the use of machines but also the use of chemical substances. On the other hand, it may be the main motor to safeguard the land, its society and economy in a sustainable way. The future of the region as a high-quality agricultural production region and as a tourist destination, considering that tourism is the second largest income point of the region, are additional strong arguments for maintaining the Altes Land as it still is.



Figure 3. Linear structures: fields, canals & ditches, farms patterns, streets and dykes, fruit trees parallel to the linear water structures. (All photos by Kruse, A.)

In the last 15 years, the association's members organised many awareness-raising campaigns, including national and international symposia and exhibitions. Although not without difficulties and continuous discussions, the group succeeded in getting fruit producers, municipalities, tourist organisations and the general public behind their common goal. And, much more important, the association has become a focal point for local development and protection planning in general. Although all working at a voluntary basis, they were the driving force and competence centre in developing the Altländer Charta, a guiding principle (Leitbild 2007), which sets guidelines on how to live and interact with the tangible landscape and built heritage in the region. In the same direction, a building guide (Baufibel 2011), focusing on the protection of the built heritage was published and helps to conserve and sustain the heritage. Finally, in 2014, a regional development concept, set-up in a participatory process, was established.

These processes help to sustain the historic character while allowing a sustainable economic development are accompanied by tourism and awareness building measures. One of

them being the latest project "The Holler Route Altes Land: Understanding the beginning, experiencing the heritage" (http5). The project is funded with national money out of the "European Year of Cultural Heritage" funding (http6). Among others, modernising of local museums, development of education material and creating participative cultural activities especially for children and youth will be realised. The project is an important step towards the long-term aim of constructing the Holler Route, an interpretive cycling path, which shall be included in the European cultural routes program. The route targets at informing vividly about the history of Holler Colonies. At the end, the Holler Route aims at connecting the Altes Land with Holler Colonies in different countries, starting with the Netherlands and Poland. Based on its European history – speaking a European language is in the focus of all activities.

Materials and methods

As far as we know today, planned drainage started in the 13th century (Renes 2005, Verein 2009). Dutch technical knowledge was almost immediately highly demanded by land owners and authorities elsewhere across Europe; soon the Dutch experts were invited to come and helping to drain lowlands (figure 1). A later period of population growth between 1450 and 1650 triggered a second phase of reclamations, especially in the Low Countries and also in Eastern Europe, characterised by an intensive use of existing arable and pasture lands (Renes 2010). However, this later movement of overall reshaping created less clearly visible and regionally distinct landscapes like did the first ones in the 12th to 13th century.

The Dutch water experts and enriched communities with their often advanced knowledge and expertise: Not only labour, but new forms of social and political organisation, commercial and economic networks, and last but not least, the knowledge of how to drain and to maintain these wet landscapes which had been so far more or less unproductive (Lewandowski and Szewczyk 2008, Hofmeister 2009, Verein 2009). Other contributions included legal traditions, capital investment and place names, particularly in the Altes Land. Thus, material interventions in holler landscapes have always been closely linked to immaterial heritage. The local historian Adolf Hofmeister published after decades of archive research a two-volume-book about settlement and constitution of the Stade Elb Marsh in the Middle Ages: Volume I: "The Stade Elb Marsh before the colonisation in the 12th century" in 1979 and a second volume in 1981 "The holler colonisation and the land community Kehdingen and Altes Land". He clearly distinguished several unique characteristics of the Altes Land:

- With the emergence of the major crews (Hauptmannschaften) in the 14th century, the separation between jurisdiction and administration was already being anticipated in the Altes Land. This separation of powers occurred in central Europe mostly only in the 19th century.
- The autonomy of the district of Jork lasted until 1932 when the centuries-old unity of the Altes Land was reshaped.
- Since the 15th century, farms have remained undivided property of one family for generations.
- Many of the features, like the ownership structure, topography, rule-based conditions, contractual arrangements and legal relations, which shaped the daily lives of people in the Altes Land in a special way over the past centuries, were based on the Dutch origins, which was introduced into the area in the 13th century.
- The "Olden Landes Ordeninge und Rechteboeke" regulated the rule of law as an original, self-contained legislation.
- Woman always held a very strong position in the Altes Land so that, for example, a jointly composed will could not be unilaterally changed to the detriment of the other. Furthermore, they had the right to inherit.

From mother to daughter...

In the context of Holler Landscapes, we use the term "mother landscapes" – for the original, first reclaimed wetlands in the low countries, mainly the Netherlands but also in today Belgium – and "daughter landscapes" for the same landscapes outside the low countries, but created by Dutch polder experts. Most of the "mother landscapes" have been transformed or overlayed in the meanwhile – due to natural (sinking) processes but also economic pressures (Renes 2005). The today state of conservation of the daughter landscapes varies. Lewandowski and Szewczyk 2008 stated in their book about (endangered) cultural landscapes in Poland that in particular the Dutch settlements in Poland are today under pressure and could well be inscribed in a 'Red Book of Landscapes' - if only such a book would exist, like it is well-known for threatened species in fauna and flora. In order to underline the historic importance of the Holler Landscapes, two short summaries on the developments of France and Poland will be provided. From 2004-2010, the authors have been in charge to describe the landscape history and development of the Altes Land in general and the characteristics of Holler colonisation as well in the Altes Land as in other European countries. The findings, based on intensive literature research, on-site visits, international exchange and conferences, built the foundation for the envisaged UNESCO World Heritage nomination (Kruse and Paulowitz 2012).

Excursus: Dutch reclamation activities in France

In 1597, France and the Netherlands signed a diplomatic treaty. In the course of this contract, France asked in 1596 for four Dutch dike and land reclamation engineers. The drainage of wetlands was part of the great policy of rehabilitation and development of French agriculture, small industries and rural infrastructure, after the destruction of the civil war. However, there were only two hydraulic engineers, Jan Gerritsz and an anonymous dike farmer from the province of Zeeland, who replied. Together with Humphrey Bradley they carried out the projects of the following years. Humphrey Bradley was the son of an English wool merchant, but lived in Bergen op Zoom (NL). The first project was the drainage of the marais (marsh district) of Chaumont-en-Vexin (department Eure/Oise). 8. April 1599, Bradley was appointed for life as French functionary by King Henry IV (Toussaint 2005). Since 1639, the following Marais had been reclaimed: Marais of Bordeaux, Bruges, Blanquefort and Perempuyre; Marais of Saintonge and Poitou; Marais of Lesparre; Marais of Vernier; Marais of Sacy; Marais of Languedoc, Marais of Arles; Marais de Baux; Marais of Dauphiné (Figure 4).

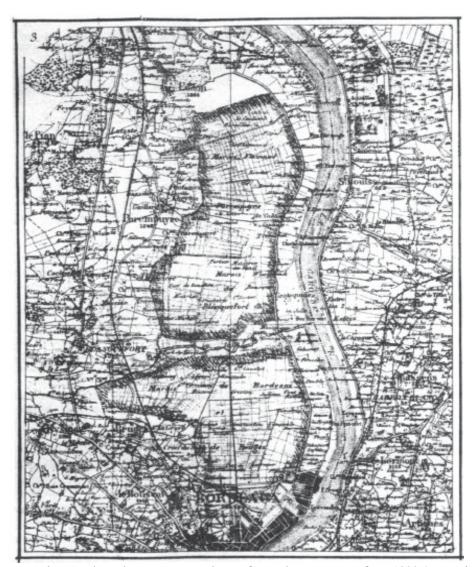


Figure 4. Marrais around Bordeaux, Bruges, Blanquefort and, Perempuyre from 1892 (Toussaint 2005)

The land thus obtained was divided among the investors according to their financial share. The investors came not only from France, among them were also Flemish and Dutch investors. The project areas were located between the coast to the English Channel, in the Charante, in the estuary of the Gironde and in the Midi. There were also other projects throughout the country. After the annulment of the Edict of Nantes, which established Catholicism as a state religion, but ensured still tolerance of the Huguenots, through the Edict of Fontainebleau in 1685, most Dutch and Flemish had to leave the country, regardless the fact that they had been naturalized in the years or sometimes even decades before. However, their role in France ended, their land was expropriated. The rights to land drainage were given to the local authorities, who in turn relinquished them to local residents.

The reason for the drainage measures in France was the conviction that an upscale agriculture was the basis for nationwide prosperity. Therefore, in the 19th century a second large-scale drainage operation began when a rapidly growing population required new agricultural land. This agricultural development and improvement has been accompanied by an improvement of rural infrastructure. The focus was on the Atlantic coast as well as to the rivers Seine, Loire and Rhône and last but not least in the Midi (southwest France). Between 1852 and 1862 58,000 ha were drained.

It is not known to the authors whether and how many Dutch settlers came again to France. However, it is known that the measures were not always undertaken with, but partly against the

will of the local people. The measures had a strong impact on the local population, adapting from fishermen and hunters to farmers. With the exception of the area around Poitevin, not much Dutch influence has survived, e.g. to the economy that was considered progressive throughout Europe. At least for the Dutch and Flemish investors, most projects were not profitable, e.g. because of the high repair costs and the court costs - both had not been considered or expected in the calculation phase. The polders of Petit-Poitou, Dauphiné, Lesparre and the lake of Sarliève harbor have an enduring heritage of Flemish-Dutch hydraulic engineers, especially in the fact that a "Societé" was founded for this purpose. This approach was retained even after the departure of the Dutch for the implementation of such projects. Furthermore, the Dutch have introduced sustainable management, implementation and maintenance of polders. Thus, until 1982, the "Societé de Marais" remained responsible for the maintenance and operation of the seventeenth-century polder. A further Dutch heritage is the surveying of the Petit-Poitou polder, which resembles in detail the Beemster polder, which also dates back to the seventeenth century. Some field names are still reminiscent of the Dutch past.

Excursus: The Case of Poland – one of the last holler colonisations

Parts of present-day Poland were colonized under Dutch law between 1547 and 1864, the resulting areas are known as "olenderski" (Dutch) (figure 5). The designation points already out that this is not just a purely technical process, but also the adoption of legal and social structures. This process was also related to settlements where other nationalities lived. The reason was above all the economic power of the Netherlands. The adoption of Dutch law was later mixed with the takeover of German elements, such as the introduction of so-called basic money (okupne) as well as the function of mayors or "Schulze" (soltys, sheriff). The colonization under Dutch law proceeded in three stages: 1547–1655/1659, 1660–1793/1795 and 1793/1796–1864. During this time, the self-government on the Dutch model was present.

According to Chodyla 2005, between 1547 and 1793/95, at least 1200 settlements under Dutch law were established in more than 12 regions of the Polish-Lithuanian Empire (within the boundaries of 1772). The term "under Dutch law" does not necessarily mean that these had been (only) Dutch settlers, but in fact that the settlers in this place did receive Dutch rights. Considered to be progressive and attractive, settlers and farmers moved to barren or inhospitable areas. These foundations were always associated with certain creeds (Anabaptist, Mennonites, etc.). The Dutch emigrants of the first stage came mainly from the provinces of East Frisia, Groningen, West Frisia, the Frisian Islands, from the Drenthe, Oberijsel, Gelderland, Utrecht, North Holland. The olenderski settlement was a planned, organized process with recruiting agencies; the land developers came individually or in groups. The settlers made contracts with the regional ruler. They often came with their own savings and financed the journey themselves; one can therefore conclude that they were not poor. Besides the fact that they were mostly religious refugees who came to Poland to make the land arable, a second very important reason was the containment of the great floods. For example, In 1540 and 1543 an area of more than 100 km² was inundated - as a result of regulatory measures of the Vistula River, which King Sigismund I had had executed. Dutch emigrants modernized and extended the drainage system of the Vistula River in the delta area and in the Vistula Marshes: Gdansk, Malbork, Elblaskie, Sartowicko-Nowskie lowlands. The system itself existed since the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Furthermore, they worked on the lowlands of the rivers Warthe, Notec, Pilica, Bzura and Bug.

The natural conditions in these marshlands resembled those in Holland, Zealand but also the coastal areas of Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire and other areas in European that were the subject of drainage during this period. The main technical difference between the "Dutch drainage" and the already existing drainage was the distance to the body of water (lake, river, sea), which was significantly larger for the Dutch. In some areas, after the completion of the drainage measures, the Dutch design influence was so strong that the areas looked like Dutch polders.

The Dutch heritage is still visible in the landscape today. The western Vistula bank at Malbork (Marienburg) still has a very similar landscape structure as in the Altes Land. The area southeast of Gdansk: Wislinia (wedding) is also located at a river (Motlawa) and is also structured very similar to the Altes Land. Dzierzaznia is another example of a Dutch settlement (figure 5). It is a street village, located 76 km northwest of Warsaw in the catchment area of the Vistula.

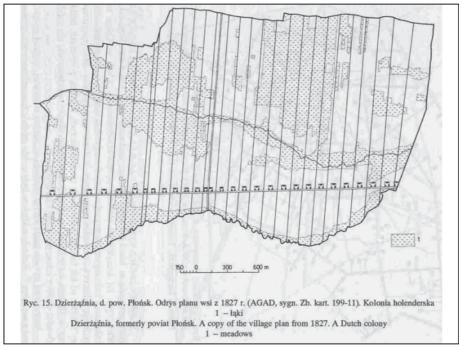


Figure 5. Field map from 1827, showing the so called Dutch village Dzierzaznia, provided by H. Renes.

In the 17th century settlers (Mennonites) from the Netherlands and Friesland came to Kujawy, they founded numerous villages and built their houses in a traditional-leaned construction, some buildings are still preserved today. They formed independent village communities, which distinguished themselves for the time by highly developed agricultural knowledge. They had special knowledge in the management of their fields, which they irrigated by using canals. Above all, they farmed wasteland and fallow land.

To summarise, according to Chodyla (2005) settlers from the Netherlands founded around one fifth of all Dutch settlements in Poland between 1547 and 1864, and invested enormous amounts of money and labour to cultivate at least 100,000 hectares of land. They created or improved hundreds of miles of dikes, thousands of kilometres of canals and drainage ditches, planted thousands of trees and shrubs that could absorb the water, and they also built thousands of drainage facilities, creating a unique cultural landscape - even with special farms in the villages, with houses of worship, schools, cemeteries, orchards and rows of trees. The structure is still recognizable and in parts well preserved with the exception of the windmills, which have mostly disappeared. The wooden houses have largely not survived (about 15% of the stock of 1945). Due to the subsequent changes, many buildings are overflowed each year during inundations. Landscaped hills have been eroded over time, trees and shrubs have been cleared, and ponds are silted up. Other cultural elements which are not landscape related are still preserved and maintained as Skowronek et al. (2018) have presented 2018 at PECSRL conference.

Results and discussion

In the foregoing, we have learned about the history and the meaning of Holler Landscapes in different European countries – as a prototype of European processes and creating of a European landscape type. Therefore, we understand the motivation of the local citizens in the Altes Land to use the landscape itself as a mean of identification. Here, the original linear structures of the farmland that follow the old ditches still exist in their medieval design and appearance. The Altes Land stands still out as best preserved example of the historic diffusion process originating in the "Low Countries". The authenticity of the area, in particular clearly visible linear structures and the canal, ditch and dyke system, is higher than in any other comparable European area and in particular more recognisable in comparison with the current-day Netherlands. As a result, we find a stunning integrity of this regional structure on a fairly large scale.

The local group of citizens named "Association for the Recognition of the Altes Land as UNESCO World Heritage e.V." (http1) - has been working since the beginning of this millennium on protecting the historic cultural landscape through regional, national and international recognition. The goal: to nominate the Holler Colony Altes Land as UNESCO World Heritage. At the beginning, the group met local resistance, in particular from fruit growers who feared the World Heritage status would bring new restrictions. They pointed out their bad experience with environmental protection regulations, especially Natura 2000 (http8). The association had to become much more professional and enduring. Its aim was to act for but also with the people, therefore, it was not an option to choose a top-down approach. However, step-by-step, people became convinced and supported the idea. The whole concept worked only due to the awareness raising activities: local, regional, national and international meetings and conferences, various exhibitions on the tangible insitu heritage, modernisation of the local museums in order to present recent research on Holler Landscapes, to name only a few. The people from the Altes Land appropriated themselves the idea that sustainable economic progression can also foster the long-term protection of their heritage and therefore provide unique selling qualities. This largely contributes to the resilience of the region as well in times of climate changes and the tidal change of the Elbe River. The self-awareness helps to anticipate the problems and discuss them in a largely participative approach. The association became expert in many planning issues and political debates, the concept of World Heritage itself evolved into a vehicle for regional development. The new Landscape Plan, as main instrument for local development and planning, includes the Association's goal of getting the Altes Land onto the UNECO World Heritage list (Samtgemeinde Lühe 2017). Although the farmers are correct that an internationally recognised label would impose some limitations or even obligations, for example to keep historic ditches intact, they also realise that the label helps safeguarding the Altes Lands as a high quality agricultural production region and as a tourist destination.

The local reflection and participation process that the Association has fostered over the last 15 years shows very well how strong the acknowledgement of landscape heritage can become as a driving factor. Although not without encountering difficulties and negotiating continuous discussions, the association succeeded in getting farmers, municipalities, tourist organisations and the general public behind a common goal. In 2007, the association was the driving force and competence centre in developing the Altländer Charta, which sets out a central guiding principle (Leitbild) for tourism, planning, and economic development, fostering the awareness of the historical Holler Colony heritage. It set out guidelines for local people and decision makers on how to deal with the region, what to do and what not to do. It also describes the history, characteristics, and current status of the landscape. Similarly, in 2011 a building

guide (Baufibel) was published, focusing on the protection of the built heritage (figure 6). Several exhibitions and publications have been produced since, the latest one just opened in 2019 and is a success by the number of visitors (Bohlmann 2019). ON a more general level, it set up a participatory process in which citizens and policymakers in 2014 came together and drew up a regional development concept, the first for the greater region. The Centre for Research on Holler Colonies, founded 2012, coordinates further participatory processes, enabling locals to base their positions and arguments based on sound knowledge.



Figure 6: The Altländer Farm is a special type of Northern German half-timber hall house with mixed use. Dominating colors are red and white. Most of the 300 – 400 years old buildings are protected monuments. The Hogendieksbridge is a reconstruction, recalling the Dutch heritage. Still 12 original parade gates exist insitu.

They are known only from the Altes Land. (All photos by Kruse, A.)

Rural development in the case of Altes Land means:

- A change in the economic set-up: Restructuring the land use in a changing economy and global competition. While 15 years ago, organic farming still was disapproved, today already 14 % of the fruit production grows under different organic labels and their number is increasing. In-line, the percentage of direct marketing has increased rapidly these last years (figure 7).
- Negotiations for filling historic ditches have stopped. Today, farmers accept the historic layout and have adapted their production processes accordingly. However, negotiations and special regulations are daily present in order to cope with national and international regulations which sometimes do not "fit" to this particular landscape layout, e.g. the European Water Framework Regulation (http9).
- A mean to deal with the urban development pressure of the close and densely populated city of Hamburg and especially the port of area of Hamburg has to be found. Only resurging awareness and identity of a proud and independent holler landscape helps to have a stronger position towards the big city and the internationally important harbor.
- The pressure to enlarge and deepen the Elbe-River for use by ever larger container and cruise ships, which changes the river's biodynamic is a steady danger not only for the historic landscape layout but also for the ecological balance as well as for dyke stability. The ground-water level is sinking, in return, the soils get dryer and salty, which complicates the agricultural activity.



Figure 7: The Herzapfelhof (heart apple farm) was one of the first who did a progressive marketing: Different images at the apples themselves, thematic wooden boxes and a great variety of local products. The deep relation between the insitu landscape and the production itself is displayed already at the entrance to the farm. (All photos by Kruse, A.)

As already described, the landscape and identity awareness is done by, for and with the people. Within the framework of Sharing Heritage: European Year of Cultural Heritage 2018 (http6), the municipalities, under the lead of the Association, submitted an ambitious project "The Holler Route in the Altes Land: Understand the beginning, experimenting the heritage" which consists of three pillars:

- 1. Education, with special focus on schoolchildren, but not only.
- 2. Cultural performances in order to live and understand history and meaning, performed by children and young people.
- 3. A cycling route, which shall connect the Altes Land with other Holler Colonies throughout Europe, starting with Poland and The Netherlands.

The project contains a strategic education plan which will be developed for pupils of different age in order to tell the landscape history in a new way with the aim to watch at and understand the environment newly and also in order to explore the(ir) cultural heritage in a new way. The teaching aids follow today education standards and are attached to the official geography curriculum in Lower Saxony. The history and today situation of the Holler Colony Altes Land provides many links to recent topics like globalisation, climate change, city-countryside-relation, economic pressures, migration, land use, prices, tourism. The witnesses and remains of this special cultural landscape will be made accessible at different intermediation locations. The aim is that this new understanding and new awareness will lead to heritage worth shipping which shall contribute to the maintenance of the Altes Land.

Next to the pupils, the project aims also at informing locals & visitors at the same time, using interactive and motivating approaches with barrier free methodologies.

Conclusion

To resume: at the beginning, there was the Association's goal of being inscribed onto the UNESCO World Heritage list, based on the unique cultural landscape and its heritage. The association became an expert in many planning issues and political debates. It achieved recognition through heritage and environmental protection and labelling through ongoing symposia and exhibitions, cultural and scientific, national and international exchange. The

concept of the World Heritage nomination itself evolved into a vehicle for regional development. Today it plays an important role in the local discussion of how to develop the Altes Land into a living area marked by quality and prospect. Even if the nomination to World Heritage still struggles the Association has achieved many successes. Cooperation with Holler Colonies in other European countries is ongoing and impulses towards the regional development arising from the awareness of the fact of being a Holler Colony are omnipresent. The latest efforts concentrate on education, for pupils but also for the Altländer people and tourists.

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