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Surprise me Softly: The Element of Surprise in Designing Museum Experiences
Experience design has become a widely discussed topic. Museums use experience design for engaging their visitors and culture offers exceptional tools for it. Visual arts and music are particularly effective in eliciting visitors' emotions. However, there are a number of visual and acoustic cues that influence museum visitor response behaviours. Understanding the ways in which the human brain processes information provides a basis for furthering experience design principles. This study focuses on the emotion of surprise, considered especially effective for engaging visitor attention, providing meaning and affecting memory. The methodology involved monitoring psychophysiological responses and self-reports to assess research participants' reactions to visual/acoustic stimuli. The aim was to confirm/detect types of sensory stimuli that generate the emotion of surprise, to see if participants have similar reactions to stimuli and whether individuals' self-reports are aligned with their psychophysiological reactions. The results showed that musical stimuli are more effective than visual arts in eliciting surprise. While the study showed no clear indications that visual cues have an effect on surprise, musical cues, such as rapid attack, large pitch variation, higher harmonics, slow tempo with a sudden interruption, and sudden change in loudness do seem to play a role. Other cues, such as major key, 4/4 meter, timbral difference, and diatonic harmony also have an impact on the elicitation of surprise. These are important implications for designing museum experiences.

Keywords: Experience design; museum experiences; emotions; surprise; visual and music cues

Introduction

In the last two decades, a rise in the experience economy has been noted within business communities. Museums are not an exception to this trend, especially due to the fact that the cultural sector possesses relevant tools for experience design, especially those related to the sense of sight (visual arts, film, design) and hearing (music and sounds). Experiences are important, since they engage visitors and have a substantial impact on the formation of memory of the visited attraction, possibly also affecting visitors' loyalty. Designing a museum experience for a wide audience, however, is not an easy task, since experiences are "inherently

personal, existing only in the mind of an individual"[1]. Principles of experience design which have so far proved successful include, among others, the need to focus on a specific theme, and the need to use sensory stimuli that can engage visitors. Engagement may be "on an emotional, physical, intellectual, or even spiritual level"[2]. Thematic focus enables an easier understanding of the message that museums wish to convey, while sensory stimuli enhance probability of engagement. Visitors' emotional engagement can be particularly strong. The design of an experience aimed at eliciting a specific emotion will mostly depend on what the theme of the exhibition is. However, there are a number of abstract cues which may affect visitor experience, even though visitors are usually unaware of their potency. Visual and acoustic cues are common in experience design, and there are a number of them that are often used. Museums can greatly benefit from understanding the principles of using individual visual and acoustic cues in designing *universal* experiences which have the desired impact on all, or at least the majority of visitors.

This article is grounded in the need for categories/universals that enable us to understand environmental stimuli that can be used in museum experience design. It is based on research into using various visual (colour, form, symmetry, texture) and musical (melody, loudness, rhythm, harmony, contrast) cues as environmental stimuli, with a focus on generating the emotion of surprise. The overall aim of this research was to detect whether there are universal reactions to stimuli specifically designed to elicit the emotion of surprise and the associated valence (positive or negative). The following research questions were posed:

1. What are the reactions of research participants to visual and aural stimuli specifically designed to elicit the emotion of surprise?

2. Are there differences in the level of surprise among research participants?

3. To what extent are perceived emotions (participants' self-reports) and induced emotions (measured by psychophysiological response) correlated?

The answers to these questions were used as a basis to develop guidelines for designing museum experiences based on surprise.

The article is structured as follows: first, there is an explanation of the need for universal categories in the human brain for drawing the meaning out of environmental stimuli. This is followed by an explanation of brain/mind reactions to unexpected (surprising) stimuli. Then, some ideas for artistic visual and musical cues for designing surprising experiences are presented. The results of the study researching the stimulation of surprise by visual/musical stimuli are then discussed, and finally, conclusions are drawn with recommendations for further research.

Universals and emotions

That the human mind seeks structures and patterns in order to interpret its environment has been confirmed within many scientific disciplines (psychology, neuroscience, philosophy, anthropology, art theory, music and heritage interpretation, to name but a few). Such structures are usually referred to as *universals*, and they have been widely discussed, starting from Aristotle's theory of universals, which he treats as qualities or features which objects or things

[1] PINE, Joseph B. II and GILMORE, James H. Welcome to the Experience Economy. In: *Harvard Business Review July-August*, Brighton, MA: Harvard Business Publishing, 1998, p. 97–105, accessed June 2, 2020, https://hbr.org/1998/07/welcome-to-the-experience-economy

[2] PINE, Joseph B. II and GILMORE, James H. Welcome to…, p. 97–105

have in common[3]. Moreover, although universals are inherently physical qualities of things, for Aristotle, they exist in the mind[4].

The very nature of the mind is to perceive its environment in organized patterns, as was first proposed by Gestalt psychologists such as Max Wertheimer and Kurt Koffka. This accounts for the tendency to group different sensory cues in recognizable patterns (for example, according to their proximity, similarity, continuity, closure and connectedness. This disposition of the mind is innate and is most probably a result of evolution[5]. Whenever confronted with new information gathered through sensory pathways, the brain first tries to find existing information about it, for example, by accessing the temporal lobe, where episodic/autobiographical memories are formed and indexed. If pre-existing prototypes/categories are found in memory, the mind easily finds the meaning of the sensory input. If not, it searches further, engaging other parts of the brain to extract more information. This requires higher-order processing that involves interpretation, which Kris and Gombrich referred to as a *beholder's share*, meaning that the beholder has to engage in its own creativity to access the meaning[6]. This is why perceptions of the same stimulus by different people may differ substantially, and the search for universals sometimes seems pointless. However, while there are serious limitations to cross-cultural knowledge about universals, since "no one can really know conditions in all societies"[7], there is a large body of evidence to support the assertion that the human mind needs to seek universals, and that this need is inherent in all cultures. It is highly unlikely that every individual or culture will conceive or respond to certain stimuli in the same way; however, studies have shown that some concepts do occur universally. Principles of grouping are found to be innate to all humans' senses. These have been widely discussed in relation to the sense of sight[8] and hearing[9], but are also common to the sense of smell[10], taste[11] and touch[12]. Regardless of the sense, the brain/mind tends to group different elements into a meaningful pattern, or to put them into categories. This has been proven to be a cross-cultural feature which arises directly from human physiology[13].

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[3] Apples have many similar qualities (e.g. red colour, ripeness) and may differ according to these qualities (lighter or brighter red colour, more or less ripe) but they all share a universal "appleness" or "applehood". These qualities are called "universals".

[4] REGIS, Edward Jr. Aristotle on Universals. In: *The Thomist: A Speculative Quarterly Review* 40(1), 1976, p. 135–152, accessed June 2, 2020, https://muse.jhu.edu/issue/34079.

[5] In a natural environment, it is practically impossible to see the object as a whole, such as an animal in the woods, so the brain had to develop ways to differentiate the figure from its ground or to perceive objects close to each other as a group, such as a herd of buffalos.

[6] KRIS and GOMBRICH, cited in KANDEL, Eric R. *Reductionism in Art and Brain Science: Bridging the Two Cultures*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2018, p. 226.

[7] BROWN, Donald E. Human Universals, Human Nature and Human Culture. In: *Daedalus* 133(4), 2004, p. 49.

8 For example, TSE, Peter Ulric and PALMER, Stephen E. Visual Object Processing. In: Weiner, Irvin B et al. (eds). *Handbook of Psychology 4, Experimental Psychology* 2nd edn. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons, 2003, p. 181–210.

[9] For example, LEVITIN, Daniel J. *This is Your Brain on Music: The Science of a Human Obsession*. New York, Dutton, 2006, p. 322.

[10] MILLAR, Becky. Smelling Objects. In: *Synthese* 196, 2019, p. 4279–4303.

[11] SPENCE, Charles and YOUSSEF, Jozef. Constructing Flavor Perception: From Destruction to Creation and Back Again. In: *Flavour* 5(3), 2016, p. 1–10.

[12] GALLACE, Alberto and SPENCE, Charles. *In Touch with the Future: The Sense of Touch from Cognitive Neuroscience to Virtual Reality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, p. 469.

[13] LEVITIN, Daniel J. *This is Your Brain on Music*…, p. 322

For example, in their study of preference for visual art, Lindell and Mueller[14] confirmed the important role of prototypicality, which is considered a universal sign of beauty. The brain/mind likes prototypes since it easily identifies with them. Prototypes may differ between cultures, but an inherent feature of the mind is to seek them. Along the same lines, Levitin[15] claims that prototypes in music (such as rock riffs or salsa rhythms) are stored in memory; in spite of the transformations individual musicians might make in, say, pitch, scale, harmony or tempo, we can still recognize a certain musical piece and identify its style.

One of the basic experience design principles, as per Pine and Gilmore, is attributing a theme to each experience. This enables the visitor to immediately identify with the presented topic, thus enabling him or her to clearly associate and match the product/service/experience with his or her expectations. The theme should be "concise and compelling"[16], that is, compelling enough to draw interest, and concise in order to provide a clear meaning. Museums whose exhibitions are thematically organised according to this principle should profit from it, since it is easier for the visitor to understand the message. As mentioned, there is also biological theory to back this up; the human brain requires clear structure in order to extract the meaning from a certain situation or sensory stimulus. Thus, the brain creates a framework, or a schema, within which it places different elements, trying to understand how they are connected in a meaningful narrative.

If a museum visitor understands the message, it is an indicator of a quality interpretation. It does not, however, necessarily affect visitors' memories. A strong experience design principle with high probability of affecting memory is the use of the senses,[17] since it can have a substantial effect on eliciting visitors' emotions. Emotions instigate "specific response behaviours"[18], so that once evoked, visitors react to the stimulus with a response behaviour; for example, they may cry, laugh, move their bodies, and so on. Emotional arousal creates an affective connection with the museum's theme as well as with the institution itself. Successful museum experience design should therefore seek to engage visitors in thematic experiences while eliciting an emotional response from them.

The emotion of surprise – the human brain on the unexpected

Psychologists have yet to agree on the exact number of emotions. Without a doubt, there are a lot of them, which makes experience design based on emotions extremely complex. Usually, studies focus on basic emotions (joy, sadness, anger, fear, surprise and disgust), as they are cross-cultural. Surprise denotes a feeling which occurs as a result of an unexpected or astonishing stimulus, and has been often used in experience design. This is due to the fact that oversupply of the same type of stimulus may lead to saturation. In such cases, the brain benefits from novel information. Moreover, "massive familiarity with the stimulus … reduces aesthetic ratings"[19]. Thus, introducing novelty/surprise can be effective in stimulating arousal,

[14] LINDELL, Annukka K. and MUELLER Julia. Can Science Account for Taste? Psychological Insights into Art Appreciation. In: *Journal of Cognitive Psychology* 23(4), 2011, p. 453–475.
[15] LEVITIN, Daniel J. *This is Your Brain on Music*…, p. 322
[16] PINE, Joseph B. II and GILMORE, James H. Welcome to…, p. 103.
[17] PINE, Joseph B. II and GILMORE, James H. Welcome to…
[18] COHEN and ARENI, 1991, cited in PRAYAG, Girish et al. Understanding the Relationships Between Tourists' Emotional Experiences, Perceived Overall Image, Satisfaction, and Intention to Recommend. In: *Journal of Travel Research* 56(1), 2017, p. 41–54.
[19] LINDELL, Annukka K. and MUELLER Julia. Can Science Account for Taste? …, p. 464.

a connection which has previously been recognized by the marketing industry[20]. Positive surprises often exceed customer expectations, arousing excitement and interest. Surprise has also proven to be an important emotional response in customers[21]. Studies on visual stimuli have shown, however, that moderate levels of novelty are preferred[22]; too much leads to lack of meaning, while too little is under-stimulating. In order to stimulate interest and generate an emotional response from the listener, musicians apply unexpected deviations from established schema (e.g. of a piece) by suddenly varying melody, harmony, contour, pitch, rhythm, and so on.[23] These deviations generate high levels of appreciation by the listener, as long as the main schema is still recognizable.

An informal experiment performed by the author in 2019 aiming to detect participants' reactions to an unexpected stimulus involved serving devilled eggs, half of which were predictably yellow in colour, while the other half were dyed an unnatural and unexpected green. The taste remained the same: the only difference was colour. The study reported higher initial consumption of yellow eggs, while the green eggs were consumed more cautiously. However, once participants had overcome the surprise of the unnatural green colour, they proceeded to consume both. The experiment confirmed that while novelty/surprise might be a drawback (in this case, the colour green may have been suggestive of toxic food), as long as the basic schema remains the same (i.e., people are being fed eggs and not an unknown substance), the mind is curious enough to consume. This experiment set the ground for further research by stirring the researcher's curiosity on the desirable level of surprise/novelty and the sensory cues that could be used in the design of a stimulus aimed at eliciting certain desired emotions from museum visitors.

Artistic visual and acoustic cues for designing surprising experiences

The theme of a museum or exhibition certainly has the strongest effect in terms of communicating meaning to visitors, allowing them to easily identify with the content of the exhibition. However, a number of subliminal cues, which can be communicated via abstract elements such as colour, light and sound, also impact the visitor's experience, and these kinds of stimuli have the potential to elicit surprise. Previous research into aesthetic appreciation of art suggests that the main visual elements influencing ratings are colour, form, symmetry, complexity, laterality, abstraction, prototypicality and novelty[24]. When it comes to acoustic cues, loudness, pitch, contour, timbre, tempo, spatial location, rhythm, reverberation, meter, harmony, melody[25] can all impact how we perceive and act upon a musical stimulus. From a number of these cues, the conscious mind extracts information from what the individual already knows by looking into the memory, seeking to find recognisable elements and categorising the experience according to them in order to draw meaning from the sensory input. Once provided, this classification forms the basis for memorable experiences and/or actions by the visitor.

Although there are a number of studies aiming to match different sensory stimuli with basic

[20] For example, GAD, Thomas. *Customer Experience Branding: Driving Engagement Through Surprise and Innovation*. London: Kogan Page, 2016, p. 168.

[21] DIXON, Michael et al. Surprise, Anticipation, and Sequence Effects in the Design of Experiential Services. In: *Productions and Operations Management* 26(5), 2017, p. 945–960.

[22] LINDELL, Annukka K. and MUELLER Julia. Can Science Account for Taste? …, p. 453–475.

[23] LEVITIN, Daniel J. *This is Your Brain on Music*…, p. 322

[24] LINDELL, Annukka K. and MUELLER Julia. Can Science Account for Taste? …, p. 453–475.

[25] LEVITIN, Daniel J. *This is Your Brain on Music*…, p. 322

emotions, there is scant evidence regarding concrete sensory cues and the emotion of surprise; although there are a few, studies that focus on surprise and the sense of sight[26], hearing[27], touch[28] and smell[29] are rare.

Li et al.[30] found that the visual cues that have a direct relation to the emotion of surprise are uniqueness, rareness and irregularity, and these can be achieved by using contrast textural difference, mutual information (mutual dependence between the two variables), and movements of an object or changes in a variable that follow no discernible pattern or trend.

When it comes to acoustic cues, a sharp amplitude envelope (or rapid attack) and large pitch variation have been detected as having importance in eliciting surprise[31]. Sounds that are dominated by higher harmonics[32], a fast tempo, and increasing the subdivision of rhythmic units (beats) from whole and half notes to eighth notes and even to sixteenth notes[33] have also been shown to have this effect.

It is evident, however, that these findings relate to a very small number of cues which may elicit surprise; there are no scientifically proven results regarding a number of other visual cues such as colour, form, symmetry or acoustical ones such as melody, loudness and rhythm. A number of studies[34] have detected the importance of synaesthesia (merging of the senses), confirming the interrelationships between different senses in eliciting an emotional response in the beholder. Aware of the complexity of the task, this study has been specifically designed, based on existing knowledge and experiences, to try to at least partially fill this gap.

Research

The purpose of this study was to gain greater understanding of the relationship between various visual/aural stimuli and the emotions they evoke. The aims were to confirm/detect types of sensory stimuli that evoke the emotion of surprise, to see if participants have similar reactions to stimuli, and to establish whether self-reported responses were aligned with participants' psychophysiological reactions. The main hypothesis of the study was that there are visual/acoustic cues (such as colour, form, symmetry for the sense of sight or tempo, rhythm, melody, pitch for the sense of hearing) related to surprise, which appeal equally to the majority of people and may act as near-universal stimuli. This was measured by means of both physiological measures and self-reporting measures. It was expected that there would

[26] For example, LI, Yia, et al. Measuring Visual Surprise Jointly from Intrinsic and Extrinsic Contexts for Image Saliency Estimation. In: *International Journal of Computer Visions* 120, 2016, p. 44–60.

[27] SCHERER, Klaus R. and OSHINSKY, James S. Cue Utilisation in Emotion Attribution from Auditory Stimuli. In: *Motivation and Emotion* 1, 1977, p. 331–346.

[28] IOSIFYAN, Marina and KOROLKOVA, Olga. Emotions Associated with Different Textures During Touch. In: *Consciousness and Cognition* 71, 2019, p. 79–85.

[29] For example, GLASS, Sandra T. et al. Do Ambient Urban Odors Evoke Basic Emotions? In: *Frontiers in Psychology* 5, 2014, accessed June 2, 2020, https://www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/fpsyg.2014.00340/full; BENSAFI, Moustafa et al. Psychophisiological Correlates of Affects in Human Olfaction. In: *Neurophysiologie Clinique* 32, 2002, p. 326–332; CROY, Ilona et al. Basic Emotions Elicited by Odors and Pictures. In: *Emotion* 11(6), 2011, 1331–1335.

[30] LI, Yia et al. Measuring Visual Surprise…, p. 44–60.

[31] SCHERER, Klaus R. and OSHINSKY, James S. Cue Utilisation…, p. 331–346.

[32] GABRIELSSON, Alf and LINDSTRÖM, Erik. The role of structure in the musical expression of emotions. In: JUSLIN, Patrik N. and SLOBODA, John A. (eds). *Handbook of Music and Emotion: Theory, Research, Applications*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, p. 368–400.

[33] FERNÁNDEZ-SOTOS, Alicia et al. Influence of Tempo and Rhythmic Unit …

[34] For example, KANTONO, Kevin et al. Emotional and Electrophysiological Measures Correlate to Flavor Perception in the Presence of Music. In: *Physiology & Behavior* 199, 2018, p. 154–164.

be some degree of correspondence between self-reported emotions and psychophysiological reactions to the stimuli. The combination of psychophysiological measures and self-reports allowed researchers to observe whether there is any correspondence between perceived and induced emotions.

The starting point for the research was the drive to come up with recommendations for a typology of different visual and aural stimuli that could be used in experience design to elicit the emotion of surprise. The detection of types of stimuli which result in reactions or perceptions shared by the majority of people would enable us to create near-universal museum experiences, avoiding negative perceptions of museums' offerings.

Research design and methodology

Fig. 1: *Visual stimulus designed by visual arts students.* Source: Original design by visual arts students at the Lamar Dodd School of Art, University of Georgia, USA in coordination with Prof. Mac Balantine

A broad partnership was involved in the research design: visual artists and musicians (both professionals and students) were in charge of designing the visual/acoustic stimuli, guided by academics in the fields of art, music, cultural heritage and cultural tourism. A software development expert was engaged to design the platform for presenting the stimuli. Finally, the research experiment was designed in collaboration with a psychology researcher. The study combined both quantitative and qualitative methods. The stimuli design benefited from the existing knowledge obtained from previous studies on the connections between surprise and vision[35] and hearing[36]. However, since these studies provide very little information on cues appropriate for designing surprising stimuli, this study combined some of these cues with newly introduced ones. The visual cues to be tested focused on colour, form, texture, contrast and light, while the acoustic cues used pitch, timbre, unexpected changes/large contrasts, loudness and tempo. These were selected based on several brainstorming sessions/workshops involving artists, musicians, visual arts and music students, and a researcher specialised in cultural heritage management and cultural tourism. In terms of approaches suggested by the existing literature, for visual stimuli, we investigated contrasting textural difference (based on Li et al.[37]), while for auditory stimuli we focused on sharp amplitude envelopes (rapid attacks) and large pitch

[35] LI, Yia et al. Measuring Visual Surprise…, p. 44–60.

[36] SCHERER, Klaus R. and OSHINSKY, James S. Cue Utilisation…, p. 331–346; FERNÁNDEZ-SOTOS, Alicia et al. Influence of Tempo and Rhythmic Unit...

[37] LI, Yia et al. Measuring Visual Surprise…, p. 44–60.

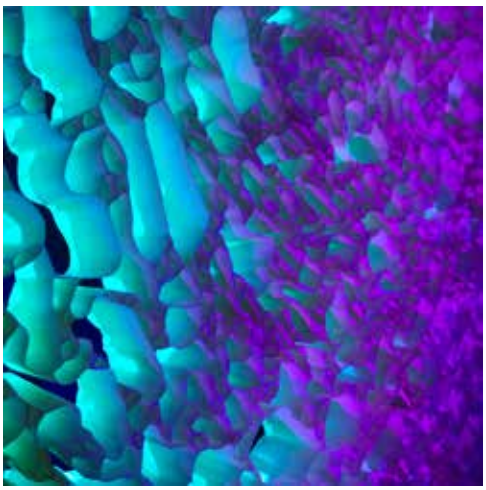

Fig. 2: *Visual stimulus designed by the visual artist Paula Reynaldi.*
Source: Original design by Paula Reynaldi

variations (based on Scherer and Oshinsky)[38] and sounds dominated by higher harmonics (based on Gabrielsson and Lindström[39]). Newly introduced cues were based on professional knowledge and the experiences of the working groups involved and are further described below.

As a result of the brainstorming sessions/ workshops, a total of three visual and aural stimuli were created in the form of image and sound files, including two visual stimuli (one designed by visual arts students and the other one by a visual artist) and one aural stimulus (designed by music students). The two visual stimuli, although using the same cues, differed in the selection of elements, possibly expressing surprise. The stimulus designed by visual arts students used the following cues (see Figure 1):
Colour – predominantly yellow, red and dark blue
Form – predominantly regular, sharp and pointy
Texture – lightly rough
Contrast – bright vs dark colours; sharp pointy forms on a smooth background
Light – undefined

The stimulus designed by the visual artist (Fig. 2)[40] focused on:
Colour – predominantly turquoise and purple with traces of dark blue
Form – irregular, elongated
Texture – combination of smooth and crumpled
Contrast – bright vs dark colours; smooth and crumpled areas; differences in colour hues creating the perception of lighter and darker areas
Light – bright and dark

As for the acoustic cue, the stimulus focused on the following cues:
Key – major
Meter – 4/4
Pitch variations (as per use of different instruments) – piano (high) and brass (ascending)
Timbre – percussion (piano) and wind instruments (brass)
Unexpected changes/large contrast – silent and tender piano vs loud and sharp brass music, unexpected transition, timbral differences
Loudness – soft and loud sections
Tempo – slow (piano, *mesto*) with a sudden interruption (brass)
Harmony - diatonic

[38] SCHERER, Klaus R. and OSHINSKY, James S. Cue Utilisation…, p. 331–346.
[39] GABRIELSSON, Alf and LINDSTRÖM, Erik. The role of structure in the musical expression of emotions…, p. 368–400.
[40] Paula Reynaldi is a visual artist of Argentinian descent living and working in Athens, Georgia, USA. For more, see: http://www.paulareynaldi.com/

The research sample consisted of 24 participants recruited on a voluntary basis. They were of a varying gender, age, origin and had varying prior levels of formal education with regards to visual arts and music. Beyond that, an important selection criterion was that they should not have visual or hearing impairments.

Participants in the study were asked to come to the laboratory individually, at different times, and the stimuli were presented to them on a laptop. Specifically designed web-based software that enabled both visual and audio presentation while recording user feedback was used to conduct the test. Participants were asked to give their consent before proceeding. After filling in their demographic information, they were presented with the slides the research group had designed. Each slide was followed by a question asking the participants to self-report on their own perceptions of the emotion that particular visual or audio slide elicited. Respondents could select only one of the following basic emotions: joy, sadness, fear, anger, disgust or surprise. At the same time, while experiencing the stimuli, participants' psychophysiological responses – heart rate variability (HRV), pulse, skin conductance responses (SCRs) and facial muscle movements (zygomaticus major and corrugator supercilii) – were recorded. The psychophysiological measurements recorded participants' induced (felt, generated by the body) emotions, while self-reporting offered them the possibility to express their perceived emotions.

Results and discussion

To assess whether the participants experienced the intended emotion of surprise, a number of statistical procedures were performed on the empirical results: a chi-square goodness of fit tests was used to assess the self-reports, while Repeated-measure ANOVAs were run for all of the four psychophysiological outcomes (heart rate, supercilii and zygomatic muscle responses, and skin conductance responses)[41].

Self-reports

Statistical analyses were performed using SPSS software (Version 24)[42]. Proportions of chosen emotions for each of the three stimuli can be found in Table 1. With respect to the self-reports, several chi-square goodness of fit tests[43] were conducted to establish whether the five emotions (anger, disgust, fear, joy, surprise) were equally selected. The frequency of self-reported surprise was compared to the frequencies of other chosen emotions for a given stimulus. For the aural stimulus, a chi-square test including all of the five emotions was found to be significant, X^2 (4, N = 24) = 22.67, p < .001. Hence, a series of post-hoc chi-square tests were performed, comparing the proportion of surprise to the proportions of each of the other emotions. In comparison to joy, surprise was not chosen more frequently (p = 1.00). However, when compared to anger, disgust, and fear, participants reported surprise significantly more often (p = .006). With respect to the visual stimulus created by the professional artist, three out of the five emotions – joy, surprise, and fear – were reported by participants. Moreover, a chi-square test yielded a significant result, X^2 (2, N = 24) = 23.25, p < .001, but not in favour of surprise. In fact, joy was found to be the dominating emotion, as confirmed by a significantly higher proportion compared to surprise (p = .003). Hence, it seems that the visual artist's

[41] ANOVA is an analysis of variance and repeated-measure ANOVA is used when different measures (in this case different stimuli) are taken on the same participants.

[42] SPSS is a software package for social sciences which is used to perform statistical analysis.

[43] The chi-square goodness of fit test is a statistical hypothesis test used to determine whether a variable is likely to come from a specified distribution or not.

stimulus did not evoke surprise to a significant degree. Finally, the student artists' stimulus was evaluated. Overall, three emotions were reported – joy, surprise, and disgust. Again, joy and surprise took up the majority of the self-reports, and a significant chi-square test result was observed, X^2 (2, N = 24) = 10.75, p < .005). However, there was no significant difference between the two most frequently reported emotions – joy and surprise (p = .405). Hence, even though surprise did not prove to be the main choice, neither were joy no disgust.

Tab. 1.

Emotion (per Stimulus)	Frequency	Percentage
Sound		
Anger	1	4.2
Disgust	1	4.2
Fear	1	4.2
Joy	10	41.7
Surprise	11	45.8
Visual artist		
Fear	1	4.2
Joy	19	79.2
Surprise	4	16.7
Visual student		
Disgust	1	4.2
Joy	14	58.3
Surprise	9	37.5

Note. Emotions that were not chosen at all (frequency and percentage = 0) were not included. N = 24.

Psychophysiological measures

As mentioned, repeated-measure ANOVAs were conducted for all of the four psychophysiological variables – heart rate, supercilia and zygomatic muscle responses, and skin conductance responses. This analysis was chosen due to the dependent nature of the research design, meaning that all of the participants underwent all of the three experimental conditions. Hence, the ANOVAs involved a single factor – stimulus, with three corresponding levels – sound, professional visual artist, and student artists. The heart rate data was first screened for any potential outliers. It was decided that all results below 40 bpm would be excluded. Generally, medical professionals suggest that a normal resting heart rate falls between 60 and 100 bpm, but can fall as low as 40 for trained athletes[44]. After applying the exclusion criterion, 19 participants were considered for the analysis. Descriptive statistics for the heart rate, as well as the other psychophysiological measures, can be found in Table 2. The ANOVA test of the heart rate results did not yield a significant result, F(2, 18) = .22, p = .764, meaning that none of the three types of stimuli, on average, stood out as significantly higher (or lower) than the rest. Moreover, the mean values fell within the range of normal resting heart rate, meaning that we could not conclude that the stimulus-induced emotional experience resulted in a change in

[44] LASKOWSKI, Edward R. What's a normal resting heart rate? 2018, accessed August 17th, 2020, https://www.mayoclinic.org/healthy-lifestyle/fitness/expert-answers/heart-rate/faq-20057979

heart rate. Regarding the supercilii muscles measure, one participant was excluded from the analysis, as the score fell more than three standard deviations above the mean (N = 23). No participants were excluded from the analysis of the zygomaticus responses. Neither of the ANOVA results for the supercilii or zygomaticus were significant: $F(2, 22) = .70$, $p = .501$, $F(2, 23) = .65$, $p = .529$ respectively. Hence, these two psychophysiological responses did not differ between the three stimuli types of stimuli. Finally, the ANOVA result for the skin conductance responses yielded a significant result, $F(2, 23) = 7.73$, $p = .009$ (N = 24). Hence, a post-hoc pairwise comparison was performed, in order to determine which of the three stimuli evoked different responses. It was found that the aural stimulus evoked significantly higher responses, compared to the stimulus created by the art students ($p = .034$), and also in comparison to the professional artist's stimulus ($p = .028$). What this finding tells us is that sound was specifically effective in increasing the participants' physiological response, possibly indicating a stronger experience of the emotion of surprise.

Tab. 2: *Descriptives (minimum, maximum, mean, and standard deviation) of the four psychophysiological measures, per each stimulus*

Measure (per stimulus)	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	SD
Heart rate				
Sound	55.54	104.56	73.98	13.67
Visual artist	54.44	92.26	73.31	12.67
Student artist	59.79	94.31	73.04	11.38
Superscilli				
Sound	-9.07	16.42	.90	6.22
Visual artist	-23.84	7.65	-1.42	6.63
Student artist	-22.12	13.42	-0.22	6.90
Zygomaticus				
Sound	-13.08	12.79	-0.31	5.99
Visual artist	-7.29	5.04	-1.45	4.25
Student artist	-9.00	9.54	0.12	3.99
SCRs				
Sound	146.85	377.62	286.24	57.61
Visual artist	129.65	371.89	283.94	59.94
Student artist	120.10	370.17	282.69	60.89

Conclusions

Controversies regarding universal stimuli to be used in museum experience design with the goal to affect visitor behaviour should be mitigated since the brain itself functions by searching for categories. This quest still seems far from achievable, due to the scarcity of studies that might provide some guidance, and due to a number of complex variables which may affect visitor experience. Besides, although our measurement of psychophysiological responses did provide some data on emotional responses, the process was far from being able to offer exact data on how to generate a specific emotion, such as surprise. The study did show that, according to participants' self-reported emotions, the aural stimulus was more effective in eliciting surprise

than the visual stimuli. As for psychophysiological readings, only skin conductance responses varied significantly in response and, again, the aural stimulus was found to evoke significantly stronger responses than the visual stimuli.

This leads to a conclusion that sound potentially has stronger effects on both perceived (self-reported) and induced (physical response) surprise. This is an important finding which can be used in museum design; museum designers should consider the use of sounds/music if they want to design a surprising experience. The specific design of such aural stimuli should include a sharp amplitude envelope (rapid attack) and large pitch variation, as well as higher harmonics, which confirm the effectiveness in eliciting surprise by way of music. Sharp attack can be combined with manipulation of tempo, as in the aural stimulus developed for this study, which had a slow tempo with a sudden interruption (sharp amplitude envelope) and seems to have successfully elicited the emotion of surprise. A sudden change in loudness adds to the effectiveness. Although repeated experiments in future research may be performed to confirm this, these cues may serve as a starting point for museum experience design eliciting surprise.

It was not possible to reach any clear conclusions regarding visual cues which could be used in experience design based on this study. The research incorporated all the cues highlighted by Li et al.[45]: uniqueness – both works were specifically designed for this experiment and were unique; rareness and irregularity – the professional artist used irregular forms, while the students used relatively regular ones but sharp and pointy; contrasting textural differences – the professional artist employed a combination of smooth and crumpled and the students used a lightly rough texture; mutual information – there was dependence between presented objects in both works; and unexpected movements of an object in both works – an explosion in the students' stimulus. Contrast was achieved not only in texture but also by way of colours (bright vs dark or differences in colour hues) as well as forms (sharp pointy forms on a smooth background). As for other newly introduced cues, no clear conclusions can be made, although the stimuli used different colours (combination of warm and cold colours for the students' stimulus, possibly also expressing contrast; and cold colours for the professional artist's stimulus) and light (undefined for the students' stimulus, and *chiaroscuro* possibly again expressing contrast for the artist's stimulus). Conclusively, neither self-reported not psychophysiological measures showed significant responses.

This points to the necessity of future research, especially regarding visual cues that stimulate emotion; these are numerous and the role of each of them is yet to be determined. A strategy for future research may involve individuating each cue in a separate study and trying to define the effect of every single one on the elicitation of surprise. Furthermore, the quantity of novel and surprising cues that need to be included a sensory stimulus for it to have the desired effect is yet to be determined. As a response of the brain to the unknown, higher-order processing may contribute to the creation of new prototypes/categories to be stored in the memory. Thus, creativity applied in that process may be contributing to the growth and development of the mind itself; the brain creates new prototypes/categories to be upgraded with moderate amounts of novelty/surprise in order to stimulate itself to new possibilities (which is actually the process of learning) and the circle goes on. In this research, among all the psychophysiological responses measured, only skin conductance responses were found to be significant. As the majority of measures were found to be rather unreliable, future research might employ neuroimaging methods to detect the (near)universal level of novelty/surprise

[45] LI, Yia, et al. Measuring Visual Surprise…, p. 44–60.

to be introduced in the stimulus. Use of neuroimaging methods has, in recent years, greatly enhanced our knowledge of brain responses, and may provide some answers in the future.

The reason behind our observation of a stronger effect of the aural stimulus compared to the visual ones recorded may also be sought in the very nature of the stimulus: a musical piece takes place over a duration of time, and while the brain might anticipate what is about to happen, based on what has already happened, the listener cannot predict with absolute certainty, hence is open/vulnerable to surprise, whereas a visual stimulus is presented in an instant where the beholder sees everything at once. It might be that the sense of movement and the unexpected moments in visual stimuli may be more effective if presented in the medium of film. This is also an indication for museum experience designers and a possible subject of future research.

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The Family-Friendly Museum: Museums through the eyes of families

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The Family-Friendly Museum: Museums through the eyes of families
According to studies on family leisure time, positive experiences with family members are the most important motivation factor for family leisure activities. In their traditional role, museums are cultural mediators, sources of information and research. However, as the needs of consumers with regards to museums are changing, institutions should instead focus on the opportunity to participate, learn and experience. The aim of our study is to identify key elements that make a museum family friendly and to define criteria for this designation. The framework was constructed based on the analysis of in-depth interviews with families with constructive grounded theory. The study's findings highlight the need for museums to pay attention to families not only during their visit but also in the preparation and follow-up phases. The managerial implications for museums that would like to be family-friendly are discussed and solutions proposed.

Keywords: family visitor, family-friendly museum, museum experience, grounded theory

Introduction

According to studies on family leisure time, family relationships, especially positive experiences with family members, are the most important motivation factor for family leisure activi-

ties.[1] At the same time, researchers also highlight the conflicting finding that one's "own time" is as important as "family time" in family leisure activities.[2] Time spent with one's family is important for strengthening interpersonal ties and providing opportunities for joint experiences. Then again, one's own time and one's own interests are also important aspects when choosing how to spend free time; for example, parents may wish to break away from everyday life and escape the obligations of family life for a while.

In their traditional role, museums are cultural mediators, sources of information and research[3]. However, as consumers are increasingly demanding products and services that provide a sense of emotion, learning, being, and acting[4]; museums should focus on participation, learning and experiencing instead of the simple act of being. Nowadays, museums are expected to go beyond the functions of collecting, researching and exhibiting, and to engage in experience marketing. This includes providing "fantasy, emotion and fun-driven" experiences, emphasizing symbolic meanings, hedonic experience and subconscious responses rather than focusing on tangible benefits, utilitarian functions and conscious processes[5]. In other words, museums are expected to provide visitors with an "experience",[67] and any museum wanting to reach families must take these changes into account.

Museums are increasingly focused on the public and on creating programs, spaces and exhibitions to encourage visitors to return to the museum. Audience-centred initiatives focus on making museums an appropriate experience for all ages.

Numerous studies confirm that the impacts that affect us in childhood influence our whole lives.[8] In early childhood, special emphasis should be placed on proper education and guidance, as this will form the basis for a person's socialization and integration later on.

Arts and culture can have a very positive impact on children by helping them develop their body, mind and spirit, as well as encouraging the harmonious development of their personality. This is why fairy tales, rhymes and songs are an integral part of everyday life at home, in kindergartens and schools, as they all help children adjust to the world and overcome their fears.

Among cultural programs, museums can play an important role in raising a child's awareness and intellectual knowledge. In the history of museums, the role of education has become increasingly prominent. Museums have become one of the most important institutions for out-of-school education. That is why it is very important for children to think back over the

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[8] See, for example, ANDERSON, D. et al. Children's museum experiences: Identifying powerful mediators of learning. In: *Curator: The Museum Journal*, 45(3), 2002, p. 213–231.

time they spent at a museum after their visit. However, this experience is influenced by many factors, such as the museum pedagogue, the building in which it is housed, the exhibition and any interactive activities.

Museums are increasingly becoming a place for family experiences. In the present research, therefore, we explicitly explore, from a family perspective, the factors that may be important during family museum visits to encourage families to return.

In this study, we sought to answer the following main research question: RQ: What are the criteria for family-friendly museums?

Our primary sources were in-depth interviews with families, which aimed to identify family-friendly elements in museums, providing a basis from which to formulate a possible definition and criteria for a family-friendly museum.

The concept of "family-friendly" can be interpreted in many different ways. Many authors have already defined it in tourism in relation to hotels[9,10,11] and festivals[12], but there is no definition specifically for family-friendly museums. The higher the level at which family-friendly facilities / services are available, the more you can count on a potential competitive advantage for a given museum. It is not enough to provide or maintain family-friendly facilities: additional services must be sought. Depending on their nature, additional services can increase satisfaction and, by putting the element of experience at the forefront, can also be a decisive factor in choosing a particular museum.

The concept of family-friendly museums is not limited to service packages and facilities built around families with small children, but it is certainly an authoritative part of the concept of the term "family-friendly". Basically, two approaches can be identified: the "child-friendly" concept and the "multi-generational" concept, which takes into account the needs of several generations.[13] The present study focuses on the multi-generational approach for museums.

The structure of the article is as follows: first a literature review is provided with a focus on families as museum visitors; then family motivations and the environmental attributes of museums are discussed. A detailed description of constructive grounded theory is presented. The findings arising from the interviews with museum-visiting families have been developed into a theoretical model which includes the elements or criteria that mark out an ideal family-friendly museum. In the conclusions, the implications of the findings for museum experts are discussed.

Families as museum visitors

Around the turn of the twentieth century, people became interested in the idea of a children's museum, where the child is equal to the adult and both learn together. These museums encourage children to get to know themselves, respect each other and understand the world

[9] CSORDÁS, Tamás, MARKOS-KUJBUS, Éva and ÁSVÁNYI, Katalin. "A gyerekeim imádják, ezért én is imádom" – Családbarát hotelek fogyasztói percepciói online értékelések alapján. ["My children love it, so I also love it" – Consumers perceptions of family-friendly hotels based on online reviews]. In: *Turizmus Bulletin*, 18(1), 2018, p. 17–28 [in Hungarian].

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around them, as they explore culture, art, science and the environment. In 1899, the Brooklyn Children's Museum opened in New York, launching this movement. Influenced by the example from Brooklyn, several museums were founded between 1913 and 1925, all based on belief in the "learning by doing" method. The 1960s and 70s were an important period in the development of children's museums, focusing on children and their participation, not the exhibition.[14] Generally speaking, it is usually better for children to visit such museums with family than group visits, as they have better control over what they see and how fast they move around the museum,[15] which highlights the importance of families as museum visitors.

Indeed, museums are finding that not only children but families themselves represent an essential part and an increasing proportion of museum visitors.[16] Various studies have shown that more than half of museum visitors are families[17] Families behave differently to other visitors: they typically spend more time in the museum as a whole and spend more of that time talking[18] However, each family has different values, knowledge, experiences and expectations[19] and these factors can be further influenced by cultural differences[20]

Nonetheless, there are few studies on families in a museum context. The greatest attention is paid to family programs, and most research examines the possibility of family learning and interaction.

Nowadays, children represent a great challenge; exposure to technology and different types of entertainment and leisure has made many young people unfocused and easily bored. At the same time, museums need to meet the expectations of parents as well. Family time is becoming more limited, people have many obligations and little free time, and it is not always easy to find programs that provide an enjoyable leisure experience for the whole family.

Examining family visits and community integration of families with autistic children is an important part of family museum research. Publications on this particular issue are very rare. However, there is a clear need to supplement the family-friendly museum criteria with the aspects of this special family group.

Family motivations – Function of museums

Families' motivations for visiting museums can be diverse, while museums must adapt their functions to fit the needs of families. It is therefore an important issue to reconcile and harmonize these two factors when designing the main functions of museums targeting families.

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[15] DIERKING, Lynn D. and FALK, John H. Family behavior and learning in informal science settings: A review of the research. In: *Science Education*, 78, 1994, p. 57– 72.

[16] DIERKING and FALK, Family behavior…, p. 57– 72.

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[18] MCMANUS, Paulette M. It's the company you keep: The social determination of learning-related behaviour in a science museum. In: *International Journal of Museum Management and Curatorship*, 6, 1987, p. 263–270.

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Research has shown that learning, socialising and family outings are the main motivating factors for families to visit museums.[21] Sterry found that families often visit museums for social and entertainment purposes, but that it is also important for them to learn something and spend valuable time together.[22] Dierking and Falk note that families visit different museums for social or educational purposes.[23] Several researchers have observed that learning is typically not the primary motivation for families to visit museums[24] but rather a common outing.[25]

The emphasis on the educational function of museums is increasing by the day.[26] However, museums serve several other functions for families, in particular as a suitable arena for building personal relationships, discussing family stories and building a common understanding.[27]

Turning our attention to family-friendly museums, the literature shows that the main function of family-friendly museums is to encourage a combination of parent-child interaction, education and shared entertainment.[28] Family-oriented museums are unique in that they encourage family members to play together, and to enjoy spending time together.[29]

For families, a visit to a museum is mostly a good opportunity to spend quality time together. In fact, families tend to spend more time with each other than focusing on the exhibition itself and the objects on display, suggesting that museums can provide a special environment for family communication. For this reason, an important goal for an effective exhibition is to encourage dialogue between family members.[30] Museums aimed at families and children have the primary goal of welcoming children and parents and passing on knowledge to them in an interactive way, giving them the opportunity to spend their free time together in an entertaining environment where they learn in addition to having fun.[31] Sanford examined family learning in 25 different children's museums, and found that time spent in a museum, participation in exhibitions, and interpretive discussions had the greatest impact on learning, suggesting that family-friendly museums provide essential educational functions.[32]

Museums offer two main learning styles for families: guided learning, where family members go around the museum together, and self-directed learning, where individuals can explore sep-

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[28] CONN, Steven. *Do museums still need objects?* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010; FALK, John H. and DIERKING, Lynn D. *Learning from museums: Visitor experiences and the making of meaning*. Lanham: AltaMira Press, 2000.

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[30] SILVERMAN, Lois H. Johnny Showed Us the Butterflies. In: *Marriage & Family Review*, 13(3–4), 1989, p. 131–150

[31] KARADENIZ, Children's museums…, p. 600–608.

[32] SANFORD, Camellia W. Evaluating family interactions to inform exhibit design: Comparing three different learning behaviors in a museum setting. In: *Visitor Studies*, 13(1), 2010, p. 67–89.

arately and meet occasionally. In the second case, the role of parents becomes more important in family learning. Factors influencing family learning include: prior knowledge and experience, individual and group schedules, gender and the age of parents and children.[33]

Research on interactions within the family[34] suggests that parent-child interactions are more effective in exhibitions where parent involvement is strengthened and encouraged, if only because of the need for the parents to go beyond verbal interaction and engage in a physical, hands-on way.[35]

The aim of family-friendly exhibitions is to get as many families as possible to visit museums (attracting power), to encourage them to stay there as long as possible (holding power) and to facilitate better comprehension of the message of the displays (communication power).[36]

Museums are informal learning institutions that provide opportunities for social inclusion for people with disabilities.[37] Langa et al. found that the most important motivations for families with disabled children to visit museums were: to be treated as members of a group, to be mentally stimulated, to gain more information, and to experience new things. Two other important aspects for such families were spending quality family time together and the child's/children's interest in the exhibition. Interacting with other museum visitors, relaxation and socialization were not found to be important motivations.[38]

Environmental features of museums – Family experience

According to Kropf, when visiting exhibitions, the experience of the family is most influenced by the type of exhibition, the environment of the museum and the interests of family members.[39] Since the aim of our research is to determine the elements that make a museum family friendly, regardless of the museum's profile or the scope of the family's interests, the first and third of these factors are not considered in the present study. Melton developed a family activity model (FAM) in which he interprets family experiences in terms of the activity environment (environment novelty) and family interaction (interaction between family members).[40] During the visit, the family-friendliness of the museum is determined by the environment that the museum creates, which influences the experiences of the families. The museum environment can be divided into the following sub-areas:

- factors independent of the exhibition, such as prior information, physical environment, people in the museum, activities outside the exhibition;
- factors related to the exhibition: displayed objects, programs, rooms for children;
- a combination of all of these.

[33] DIERKING and FALK, Family behavior…, p. 57–72.

[34] SWARTZ Mallary I. and CROWLEY Kevin Parent Beliefs about Teaching and Learning in a Children's Museum. In: *Visitor Studies*, 7(2), 2004, p. 4–16; SHINE, Stephanie and ACOSTA, Teresa Y. Parent-child social play in a children's museum. In: *Family Relations*, 49, 2000, p. 45–52.

[35] BROWN, Christine. Making the most of family visits: Some observations of parents with children in a museum science centre. In: *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 14(1), 1995, p. 65–71.

[36] BORUN, Minda and DRISTAS, Jennifer. Developing family friendly exhibits. In: *Curator: The Museum Journal*, 40, 1997 p. 178–196.

[37] LUSSENHOP, Alexander et al. Social Participation… p. 122–137.

[38] LANGA, Lesley A. et al. Improving the museum experiences… p. 323–335.

[39] KROPF, Marcia Brumit. The Family Museum… p. 5–8.

[40] MELTON, Karen K. Family Activity Model: Crossroads of Activity Environment and Family Interactions. In: *Family Leisure, Leisure Sciences*, 39(5), 2017, p. 457–473.

The online presence of the museum is a factor that provides prior information for families before getting to the museum itself. However, the literature contains little to address the importance of this type of communication. Preliminary information, ticket prices and opening hours are all factors that can help or hinder families' decision to visit. Research by the Dutch Museum Association highlights the provision of free admission to some institutions as a family-friendly factor.[41]

When entering the museum, the physical environmental factor that affects families is the extent to which it feels family-friendly and appropriate for children.[42] The clarity of the main information signs is an important criterion, as well as child-friendly displays at a height that can be viewed by young children and possibly even those in strollers.[43]

Activities outside the exhibitions can also be very attractive to families, such as a playground and dining facilities.[44] With regards to the latter, restaurants should offer affordable, appealing, high quality food for children.[45]

The role of museum staff is very important: friendly and helpful staff have been highlighted in several studies.[46] While examining the quality of service in a children's museum, it was found that the empathy of staff was the most important factor.[47] A large number of visitors consider their interaction with the staff to be the most memorable feature of their visit to the museum. Museum employees help visitors in active learning, encouraging them to communicate and interact. It is important to constantly train staff to be prepared for any situation, as they have to work with several generations at the same time.[48]

Other museum visitors also greatly influence the experience of families. For example, if people are standing in front of the exhibits, blocking the children's view, families will tend to move on, only stopping where they have access.[49]

Among the factors related to the exhibition itself, there are many possibilities in terms of the displayed objects to strengthen the family-friendly nature of the museum. It is important that the exhibited objects are well lit so that children can see them clearly, and, where permitted, touch them safely.[50] Children learn most by asking questions, playing and commenting on games, discovering things (smelling, touching, tasting, etc.), so there is a need for images and symbols that children can read or listen to in their own language, and that they can physically interact with.[51] The experience is facilitated by tangible displayed objects and devices that affect

[41] BOER B. *Children Visiting Museums. Investing in the audience of the future*. Den Haag: Netherlands Museums Association, 2011.
[42] PISCITELLI, Barbara and ANDERSON, David Young children's Perspectives of Museum Settings and Experiences. In: *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 19(3), 2001, p. 269–282.
[43] STERRY, An insight into…, p. 399–406.
[44] KROPF, The Family Museum…, p. 5–8.
[45] STERRY, An insight into…, p. 399–406.
[46] STERRY, An insight into…, p. 399–406.
[47] MAHER, Jill K. et al. Measuring Museum… p. 29–42.
[48] VILLA, Lindy *Rediscovering Discovery Rooms: Creating and improving family-friendly interactive exhibition spaces in traditional museums*. Dissertation for Master of Arts. School of Education and Liberal Arts. John F. Kennedy University, 2006, p.142.
[49] KROPF, The Family Museum…, p. 5–8.
[50] KROPF, The Family Museum…, p. 5–8.
[51] DOOLEY, Caitlin McMunn and WELCH, Meghan M. Nature of Interactions Among Young Children and Adult Caregivers in a Children's Museum. In: *Early Childhood Education Journal*, 42, 2014, p. 125–132.

all the senses,[52] and these have been shown to increase the time spent at the exhibition.[53] At the same time, if children have their own experiences related to the theme of the exhibition, they will have a more positive experience than in the case of practice-oriented, inclusive and multi-sensory exhibitions,[54] which shows that the family-friendly design of the physical environment itself is not sufficient to attract family visitors.

The experience of visiting a museum can be greatly enhanced by programs associated with the exhibition. The organization of events related to holidays and celebrations is typical in museums, as well as programs to help discover the exhibition or the collection (such as children's guides or treasure hunts). In several institutions, special programs are offered to children who come with their families.[55] In children's museums, programs and exhibitions are designed to encourage children to use their creativity during their visit. These kinds of interactive programs allow children to tackle real life problems and gain practical experience and knowledge.[56] For example, Sterry found that family visitors to the Victoria and Albert (V&A) Museum in the UK mostly came to see the general collection, but many stated they were also happy to visit special exhibitions, workshops or family-oriented programs and expected their children would be deeply interested by the museum.[57] There are museum initiatives that expect active participation as part of the exhibition, for example through dressing and acting opportunities[58].

A room specially designed for children can promote practical learning, encourage curiosity and creativity, and provide an opportunity to explore, but the size of the room can also be a decisive factor.[59] Kids Island in Australia is a children's museum aimed at 0–5 year-olds that has developed a game-based learning environment to facilitate shared discovery and interaction between children, parents, peers and museum staff.[60] In several cases museums use so-called exploratory, liberating rooms to invite people to participate in an interactive, creative and active exhibition. These interactive spaces provide a greater opportunity for learning than traditional exhibitions, as they do not only require passive observation, but also introduce various tasks, lights and sound effects to provide visitors with an exploratory experience. In addition, these opportunities help families communicate more and learn from each other through tasks.[61]

If parents and children interact together, joint attention is significantly more likely to develop, which has proven to be an effective tool to support family learning.[62] However, in most cases, parents are only willing to participate in games and explorations in the museum if the context is appropriate and favourable for adults.[63]

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[52] PISCITELLI and ANDERSON, Young children's…, p. 269–282.

53 KROPF, The Family Museum…, p. 5–8.

[54] PISCITELLI and ANDERSON, Young children's…, p. 269–282.

[55] BOER, Children Visiting…

[56] KARADENIZ, Children's museums…, p. 600–608.

[57] STERRY, An insight into…, p. 399–406.

[58] JOHANSON, Katya and GLOW, Hilary "It's not enough for the work of art to be great": Children and Young People as Museum Visitors. In: *Journal of Audience and Reception Studies*, 9(1), 2012, p. 26–42.

[59] KELLY, Lynda. *Play, wonder and learning: Museums and the preschool audience.* Australian Research in Early Childhood Education 10th Annual Conference, Canberra, Australia, 2002.

[60] DOCKETT, Sue, MAIN, Sarah and KELLY, Lynda. Consulting Young Children: Experiences from a Museum. In: *Visitor Studies*, 14(1), 2011, p. 13–33.

[61] VILLA, *Rediscovering Discovery*… p. 142.

[62] POVIS, Kaleen Tison and CROWLEY, Kevin Family learning in object-based museums: The role of joint attention. In: *Visitor Studies*, 18(2), 2015, p. 168–182.

[63] KANHADILOK, Peeranut and WATTS, Mike Adult play-learning: Observing informal family education at a science museum, In: *Studies in the Education of Adults*, 46(1), 2014, p. 23–41.

In terms of the museum environment, the visiting experience of families with disabled children is enhanced by the following factors[64]

In terms of factors independent of the exhibition, it is worth highlighting the importance of the website, from which visitors can obtain preliminary information about the museum environment and the expectations of behaviour in the museum; in some cases, there may even be a separate website / menu item for families of children with disabilities. Websites can also provide information on which periods are crowded, highlighting quiet periods appropriate for autistic people; they may also draw attention to quiet spaces, which is another important criterion for many on the autism spectrum. When entering the museum and moving around it, it is also important to have spacious exhibition spaces or a quiet room where people can relax. It is also very important to provide clear signs, plenty of detailed maps, indications of the nearest exits and toilets, which can provide a safe environment. The opportunity to interact with the museum staff and volunteers is a major factor in the quality of museum experience in this case, as it is important that family members can ask for help and support if needed. It is very important for the museum to organize special events for parents with disabled children where there are fewer crowds, less stress, and the children can easily connect with others.

Regarding factors related to the exhibition, the experience for many children with disabilities can be enhanced through multisensory interactive exhibitions.

According to Lussenhop et al., the components of a successful visit for families with disabled children are: fun, involvement, learning, sufficient time, a pleasant and relaxed experience, something to connect with, and the intention to return. On the other hand, barriers include the cost of a visit, loud noises, crowds, and the reactions of other visitors during an average museum visit, all of which can prove frustrating for such families.[65]

Research methodology

The aim of this study was to get to know and understand museums better, and to explore the layers of meaning of the family-friendly museum system supported by empirical research. Based on the literature, family-friendly museums raise a number of issues that could be researched qualitatively to understand and explore them better. The main questions of our research are: Why do families go to a museum? What factors influence families' museum experience? What would an ideal family-friendly museum look like?

Research objectives and research questions

In our research, we wanted to explore the process of visiting a museum and the factors that determine the museum experience and characterise the ideal museum from the perspective of families, through the analysis of in-depth interviews conducted with visiting families. The aims of our research were:

- to determine the criteria the families considered when selecting the museum or exhibition they want to visit;
- to explore the factors influencing the museum experience; and
- to analyse experience factors.

[64] LANGA et al. Improving the museum experiences…, p. 323–335; LUSSENHOP et al. Social Participation…, p. 122–137; KULIK and FLETCHER, Considering the Museum…, p. 27–38.

[65] LUSSENHOP et al. Social Participation…, p. 122–137.

In formulating our research questions, we relied on the literature and the experience of museum professionals. To examine the concept of a family-friendly museum from the family members' perspectives, we focused on Hungarian families where a museum visit is a common family experience and the child is accompanied by both parents.

After formulating our research problem, the following main research question and sub-questions were formulated:

RQ: What are the criteria for family-friendly museums?

Q_1. What are the most important motivating factors for families to visit a museum?

Q_2. What are the factors that affect families 'museum experience?

Q_3. What are the characteristics of an ideal family-friendly museum?

Research methods

In our research, we conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews. We interviewed a total of 10 families. During the interviews, we followed the pre-defined questions, but not in a fixed order; rather, we adapted the course of the interviews to the given situation.

The grounded theory (GT) method[66] was chosen for the research. In addition to the two main methodological approaches, Glaser's[67] classical and Strauss-Corbin's,[68] many other subtypes have appeared in the literature. For our study, we chose the constructivist approach, which is related to Charmaz's methodology,[69] the main distinguishing feature of which is that it recognizes that the researcher him/herself is an important part of the research process. This method allows for a preliminary mapping of the literature and for it to influence the researcher's thinking and provides an opportunity to use preliminary theoretical frameworks. As theoretical and practical experts on the museum theme, we have gained significant previous experience that influenced our attitude and decision in our choice of method.

Research group

The research was carried out in Hungary. Non-probability sampling was used and families included in the sample were selected based on a defined set of criteria. One of our expectations was that the sample should include families who visit the museum regularly and have done so at least once in the past year. Two additional conditions were that both parents must be present during the family museum visit and that the children were younger than 14 years old. Most of the families interviewed live in Budapest and in the catchment area of the capital. A total of 20 in-depth interviews (10 mothers and 10 fathers) were used. The average length of the interviews was 30–45 minutes, and the digitally recorded audio files were later transcribed. When analysing the sample, the anonymity of the parents was ensured and the following names were used to cite the answers: mothers: #M1 – #M10, fathers: #F1 – #F10. The museum experiences of the parents participating in the study were related to different museums (art, science, local history), in order to obtain a broad picture of families' expectations, as our goal was to be able to define family-friendly criteria regardless of the museum's profile.

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[66] MITEV, Ariel. Grounded theory, a kvalitatív kutatás klasszikus mérföldköve. [Grounded theory, a classic milestone in qualitative research]. In: *Vezetéstudomány*, 43(1), 2012, p. 17–30. [In Hungarian]

[67] GLASER, Barney G. *Basics of Grounded Theory Analysis*. Mill Valley: The Sociology Press. 1992.

[68] STRAUSS, Anselm and CORBIN, Juliet. *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques*. Newbury Park: Sage. 1990.

[69] CHARMAZ, Kathy. Grounded theory: objectivist and constructivist method. In: DENZIN, Norman K. and LINCOLN, Yvonna S. (eds) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. California: Sage, 2000, p. 509–536.

Data analysis

The data obtained from the analysis of the interviews were processed in open coding. We typed the interview texts word-for-word, then numbered each line and went through line by line underlining the codes we considered important line by line. In the next step, the codes were organized into categories and the resulting groups were given content names. We organized our categories into thematic units that reflected the family as museum visitors, family motivations, factors influencing the museum visit experience, and the process and criteria system of family-friendly museum visits. After exploratory open coding, the connection points between the given categories were identified (axial coding). Based on the representation method developed by Corley and Gioia,[70] we show how we grouped the raw data into concepts and then topics and what dimensions we developed by integrating all aspects of the theory (Figure 1).

Fig. 1: *The structure of codes*

Source: prepared by author based on graphical structure schema of Corley and Gioia[71]

Results and interpretation

Almost every family visits a museum with a different background of knowledge and experience. Their experiences related to the given topic are variable. They come with children of different ages. The question of whether the visit to a museum is a part of a larger trip or is arranged instead of a missed weekend program is also an influencing factor. In the same museum, conditions may change from time to time: some exhibitions may attract a large number of visitors, huge crowds may form and, as a result, additional protective measures may be introduced to protect vulnerable artefacts, making it difficult for families to comfortably visit the museum. The mood, interest and physical condition of parents and children also greatly influence how they later remember a visit to a museum. The aim of our research is to explore the most important elements of a family-friendly museum that can be applied independently of these hidden dimensions. In the next section, we summarize the results based on the dimen-

[70] CORLEY, Kevin G. and GIOIA, Denis A. Identity ambiguity and change in the wake of a corporate spin-off. In: *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 49(2), 2004, p. 173–208.

[71] CORLEY and GIOIA, (2004) Identity ambiguity… pp. 173–208.

sions that are relevant to creating a family-friendly character.

Families as museum visitors

In almost all interviews, the parents said they prefer family museum visits to other leisure programs because it improves family togetherness, which was a recurring element in almost all interviews, as expressed by #M1: *"We rarely get together like this in everyday life."*

However, it is important that this time spent together is a positive experience and relaxing for everyone, that the children do not have to be constantly disciplined, and that they are involved in the exhibition so that the parent can immerse themselves in the topic. For example, *"It is difficult to go to a museum with a family: the child is hungry, she or he has to go to the bathroom or just gets bored"* (#F1).

It is an important factor to have shared experiences: *"they can be together and enjoy the exhibition and the games all the way"* (#M2). Family members should have fun not just separately, but also enjoy the museum visit together: *"good to do and to experience something together"* (#M3).

We examined the museum visit experience from the perspectives of family members of different generations, and explored how parents define when the family, parent or child also feels good in the museum: #F2 suggested a good experience was had by all *"If the museum provides a program that the child is happy to deal with, and the parent/grandparent as well."* For many families, the attitude is that the child comes first, and if he or she feels good, the parent will also feel good, although that does not necessarily mean a shared experience. However, there are programs in which all ages can find the right entertainment for them, *"for example, a child imitates animals, mother reads educational texts, and father photographs them"* (#F3).

Family motivations

One motivation for a museum visit is that it offers families the opportunity to move together through the experience: *"We manage to break away from everyday life, we are completely committed, we have finally found a program that is both useful and an experience"* (#M4). A visit to a museum can be a surprise for a child, or part of a trip, the point is the common outing and enter *"another dimension"* (#M4).

There are parents who mention learning as the main factor of motivation*: "I almost always feel good, I always find something interesting, and I feel best when I learn something new that complements my previous knowledge"* (#F4). Meanwhile, for other parents, a visit to a museum is enjoyable if it allows them to interact with their children, talk and explore the exhibits in a diverse, playful way: *"I like the bustling, playful places where it gives something plus, not just dry material"* (#F5).

Within the family, the motivations of the mother and father may also differ and they may formulate criteria for an enjoyable museum program for the child based on different perspectives. For example, in one family, from the mother's point of view, *"understanding and respecting the past"* and expanding knowledge were the most important things for her child: she considered the experience a positive one *"if someone tries to pass on knowledge from their point of view, explain things at their [the child's] level, lead them and they can marvel at things, participate in them, touch them and create"* (#M5). From the father's perspective, the important thing is to broaden the child's horizons and make the most of the social learning that arises from the visit: *"we learn a lot about each other, we talk a lot afterwards, we try to set a good example for the child"* (#F5).

Environmental features of museums – Family experience

During the in-depth interviews, we asked parents to recall their most positive and negative museum experiences. In analysing the recalled memories, we identified several experience factors that are closely related to each other and significantly influence the experience of museum visits, and their combined presence can have a long-term impact on the family's museum visiting habits.

Factors independent of the exhibition

The characteristics of a family-friendly museum that emerged from the in-depth interviews confirmed the results noted in the existing literature, but provided a much more detailed picture of how families experience museum visits, how they prepare for them, what different aspects come to the fore depending on the child's age and what individual expectations of exhibitions and museum services parents have.

For families, visiting a museum can be very costly, depending on how many family members take part, so one thing that matters a lot is the ticket price, to what age discounts apply and to what extent. As #F6 notes, *"It's good to have child(-rate) ticket or when it is free for them"* (#F6), highlighting that this is an important factor in designing family-friendly access. However, parents also mentioned that in many cases, *"expensive souvenir items"* evoked the negative feeling of being unable to buy a memory for their child in connection with their museum experience.

For family visits, smaller exhibitions and notification of periods when large crowds can be avoided are ideal; *"short opening hours"* can also be a problem for families.

In terms of the physical environment of the museum, old buildings can either be an obstacle to barrier-free design, or it can make services more difficult. The *"lack of information signs"* was often mentioned as a problem, with families getting lost, returning to the same site several times, and/or becoming separated and struggling to find each other.

An important aspect highlighted by parents was the importance of cultured and courteous behaviour by museum staff and their treatment of children. For example, #F7 the experience positive *"If they [staff] communicate with them [children] according to their level. The educators need to be prepared and open to children's associations, so very good dialogues can be developed"*. It can be a negative experience if "the behaviour of the guard is not visitor-friendly" or if the visitors feel *"the guards were constantly in our corner"*. It can also be difficult when there is a large crowd or if parents have to stand in line with a child too much, and of course visitors might also be disturbed by each other.

Factors related to the exhibition

According to our informants, children enjoy visiting a museum if they can gain insight into things, if they can evolve, and if they do not have to behave like an adult; a child might have a negative experience if *"he notices that somebody is watching what he is doing, how much time he spends in front of a picture"* (# F8).

An important aspect in art museums is the opportunity for children to create in addition to contemplate, whereas in a history museum it is important for children to be able to experience what they see embedded in an interesting story. Museum experts can greatly influence the positive experience of families if they approach the design appropriately, from the perspectives of children and adults. This was well understood by respondents, who noted that it was important for museum educators to *"know that the needs of adults and children are different, since artworks are also*

approached differently by them, and they can separate and connect children and adults at the right time" (#F9).

Guided tours through the exhibition for all members of the family should be conducted in an interpretable and enjoyable way. One satisfied father noted, *"The program was led by very professional museum educators who took us through an exhibition which was not easy to interpret. The child really enjoyed being occupied and we were also happy that the child was enjoying it"* (#F10).

An important feature of family-friendly exhibitions is to provide hands-on experience. This can be difficult to achieve in many museums, because it also depends a lot on the theme of the exhibition. *"It is good to present the exhibition in an interactive, playful way, there are tangible objects, it affects all our senses and we can learn from it"* (#F6). In terms of displayed objects, families focus on visibility, tactility, readability, all presented in an interactive way.

In connection with the exhibition, it is important that, in addition to the objects on display, there are programs that specifically target families. This is because, at first hearing, people might not necessarily think that a museum can be family-friendly; however, the appropriate program can motivate families to come to a museum: *"We've been to the museum without kids before, but not with the family yet. We've seen a family weekend program. We didn't really know much about it, we thought we'd go together because both my wife and I love modern art. We were curious what we could do here with a child, we didn't have many expectations"* (#F5).

Factors outside the exhibition

Parents, as experienced museum guests, also articulated how much responsibility the parent has in preparing for the museum visit and selecting an exhibition that suits the child's interests. In addition to taking into account the time needed for the museum visit, the child's mental health, physical condition and endurance must also be considered. It is also important that the parent feels comfortable in the museum and discusses the experiences gained in the museum even after the museum visit.

Our research outlined the need to examine families' museum experiences in a much broader context. The experiences gained in a given museum are preceded by a preparation phase, and the visit is followed by a follow-up phase.

The preparation phase is when the family starts to plan a visit to the museum and looks up preliminary information. As one father explains: *"We like to go to a museum, [but] before that the children have to prepare for the museum visit. We discuss what they will see, and when we get there they already have some information"* (#F3).

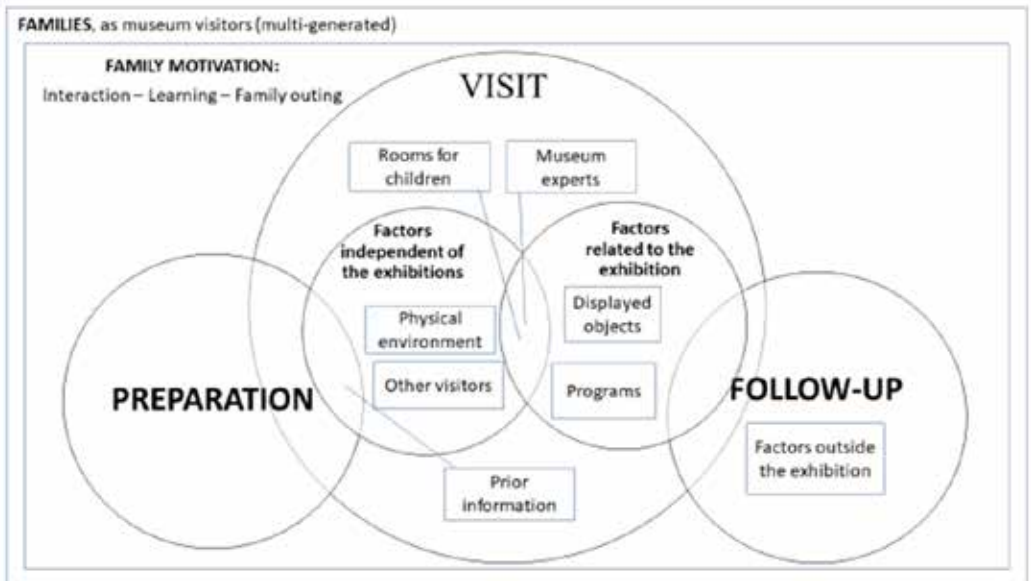
The follow-up phase begins when after leaving the exhibition site, but while the family is still in the museum area, which makes it possible to extend the museum experience, for example, by having coffee or lunch in the museum garden or trying out the museum playground. As one parent puts it, *"Afterwards we let off steam"* (#M6). A joint photo also prolongs the museum experience, producing which the family can talk about afterwards. Another option is to create something together at home: *"… because we talked about it at home afterwards, and the child made drawings in Korniss's style. It was a memorable and good experience because it had an 'afterlife'"* (#M7).

Discussion and conclusion

In our study, our goal was to explore the criteria that make a museum family-friendly through in-depth interviews based on grounded theory. Based on the literature and research results, this study proposes a framework for family-friendly museums as shown in Figure 2.

Based on our findings, it can be concluded that the family represents a special type of visitor for museums. This is mostly determined by the fact that museums need to be able to provide an experience for several age groups at the same time, so a multi-generational approach is needed. Families' motivations can essentially be categorised into three main groups: interaction, learning, and a family outing. The primary motivation may vary from family to family, but it is important for museums to provide all these functions. Museums should encourage interaction, which can take place within the family, between families, or between the family and museum experts and educators.[72] In relation to learning, museums are responsible for sharing knowledge. In terms of a joint family outing, it is also the task of the museum to create a suitable program for several generations to experience at the same time, which can be quite a challenge.

Fig. 2: *Theoretical model*



Source: prepared by authors

Several articles have contributed to the literature by exploring families as museum visitors. Some relevant studies have specifically investigated in the motivations of families to visit museums. However, these previous studies have focused on only one aspect of the family-friendly elements of museums. The present study adds to previous literature by offering a model of the family-friendly museum and exploring the criteria necessary for the realization of a family-friendly museum.

The results from the present study have the potential to be used by museums that target families. From the interviews with parents, we established some criteria for family-friendly museums which we summarise below. We identified aspects that museums may need to pay more attention during the preparation, visit and follow-up phases, and pin-pointed the factors that are necessary to create an ideal family-friendly museum.

The preparation phase. In-depth interviews revealed that the majority of families prepare to visit the museum, gather information in advance, and judge the museum, exhibition and period

[72] JOHANSON and GLOW, "It's not enough…, p. 26–42.

of visit carefully. Museum experts can plan and communicate their services more effectively by understanding the perspectives of families. Families may struggle to enjoy a visit in a crowded exhibition space, so it is advisable to highlight the ideal period for family visits on the museum's website or, ideally, mark time zones when only families are expected to visit, and when museum educational sessions are provided for all family members.

Another important factor is to evaluate the content/thematic aspects of exhibitions based on the perspectives of families. Not all exhibitions are interesting for all ages and there are some that do not engage younger children at all; visiting an age-inappropriate exhibition might evoke negative memories and even influence the family's desire to visit museums again in the long run. To help parents plan their visit, museums can also place downloadable information and educational materials on their website, which, in addition to practical preparation, allows parents to discuss the topic of the exhibition at home, thus helping to deepen the child's involvement when they finally visit.

It is also very important to provide discounts for families. Unfortunately, if visiting a museum comes at a high cost for families, it is a major drawback. Children are the museum visitors of the future – or at least, they may become so if they have positive experiences with their family while young. It is worth museums taking these aspects into account when setting their ticketing policies and to consider offering families discounted tickets or annual passes.

The visit phase. To ensure a positive museum experience, it is recommended that museums prepare staff to deal with families. Visitors with families can be spared a lot of negative experiences if the reception staff and the guards in the exhibition space adopt a family-friendly approach and attitude. There is a great need on the part of families to provide a separate room for children.

Signage and information is another important aspect. Rather than prohibitory signs, the signage should help people orient themselves in the museum space and provide information and education insights about exhibitions. Setting up information points can also help in this regard. Families benefit from support to discover the museum and the exhibitions through films and guided walks led by museum educators.

To support families, museums should make exhibits accessible and create interactive exhibition elements, for which the involvement of digital devices provides many new opportunities. Families will feel comfortable in the museum if the museum is a source of new experiences for all members, especially those can be implemented through discovery and interaction.

The follow-up phase. The museum visit does not end on leaving the exhibition itself. Indeed, it is important to offer families additional program options that complete the visit. There are pleasant walkways and playgrounds in the gardens of many museums, all of which are worth drawing the attention of families to as they leave the exhibition. According to the reports from parents, a joint conversation about what they have seen, or further activities undertaken at home, such as drawing and viewing photographs, are also part of the museum experience. A useful guide for this might be a brochure or a workbook that can be downloaded from the website.

Finally, museums should ask families to give feedback on their visit, from which they can gain greater understanding of this perspective and improve their services. It can also be experienced as a positive gesture to thank parents for bringing their children to the museum.

Despite the richness of the contributions from our informants, our study has limitations. The first is that only Hungarian families were included in the sample. Thus the study could be

enhanced in the future by interviewing families from other countries, which may reveal other perspectives. Other research into family tourism also analyses drawings made with children, which can provide additional information to support the development of family-friendly museum criteria. Other studies have examined families with disabilities as museum visitors; seeking the perspectives of such families would help achieve a more complete picture of family-friendly factors.

The family-friendly criteria identified on the basis of the interviews are in themselves worth further research, thus we consider it important to supplement our qualitative results with primary research that also measures quantitative elements. In the present study, we conducted interviews with families only, and developed our model based on the examination of the demand side. It would be worth also undertaking research on the supply side, that is, conducting interviews with museum specialists, to supplement our results and compare perspectives from the supply and demand side. An even more detailed definition of the criteria could be facilitated by undertaking benchmarking exercises in which we examine the website of family-friendly museums internationally using a content analysis method.

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Culture-led regeneration as a vital instrument for preserving the cultural heritage of historical parks in Poland

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Culture-led regeneration as a vital instrument for preserving the cultural heritage of historical parks in Poland
Historical parks and palace and park complexes deserve special protection for their potential and as the embodiment of national heritage. Most of them are impressive estates that bear witness to their times and reflect the dreams and aspirations of their owners. However, because of the entangled history of post-socialist countries including Poland much of the cultural heritage they represent has been irreversibly destroyed.
The aim of the study was to assess the concept of culture-led regeneration as applied to palace and park complexes situated in rural areas at risk of marginalisation in a post-socialist country, Poland, using the case of Kujawsko-Pomorskie Voivodeship. Its findings show that culture-led regeneration is a valuable instrument for protecting historical palace and park estates, which saves the areas from further devastation and boosts local development.

Keywords: palace and park complexes, post-socialist country, Poland, culture-led regeneratio

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Introduction

Historical parks and palace and park complexes (PPCs) deserve special protection because of their potential and as heritage assets. Most of them are impressive estates that bear witness to their times and embody the dreams and aspirations of their past owners. The most renowned of them, such as the Palace of Versailles and the Peterhof Palace, are "must-see destinations" for contemporary tourists that are carefully maintained and protected.[2] Unfortunately, many of the less impressive and frequently unknown historical PPCs situated in rural areas are falling into disrepair, to eventually disappear altogether.

Particularly in Central and Eastern European countries, there are many examples of this type of once important, forgotten objects located outside major cities, such as old railroad stations or public buildings (e.g. hospitals) that have been put out of use. These objects, such as former border railway stations in Poland, are often visually and functionally significant public space elements, and thus are an important part of the cultural environment.[3] With their presence, they often become silent witnesses of the social, economic, and cultural history of a given region. One such example is the old hospital in Topoľčany considered by Tišliar et al. in the context of its historical and ethnological links within an urban environment.[4] Such facilities are frequently the furthest destinations from major tourist regions.[5] Therefore, it is difficult to expect tangible economic effects associated with the development of tourism based on this forgotten heritage. Nevertheless, observing trends in tourism development, it can be assumed that if certain conditions are met, despite difficulties in their transport accessibility, they have the potential to become the most prominent objects.[6] One such favourable condition may be the restoration of heritage sites to their former glory and making them available to the public by giving them a cultural function. Perhaps, then, the analysed PPCs could be an impulse triggering the development of many communities and areas that are threatened by amarginalisation.[7] A particular problem with exploiting the potential of historical PPCs can be observed in post-socialist countries such as Poland.

The aim of the study was to assess the concept of culture-led regeneration as applied to palace and park complexes situated in rural areas at risk of marginalisation in a post-socialist country, Poland, using the case of Kujawsko-Pomorskie Voivodeship.[8]

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[8] voivodeship—administrative region of the 1st order in Poland

Palace and park complexes in Poland

The untapped potential of Poland's PPCs and their continuing dilapidation, resulting in their disappearance from rural landscapes, is the outcome of many negative factors that were triggered by the events of the second half of the twentieth century.

The first stage in the destruction of historical PPCs was the ambiguous ownership status of many of them after the end of World War II. Abandoned but relatively complete despite the German occupation, PPCs were being taken over by the Russian army and "looted and destroyed by […] troops stationed nearby or on their grounds, as well as by civilians".[9]

The next stage came with the nationalisation of private property in Poland after 1945,[10] which resulted in the devastation and destruction of many PPCs in the country.[11] The change in their function was related to the disruption of the role they had traditionally played in rural areas. Their decline was programmed for ideological reasons and was accompanied by propaganda against the land-owning class that they symbolised.[12] As a result of the nationalisation of rural estates in the so-called Recovered Territories (the western and north-eastern parts of Poland that before 1939 had belonged to the German Reich), the manifesto of the Polish Committee of National Liberation (PKWN; an interim government of the Republic of Poland active between 21 July and 31 December 1944), and the agrarian reform decree of 1944, PPCs in Poland became the property of the State Treasury. In consequence, until 1989, most of them were used for public purposes by institutions, and became the seats of town and communal authorities, State Farms, farmers' cooperatives, schools, kindergartens, health centres, nursing homes, community centres, post offices, experimental agricultural facilities, and community cooperatives. The historical and valuable buildings and parks were turned into spaces where services were provided. Some rooms were used as the living quarters by the institutions' staff while others were converted into storage areas or warehouses, and parks were turned into vegetable gardens and orchards.[13] PPCs were frequently repaired and rebuilt, but most of the works were not supervised by heritage conservation officers. Especially neglected were the parks surrounding the palaces. It was only in 1975 that the Minister of Culture and Arts initiated an all-Poland inventory of gardens and parks. The programme was supervised by the Heritage Landscape Centre until 2002 when it was incorporated into the National Heritage Centre for Heritage Studies and Documentation (now the National Heritage Board of Poland—NID).

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[12] PAWLIKOWSKA-PIECHOTKA, Nieruchomość zabytkowa…

[13] PAWLIKOWSKA-PIECHOTKA, Nieruchomość zabytkowa…

The last stage that put an end to the existence of some PPCs involved privatisation and restitution of properties to their legitimate owners after 1989.[14] Privatisation of properties was based on the parliamentary act of 19 October 1991 "On the management of agricultural land held by the State Treasury and the establishment of the Treasury's Agency for Agricultural Property (AWRSP)". According to the plan, by the end of 1993 the Agency was to take over all property held by the disbanded State Farms, including PPCs. Thus, it assumed responsibility for historical objects that became the State's possession again. Its primary task, however, was the sale or lease of buildings and land. The contracts with new owners or users obligated them to take proper care of and maintain buildings, but as many of the estates were in a poor state of repair they were not attractive to potential buyers. Consequently, most transactions involved farming land. As the economic situation in the country improved, more investors took interest in PPCs and in protecting them from falling into ruin and disintegration.

The register of historic monuments covers 7,449 historical green sites (10.5% of all immovable historic properties) including parks, gardens, alleys, and the elements of the natural landscape. Most historical parks and gardens can be found in the Wielkopolskie, Mazowieckie, Dolnośląskie, and Zachodniopomorskie voivodeships.[15]

The NID survey has shown that the majority of historical parks and gardens show symptoms of disrepair, which are minor in the case of 40.5% of objects, moderate in 27.0%, and severe in 10.8%. Only 21.6% of historical green parks and gardens are in a good state of repair. As regards the correspondence between their present-day and historical character, merely 12.2% have preserved their historical substance, 46.6% are largely unchanged, 31.8% have changed to a limited extent, and 9.5% do not or barely resemble what they were. Only 6.1% have retained all of their historical substance.

Culture-led regeneration outside the cities

Culture has been viewed in recent years as a factor driving the development of European cities,[16] especially in the context of postmodernist changes influencing urban spatial structures or their functions. According to Landry,[17] culture can strengthen social cohesion in cities and stimulate their residents' self-confidence and resourcefulness, as well as improve their mental and physical condition, encourage democratic behaviours, inspire them to seek new education paths, and shape their careers. Despite the stereotypical perception of culture as a form of pastime, its associations with economy are being increasingly appreciated and seen.[18] Throsby's work[19] provides a comprehensive explanation of how the two worlds are related to each other. It observes that the economic discourse and economic systems are set in a cultural context, and that cultural processes only exist in the economic environment.

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In the literature, culture-based development tends to be considered using the examples of specific cities, neighbourhoods, or streets, as well as being linked to activities closely related to cultural institutions. However, the cultural sector should also be considered in terms of the development of local systems where it frequently plays a central role.

A fundamental change in the perception of the status of the cultural sector should be attributed to societal changes after 1968 and the advent of the post-industrial era. With mounting problems caused by the liquidation of factories and rising unemployment, etc., European cities "rediscovered" culture in the 1980s, this time as a potential driver of economic development.[20] The next years witnessed the increasing use of culture-led regeneration as a means of revitalising entire city districts.

Using culture as an instrument of revitalisation generally means a process in which it is used to revitalise dilapidated areas. A classification of culture-led regeneration models has been presented by Evans and Shaw,[21] who proposed:

- *culture-led regeneration*—encompassing the designing, construction, and/or revitalisation of public or commercial buildings; the regeneration of public spaces; the implementation of programmes aimed at changing the image of the place;
- *cultural regeneration*—consisting of integrated activities in the social, economic, and environmental spheres, and cultural planning;
- *culture and regeneration*—including cultural activities outside the cities' flagship projects; activities of independent organisations establishing cultural events in support of positive changes in cities.

Culture-led regeneration is mainly studied with respect to cities, mostly the largest ones.[22] Smaller cities attract less attention,[23] and rural areas scarcely any. Exceptions are the works by authors such as Lewis et al.,[24] Roberts and Hall,[25] McKay,[26] von Rohrscheidt,[27] or Smith,[28] who explore the rural areas' potential for culture-based development. And yet, rural areas in post-socialist countries, as well as in other parts of Europe and the world, struggle with many problems, including population shrinking and ageing, emigration of young people, limited

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[22] ŚRODA-MURAWSKA, Rozwój oparty na…

[23] ŚRODA-MURAWSKA, Stefania, BIEGAŃSKA, Jadwiga, DĄBROWSKI, Leszek. Perception of the role of culture in the development of small cities by local governments in the context of strategic documents—a case study of Poland. In: *Bulletin of Geography. Socio-economic Series*, Vol. 38, 2017, pp. 119–129; ŚRODA-MURAWSKA, Stefania. Railway feat. Culture—Rumia library effect as an example of the influence of culture-led regeneration in a medium-sized city in Poland. In: *Cities*, Vol. 106, 2020.

[24] LEWIS, David, BEBBINGTON, Anthony J., BATTERBURY, Simon P.J., SHAH, Alpa, OLSON, Elizabeth, SIDDIQI, M. Shameem, DUVALL, Sandra. Practice, power and meaning: frameworks for studying organizational culture in multi-agency rural development projects. In: *Journal of International Development*, Vol. 15, No. 5, 2003, pp. 541–557.

[25] ROBERTS, Lesley, HALL, Derek. Consuming the countryside: Marketing for 'rural tourism'. In: *Journal of Vacation Marketing*, Vol. 10, No. 3, 2004, pp. 253–263.

[26] MCKAY, George. *Circular breathing: The cultural politics of jazz in Britain*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005.

[27] VON ROHRSCHEIDT, Armin Mikos. *Turystyka kulturowa: fenomen, potencjał, perspektywy*. Gniezno: GWSHM Milenium, 2008.

[28] SMITH, Larry W., Jr. *Urban indigenous culture in Los Angeles County*. California: California State University, Long Beach, 2011.

economic growth, etc.[29] Culture, including folk culture, is a natural and original embodiment of regions' cultural heritage that is frequently used as a promotional vehicle, in some cases being the economic basis of their economic development.[30]

For many small locations, folk culture present in rural areas has served as a basis for changes and the trigger of local development. Modelled by local communities, non-governmental organisations and local authorities, it turns into a rich cultural offer that stimulates development,[31] understood not only as economic progress but also as the consolidation of the identity and heritage of the region.[32] A perfect example of the exploitation of the cultural heritage of rural areas is cultural tourism, which still tends to be associated with visiting monuments and museums.[33] Cultural tourism is frequently indicated as an instrument of local and regional development, especially in the context of multifunctional rural development and support for economically less-developed areas. Special efforts in this field are made by EU member states.[34]

Therefore, excluding culture-led regeneration from investment projects involving PPCs seems irrational, especially given that successful PPC revitalisation projects not only help preserve the existing heritage, but also, in an increasing number of cases, boost local development.[35]

Having been established as principal private residences, the majority of PPCs have significant historical value. They were originally held by private owners, but in time they were transformed into spaces open to the public and modified inside and outside to improve their functionality. Unfortunately, with the change of function, many of them fell in disrepair while losing their natural and cultural values. The process was especially noticeable in the former socialist countries.

Maintaining the objects in a proper state of repair or bringing them back to it is practically a must, given their roles as the embodiment of cultural heritage and as assets in visually attractive areas.[36] The revalorisation or revitalisation of PPCs aimed at mitigating the impacts of functional and environmental changes, as well at ensuring that they have the desired functionality, is faced with various challenges:

- compositional—the assessment of the match between the original layout of the park

[29] DUXBURY, Nancy, CAMPBELL, Heather. Developing and Revitalizing Rural Communities through Arts and Culture. A Literature Review. In: *Small Cities Imprint*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 2011, pp. 111–122.

[30] ROBERTS, HALL, Consuming the countryside…; VON ROHRSCHEIDT, Turystyka kulturowa…; SMITH, Urban indigenous culture…

[31] PANELLI, Ruth. Young rural lives: strategies beyond diversity. In: *Journal of Rural Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 2, 2002, pp. 113–122; SLAMA, Kay. Rural Culture is a Diversity Issue. In: *Minnesota Psychologist*, Vol. 53, No. 1, 2004, pp. 9–13; SMITH, Urban indigenous culture…; SMALLEY, K. Bryant, WARREN, Jacob C. Rurality as a diversity issue. In: SMALLEY, K. Bryant, WARREN, Jacob C., RAINER, Jackson P., eds. *Rural mental health: Issues, policies, and best practices*. New York: Springer Publishing Company, 2012, pp. 37–47.

[32] LEWIS et al., Practice, power…; BRENNAN, Mark A., FLINT, Courtney G., LULOFF, A.E. Bringing together local culture and rural development: Findings from Ireland, Pennsylvania and Alaska. In: *Sociologia Ruralis*, Vol. 49, No. 1, 2009, pp. 97–112.

[33] LANE, Bernard. What is rural tourism? In: *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, Vol. 2, Nos. 1–2, 1994, pp. 7–21; SHARPLEY, Richard, ROBERTS, Lesley. Rural tourism—10 years on. In: *International Journal of Tourism Research*, Vol. 6, No. 3, 2004, pp. 119–124; SLAMA, Rural Culture…

[34] NURYANTI, Wiendu. Heritage and postmodern tourism. In: *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 23, No. 2, 1996, pp. 249–260; RICHARDS, Greg. *Cultural Tourism in Europe*. Oxon: CAB International, 1996.

[35] MURZYN-KUPISZ, Monika. Wpływ przedsięwzięć związanych z odnową obiektów i miejsc zabytkowych na gospodarkę lokalną i regionalną. In: *Ochrona Zabytków*, Vols. 1–4, 2010, pp. 139–156.

[36] SOLDANI, Alberto, JANKOWSKI, Dariusz. *Zabytki. Ochrona i opieka. Praktyczny komentarz do nowej ustawy. Tekst Ustawy z dnia 23 lipca 2003 r.* Zielona Góra: ZCO, 2004.

and the expectations of its contemporary users;

- environmental—such as the influence of the environmental aspects of the park, especially its vegetation, on the projected reconstruction;
- programmatic—the assessment of what proportion of the historic value can be built into the new functionality;
- economic—the analysis of the final cost of the project considering the restoration or revitalisation costs and maintenance costs.[37]

An example of revitalisation works undertaken for the above reasons is the activities implemented under the HICAPS project in historical parks in four European countries: Slovenia, Italy, Croatia, and Poland. The countries participating in the project under the so-called international partnership seek to develop the best path for developing PPCs, mainly by their renewal and revitalisation. Each area covered by the project has been assigned specific goals and improvement targets, such as education, increased accessibility to people with disabilities or families with children, etc.[38]

Methodology

The analysis of the applicability of the culture-led regeneration concept to PPCs in areas at risk of marginalisation (such as rural areas in post-socialist countries) will be performed on PPCs located in three Polish villages: Lubostroń, Szafarnia, and Wieniec (see Figure 1). These specific PPCs were selected because they are nationally representative examples of culture-led regeneration used to ensure their sustainability. All three objects are administered by local authorities and are similar in that they perform purely cultural functions far from larger cities.

The first step in the research was the analysis of PPCs across the Kujawsko-Pomorskie Voivodeship. The basic source of information was the register of immovable monuments kept by the Voivodeship Monuments Conservation Office in Toruń and the data obtained from the NID (a field branch in Toruń). Information on each park's area, preserved historical boundaries, layouts, water systems, and buildings was compiled from the documentation available at the Voivodeship Monuments Conservation Office in Toruń and its branches in Bydgoszcz and Włocławek. In total, documents relating to 324 historical parks were collected (for the other 45 parks no documentation was available). Information on whether any monuments of nature were present in the parks was obtained from the Central Register of the Forms of Nature Protection. The main source of other information (ownership, availability to visitors, and usage type) were tabulated data obtained from the NID.

Because the preliminary scope of research was very wide, it was narrowed down using the results of sociological (qualitative) and quantitative analyses. They were used to diagnose the needs of the local community in the context of the park-use concept. Another purpose of the sociological analysis was to assess the local community's acceptance of the ongoing restoration or revitalisation process according to the culture-led regeneration concept.

A survey and in-depth interviews were conducted in the village of Wieniec between 6 and 7 August 2018, with 116 respondents aged from 16 to 84 years who differed in socio-demographic characteristics (marital status, gender, education, economic status). It was also

[37] FORTUNA-ANTOSZKIEWICZ, Beata, GAWŁOWSKA, Agnieszka, ŁUKASZKIEWICZ, Jan, ROSŁON -SZERYŃSKA, Edyta. Problemy rewaloryzacji i ochrony parków historycznych w centrum miasta na przykładzie Ogrodu Krasińskich w Warszawie. In: *Technical Transactions. Architecture Issue*, Vol. 109, No. 6-A, 2012, pp. 145–166.

[38] *Interreg—Central Europe. Work package T3—Revitalization concepts and test of outputs on pilot sites*, accessed 15 January 2020, https://www.interreg-central.eu/Content.Node/WPT3.htm

ensured that the respondents had had different periods of residence in Wieniec, as this could have significantly influenced their opinions.

The aspects of PPC management in the context of culture-led regeneration were identified based on:

- an interview with Ms. Anna Wołek, director of the Kujawsko-Pomorski Impresario Music Theatre in Toruń;
- the findings of a study visit;
- the analysis of documents such as the Feasibility Study of an Investment Project, "The Establishment of the Kujawskie Music Centre in the Wieniec Palace—The Repair, Alteration and Modernisation of the Palace and Park Complex in Wieniec near Włocławek including its external infrastructure and the upgrading of the Park area" (Toruń, April, 2017).

Fig. 1: *Number of PPCs in Kujawsko-Pomorskie Voivodeship in 2018 by poviats*
Source: developed by the authors based on the Voivodeship Monuments Conservation Office in Toruń and NID data
Key: Poviats of: 1 – Aleksandrów, 2 – Brodnica, 3 – Bydgoszcz, 4 – Chełmno, 5 – Golub-Dobrzyń, 6 – Grudziądz, 7 – Inowrocław, 8 – Lipno, 9 – Mogilno, 10 – Nakło, 11 – Radziejów, 12 – Rypin, 13 – Sępólno Krajeńskie, 14 – Świecie, 15 – Toruń, 16 – Tuchola, 17 – Wąbrzeźno, 18 – Włocławek, 19 – Żnin
City with poviat rights: A – Bydgoszcz, B – Grudziądz, C – Toruń, D – Włocławek

Results

The Kujawsko-Pomorskie Voivodeship has a total of 369 historical parks, covering an area of 1803.38 ha. Because of their poor state of repair, three of them require immediate intervention: those in Żołędowo (poviat[39] of Bydgoszcz, commune[40] of Osielsko), Broniewo (poviat of Radziejów, commune of Radziejów), and Dąbrówka (poviat of Włocławek, commune of Kowal). Another three exist only in legal terms, in that all that is left of them is entries in the register of monuments and the estate documentation: those in Kamienica (poviat of Lipno, commune of Dobrzyń nad Wisłą), Lipienica-Żuławy (poviat of Świecie, commune of Świekatowo), and Kaniewo (poviat of Włocławek, commune of Boniewo). As the result of a query, the documentation on 324 historical parks was collected (for the remaining 45 parks no documentation is available).

The largest numbers of historical parks in the Kujawsko-Pomorskie Voivodeship occur in the poviats of Inowrocław (55) and Włocławek (46). Twelve poviats have between 10 and 30 parks, and four poviats have fewer than 10 parks: Aleksandrów Kujawski (9), Mogilno (8), Tuchola (7), and Wąbrzeźno (7). The poviat with the smallest number of historical parks is Brodnica (5) (see Figure 1).

The uneven distribution of PPCs across the voivodeship has been caused by natural, economic, historic, cultural, and political factors. The largest number of parks can be found in poviats that lie in historically important regions, a case in point being the PPCs in the poviats of Chełmno, Inowrocław, and Włocławek in the Kujawsko-Pomorskie Voivodeship. An important factor determining the present-day locations of PPCs in the voivodeship is the difference in levels of economic development, which used to be highest in the former Prussian partition.[41] Its area was characterised by a denser network of settlements and a more advanced farming culture. New, grand residences were also built along vital trade routes, following the trend observed in Western Europe. In contrast, small numbers of PPCs in some poviats, e.g. in the north-eastern part of the voivodeship, should be attributed to the less developed economy in the former Russian partition, sparse settlements, and fewer roads.

The majority (68%) of historical parks in the voivodeship under consideration have remained in their old boundaries, and over half of them have retained their original layout. Almost a quarter of parks have lost their original water systems, but 41% have preserved them to date. An interesting finding was that 23% of the parks never had a water system. A large number of parks with original borders and layouts, including water systems, testify to the high quality and value of this type of object in the Kujawsko-Pomorskie Voivodeship. Almost all of them (96%) still have manors or palaces with adjacent utility buildings (stables, barns, etc.). In the other parks, neither the buildings nor their ruins have survived.

Most historical parks in the voivodeship (64%) are public property and so they are open to visitors. Parks on public grounds are more readily accessible to people who want to enjoy their greenery. In total, over 80% of heritage parks invite visitors, including some parks held by private owners. The use of parks is basically determined by the type of activity conducted in the PPC. Of the heritage parks under consideration, only 30% have a defined use; most of the others are falling into neglect but are open to visitors, as opposed to those in private hands.

[39] poviat—administrative region of the 2nd order in Poland

[40] commune—administrative region of the 3rd order in Poland

[41] Between 1772 and 1918 the Polish territory was divided between the partitioners. From 1815 one of the borders ran through the current Kujawsko-Pomorskie Voivodeship. The north-western area of the voivodeship belonged to Prussia and the south-eastern part to Russia.

In 98 parks, out of 369, service activities were carried out in 2018. In the group of 98 PPCs, the predominant types of use included restaurant and hospitality services (20.4%), educational services (18.4%), agricultural services (17.3%), and social services (15.3%). Less frequent were cultural services (14.3%), housing services (8.2%), business services (5.1%), and administrative services (1.0%) (see Figure 2). Restaurant and hospitality services are typically provided in privately owned PPCs, whereas most PPCs in public possession are used to deliver educational, social and cultural services.

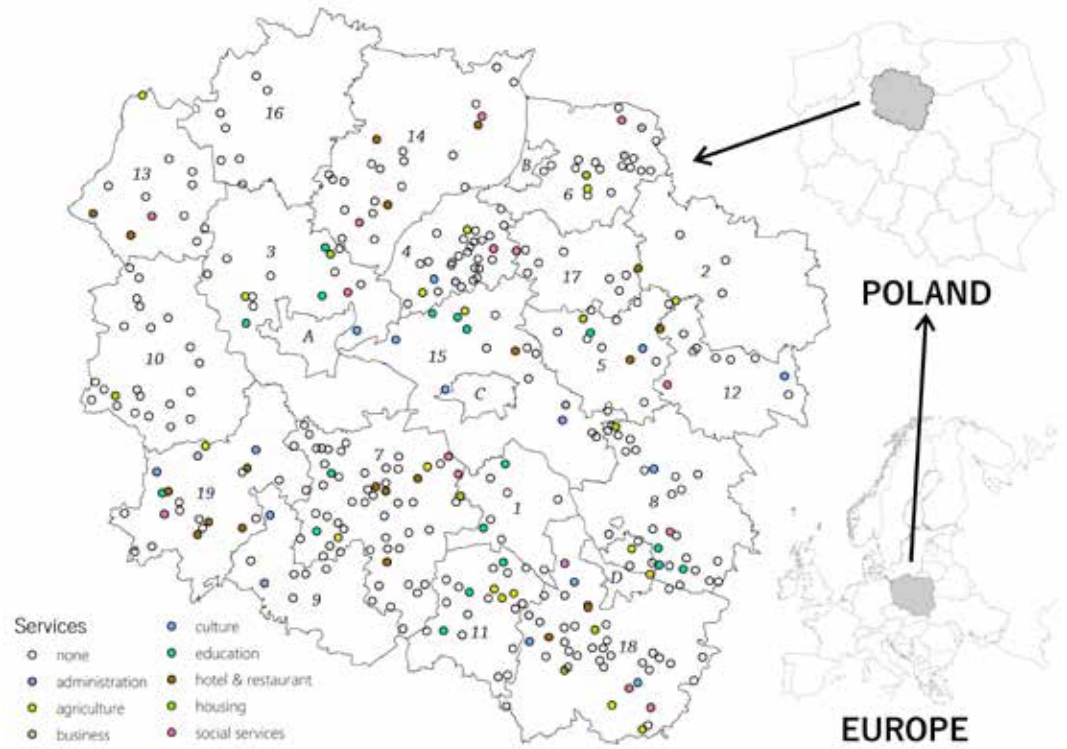

Fig. 2: *Location of the PPCs and their function in Kujawsko-Pomorskie Voivodeship in 2018 by poviats*
Key: Poviats of: 1 – Aleksandrów, 2 – Brodnica, 3 – Bydgoszcz, 4 – Chełmno, 5 – Golub-Dobrzyń, 6 – Grudziądz, 7 – Inowrocław, 8 – Lipno, 9 – Mogilno, 10 – Nakło, 11 – Radziejów, 12 – Rypin, 13 – Sępólno Krajeńskie, 14 – Świecie, 15 – Toruń, 16 – Tuchola, 17 – Wąbrzeźno, 18 – Włocławek, 19 – Żnin
City with poviat rights: A – Bydgoszcz, B – Grudziądz, C – Toruń, D – Włocławek
Source: developed by the authors based on the web data

Among the 14 PPCs that now function as cultural facilities, 2 have private owners, 4 are held by religious foundations, and the other 8 are administered by commune or voivodeship governments. Four PPCs are museums, 2 house libraries, and the others, including the PPC in Wieniec that is in the process of renovation, are used as cultural centres. Because of their importance for local development, 3 PPCs, in Lubostroń, Szafarnia, and Wieniec, will be subjected to a more thorough analysis.

The palace and park complex in Lubostroń

The village of Lubostroń lies in the poviat of Żnin, in the commune of Łabiszyn (see Figure 1). The entire historic park complex in the village covers 42.34 hectares. It can be reached via an alley bordered by elm and hornbeam trees, with two massive brick obelisks by the entrance gates. Behind the centrally situated palace, there is a view over the gently declining slopes towards the Noteć river.[42] The layout of the historic park has not changed since it was designed. Its good condition today is owed to the fact that it has only been subjected to the necessary renovation and restoration works. Between the palace and the river, there is a small pond with an islet in the centre. In the past, it was connected with the river which supplied it with water for drinking and other uses. It is the only element related to the water system so it can be said that the water system in the park has been fully preserved.[43]

The PPC in Lubostroń consists of an outbuilding called the "Old Palace", three-storey coach houses, stables, the neo-gothic utility buildings, the gardener's house, a hunting cottage, and a neoclassical palace being the dominant element of the estate.[44] The park around the neoclassical palace was designed by the then respected architect, gardener, and urban planner Oscar Tiechert.

The palace in Lubostroń is a unique example of a centrally located structure designed on a square plan. Its features strongly resemble Villa Rotonda and Villa Trissimo in Italy.[45] The palace was erected at the heart of the park between 1795 and 1800 and served as a residence and scientific facility for the Polish elite. The PPC and the landscape around it together form an extensive spatial composition, which makes the neo-classicist palace one of the most beautiful residences in Poland. Both the park and the palace are public property in possession of the Treasury of the Republic of Poland.

The PPC in Lubostroń is the seat of activities aimed at promoting national heritage and various forms of culture and arts. The palace houses an institution, the purpose of which is to protect and maintain the entire historic complex, by:

- upholding its historical, architectural, and natural values;
- developing and implementing various cultural and artistic projects, especially concerts, exhibitions, and literary and theatre events;
- delivering workshops and improving courses on different arts;
- creating a tourist offer promoting the historic and architectural values of the PPC in Lubostroń complex and artistic activities conducted therein;
- collecting and exhibiting items of culture.

The palace and park complex in Szafarnia

The Szafarnia PPC is situated in a village of the same name, located in the commune of Radomin, poviat of Golub-Dobrzyń (see Figure 1). With a total area of 3.6 ha, this PPC belongs to a large group of medium-sized estates with an acreage of between 2 and 5 ha.

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[42] CHMIELNIK, Hanna. *Park zabytkowy w Lubostroniu rezydencji Skórzewskich na Pałukach*. Lubostroń, Bydgoszcz: Eko-Park, 2013.

[43] CHMIELNIK, Park zabytkowy…

[44] KAJA, Renata. *Przewodnik po zespołach pałacowych i dworskich: walory przyrodniczo-architektoniczne*. Bydgoszcz: Wydawniczo-Promocyjna Agencja Duo-Press, 2002.

[45] JANKOWSKI, Aleksander. *Pałac w Lubostroniu Fryderyka Skórzewskiego: pomnik rodowej dumy i zamiłowania sztuk plastycznych*. Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, 2014.

The park in Szafarnia was formally granted the status of a historic monument on 30 January 1960. It now houses the Chopin Centre, a cultural institution managed by the government of Kujawsko-Pomorskie Voivodeship. The Centre was created to commemorate the visits of young Frederic Chopin in Szafarnia in 1824 and 1825. However, the Centre's activities are not limited to being a place where memories and old souvenirs are collected and stored, as it also provides space for concerts and exhibitions. Cyclical concerts that draw a regular audience as well as an increasing number of new music lovers are held at least several times a month. One of the Centre's priorities is cultural and musical education, which is offered to the public through broadcasts for children and adults, mastery workshops or classes, piano and recitation contests, quizzes about Frederic Chopin, photo and painting exhibitions, and theatre performances.[46]

The park has retained its original layout including the arrangement of the buildings and their authenticity. The system of local roads leading to the estate and the original water system have not changed either. A valuable asset of the park established in the first half of the twentieth century is the diversity of old trees**,** among which hornbeams and maples predominate. The park is considered to represent a landscape (naturalistic) park, a variation of the English park. Such parks were highly popular in Poland in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The palace and park complex in Szafarnia comprises:

- a neoclassical residence built in the second half of the nineteenth century*,* renovated in 1927 and 1960, and rebuilt after a fire in 1979;
- a former outbuilding;
- utility buildings with a section of the former grange;
- a sports court;
- a parking area.

The front of the palace, which is situated in the eastern part of the park, faces south-east. The building was erected of brick on a rectangular plan, with basements under some sections. The park, which is not fenced, is bordered on each side by farmers' houses and farmland.

The palace and park complex in Wieniec

The palace and park complex in Wieniec is an interesting case of a project in process. On 10 October 2019, it became the construction site for the Music Theatre.

The PPC in Wieniec is situated in the poviat of Włocławek, in the commune of Brześć Kujawski (see Figure 1). The estate has retained its historical borders and layout. The latter can still be seen in the basic elements of the old plan. Most importantly, the palace has generally retained the character of the residence because of Leopold Kronenberg, a reputable Warsaw-based banker, industrialist, economic activist, and politician.[47] He purchased the Wieniec estate at an auction on 31 August 1869 and then hired the architect Artur Goebel who design the PPC in the second half of the nineteenth century.[48]

The new, stately palace in Wieniec was then modernised by Leopold Kronenberg's two sons. In 1902, Leopold Julian Kronenberg had renovation work carried out on the park in Wieniec, but no archival sources have been preserved to confirm this. After his death, the estate passed on to his son Leopold Jan, in the possession of whom it remained until World War II when it

[46] *Szafarnia. History*, accessed January 15th, 2020, http://www.szafarnia.art.pl/en/historia/

[47] ŻOR, Andrzej. *Kronenberg. Dzieje fortuny*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2011.

[48] CELIŃSKA, Elżbieta, GRUSZCZYŃSKA, Marianna. Wieniec—zespół pałacowy. In: KUNIKOWSKI, S., ed. *Materiały do dziejów rezydencji w Polsce, Kujawy Wschodnie, Tom I, część 2*. Włocławek: Włocławskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, 2001, pp. 239–284.

was appropriated by the Germans. After the war, the estate was nationalised and taken over by the Treasury pursuant to the agricultural reform act of 24 August 1945. After 1949 the estate served as a tuberculosis sanatorium that in 1960 was renamed the Department of Tuberculosis and Lung Diseases of the Voivodeship Hospital in Włocławek and performed this function until 2006. At present, the palace and the park are owned by the Marshal's Office of the Kujawsko-Pomorskie Voivodeship. They are managed on its behalf by the Kujawsko-Pomorski Impresario Theatre.

The PPC in Wieniec is one of the most magnificent palace and park complexes that have been preserved in the Cuiavian ethnographical region (the southern part of Kujawsko-Pomorskie Voivodeship). The estate currently comprises:

- the new palace;
- the old palace;
- gatehouse / guardhouse at the entrance gate;
- the old engine house.

Pict. 1: *The Kronenbergs' Palace in Wieniec (on the left is a part of the eastern elevation, on the right, part of the western elevation)*
Source: authors

The PPC in Wieniec will run a number of cultural projects. Some of them will be carried out in cooperation with the Museum of the Cuiavian and Dobrzyn Land in Włocławek.

The main projects involve the delivery of concerts and music workshops aimed at promoting young, talented local artists, and students and graduates of music schools in the region and of the Feliks Nowosielski Music Academy in Bydgoszcz. They will also provide an opportunity for young Polish and foreign artists to present their skills and to gain their first experiences of performing in public during concerts of chamber music and other events (theatre plays, monodramas, etc.). It is intended that around 15 music and theatre events and conferences will be organised every year.

The PPC will also run a culture-oriented educational programme involving the delivery of workshops for professional actors and musicians, as well as amateur artists of all ages. The range of courses will include singing, dancing, choreography, and drama classes at different levels—from acting lessons to teaching the creation of mini performances, small theatre forms, and the ways of merging different forms of expression such as pantomime and dance.

Pict. 2: *Historical park in Wieniec around the Kronenbergs' Palace*
Source: authors

Culture-led regeneration – the local community perspective

The changes that the PPC regeneration or revitalisation project is to achieve should give the estate a new life and restore it to its original splendour, but also address the expectations of the residents. It is especially important when the intention of the project is to make the PPC a cultural institution of supra-local influence. This new function can stimulate the development of the local community but the degree of success depends on whether its members are given a voice in decision-making processes so that the future use of the estate is harmonised with their expectations and needs. One instrument that allows the disappointment of the community to be avoided is an opinion survey.

According to the answers collected from respondents during the field survey in Wieniec, as many as 91.4% of them stated that they were interested in the future of the PPC, but only 32.8% actually knew the plans for its use. In the opinion of 81.0% of the surveyed villagers, the estate was very attractive both in terms of its architecture and the landscape. At the same time, some of them were of the opinion that it was of little value in its present state of repair.

The respondents frequently emphasised that the final use of the PPC was not important to them during interviews; they simply wanted to see it modernised and given some function to save it from further disrepair. Although several respondents referred to their bad memories of the place from the times it was used as a hospital, the majority (75.9%) believed that its previous function would not discourage the village residents from visiting it. Consistent with

this conviction was the distribution of answers to the question "Would the villager be interested in visiting the park for recreational purposes?", which was given an affirmative answer by as many as 91.4% of the respondents.

It is notable that the respondents perceived the PPC as having supra-local significance and consequently indicated that it should be accessible not only to the village residents, but most of all to people living across the region, and even in other areas of the country and abroad.

The key question the respondents were asked to answer was about the future use of the estate. To this end, they were requested to mark the uses they liked on a list with two groups of functions, namely "A cultural institution" (a concert hall, a library, a community cultural centre, a meeting place / club, a museum, a cinema / theatre) and "Other institutions" (a hotel, a restaurant, a kindergarten / nursery, an office, a medical care facility, a school). The respondents were given the option to indicate a use other than those shown on the list.

The analysis of the distribution of responses revealed that the majority of respondents chose a cultural function. As many as 67.2% of them believed that the place should be converted into a community cultural centre, with another 65.5% indicating a meeting place or a club. This finding was confirmed by residents' opinions expressed during interviews, who stated that the village community was poorly integrated (as a result of suburbanisation which caused a significant influx of ex-urban residents and spatial development weakening interpersonal relations) while indicating a scarcity of common spaces enabling the integration of the community.

Almost half of the respondents were interested in the palace being converted into a cinema or a theatre, although many of them observed that because of the proximity of Włocławek (the poviat city with approximately 110,000 inhabitants, providing the central functions for this area) this use was not a priority. Similar views were expressed regarding whether the palace might become a restaurant (because of a fast-food outlet operating near it), but it must be noted that this commercial function (unrelated to culture) was indicated by a relatively high number of respondents.

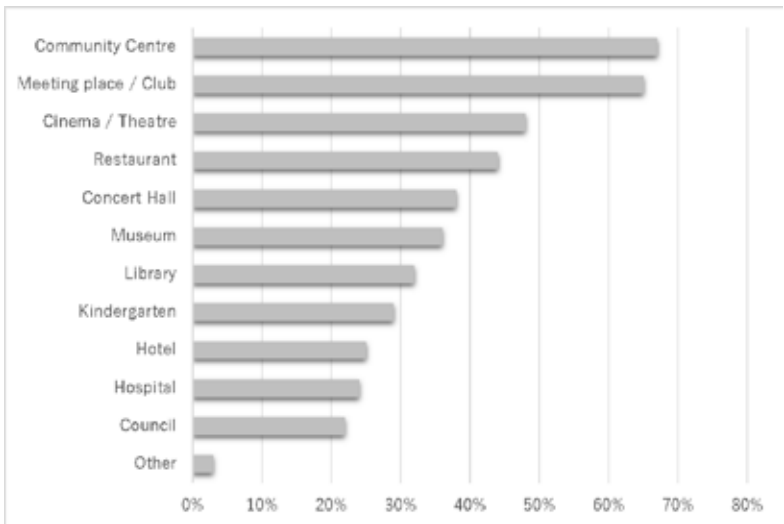

Fig. 3: *The popularity of future uses for the PPC among respondents*
Source: developed by the authors based on the survey data

The uses that received fewer indications were, in a descending order, a concert hall, a museum (with many respondents stressing that the exhibition should relate to the local area, the history of the estate and its former owners), and a library.

About one in four respondents liked the idea of the palace being converted to a kindergarten or a nursery, with similar numbers favouring a hotel, a medical facility (preferably a hospital, because the village has a brand medical clinic), or a local office (the residents of Wieniec currently have to go to the office in Brześć Kujawski). Several respondents were of the opinion that the village needed a home for the elderly (e.g., a residential care home).

Many villagers (41%), especially the elderly ones, still remembered the estate as a recreational area frequented by the residents. During the interviews, the aesthetic value of the garden, especially its well-kept flower beds and rose bushes, were referred to over and over again. Interestingly, 36% of respondents stated that local people were not allowed to visit the park. They remembered that its area had only been accessible to people who visited the hospital's patients. Regardless of the respondents' different memories about the accessibility of the park, they expressed keen interest in the PPC and concern for its condition. Almost all of them (91%) were interested in what was going to happen to it, even though only one-third were knowledgeable about the plans regarding its use.

Discussion

The main types of activities delivered by the PPCs follow country-wide trends. The PPCs which are taken over by private companies are painstakingly renovated in cooperation with heritage conservation officers and used as extremely valuable and unique hotels and restaurants. A few PPCs have been divided by their private owners into two parts, one being used for residential purpose and the other being used as a space for cultural events (e.g., the "Dream Mansion" PPC with the Admiral's Chamber in Sielec). This trend exemplifies a sort of continuation of function. However, around one-third of PPCs are outside the trend. They are still used for educational purposes (schools, kindergartens) and as social welfare institutions (orphanages, care homes), as most of them were after they had been taken from private hands between the end of WWII and 1989. Because of the lack of interest from other parties, they are still held by local governments. A similar situation can be observed in the case of a large group of PPCs accommodating firms and companies providing services on behalf of farmers (consulting centres and breeding centres). Most of them emerged from the State Agricultural Farms that had operated in the PPCs between 1945 and 1989. Taken over and privatised, they still perform important functions for the development of agriculture. It is notable that many of those PPCs were not been renovated after 1989.

The results of the survey seem to indicate that the conversion of the palace in Wieniec for a cultural use adequately addressed the expectations of local residents and met with their approval. They appreciate the potential of the PPC and they consider its cultural function to be appropriate and protective of its value, and to raise its prestige.

Giving a supra-local cultural function to a PPC entails a fundamental change in its perception. This leads to a question about whether the culture-led regeneration of a rural PPC can result, as it has been observed in the case of urban heritage assets, in the establishment of "icon as PPC" similarly to "icon as building" proposed by Skot-Hansen et al.[49]

[49] SKOT-HANSEN, Dorte, RASMUSSEN, Casper Hvenegaard, JOCHUMSEN Henrik. The role of public libraries in culture-led urban regeneration. In: *New Library World*, Vol.114, No. 1/2, 2013, pp. 7–19.

They define "icon as building" as:

- "different and unique;
- famous (or at least intended to be);
- of symbolic/aesthetic quality;
- part of urban branding".[50]

The PPCs analysed in the paper certainly meet the first three criteria. The architectural designs of the palaces in Wieniec, Lubostroń, and Szafarnia and the unique layouts of greenery in them make them different and unique.

The PPCs in Szafarnia and Lubostroń are already known across the region and probably countrywide. Given the scale and nature of renovation works in the PPC in Wieniec, and organisational efforts, it too will become recognisable soon.

The symbolic meaningfulness quality of PPCs is unquestionable. Moreover, considering that the analysed PPCs already are (or will be in the case of Wieniec) part of the branding of the rural areas around them, it can be assumed that culture-oriented PPCs have the potential to become "icon as PPC" at least on the regional scale.

The survey results imply that local communities perceive PPCs as a classic example of using icons to brand a place, and hope for the process to bring measurable benefits to them. For instance, the residents of Wieniec especially hoped to benefit from the recreational function of the park. One reason for this expectation was the lack of a common area that could perform a community integrating function (indicated by respondents in the village) and the high level of satisfaction of other needs.

One aspect that should not be missed is that communities perceive local PPCs as heritage elements defining their identity—places that are associated with the history of the village and are present in their memories. The awareness of their value entails the realisation that these objects should be made available on a larger, supra-local scale. This leads to the establishment of cultural institutions on their grounds, such as libraries or cultural centres.

Conclusions

The analysis of the representative cases in the area of Kujawsko-Pomorskie Voivodeship confirms that culture-led regeneration is one of the best options for preserving the cultural heritage embodied in the PPCs. Particularly in rural areas, which are at risk of permanent marginalisation, appropriately renovated PPCs used for cultural functions meet the criteria put forward by Evans and Shaw.[51] The revitalisation of PPCs is aimed at bringing their unique characteristics to light, and the cultural function they receive converts them into public spaces. The cultural function and accessibility to the public dramatically change the way they are perceived. A relevant illustration of such a change in perspective is the project in Wieniec which involves a thorough transformation of the neglected and dilapidated PPC, evoking negative associations because of its past as a hospital and then as an isolated, neglected, and abandoned place, into a vibrant cultural centre.

The use to which a PPC can be put largely depends on who owns it. Seventy years after nationalisation, most PPCs are readily accessible because they are still in public possession. They typically accommodate schools, NGOs, and various organisations. This allows for wide access to the PPC's resources. Unfortunately, because of funding shortages it is not possible

[50] SKOT-HANSEN et al., The role of public libraries…

[51] EVANS, SHAW, The Contribution…

to save most of them from further dilapidation. In many cases, the parks are all that remain of them, whereas the palaces are long gone. The privately owned PPCs are usually used to deliver hospitality and recreational services, but their group of potential clients is limited to those who are very affluent.

Many of the PPCs which are held by the Treasury or local governments are converted into spaces for cultural activity to take advantage of their historical value. This function can be an illustration of culture-led rural regeneration. In this study, it was noted that the complexity of ownership relations, and the state of disrepair of PPCs in rural areas—requiring significant funding—restrict the possibility of undertaking renovation or repair works. Consequently, the factor guiding the restoration of PPCs held by the Treasury and local governments is culture, while private owners restore their properties with hospitality and restaurant services in mind.

The preferred function for the PPC in Wieniec is one related to culture. The villagers believe that it will act as a factor integrating the local community (representing a mixture of "old" residents and "new" residents who settled in the suburban area). Even though the estate was not accessible or only partially accessible for many years, residents are waiting for it to be open for all visitors. Understanding and appreciating the rank of the estate, they have no problem accepting the fact that they will not be its sole users. In fact, they appear to realise that the intended supra-local reach of their PPC is a confirmation of its value, originality, and uniqueness that they are proud of.

Because of the rising trend in cultural tourism and increasing interest in local identity, greater awareness and pressure can be expected throughout society on the preservation cultural heritage, historic greenery layouts.

The analysis of the historical parks in the Kujawsko-Pomorskie Voivodeship has shown their richness and high value, which is largely due to the fact that most of them have retained their original borders and layouts, including their water systems. It is also of importance to note that they have a huge (and still untapped) socio-economic potential. The mansions and palaces that have been preserved provide spaces for public services and private business, and the vast majority of parks are open to visitors.

Culture-led regeneration and the conversion of privately-held heritage assets to business uses (restaurants and hotels) appears to be the safest way to protect and preserve Poland's cultural heritage.

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Heritagising the Vernacular in a Central European Borderland: Wooden Churches and Open-Air Museums in Upper Silesia

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Heritagising the Vernacular in a Central European Borderland: Wooden Churches and Open-Air Museums in Upper Silesia
This article focuses on how the demand for social and political meanings, generated by nation-building processes and competence between nationalisms in Central Europe, has determined the protection and heritagisation of vernacular architecture. The problem has been analysed using the example of the wooden churches in Upper Silesia—the region contested by Germany and Poland. These monuments gained unprecedented importance as they were believed to testify to ancient architectural traditions and were used to prove the Germanic or Slavic roots of regional culture. The article reveals the evolution of churches' meanings and the ways they have affected the monument protection and functioning of open-air museums.

Keywords: vernacular architecture, wooden church, Upper Silesia, open-air museum, nationalism

1) Introduction

An interest in vernacular architecture, which has been growing in Europe since the mid-nineteenth century, can be perceived—generally speaking—as a reaction to intensive modernisation processes connected with the search for roots both in the past and in the traditional culture. Its essential aspect was, to use Anthony D. Smith's term, "elevation of the people"—of the "folk", who were considered the core of the nation, untouched by foreign influences.[1] The entanglement of ethnography in the processes of nation-building and of marking the "holy homeland" created favourable conditions for popularising the vernacular architecture, especially in the regions which were the subject of litigation of the contending groups. The need for legitimisation of territorial claims inspired the process of investing these objects with new meanings and, in time, their musealisation. Perceived as the keepsakes of the remote past, they became subject to goals motivated by changing circumstances and in this way they were elevated to the status of heritage. A clear example of such practices is found in the wooden churches of Upper Silesia. German, Polish and—to a lesser extent—Czech nationalisms tried—and not only in people's imaginations—to include this region to

[1] SMITH, Anthony D. *Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003, pp. 34–37.

their communities. After the Great War it led to the plebiscite, military confrontation and to the division of the disputed territory in 1922.

In his paper delivered in 1930, during the conservators' meeting, Tadeusz Dobrowolski, an art historian, a director of the Silesian Museum (created on the initiative of the regional authorities) and one of the main originators of the Polish cultural policy in the Polish part of Upper Silesia, stated: "For it is beyond question that Polishness of Silesia manifests itself most distinctly in the Silesian dialect and in the wooden architecture".[2] A central role in the Polish-German dispute about the character of the region was in this way ascribed to the vernacular linguistic and architectural idiom. This status resulted from an already advanced process of social construction of meanings assigned to the wooden sacral architecture, initiated in the nineteenth century, when the cult of monuments of the past emerged.[3] The aim of this article is to present this process as a spectacular example of heritagising works of vernacular culture and to show their use for the purpose of political legitimisation. The article also analyses the difficulties accompanying these phenomena which justify the use of the term "dissonant heritage". The social models determining cultural heritage management will be discussed as well.

2) Discovery, valorisation and preservation of Upper Silesian wooden churches before 1918

An interest in Upper Silesian wooden churches as monuments of the past dates back to the mid-nineteenth century.[4] At that time in this region, mainly constituting the northern-eastern part of the Prussian Silesian Province, there were around 200 such buildings—erected as log structures, and often accompanied by post-and-beam towers. In short articles published in the local and Berlin periodicals some of the buildings were dated to the thirteenth century, however—as it turned out with time—the oldest ones were built in the fifteenth century.[5] It was not at odds with a belief, expressed by many authors, that the structure of the churches is evidence for ancient building traditions, dating back not only to the origins of Christianity but also to the remote, pagan past.[6]

The career of the notion *Heimat* in Wilhelmine Germany favoured the introduction of the wooden church into the collective memory of the inhabitants of Upper Silesia. *Heimat*, connecting the individual with the *Vaterland*, described a unique and intimate tie between humans and the landscape, both natural and cultural.[7] The wooden church held those two

[2] DOBROWOLSKI, Tadeusz. *Zabytki sztuki województwa śląskiego i ich znaczenie dla nauki. Referat wygłoszony na XV Zjeździe Rady Konserwatorów w Katowicach 10 października 1930 r.* Cieszyn: [n.p.], 1930, pp. 4–5.

[3] GORZELIK, Jerzy. Drewniany kościół na Górnym Śląsku jako miejsce pamięci (do 1945 roku). In: *Studia Śląskie. Seria Nowa*, Vol. 81, 2017, pp. 49–64.

[4] CUNO, Carl. Zu den Skizzen von den alten Holzkirchen in Syrin, Lubom und Bosatz (bei Ratibor). In: *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen*, Vol. 2, No. 5/6, 1852, p. 212.

[5] CUNO, Zu den Skizzen…, p. 212; LUCHS, Hermann. Stilbezeichnung und Datierung einiger Kirchen Schlesiens preußischen und österreichischen Antheils. In: *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthum Schlesiens*, Vol I, No. 2, 1856, pp. 298–303; LUCHS, Hermann. Die oberschlesischen Holzkirchen und Verwandtes (Mit Beiträgen von dem geistlichen Rathe Hrn. Weltzel und dem Vic.-Amts-Rathe Hrn. Knoblich). In: *Schlesische Provinzial-Blätter (Rübezahl)*, Vol. 75/ N.S. 10, No. 3, 1871, pp. 109–121.

[6] STRZYGOWSKI, Josef. *Die altslavische Kunst*. Augsburg: Filser, 1929, pp. 217–258; DOBROWOLSKI, Tadeusz. *Najstarsze drewniane kościoły śląskie jako znaki zamierzchłej przeszłości*. Katowice: Instytut Śląski, 1946, pp. 16–17.

[7] SPEITKAMP, Winfried. *Die Verwaltung der Geschichte. Denkmalpflege und Staat in Deutschland 1871–1933*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996, pp. 36–44.

aspects together, making an example of such artifacts which could be acknowledged, due to their unique qualities, as elements of a natural environment.[8] This category of objects was highly valued by Erich Rudorff, one of the ideologists and creators of *Heimatschutzbewegung*, the homeland protection movement. At the turn of the twentieth century one of the most frequently stressed qualities of such buildings was their picturesqueness, resulting from their vivid interaction with landform features and the trees surrounding the buildings. This aesthetic aspect of the vernacular architecture created favourable conditions for inspiring impulses for the renewal of artistic language. But the ethical aspect was equally important for their positive reception. Jean Jacques Rousseau and Johann Gottfried Herder already perceived the idealised life of "noble savages", life that went in accordance with the rhythm of nature, as a moral pattern. A dynamic development of folk studies in the nineteenth century was closely connected with a belief about the "authenticity" of the culture of country dwellers, untouched by technological civilisation and foreign influences. A large group of national ideologues were convinced that it was in the villages that the national spirit was to be found in its purest form, and where it could be—according to the nationalist demands—revived on the higher level of the historical development.[9]

Both aesthetic and ethical thought contributed to the interest in the Upper Silesian wooden churches among the circle of *Bildungsbürgertum*—the main base for the homeland protection movement developing in the imperial Germany. Two conservators of the Silesian Province—Hans Lutsch and Ludwig Burgemeister—focused their attention on the issue of the wooden sacred architecture both theoretically and practically. The first one—in the inventory of the monuments of the region—admitted that wooden churches, "born from the soul of the folk" were one of the most valuable groups of historical monuments in Upper Silesia. He also lamented that they were in danger due to the "alienating from *Heimat*" spirit of the local Slavophones.[10] This colonial gaze was also easy to find in Burgemeister's book. Pointing at the features of Upper Silesian log structures corresponding to contemporary architectural trends (as Alois Riegl would describe it, it corresponded to a contemporary *Kunstwollen*), such as simplicity, clarity of construction, and functionality, Burgemeister derived the form of the wooden architecture from the Slavic spirit of melancholy, born of a centuries-old tradition of serfdom.[11]

Fig. 1: *Bytom, Saint Laurence's Church, relocated from Mikul-czyce, 1940s postcard*

[8] SPEITKAMP, Die Verwaltung…, p. 38.

[9] SMITH, Chosen Peoples…, pp. 37–40.

[10] LUTSCH, Hans. *Verzeichnis der Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Schlesien*. Bd. IV*, Die Kunstdenkmäler des Reg.-Bezirks Oppeln*. Breslau: Verlag von Wilh. Gott. Korn, 1894, p. 200; LUTSCH, Hans. Die Dorfkirche. In: SOHNREY, Heinrich (ed.). *Kunst auf dem Lande. Ein Wegweiser für die Pflege des Schönen und des Heimatsinnes im deutschen Dorfe*. Bielefeld–Leipzig–Berlin: Velhagen & Klasing, 1905, p. 22.

[11] BURGEMEISTER, Ludwig – WIGGERT, Ernst. *Die Holzkirchen und Holztürme der preussischen Ostprovinzen*. Berlin: Verlag von Julius Springer, 1905, p. 3.

Both conservators perceived saving the wooden churches as a priority, and especially that the monuments were endangered by the modernisation of Upper Silesian villages and by the attitude of the local parish communities striving to replace narrow, rotten buildings with bigger ones, made of bricks or stones. A unique way of protecting buildings was to relocate them to cities—from a small settlement Mikulczyce to Bytom in the Upper Silesian industrial region in 1901 (Fig.1), and twelve years later from Kędzierzyn to Wrocław, the capital of the province.[12] Both these deconsecrated objects were transferred to city parks where the immediate precincts of the churches were formed in a way that was supposed to repeat or even to enhance the picturesqueness of the original location. In Wrocław, in Szczytnicki Park, the church was placed in the center of the Cemetery Art Exhibition, held as a part of the Centennial Exhibition, aimed at the revival of contemporary crafts by referring to the local traditions. The rearrangement of the building was carried out by the pupils of the local Royal Academy of Arts and Crafts supervised by Fryderyk Pautsch, a Polish painter inspired by the Carpathian folklore.[13]

Fig. 2: *Anton Oskar Klaussmann's book cover designed by Richard Knötel, 1911*

Both translocations, influenced—according to the declarations of conservation officers—by Scandinavian experiences, were presented as a success, and as evidence of the effectiveness of such a method of preserving the wooden church architecture.[14] As well as conservators and art historians, artists and their employers also contributed to the process of investing the wooden churches with new meanings conditioned by contemporary needs. In 1904 Emil Nöllner decorated the assembly hall in the Building Crafts School in Katowice (a thriving city in the Upper Silesian industrial region) with paintings presenting monuments emblematic of Silesian architecture from various periods.[15] Beside three other buildings, there was the church in Mikulczyce accompanied by a Prussian eagle and St. Hedwig of Silesia—a patron of the region. When talking only about Upper Silesia, not about the whole

[12] NOWOSIELSKA-SOBEL, Joanna. *Od ziemi rodzinnej ku ojczyźnie ideologicznej. Ruch ochrony stron ojczystych (Heimatschutz) ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Śląska (1871–1933)*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2013, pp. 322–324; ILKOSZ, Jerzy. „Schlesischer Bund für Heimatschutz" i Wystawa Sztuki Cmentarnej. In: *Roczniki Sztuki Śląskiej*, Vol. 16, 1997, pp. 173–182; STÖRTKUHL, Beate. *Moderne Architektur in Schlesien 1900 bis 1939. Baukultur und Politik*. München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2013, p. 68.

[13] STÖRTKUHL, Moderne Architektur…, p. 68.

[14] *Bericht des Provinzial-Konservators der Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Schlesien über die Tätigkeit vom 1. Januar 1900 bis 31. Dezember 1902 erstattet an die Provinzial-Kommission zur Erhaltung und Erforschung der Denkmäler Schlesiens.* Breslau: Druck von Grass, Barth und Comp. (W. Friedrich), 1903, p. 7; *Bericht des Provinzial-Konservators der Kunstdenkmäer der Provinz Schlesien über die Tätigkeit vom 1. Januar 1913 bis 31. Dezember 1914 erstattet an die Provinzial-Kommission zur Erhaltung und Erforschung der Denkmäler Schlesiens.* Breslau: Druck von Grass, Barth und Comp. (W. Friedrich), 1914, pp. 3–4.

[15] CHOJECKA, Ewa. A New Polyphony of Art and History. Painting Decoration of the Bolesław Szabelski Auditorium in the Karol Szymanowski Academy of Music in Katowice. In: *Revitalization of the Historic Building of the Karol Szymanowski Academy of Music in Katowice 1 March 2014 to 30 April 2016*. Katowice: Akademia Muzyczna im. Karola Szymanowskiego, 2016, pp. 3–18, accessed 2 April 2020, http://rewitalizacjaeog.pl/images/download/EOG_AM_aula_album.pdf

Silesian province, the wooden church could serve as the main symbol of regional pre-modern traditions combined with the industrial modernity. A painter, Richard Knötel, designed the cover of a book by a Berlin journalist enthusiastically describing the dynamic development of the eastern peripheries of the Reich (Fig. 2). On this cover the church from Mikulczyce, accompanied by a woman in a peasant dress, was collated with an industrial landscape and a figure of a miner. Both parts of the composition were joined by a motif of a tree with huge roots and a dense crown.[16] In turn, on a stained glass window in the church in Ligota Bialska designed in 1908 by a Cracow artist, Włodzimierz Tetmajer, a wooden church is presented in the background of the scene with Saints Cyril and Methodius—the "Apostles of the Slavs". This combination of motifs was supposed to indicate the Slavic (i.e. Polish) character of the original culture of the region, announcing the instrumentalisation of vernacular architecture by two contending nationalisms after the Great War.

In spite of the announced success of the translocations, the process of destruction of wooden churches in the first decade of the twentieth century could not be stopped. After erecting new bigger brick and stone churches the wooden objects were excluded from use and they became a burden for parish communities. A provincial conservator, aware of his limited capabilities, listed 21 monuments which needed preservation at all costs and resigned himself to the possible demolition of the remaining ones.[17] The conflict between those responsible for the protection of the architectural heritage and the local communities who perceived the wooden churches as a burden continued after the First World War and after the division of Silesia, on both the German and Polish sides of the border.

3) The wooden church in the "landscapes of revanchism"

In the conditions of a bitter ideological argument both sides unequally used the wooden church architecture to impose their own vision of Upper Silesian history. This initially distinct asymmetry resulted from both practical and ideological factors. The strong position of the monument conservation services within the structure of the Polish autonomous Silesian voivodeship enabled them to take actions on a larger scale than those carried out by the conservators in the German Upper Silesian Province. A primordialist concept of the nation (rejected by the part of the German Upper Silesian elites who accepted the right of the individual for self-determination, irrespective of their background or language) created favourable conditions for the use of the wooden church as evidence of an eternal Polishness of the region. In the narrative dominating in the Silesian voivodeship, "Slavic" meant "Polish" but in the narratives of Upper Silesian Province, "Germanic" did not necessarily mean "German". Establishing the continuity between a Slavic past and a contemporary Polishness determined the construction of the meanings of the wooden church by nationalist elites and—as a consequence—an intensive presence of the wooden church in the visual culture of the eastern part of Upper Silesia. It was depicted in the sculptural decoration of the regional parliament, on posters, photos, and in propaganda publications—both those praising the development of

[16] KLAUSSMANN, Anton Oskar. *Oberschlesien vor 55 Jahren und wie ich es wiederfand*. Berlin – Breslau – Kattowitz – Leipzig: Phönix–Verlag, 1911.

[17] *Bericht des Provinzial-Konservators der Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Schlesien über die Tätigkeit vom 1. Januar 1903 bis 31. Dezember 1904 erstattet an die Provinzial-Kommission zur Erhaltung und Erforschung der Denkmäler Schlesiens*. Breslau: Druck von Grass, Barth und Comp. (W. Friedrich), 1905, p. 9; *Bericht des Provinzial-Konservators der Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Schlesien über die Tätigkeit vom 1. Januar 1907 bis 31. Dezember 1908 erstattet an die Provinzial-Kommission zur Erhaltung und Erforschung der Denkmäler Schlesiens*. Breslau: Druck von Grass, Barth und Comp. (W. Friedrich), 1909, p. 77.

the region in the Polish state, and those laying a claim to the part of it remaining within the German borders. [18]

The most ambitious project connected with emphasising the importance of the wooden church and the meanings ascribed to it was the one of establishing an open-air ethnographic museum in Katowice, the capital of the Silesian voivodeship. Here, according to the declarations of the district conservation officer, Tadeusz Dorowolski, the most valuable religious monuments were intended to be placed.[19] It was supposed to solve the problem of their maintenance costs, as the parishes, which had already built new, brick churches, were unwilling to cover them. At the same time, creating such a museum in Katowice became a part of the policy of Polonisation of this city in which the Prussian times had left a distinct mark, and where the German side won overwhelmingly in the plebiscite.

The idea of establishing open-air ethnographic museums in interwar Poland had a supra-local dimension. Preserving the wooden architecture was perceived as one of the priorities by the conservators who, during the all-Poland convention in 1927, called for the support both of the state and the Roman Catholic church.[20] Though the Polish experience in this field was

Fig. 3: *Katowice, Saint Michael's Church, relocated from Syrynia, photo by Jerzy Gorzelik*

rather modest, in the new nation state the idea of founding such a museum was well received. There were plans to establish not only a few such regional institutions, but also a central one in Warsaw. Ultimately, during the interwar period only the Museum of Kurpie in Nowogród was

[18] GORZELIK, Drewniany kościół…, pp. 58–59.

[19] RYGUS, Piotr. Muzeum na wolnym powietrzu w Katowicach (1929–1955). Idee, plany i realizacja. In: *Rocznik Muzeum „Górnośląski Park Etnograficzny w Chorzowie"*, Vol. 1, 2013, p. 87.

[20] II Ogólno-Polski zjazd Konserwatorów w Warszawie w 1927 r. (Uchwały i rezultaty). In: *Ochrona Zabytków Sztuki.* Warszawa: Ministerstwo Wyznań Religijnych i Oświecenia Publicznego, 1930–31, p. 357.

opened, and the first beginnings of the Katowice institution were formed.[21]

The open-air ethnographic museum was placed in a park located in the southern part of Katowice. The park was named after Tadeusz Kościuszko, a Polish hero. Kościuszko was the leader of the first national uprising which, due to the participation of peasants, was presented as a patriotic bid for the independence of the people, similarly to the Polish uprisings in Upper Silesia in 1919–1921. A church transferred in the 1930s from Syrynia (Fig. 3), a village in the southern part of the region, was put in the place of the demolished Bismarck Tower. Thus a modest symbol of an ancient culture of Upper Silesian people (portrayed as homogeneously Polish and Catholic) replaced a massive monument to the Iron Chancellor, an enemy of the Church and Polishness, perceived as an embodiment of Prussian overweening arrogance and German imperialism. The meanings of the vernacular architecture framed by the Polish nationalist discourse were activated during the consecration of the building, which regained its original, liturgical function in the new location. The celebration, with the participation of e.g. the bishop and the mayor of Katowice, was broadcast by the Polish national radio, and the speeches delivered during the ceremony left no doubt that the undertaking had a political character. The mayor described the wooden churches as "the evidence of the eternal affiliation" of Silesia to Poland while the bishop presented them as a proof of the attachment of the Silesian people to Catholicism—"the factor maintaining the patriotic spirit".[22] In the tale spun

Fig. 4: *Chorzów, Saint Laurence's Church, relocated from Knurów, photo by Jerzy Gorzelik*

by the pro-Polish-oriented Catholic clergy, the Polishness and Catholicism were inseparable and the wooden church assumed the dimension of their bastion. Its image decorated the masthead of a weekly magazine published by the diocese. The aim of the weekly was—apart from the

[21] RYGUS, Muzeum…, pp. 84–85.
[22] RYGUS, Muzeum…, pp. 90–95.

religious mission—to accomplish the nationalisation of Upper Silesian Slavophones in a Polish spirit.

The outbreak of World War II disrupted the work on the open-air ethnographic museum in Katowice. However—similarly to the above mentioned scenario—in the Silesian voivodeship another translocation of a wooden church took place in the 1930s. A building from a small town, Knurów, was transferred to the second biggest city of Polish Upper Silesia, Chorzów, in which the German minority regularly won the majority of seats in the city council (Fig. 4). As part of a large-scale action of Polonisation, the authorities connected the former Królewska Huta / Königshütte (its name—Royal Iron Works—harking back to the rule of the Hohenzollern dynasty) with its neighboring districts. The entire area was given the Slavic name of one of the districts within it. The hill on which the church was placed, called Mount of Reden (Redenberg) after a Prussian pioneer of industrialisation, was renamed to Mount of Liberation (Góra Wyzwolenia), commemorating the incorporation of the city to Poland. Similarly to the ceremony in Katowice, during the consecration in Chorzów, the Polish character of the building was emphasised, as well as its restoration to its liturgical function.[23] Both translocations became an opportunity for a tactical cooperation of the public and church authorities. The public authorities, coming from a political camp unpopular among Upper Silesians, which seized power in the country and in the voivodeship by a coup d'état led by marshal Józef Piłsudski in 1926, could symbolically benefit from the support of the Church. The church authorities manifested the vitality of Upper Silesian Catholicism, legitimising their aspirations to play an important part in public life.

In the German part of the region the ideological seizure of wooden churches did not take on comparable proportions in the early post-war years. No greater significance was attached to the use of transferred churches as places of religious worship. In the church located in the City Park in Bytom in the year of the plebiscite (1921), an exhibition of sacral art from a local museum was organised.[24] Similar plans were considered for the Zembowice village church in which the Gliwice museum was interested. Finally the building was placed in the city, but as a chapel in the new Central Cemetery, where it was consecrated in 1926.[25] Before national socialists came to power, Upper Silesian wooden churches were a major focus for those who supported the ideas of the Völkisch movement. In 1929 "Der Oberschlesier" magazine published a text by Robert Mielke, an influential cofounder of *Bund für Heimatschutz*. He described the wooden sacral architecture of the region as a testimony to "Early German construction art" and the key evidence of an eternally German character of Upper Silesia. This opinion gained almost official status during the Third Reich when a symptomatic rearrangement of the church in the park in Bytom was carried out. The majority of the artifacts displayed there were removed and in the middle of the interior there was placed a huge sarcophagus made of coal, crowned with a *Stahlhelm* commemorating those killed in the Great War. Two oaks, named Hitler and

[23] POLAK-SPRINGER, Peter. *Recovered Territory. A German-Polish Conflict over Land and Culture, 1919–89*. New York – Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2018, p. 117; GWIOŹDZIK, Marek – SONTAG, Magdalena. *Kościółek św. Wawrzyńca. Świątynia i jej dzieje w Knurowie i Chorzowie*. Chorzów: Parafia św. Wawrzyńca, 2008, pp. 17–19.

[24] MACHA, Simon. Die Schrotholzkirche auf der Beuthener Promenade, ein kirchliches Museum. In: KASPERKOWITZ Karl – SALOMON D. – STEIN Erwin (ed.). *Die deutsche Stadt Beuthen O/S. und ihre nächste Umgebung (Monographien deutscher Städte 15)*. Berlin Friedenau: Deutscher Kommunal–Verlag, 1925, pp. 129–132.

[25] HEINEVETTER, Franz. Die Schrotholzkirche Mariae Himmelfahrt auf dem Hauptfriedhof in Geliwitz. In: *Gleiwitzer Jahrbuch*. Gleiwitz: Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Stadtbücherei Gleiwitz, 1927, pp. 185–186.

Hindenburg, were planted in front of the church in 1934 on Hitler's birthday.[26] Turning the object into a place of commemoration of the Kaiser's army soldiers triggered fierce reactions of the Polish side—a weekly published by a radically nationalist Silesian Insurrectionists' Union accused the Germans of an appropriation of the "Polish church".[27]

A new interpretation of the Upper Silesian wooden church in Germany was connected with a "settlement archaeology method" propagated by Gustaf Kossinna. His idea was based on the assumption that clearly defined archaeological cultures should be identified with certain peoples and tribes.[28] Paradoxically this method—implemented by Kossinna's pupil, Józef Kostrzewski, to demonstrate the continuity of Slavic settlement in the areas between the Odra and Bug rivers since prehistoric times—had earlier influenced the way the wooden architecture was perceived among the Polish intellectuals, who saw in it the evidence of the eternal Polishness of the area.[29]

4) Wooden churches and open-air ethnographic museums in Upper Silesia—from communist to democratic Poland

The meanings ascribed to Upper Silesian wooden churches by the Polish nationalists were reproduced with an unabated intensity after the shift of the Polish-German border in 1945. A meaningful piece of evidence for this continuity is Dobrowolski's booklet in which he describes the oldest wooden churches in Upper Silesia as reflections of ancient Polish building traditions.[30] In the 1950s it was suggested that open-air ethnographical museums be created in both parts of the region: the part belonging to Poland before the war and the part incorporated after the Potsdam Conference. At the same time, systematic research on vernacular architecture in Upper Silesia began. In 1961 the Upper Silesian Ethnographic Park in Chorzów was established, and one year later, the Museum of the Opole Village in Opole-Bierkowice. These two institutions opened in 1975 and in 1970 respectively. In both cases, right from the initial documents, a transfer of a wooden church was planned.[31] But the tension between the socialist state and the Church became an obstacle to accomplishing this goal. The authorities of the Opole diocese disciplined a parish priest who independently entered into negotiations with the museum, perceiving the unused monument as a burden, while in Katowice diocese the administrator of the building himself tried to convince the episcopal curia to agree on the

[26] NADOLSKI, Przemysław. Przedwojenne pomniki Bytomia i jego dzielnic. In: NADOLSKI, Przemysław – WIECZOREK, Edward (ed.). *Ze spiżu i granitu. Pomniki Bytomia.* Bytom: Muzeum Górnośląskie, 2012, pp. 28–29.

[27] Na Śląsku Opolskim. In: *Powstaniec*, 1 May 1937, p. 23.

[28] KOSSINNA, Gustaf. *Die deutsche Ostmark ein Urheimatboden der Germanen*. Kattowitz: Gebruder Bohm, 1919.

[29] KURNATOWSKA, Zofia – KURNATOWSKI, Stanisław. Der Einfluss nationalistischer Ideen auf die mitteleuropäische Urgeschichtsforschung. In: PISKORSKI, Jan M. – HACKMANN, Jörg – JAWORSKI, Rudolf (ed.). *Deutsche Ostforschung und polnische Westforschung im Spannungsfeld von Wissenschaft und Politik. Disziplinen im Vergleich*. Osnabrück – Poznań: fibre Verlag / Polskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 2002, pp. 98–99.

[30] DOBROWOLSKI, Najstarsze…

[31] Archive of the Opole Village Museum (henceforth AOVM), f. Pisma i notatki [Documents and notes], 1958–1971 (henceforth f. Documents 1958–1971), no. 305/4. Bronicz, Stanisław. Założenia dyskusyjne do zagadnienia funkcji planowanego Muzeum Budownictwa Ludowego na Śląsku Opolskim [Debatable principles of functioning of the planned Museum of Folk Architecture in Opole Silesia], 11–12 October 1960; Archive of Upper Silesian Ethnographic Park in Chorzów (henceforth AUSEP), f. Notatki dotyczące opracowania planu koncepcyjnego skansenu śląskiego w Wojewódzkim Parku Kultury i Wypoczynku. Ramowe wytyczne osiedla muzealnego typu skansenowskiego w Wojewódzkim Parku Kultury i Wypoczynku [f. Notes regarding the development of the conceptual plan of the Silesian open-air museum in the Voivodeship Park of Culture and Recreation. Framework guidelines for the museum of the open-air type in the Voivodeship Park of Culture and Recreation].

transfer only if the object kept its liturgical function, or if permission was obtained to build a new church in one of the new housing estates in the industrial district.[32] The final result was that a church abandoned in 1945, a property of the State Treasury, was acquired by the Museum of the Opole Village. And it was necessary to wait for the political transformation to accomplish the plans in Chorzów. Therefore, despite suggestions in the press during the 1990s, it was not the state that blocked the transfers, but the Church which, unlike in the interwar Silesian Voivodeship, was not interested in cooperation in this field.

Distrust of the state authorities, with whom the Catholic circles disputed over the vision of the national past, in this case outweighed a common aspiration to Polonise the former German lands incorporated in 1945. Such a will was expressed at the very beginning in the planning documents of the Museum of the Opole Village (at first called the Museum of Folk Architecture). Special attention was paid to its "popularising-educational" function due to the necessity of "repolonisation" of ca. 500,000 autochthons inhabiting the voivodeship. Another important goal was the "integrating-assimilative" policy with regard to a similarly large settlement population. An attractive presentation of the "traditionally Polish culture of the Opole village" was supposed to create a platform of a common, unambiguously Polish group identity.[33] Nationalist goals, expressed in almost every document concerning the planned museum, were complemented by the class elements. The institution was to present a material stratification of the former villages and the "backwardness of the capitalist period".[34] Similar principles were formulated for the Upper Silesian Ethnographic Park in Chorzów. In one of the studies written for the use of the future institution it was even stated that Prussian building regulations from the nineteenth century preventing continuation of the timber building tradition were only seemingly dictated by fire security factors. In fact, their aim was "an escalation of the terror of Germanisation, fighting with everything connected with Polishness".[35]

In summary, during the Polish People's Republic, the meanings constructed in the interwar period that were ascribed to Upper Silesian wooden churches and applied to the entire wooden architecture of the region were used for the legitimisation of the western state border. They were also used for the autochthons' Polonisation, presented as a return to Slavic roots, and for the authentication of Upper Silesians as the real Poles in the eyes of the settlers from other regions. Even though the establishment and organisation of both Upper Silesian open-air museums became part of the nationwide campaign for creating similar institutions, and these museums were connected with a growing interest in the protection of vernacular architecture

[32] AOVM, f. Dokumentacja specjalna. Inwentaryzacja – kościół drewniany, Zawada Książęca, powiat Racibórz, no. 302/1. Pismo proboszcza ks. Ewalda Pelki do Wojewódzkiego Konserwatora Zabytków [f. Special records. Inventory – wooden church, Zawada Książęca, Racibórz county, no. 302/1. Letter of a parish priest, Rev. Edward Pelka to the Provincial Conservation Officer], 08 February 1968; Archdiocese Archives in Katowice, f. Akta parafii pw. Trójcy Św. w Leszczynach. Budowy, 1926–1976, no. AL 1139. Pismo proboszcza ks. Wilhelma Dłucika do kurii diecezjalnej [f. Records of the Holy Trinity parish church in Leszczyny. Building, 1926–1976, no. AL 1139. Letter of the parish priest, Rev. Wilhelm Dłucik to the diocesan curia], 29 June 1963.

[33] AOVM, f. Documents 1958–1971, no. 305/4. Bronicz, Stanisław. Założenia dyskusyjne do zagadnienia funkcji planowanego Muzeum Budownictwa Ludowego na Śląsku Opolskim [Debatable principles of functioning of the planned Museum of Folk Architecture in Opole Silesia]. 11–12 October 1960.

[34] AOVM, f. Documents 1958–1971, np. 305/4. Bronicz, Stanisław. Materiały do założeń projektowych Muzeum Budownictwa Ludowego w Opolu [Materials for project principles of the Museum of Folk Architecture in Opole], October 1960.

[35] AUSEP, Informacja: Stan realizacji Muzeum Wsi Górnośląskiej (Skansen) w Wojewódzkim Parku Kultury i Wypoczynku w Chorzowie, maj 1970 [Information: completion status of the Upper Silesian Village Museum (Open-air Museum) in the Voivodeship Park of Culture and Recreation in Chorzów, May 1970].

on a European scale, their special functions, conditioned by the character of the region, should not be overlooked.

The political changes of the late 1980s and early 1990s built a base for the new context of the functioning of the wooden church in Upper Silesia. The region has become a new space for different (often competing) memory policies. An official recognition of the German minority meant the necessity to revise an image of a homogeneously Polish land established over the decades. The circles invoking traditions of pre-war Christian democracy combining a moderate Polish nationalism with Upper Silesian regionalism came to the fore in the eastern part of the country, gaining significant influence in the restored local self-governments and designating their own candidate for the post of the provincial governor.

This context should be used to analyse the moving of the wooden church (which regained its liturgical function, similarly to the interwar relocations) to the open-air museum in Chorzów. However, this time the commentaries accompanying the consecration of the building concerned not the national content but a restoration of the proper (from the initiators' point of view) position of religion in the region after its time of being discriminated against by the state authorities.[36] Therefore the transfer of this monument of sacred art was used to construct a simplified, dualistic picture of the recent history in which the Catholic church played the role of the exponent of the values important for the society.

While the aforementioned translocation complemented the activities undertaken as early as in the 1950s, setting up the Wooden Architecture Route was a brand-new initiative. It was made under an agreement of the self-governments of three voivodeships from southern Poland: the Sub-Carpathian region, Lesser Poland, and Silesia.[37] Lesser Poland was the leader of the project as since 2003 it had had six wooden churches listed as UNESCO Heritage Sites. According to the agreement, the aim of the Route was the promotion of the voivodeships, the development of cultural tourism, and the protection of the national heritage. Significantly, it was the first cultural route in Upper Silesia—the preparatory works on the Industrial Monuments Route of the Silesian Voivodeship only began in 2004. It was opened two years later and became the main touristic product of the region. Both attempts to create the public heritage are sometimes perceived as competing. This was expressed in the debates conducted by members of the regional assembly when the representative of the national-conservative "Law and Justice" party (PiS) demanded greater care for the Wooden Architecture Route as not only were most of its buildings perceived for decades as evidence of the Polishness of the region, but they were connected with Catholic worship.[38] The industrial heritage—religiously neutral, and originating mostly under the Prussian and German rule—was a major focus for the regionalists from the Silesian Autonomy Movement. They proclaimed the industrial sites to be testimony to the most spectacular civilisation leap in the region's history.[39]

[36] Józef – Robotnik. To nie tylko skansenowa atrapa. In: *Dziennik Zachodni*, 21–23 June 1996, p. 3; Świątynia znalazła swe miejsce. In: *Gość Niedzielny*, 12 October 1997, p. 16; Brakujący paciorek….In: *Dziennik Zachodni*, 29 September 1997, p. 6.

[37] *Powstaje szlak architektury drewnianej*, accessed 2 April 2020, https://www.slaskie.pl/content/386_2002-04-17.

[38] Archive of the Marshal Office of the Silesian Voivodeship, Protokół nr XXVI/12 z XXVI sesji Sejmiku Województwa Śląskiego IV kadencji [Record no. XXVI/12 of the 26th session of Silesian Voivodeship Regional Assembly of the 4th tenure], 17 September 2012, pp. 23–24; Protokół nr XXIX/2/12 z II posiedzenia XXIX sesji Sejmiku Województwa Śląskiego IV kadencji [Record no. XXIX/2/12 of the 2nd session of Silesian Voivodeship Regional Assembly of the 4th tenure], 20 December 2012, p. 52.

[39] MERCIK, Henryk. *Komu zależy na Industriadzie?*, accessed 2 April 2020, https://www.jaskolkaslaska.eu/2014/06/14/komu-zalezy-na-industriadzie/.

This new perspective resulted in another translocation of a wooden church to the Chorzów open-air museum. Thanks to the efforts of the politicians from the Silesian Autonomy Movement and the local Lutheran Church, an abandoned and ruined protestant chapel from Bobrek (a district of Bytom city) was relocated. This prefabricated building was produced in 1932 by the Christoph & Unmack AG company from Niesky in Lusatia. It was reconsecrated in September 2017 on the occasion of the Year of Reformation that was announced on the initiative of the same political circle. The Upper Silesian voivodeship was the first of three voivodeships where the authorities decided on such an undertaking.[40] The translocation of the protestant church which was, due to the place of its production, definitely connected with German culture, meant the modification of the open-air museum, which opened itself to the works of the industrial era. It also meant breaking the monopoly held by the existing meanings of wooden churches as a symbol of a homogeneously Polish and Catholic character of this region.

Conclusions

The history of the preservation and interpretation of wooden churches in Upper Silesia could be perceived as a process of transition from a paradigm of monument preservation to the paradigm of heritage as described by Gregory Ashworth.[41] At the same time it proves the illusiveness of the conviction of the first paradigm's supporters that the selection of the objects intended for preservation for future generations was based on objective criteria, free from ideological connotations. Frantic efforts to stop the devastation of the village churches have been motivated since the very beginning by the meanings constructed on the ground of cultural nationalism understood—to quote Hutchinson—as a movement of "reformers in conservative dress", who "seek to use tradition to legitimate social innovation (…) and to rally modernists to the cause of building on indigenous traditions rather than of obliterating them".[42] In the Prussian legal system the preservation of monuments was implemented as a social activity, supported by the governmental and provincial administration. Therefore a special role was played by the associations which perceived the past as the source of revival. The reforming intentions were clearly visible in the use of the wooden church initiated by the *Schlesischer Bund für Heimatschutz* at the Cemetery Art Exhibition in Wrocław in 1913.

The reinterpreting of the wooden church in the interwar Silesian Voivodeship resulted from the need to satisfy the deficits of the Polish tradition in the region that had remained outside Poland for a few hundred years. Representatives of the Polish elite who combined various social roles—experts, policy-makers, activists, artists, or priests—acted as the heritage "producers".[43] In their narratives about the past, various different aspects were accentuated, emphasising the duration of either Polishness or religion; however, both themes fully integrated on a level of a standardising Catholic-national discourse. The wooden church was therefore used to

[40] WIECZOREK, Krzysztof. Kościół ewangelicki z Bytomia-Bobrka. Wybrane problemy konserwatorskie w obiekcie o charakterze tymczasowym wykonanym z materiałów nietrwałych i nietypowych. In: *Rocznik Muzeum „Górnośląski Park Etnograficzny w Chorzowie"*, Vol. 5, 2017, pp. 177–195; *Nowe życie zabytkowego kościoła*, accessed 2 April 2020, https://www.jaskolkaslaska.eu/2017/10/12/nowe-zycie-zabytkowego-kosciola/.

[41] ASHWORTH, Gregory. Preservation, conservation and heritage. Approaches to the past in the present through the built environment. In: *Asian Anthropology*, Vol. 10, No. 1, 2011, pp. 1–18.

[42] HUTCHINSON, John. Re-interpreting cultural nationalism. In: *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, Vol. 45, No. 3, 1999, p. 404.

[43] GORZELIK, Drewniany kościół…, pp. 57–59.

implement the paradigm described by Ashworth as a single-core model in which "society accepts the valid existence of only one set of common values, social norms and practices and ethnic cultural characteristics as legitimately determining the place identity".[44] A similarly oriented practice of heritage management also appeared in the German part of the region after the seizing of power by the national socialists. However, to construct the meanings, previously developed Volkist ideas were used, and unlike on the Polish side of the border, there were some divergences of opinion between experts on monument preservation and the decision-makers.[45]

The single-core model also remained in force after 1945. Yet the change of relationship between the state and the Church influenced the verification of the meanings constructed by the producers of the public heritage. A wooden church in an open-air museum has become one of many evidences of Polishness, besides the secular wooden architecture. But with losing its liturgical function it has lost the status of a monument of a living religiousness—its museification meant, in this case, the marginalisation of religion. Experts in monument preservation have mainly played the role of heritage producers. The state authorities were the direct consumers of the past and the indirect consumer was the society, however deprived of the possibility to articulate its needs freely. Conservators, ethnologists, art historians, and museum workers responded to the demands generated by the state concerning the need for legitimisation of the new borders, ahistorical administrative division, and distribution of power. Through meeting the state's expectations, these specialists were also able to achieve their own goals, which were formulated on the basis of the monument preservation paradigm.

The political changes at the end of the twentieth century caused the emergence of the new "stakeholders" of the heritage, namely the local governments, and, since 1999, also the provincial administrations, organisations of national minorities, and associations cultivating various ideas of the past. As a consequence the single-core model began to evolve towards the core+ model, characterised by "the existence of a consensual core identity, the *leitkultur* or leading culture to which are added a number of distinctive minority cultural groups".[46] At first this transformation did not have any conspicuous impact on the open-air museums in Upper Silesia. The exhibitions were not supplemented with artifacts connected with Germanic village language islands and with the protestant settlements or with the modernisation of Upper Silesian villages in the Prussian or German state. The crucial moment was an emergence of the ethnoregional party in the Silesian regional assembly. It called for heritage policy referring to the salad bowl model in which the "basic idea is that the diverse ingredients are brought together and collectively create a whole without losing their distinctive characteristics".[47] A direct and permanent result of this policy was the transfer of the protestant church from Bobrek, yet it did not finish the dispute between the supporters of different social models.

The history of interpretation of the Upper Silesian wooden church shows several phenomena of a more general nature. Shifting borders in Central Europe and establishing new national states, often laying claim to the same regions, generated the need for legitimisation

[44] ASHWORTH, Gregory. Pluralizing the past: heritage policies in plural societies. In: *Edinburgh Architectural Research Journal*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 2007, pp. 14–15.

[45] The conservation officer of the Upper Silesian Province, a Roman Catholic priest, Adolf Hadelt, distanced himself from the activities undertaken in the church in the City Park in Bytom (HADELT, Adolf (ed.). *Deutsche Kulturdenkmäler in Oberschlesien. Jahrbuch der oberschlesischen Denkmalpflege nebst dem Bericht des Provinzialkonservators*. Breslau: Ostdeutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1934, p. 170).

[46] ASHWORTH, Pluralizing…, p. 17.

[47] ASHWORTH, Pluralizing…, p. 21.

manifested in the demand for heritage. Vernacular architecture, due to the conviction about its conservative character and hence about its roots in the ancient tradition, was a particularly appreciated cultural resource, used for proving settlement continuity as well as the rights to the disputable territory. The ethnographers, art historians, and conservators forming the nationalist elites and discourses, acting as experts in the preservation of vernacular architecture, were also involved in the production of the heritage for most of the last century. This dual role shows how fluid the border between both paradigms can be. The demand for socio-political meanings suppressed thinking about heritage in terms of economy. It was only with the transformations at the end of the twentieth century that the way was paved for these ideas. The monuments of the vernacular architecture started to be perceived as a touristic product as well as in terms of a place "identity dividend". The transfer of the protestant church to the open-air museum in Chorzów and its circumstances prove that the wooden church still plays a major role in the regional heritage policy.

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- f. Pisma i notatki [Documents and notes], 1958–1971
- f. Dokumentacja specjalna. Inwentaryzacja—kościół drewniany, Zawada Książęca, powiat Racibórz [f. Special records. Inventory—wooden church, Zawada Książęca, Racibórz county]

Archive of Upper Silesian Ethnographic Park in Chorzów
- f. Notatki dotyczące opracowania planu koncepcyjnego skansenu śląskiego w Wojewódzkim Parku Kultury i Wypoczynku. Ramowe wytyczne osiedla muzealnego typu skansenowskiego w Wojewódzkim Parku Kultury i Wypoczynku [f. Notes regarding the development of the conceptual plan of the Silesian open-air museum in the Voivodeship Park of Culture and Recreation. Framework guidelines for the museum of the open-air type in the Voivodeship Park of Culture and Recreation]

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- f. Akta parafii pw. Trójcy Św. w Leszczynach. Budowy, 1926–1976 [f. Records of the Holy Trinity parish church in Leszczyny. Building, 1926–1976]

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Cultural heritage as a means of heritage tourism development[1]

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Cultural heritage as a means of heritage tourism development
A large number of studies within the social sciences have been devoted to the relationship between cultural heritage and cultural/ heritage tourism development in recent years and even decades. This area of study has been an object of interest for numerous disciplines, from economics, geography, sociology and history, to ethnology, sociocultural anthropology, museology and cultural studies. The study aims to present selected theories on cultural heritage and heritage tourism based on recent theoretical concepts, and to reflect their implementation within a particular national and regional context based on a case study of the Banská Bystrica Self-Governing Region, Slovakia.

Keywords: cultural heritage concepts, heritage tourism, Slovakia, Banská Bystrica region

Introduction

A large number of studies have been devoted to the relationship between cultural heritage and heritage tourism development in recent years and even decades.[2] This research has been an object of interest for many disciplines, from economics, geography, sociology and history, to sociocultural anthropology and cultural studies. Multidisciplinarity, complexity and the evolution of the subject led to the establishment of heritage studies, a new specific research field mainly "exploring the impact of heritage on the present, and the development of new holistic

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[2] TIMOTHY, Dallen J., BOYD, Stephen W. *Heritage Tourism*. Harlow, UK: Pearson Education Limited, 2003; TIMOTHY, Dallen J., BOYD, Stephen W. Heritage Tourism in the 21st Century: Valued Traditions and New Perspectives. In: *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2006, pp. 1–16; TIMOTHY, Dallen J. *Cultural Heritage and Tourism. An Introduction*. Bristol – Buffalo – Toronto: Channel View Publications, 2011; NILSSON, Per Åke. Impact of Cultural Heritage on Tourists. The Heritization Process. In: *Athens Journal of Tourism*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 2018, pp. 35–54; ROSENFELD, Raymond A. Cultural and Heritage Tourism. In: *Municipal Economic Toolkit Project*. Michigan, 2008; SALAZAR, Noel B. From Local to Global (and Back): Towards Glocal Ethnographies of Cultural Tourism. In: GREG Richards, MUNSTERS, Wil, eds.: *Cultural Tourism Research Methods*. CAB International, 2010, pp. 188–198; SALAZAR, Noel B. The Glocalisation of Heritage through Tourism. Balancing, standardisation and differentiation. In: LABADI, Sophia and LONG, Colin, eds.: *Heritage and Globalisation*. London and New York: Routledge, 2010, pp. 131–146; BUI, Huong T., LEE, Timothy J. Commodification and Politicization of heritage: Implications for Heritage Tourism and the Imperial Citadel of Thang Long, Hanoi (Vietnam). In: *ASEAS—Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 2015, pp. 187–202, and others.

approaches to address the complexities and challenges related to heritage".[3] Cultural or heritage tourism as one of research interests of heritage scholars has been seen in two rather controversial perspectives in the era of globalisation: it is considered either more positively as a resource of revival, empowerment and development of local or regional communities, or negatively as a metaphor for destruction, erosion or commodification.[4] Cultural heritage and its different meanings, definitions and understandings play a significant role in this development.

This paper gives an overview of selected theories on cultural heritage and heritage tourism, based on recent theoretical concepts from critical heritage studies. It also tries to reflect on the implementation of new approaches to heritage tourism within a particular national and regional context (Slovakia, The Banská Bystrica Self-Governing Region), on the basis of initial ethnographic research. The case demonstrates new ways of marketing and supporting the cultural heritage of the region in the twenty-first century. It is based on an analysis of existing documents, reports, websites and social media, as well as participant observation and interviews with representatives of the Development Agency Dobrý kraj and its district organisations.[5]

Concept of cultural heritage

The concept of cultural heritage has been theorised, defined, redefined, negotiated and renegotiated by a large number of theorists and practitioners from different disciplines as well as from the newly developed heritage studies or critical heritage studies. From the analysis of numerous scientific papers it seems that there are as many definitions of the heritage concept as there are heritage researchers. This argument has been supported by the often-quoted claims of David Lowenthal in his famous book, *Heritage as Crusade*, that "all at once heritage is everywhere"[6] or "heritage today all but defies definition".[7] Indeed, we live in the era of heritage revival or heritage revolution—heritage really is everywhere and it is a crucial part of local, regional or national development and tourism strategies or global tourism visions.

The heritage concept has been constructed, recontructed and updated in a number of new critical perspectives. In the traditional "Western" understanding, heritage was viewed more in a physical, material form, which meant that heritage could "be mapped, studied, managed, preserved and/or conserved," and its protection might be "the subject of national legislation and international agreements, conventions and charters".[8] The critical heritage literature does not look at heritage as a physical "thing" any more, but as a social and cultural construction, as a dynamic and elastic concept and process, as a continuing dialogue with the past, which "engages with acts of remembering that work to create ways to understand and engage with the present".[9] Gregory Ashworth, one of the leading heritage scholars, also supports the idea

[3] LOULANSKI, Tolina. Revising the Concept for Cultural Heritage: The Argument for a Functional Approach. In: *International Journal of Cultural Property*. Vol. 13, No. 2, 2006, p. 208.

[4] WINTER, Tim. Heritage Tourism: The Dawn of a New Era? In: LABADI, Sophia, LONG, Colin, eds.: *Global Tourism: Cultural Heritage and Economic Encounter*s. Lanham, New York, Toronto, Plymouth, UK: Alta Mira Press, 2010, p. 117.

[5] Ethnographics methods were used in a limited way due to the interruption of fieldwork during the COVID-19 pandemic. Out of six interviews with the representatives of the Good Region agency and its Regional Tourism Organisation, four had to be conducted online.

[6] LOWENTHAL, David. *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*. Cambridge: Camridge University Press, 1998, p. xiii.

[7] LOWENTHAL, The Heritage..., p. 94.

[8] SMITH, Laurajane. *Uses of Heritage*. London – New York: Routledge, 2006, p. 3.

[9] SMITH, Uses of Heritage..., p. 2.

of understanding heritage as a process, and not as a form. He connects heritage with change, and refuses the idea that heritage—whether it is in a tangible or intangible cultural form—is primarily about preservation or conservation.[10] Heritage is currently identified as "that part of the past that we select in the present for contemporary purposes, be they economic, cultural, political or social".[11]

Jacynthe Bessiére also looks at heritage as a process bridging the past, the present and the future. She stresses that heritage (whether it is an object, a monument, an inherited skill or a symbolic representation) must be seen as an identity marker and a distinguishing feature of a social group. She considers heritage as "a reservoir of meanings necessary to understand the world"—an evolving social production, which is dynamic, constantly under review and ever-changing.[12] She offers a hypothesis that "the dynamics of building up heritage consist of actualising, adapting, and re-interpreting elements from the past of a given group (its knowledge, skills and values), in other words combining conservation and innovation, stability and dynamism, reproduction and creation, and consequently giving a new social meaning which generates identity and unity."[13]

As many heritage scholars stress, heritage is a value-loaded concept. In his study on values and meanings of heritage, Noel Salazar pointed out that sociocultural values were attached to heritage "because it holds meaning for people or social groups due to its age, beauty, artistry or association with a significant person or event" and these values are produced though complex processes of learning, transmission and awareness building. On the other hand, heritage also has an increasingly significant economic value, mainly in the global tourism market.[14] The growing trend to "sell" heritage for cultural or heritage tourists has been connected with numerous practices that sometimes can lead even to the destruction of local heritage. According to Tolina Loulanski, the controversy in defining heritage might originate in this duality of being both a cultural and economic subject, possessing both cultural and economic values and having both cultural and economic functions. She continues that heritage should bridge this gap between culture and economy by bringing both approaches together and by making theorists and practitioners from both fields talk and collaborate.[15]

The nature of heritage relates to present circumstances.[16] As heritage is produced in the present, "our relationship with the past is understood in relation to our present temporal and spatial experience".[17] Smith argues that "heritage is used to construct, reconstruct and negotiate a range of identities and social and cultural values and meanings.[18] Indeed, heritage, its

[10] ASHWORTH, Gregory J. Heritage in Fragments: a Fragmented Instrument for Fragmented Policies. In: MURZYN, Monika, A., PURCHLA, Jacek, eds.: *Cultural Heritage in the 21st Century. Opportunities and Challenges*. Krakow: International Cultural Centre, 2007, p. 32.

[11] GRAHAM, Brian, ASHWORTH, Gregory J., TUNBRIDGE, John E. *A Geography of Heritage. Power, Culture and Economy*. London: Routledge, 2000, p. 2.

[12] BESSIÈRE, Jacinthe. Local Development and Heritage: Traditional Food and Cuisine as Tourist Attractions in Rural Areas. In: *Sociologia Ruralis*, Vol. 38, No. 1, 1998, pp. 26–27.

[13] BESSIÉRE, Local Development..., p. 27.

[14] SALAZAR, Noel B. Shifting Values and Meanings of Heritage. From Cultural Appropriation to Tourism Interpretation and Back. In: LYON, Sarah, WELLS, E. Christian, eds.: *Global Tourism: Cultural Heritage and Economic Encounters*. Lanham, New York, Toronto, Plymouth, UK: Alta Mira Press, 2012, p. 24.

[15] LOULANSKI, Revising the Concept..., p. 209.

[16] HARDY, Dennis. 1988. Historical Geography and Heritage Studies. *Areas*, Vol. 20, No. 4, 1988, pp. 333–338.

[17] HARVEY, David C. Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: temporality, meaning and the scope of heritage studies. In: *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 4, 2010, p. 325.

[18] SMITH, Uses of Heritage..., p. 3.

meanings and values often represent and support local/ regional identities and lead to building a sense of solidarity, common pride and community, but at the same time—due to heritage value-based characteristics—they can play a negative role in strengthening nationalism, extermism or hatred towards "any others" who do not share "our values or our heritage". That is why it is so important to look at heritage from a critical perspective.

The heritage value is not fixed, but is always a product of interaction and interpretation,[19] and often a result of power struggles among various actors. On the one hand there are external experts that ascribe certain values, meanings and functions to the heritage, based on some formal criteria; on the other hand there are local actors who can see the value or meaning of their heritage differently. This can lead to either multiple heritage narratives or to so called heritage dissonance, a mismatch between official narratives and the heritage perceptions of local residents.[20] The heritage narratives have been increasingly influenced by the economic value of heritage—a result of the process of commodification of cultural heritage. UNESCO's World Heritage List, which has become an accreditation scheme for heritage sites, either serves the purposes of tourism (as a major source of revenue) or nation building. This trend illustrates how transnational processes are subject to national and local economic considerations and political agendas.[21]

The national, regional and local development and tourism strategies (based primarily on political and economic agendas) have been increasingly built on the heritage agenda: how to use and sell heritage to domestic and international tourists, how to strengthen the positive image of the country and how to increase revenues. Heritage—in its diverse meanings within diverse actors and stakeholders—has thus become an object of dissonant narratives when it is interpreted in different ways by various actors, or it is interpreted only in one way that serves the "official" (often national or ideological) narrative based on selected history and heritage or on manipulating history and heritage. As Graham et al. stated, "the nation-state required national heritage for a variety of reasons. It supported the consolidation of ... national identification, while absorbing or neutralising potentially competing heritages of social-cultural groups or regions".[22]

Heritage tourism

Cultural heritage is currently without any doubt one of the most important resources of global tourism. At the same time, tourism can be a tool used by local communities to learn and respect their own heritage. As a result, cultural/ heritage tourism has been among those tourism sectors growing most rapidly in recent decades, being the most notable and widespread.[23] Heritage and tourism scholars use the terms "cultural tourism" and "heritage tourism" sometimes as separate, but often as very related and overlapping phenomena. According to Timothy, cultural tourism is more often used in relation to participation in modern living cultures, contemporary arts and music, primarily in urban areas, while heritage tourism is connected more

[19] SALAZAR, Shifting Values..., p. 37.

[20] SALAZAR, Shifting Values..., p. 37; TUNBRIDGE, John E., ASHWORD, Gregory J. *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict.* Chichester: J. Wiley, 1996.

[21] SALAZAR, Noel B. Imagineering cultural heritage for local-to-global audiences. In: HALBERTSMA, Marlite, van STIPRIAAN, Alex and van ULZEN, Patricia, eds.: *The Heritage Theatre: Globalisation and Cultural Heritage.* Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011, pp. 49–72; SALAZAR, Shifting Values..., 2012.

[22] GRAHAM, Brian, ASHWORTH, Gregory J., TUNBRIDGE, John E., A Geography of Heritage..., p. 12.

[23] TIMOTHY, Dallen J., BOYD, Stephen W. Heritage Tourism in the 21st Century..., p. 1.

to rural and place-bound areas and living cultures, older relics and performances. However, despite some differences, cultural tourism and heritage tourism seem to share more similarities than differences. Cultural and heritage tourists' experience is built on enjoying living and built culture in both rural and urban contexts and on their own personal experiences.[24] Timothy and Boyd[25] and Timothy[26] therefore suggest that both terms might be used interchangeably. Following their suggestions, in this paper I mainly use the term "heritage tourism" as it seems to be more connected to rural cultures and living heritage which I will refer to later in this study.

Heritage tourism is one of the oldest forms of travel. The ancient Egyptians and Romans, and later the (mainly European) nobility of medieval times used to travel to historic places of cultural importance.[27] The oldest form of tourism was pilgrimage. Early pilgrims from the period of the ancient days of the Greek and Roman empires searched for religious and spiritual experiences.[28] In the next period, from the 1600s until the mid-1800s, the Grand Tour was developed as a significant part of the history of European heritage tourism (covering Italy, France, Switzerland, Belgium, Germany, Austria and the Netherlands in particular). Young men of certain higher social strata who were expected to become part of the cultured nobility were encouraged to travel across Europe with their tutors for months or years, visit all significant arts and architecture places (Paris, Rome, Venice, Florence and other historic cities) and learn foreign languages.[29] When looking back at the history of European travels we can see a long-term continuity in which a heritage tourist of today often follows similar routes and visits similar European cities, though at a faster pace.[30] We could even say the Grand Tour idea contributed to building cultural capital (in Pierre Bourdieu's meaning) important for the development of a democratic and united Europe today.

In recent decades, tourism has become a global phenomenon and shows steady increases in the number of tourists every year. Heritage tourism as a specific sector of global tourism includes visits to historic sites in urban and rural areas, monuments and dwellings, museums, rural and agricultural landscapes, locations where important events happened or places of interesting living cultures.[31] Heritage tourism has become one of the most studied phenomena within both heritage studies and tourism studies, and there are at least three important reasons for this (to mention just a few).

First, heritage tourism serves important political purposes. Actually, it is more political than most other tourism sectors.[32] According to Salazar, on the domestic level, it contributes to stimulating pride in the "(imagined) national history" or to highlighting "the virtues of particular ideologies"; and on the supranational level, heritage sites are marketed and sold as "iconic markers of a local area, country, region or even continent".[33] Timothy and Boyd similarly stress that heritage tourism is used "to build patriotism at the domestic level and spread propaganda

[24] TIMOTHY, Dallen, J. Cultural Heritage and Tourism..., pp. 4–5.
[25] TIMOTHY, Dallen J., BOYD, Stephen W. Heritage Tourism in the 21st Century..., p. 1.
[26] TIMOTHY, Dallen J. Cultural Heritage and Tourism..., p. 6.
[27] TOWNER, John (1996). *An Historical Geography of Recreation and Tourism in the Western World: 1540–1940*. Chichester: Wiley, 1996; TIMOTHY, Dallen J., BOYD, Stephen W. Heritage Tourism in the 21st Century..., pp. 1–2.
[28] TIMOTHY, Dallen, J. Cultural Heritage And Tourism..., p. 2.
[29] TIMOTHY, Dallen, J. Cultural Heritage And Tourism..., p. 2.
[30] TIMOTHY, Dallen J., BOYD, Stephen W. Heritage Tourism, pp. 12–13.
[31] TIMOTHY, Dallen J., BOYD, Stephen W. Heritage Tourism in the 21st Century..., p. 2.
[32] TIMOTHY, Dallen, J. Cultural Heritage and Tourism..., p. 127.
[33] SALAZAR, Noel B. The Glocalisation of Heritage..., p. 130.

to international visitors".[34] Per Åke Nilsson goes even further, using the term heritagisation, which he describes as a social process, where cultural heritage is used in order to promote certain political, often nationalistic ideas. He mentions the recent kidnapping of cultural heritage by right wing movements with the aim to strengthen their political interests.[35]

Second, heritage tourism as a target for domestic and foreign tourists is considered a significant source of increasing economic revenue for states, regions and localities. All countries have been trying to attract tourists on the basis of selling and interpreting their cultural heritage, and this approach has become then the key of all visions in local, regional or even national development and toursim strategies. The economic aspect (the strategy to attract as many tourists as possible) has often been a top argument in persuading these new strategies. Indeed, toursim has become a significant source of economic revenue at all levels; however, it has also had negative consequences and negative impacts on local social and cultural developments and generally on the sustainable development of any tourism destination. The term overtourism has been increasingly used in scholarly literature to describe negative impacts of mass tourism (often heritage-based) in many world regions. As Dodds and Butler stress, "overtourism is a new term for an old problem, namely, excessive numbers of tourists at a specific destination that can result in negative impacts of all types on the community involved".[36] These negative impacts include worsening of the well-being and life-style of local residents, as well as increasing costs for water, energy, waste or housing that are often eight to ten times higher from tourism than those from local consumption.[37]

Third, heritage tourism is often seen as an agent of socio-cultural change.[38] It can stimulate local and regional development, contribute to community empowerment, create business opportunities and is a source of capacity building for local people. However, this goes hand in hand with the commodification and over-commercialisation of heritage, and concerns related to these things. Heritage tourists tend to seek "real", authentic experiences and places, but with commodification of heritage, authenticity is increasingly becoming only a marketing tool and turns into what MacCannell called "staged authenticity" in which locations and local conditions are "being staged for tourist consumption".[39] Authenticity has been a common and relevant object of research in many heritage disciplines.[40] It has been studied in relation to handicrafts and "tourist" souvenirs; ethnic or folklore festivals; festivities organised in outdoor heritage

[34] TIMOTHY, Dallen J., BOYD, Stephen W. Heritage Tourism in the 21st Century..., p. 3.

[35] NILSSON, Per Åke. Impact of Cultural Heritage on Tourists..., pp. 36–37.

[36] DODDS, Rachel, BUTLER, Richard. The Phenomena of Overtourism: a Review. In: *International Journal of Tourism Cities*, Vol. 5, Issue 4, 2019, p. 519.

[37] GŐSSLING, Stefan, PEETERS, Paul. Assessing tourism's global environmental impact 1900–2050. In: *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, Vol. 23, No. 5, 2015, pp. 639–59; EPLER WOOD, Megan, MILSTEIN, Mark, AHAMED-BROADHURST, Kathleen. *Destinations at Risk: The Invisible Burden of Tourism*. Washington, DC: The Travel Foundation, 2019; DODDS, Rachel, BUTLER, Richard. The Phenomena of Overtourism..., pp. 519–528.

[38] SALAZAR, Noel, B..., The Glocalisatioin of Heritage, p. 130.

[39] MacCANNELL, Dean. Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings. In: *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 79, No. 3, 1973, pp. 589–603.

[40] APOSTOLAKIS, Alexandros. The Convergence Process in Heritage Tourism. In: *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 40, No. 4, 2003, pp. 795–812. TIMOTHY, Dallen J., BOYD, Stephen W. *Heritage Tourism*. Harlow, UK: Pearson Education Limited, 2003; LABADI, Sophia. World Heritage, authenticity and post-authenticity. International and national perspectives. In: LABADI, Sophia, LONG, Colin, eds.: *Heritage and Globalisation*. London and New York: Routledge, 2010, pp. 66–84; TIMOTHY, Dallen, J. Cultural Heritage and Tourism..., 2011; SILVERMAN, Helaine. Heritage and Authenticity. In: WATERTON, Emma, WATSON, Steve, eds.: *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

museums or any local performances aimed at attracting tourists and pretending to present an authentic experience. Research on authenticity remains relevant as studying and learning about the role of authenticity in visitors' experiences can have practical implications for tourism management.[41]

Tourism itself has been defined and diversified according to various categories (e.g. beach/ resort tourism, ecotourism, religious tourism, sport tourism, shopping tourism, sex tourism, adventure tourism, cultural or heritage tourism). Heritage tourism has been further categorised and as research about it develops, new categories have been identified. In addition to visits to historic cities, castles, cathedrals, museums, archeological sites and monuments of all kinds (built heritage), we can see the rise in popularity of newer specific heritage categories, such as industrial heritage, religious sites and pilgrimage, personal heritage tourism (genealogy, roots and diasporas), indigenous cultures, heritage routes and trails and dark tourism/ thanatourism—visits to places of death, atrocity or other forms of human suffering.[42]

Community tourism or community-based tourism is another category that can be closely related to heritage tourism. It refers to tourism that "involves community participation and aims to generate benefits for local communities... by allowing tourists to visit these communities and learn about their culture and the local environment".[43] Although community tourism is usually mentioned in relation to developing countries, the concept has been increasingly used in any other countries where local communities initiate and participate in various activities for tourists.

Heritage tourism in Slovakia

Slovakia as a rather new and unknown country that only gained its independence after the split of Czechoslovakia in 1993, and has been trying to invent and re-invent its image in order to sell it to the global tourism market since its establishment. With a population of 5.4 million, the country is ethnically rather homogeneous (81% Slovaks, almost 9% Hungarians, 2% Roma, with the remainder being made up of Czechs, Ukrainians, Ruthenians/Rusyns, and others). However, Slovakia's very diverse geography (from lowlands to high mountains, being the territory between the Pannonia-Tisza zone and the Carpathian geographic zone) and religious divisions (being on the European line between Catholicism and the Orthodox and Greek Orthodox) make the small country an increasingly interesting tourism target. And the particular key to tourism interest has been its heritage, both natural and cultural.

Slovakia has so far not been very successful in its efforts to attract heritage tourists to all of its regions. The Bratislava region has been the most successful—mainly due to the fact that it is geographically close to Vienna and Budapest, and "travel packages" introduced by various tourism agencies usually offer a quick visit to all three Central European capitals. Geographically further regions of Slovakia have been trying to attract visitors to areas outside the Bratislava region, using various strategies, often based on heritage narratives.

The key strategic document Strategy for Tourism Development 2020 identifies three main objectives, with one of them directly linked to marginalised regions:

- to support destinations with a sufficient natural and cultural-historical potential in stagnant

[41] TIMOTHY, Dallen J., BOYD, Stephen W. Heritage Tourism in the 21st Century..., p. 7.
[42] TIMOTHY, Dallen J., BOYD, Stephen W. Heritage Tourism in the 21st Century..., pp. 7–11.
[43] LUCCHETTI, Veronica Garcia, FONT, Xavier. *Community Based Tourism: Critical Success Factors.* ICRT Occasional Paper, No. OP27, 2013, Australia – Dubai: The International Centre for Responsible Tourism, p. 2.

(marginalised) regions with high unemployment and to create new job opportunities.[44]

The following case study focuses on a region that belongs to the category of stagnant regions.

Case study: The Banská Bystrica Dobrý kraj (The Good Region Banská Bystrica)

The following case demonstrates new visions and objectives of the regional strategy to develop heritage tourism in the Self-Governing Region of Banska Bystrica (BBSK), Central Slovakia. The region is the largest of eight self-governing regions in Slovakia and has a population of 660 thousand people. It is a very heterogeneous region in terms of geography as well as economic and social structure. Generally it consists of the better-developed mountainous north, and the more stagnant flat and agrarian south, bordering with Hungary. The long-term unemployment rate in the region is higher than the country's average (4.98%) and was at 6.67% in January 2020, with large district differences within the region ranging from 3% to 15% (the main reason for the high unemployment rate in several southern districts is the high Roma minority population).

Several localities of the region were historically connected with mining, glass and metal industries of global importance and possess outstanding cultural and technical heritage. In addition, several parts of the region are suitable for the development of rural, nature-based tourism or agrotourism, offering the tranquillity of the countryside. Despite being one of the most attractive regions in Slovakia in terms of cultural and natural heritage, its potential has been vastly underrated and underused, mainly because of its rather weak infrastructure (without a motorway or a nearby airport) and non-effective marketing. It is also important to stress that the region was paralysed during the governance of the neo-Nazi governor Marian Kotleba (2013–2017), which means that for a four-year period any European funding for the support of infrastuctural investments in the Banská Bystrica region was stopped. In addition, development of tourism was not a priority for the BBSK in this period.

After the 2017 regional elections when Marian Kotleba and his right-wing neo-Nazi party representatives lost their positions in regional political structures[45] (though getting positions in the national parliament), the new regional governor and his team started to develop new strategies and policies in all sectors, including tourism. One of the first steps was the establishment of the Development Agency of the Self-Governing Region Banská Bystrica (*BBSK*) called Dobrý kraj (*The Good Region*).[46] In addition to strategic planning, education, health care and social economy, tourism has been identified as one of the priorities. The development of tourism in the region has been presented under a new communication and marketing destination brand, Za horami, za dolami (*Beyond mountains, beyond valleys*)—a well-known initial phrase from Slovak fairy tales meaning "somewhere far, far away". This communication strategy builds on an old storytelling and fairy-tales tradition of Pavol Dobšinský, one of the most important and well-known collectors of Slovak folk tales in the nineteenth century. Dobšinský was born in the region and was the author of a series of eight volumes of the most complete collection of Slovak fairy-tales called "Prostonárodnie slovenské povesti" (Slovak folk tales, 1880–1883), an extraordinary collection comparable to the Grimms' Fairy Tales collection. Dobšinský's mes-

[44] *Stratégia rozvoja cestovného ruchu do roku 2020*. Adopted by the Government of the Slovak Republic No. 379/ 2013 from 10 July 2013.

[45] Marian Kotleba lost his position of the regional governor mainly because of a broad civic campaign led by the local grassroots movement Not in Our Town, www.niot.sk.

[46] https://dobrykraj.sk/; accessed on 12 May 2020.

sage to slow down, return to one's roots and experience adventure (words expressed by him in the nineteenth century) has been the key message in the regional tourism strategy regarding reasons to visit the Banská Bystrica region.

The official logo of the Dobrý kraj Development Agency

The initial idea of the new branding was followed by important structural changes. In 2018, seven district tourism organisations[47] co-established a "Regional Organisation of the Banska Bystrica Tourism" **(***Krajská organizácia cestovného ruchu Banskobystrický kraj Turizmus*) as part of the Development Agency with the aim to support common conditions for the development of tourism in the Banská Bystrica region. According to the head of the organisation,

the key to cooperation among these seven district organisations is networking through 27 thematic working groups. Their objective is to define and prepare best tourism products based on local identity and to connect or involve local people in the organistion of various activities and services (including accommodation and gastronomy services. This networking and participatory approach aims at creating job opportunities for local people and contributing to regional development.

The new regional tourism strategy has been built partly on rural tourism and agrotourism, following one of the objectives of the national strategy on tourism.[48] As one of the founders of the regional tourism organisation noted, "part of the strategy has been inspired by rather specific tourism visions that use the (supposed) non-attractiveness or low knowledge of the region based on slogans such as 'there is nothing specific here' as the key attraction." In times of "overtourism",[49] and excessive tourism marketing (not only officially, but mainly through informal social media), this strategy seems to work in various parts of the world, mainly because many travellers start to look for places without tourists. The Banská Bystrica region can offer many such attractions.

The heritage tourism brand of the Banská Bystrica Good Region, Za horami za dolami (*Beyond mountains, beyond valleys*) has so far included eight tourism destinations (2020).[50] It follows a communication strategy built on the storytelling of a heritage bearer—a craftsman, a traditional farmer, a food producer or a folk costume maker, based on the authenticity of their personal story. Since 2020, the website has offered the personal stories of twelve "ambassadors" from concrete tourism destinations of the region, who are representatives of diverse tangible and intangible traditions: a lace-maker from Špania Dolina, a pottery-maker and back-piper from the Hron Region, a blacksmith from the Gemer district, and activists from the Čierny Hron railway and the Banská Štiavnica Calvary, as well as a number of local producers of wine,

[47] District organisations—Oblastné organizácie cestovného ruchu (OOCR): OOCR Stredné Slovensko, OOCR Región Banská Štiavnica, OOCR Dudince, OOCR Horehronie, OOCR Gron, OOCR Turistický Novohrad a Podpoľanie and OOCR Gemer. Each of these organisations has two district coordinators.

[48] Marketingová stratégia SACR na roky 2014–2020, pp. 23–24.

[49] PECHLANER, Harald, INNERHOFEER, Elisa, ERSCHBAMER, Greta. *Overtourism. Tourism Management and Solutions*. London: Routledge, 2019.

[50] https://www.zahoramizadolami.sk/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/Za-horami-za-dolami_brozura_A5.pdf; _ accessed on 21 January 2021.

The official logo of the *Beyond Mountains, beyond valleys* brand

honey or cheese.[51] This method of heritage tourism marketing focuses on a more intimate and emotional contact between the heritage bearer and the potential customer.

The governor of the Banská Bystrica region Ján Lunter stressed:

„Changing the perception of our region is extremely important for us. Beautiful nature is often undiscovered, traditions and customs unknown. We try to take inspiration from the countries that know how to use a country's potential and at the same time protect and enhance it."[52]

The Development Agency Dobrý kraj and its regional tourism organisation collaborate intensively with international partners. Since 2019 this has also taken place through the project "Catching-up", initiated and funded by the European Commission and the World Bank.

The heritage tourism brand *Beyond mountains, beyond valleys* is focused on so-called experience tourism (or experiential tourism) which has become very popular in recent years. Tourists, travellers or visitors increasingly prefer to spend their money on special experiences rather than on commodities. This kind of tourism is more about personal life-enriching experiences, learning about new cultural and natural landsacpes, meeting local people, gaining new skills and even about self-discovery. As the head of the Regional Agency expressed:

Experience is a key word for us. We want to provide special, emotional experiences to visitors. However, our main target is not profit, but regional development. Most of our tourism products aim at small groups up to five people, for example cultural-natural and educational walks in marginalised corners of the region (such as the Tour of the folklore hero – rebel Burda in the Horehron region or the Tour of wooden barns in the Gron district).

Beyond mountains, beyond valleys tourism products are offered under various categories: Learn about your region; Discover stories and narratives; Regional products; Experience someting extraordinary in the region; and Buy an experience. Under these categories a visitor can find numerous opportunities to discover the region. S/he can choose from The Horehron Train Route (the most successful of all the attractions); The Mining Train Route; The Hron River Mysterious Castle Route; The Glass Route; The Iron Route; Exploring Wooden Barns; Discovering Celtic Settlements; or personal visits to bearers of tradition—a honey-maker, a cheese-maker

[51] https://www.zahoramizadolami.sk/#objav-pribehy; accessed on 16 May 2020.

[52] https://mybystrica.sme.sk/c/22037184/za-horami-za-dolami-tak-sa-vola-nova-turisticka-znacka.html; accessed on 15 June 2020.

or a wine producer.[53] As visitors want to experience someting special or to learn new skills, they can spend a day working with a farmer in the Podpoľanie region, learn how to make original regional embroidery or experience putting on and wearing traditional folk costume. In 2020, fifty-seven unique "experiences" were offered to visitors[54] and the plan is to add new ones, such as The Castle Route in the south of the region on the Hungarian border (Fiľakovo, Šomoška, Divín, Modrý Kameň), with the aim of attracting more tourists from Hungary.

The strategy behind the brand builds on participatory models in tourism development that are broadly also accepted as a criterion for sustainable tourism. Collaborative participatory models tend to involve various stakeholders in tourism development and thus offer visitors opportunities to meet local people in real situations.[55] All seven tourism district organisations in the Banská Bystrica region co-operate closely with local municipalities, businesses, non-governmental organisations, active informal groups, volunteers and individuals from local communities in order to avoid one-way and top-down decision-making. As expressed by one of the coordinators: "We cannot imagine some of our activities without our enthusiasts, such as railway or castle fans."

One of the most important parts of the Good Region strategy has been the project to create a network of local and regional producers, artists, farmers etc., and to establish a common platform to give them opportunities to advertise and sell their local products (both tangible and intangible) to local people and visitors. Although these local products are of high quality, the producers often do not have the knowledge, experience and capacity for marketing and distribution. The idea to overcome this challenge has been to introduce Regionálne pulty (the Regional Stands) in six districts of the region that serve as information centres, but mainly as selling points of high quality Regional Products.[56] In order to get the certification of a Regional Product, these products have to fulfil high quality requirements: they have to represent traditional handmade production and local/ regional origin and uniqueness, and demonstrate high hygiene standards in the case of food products. The label "Regional Product" has been so far given to more than 20 products (Regional product Horehronie, Regional product Podpoľanie, Regional product Hont, Regional product Pohronie, Regional product Gemer-Malohont, Regional product Novohrad).[57]

The COVID-19 pandemic (2020–2021) disrupted the activities and enterprises of many local producers in the region including those in the tourism business. The Good Region Development Agency and the Regional Organisation of the Banska Bystrica Tourism did not give up. As all open markets and fairs had to be cancelled, the regional municipality initiated a campaign called "Buy and help". According to Ján Lunter, the regional governor: "The aim

[53] https://www.zahoramizadolami.sk/rezervuj-si-zazitky/?jump_date=2020-06-01; accessed on 12 June 2020; https://www.facebook.com/327255131213705/videos/993605464387495; accessed on 8 February 2021; https://www.facebook.com/327255131213705/videos/332143591091982; accessed on 3 February 2021; https://www.facebook.com/zahoramizadolami.sk/; accessed on 2 June 2020.

[54] https://rabbsk.dobrykraj.sk/subory/brozura/BBSK-2roky-Rozvojova-Agentura.pdf; accessed on 6 February 2021.

[55] e.g. OZCEVIK, Ozlem, BEYGO, Cem, AKCAKAYA, Imge (2010). Building capacity through collaborative local action: Case of Matra REGIMA within Zeytinburnu regeneration scheme. In: *Journal of Urban Planning and Development*, Vol. 136, No. 2, 2010, pp. 169–175.

[56] https://www.zahoramizadolami.sk/regionalne/; accessed on 23 June 2020; https://www.facebook.com/lunter2017/videos/238754819982867; accessed on 11 January 2021.

[57] https://zvonline.sk/regionalne-pulty-ponukaju-vyrobky-lokalnych-producentov-a-remeselnikov/; accessed on 19 May 2020.

of the campaign is to motivate the people to help each other and to support local producers by buying their products."[58] The campaign's main objective was to enable the online sale of the local producers' products registered on the regional network. Soon after the beginning of the pandemic, the Regional Stands started to offer online sales of more than a hundred products made by more than twenty local producers: honey, wine, jam, syrups, herbal tea and cosmetics, as well as wooden carved products such as crosses or musical instruments.

The Banská Bystrica Good Region Development Agency's overall tourism strategy relies on the concept in which heritage is seen as an important multivalent resource[59] that can be used for tourism, education, sports, entertainment, skills development, and cultural and creative industries. Similarly, Tunbridge and Ashworth define heritage as a "resource upon which extensive activities or industries have been constructed".[60] The Good Region strategy strongly supports using heritage as a multiple resource. It also increasingly uses the potential of new technologies in order to unlock the value of cultural heritage in the region and open it to broader tourism audience (by using social media and creating mobile applications, e.g. an app for the Revište castle which comes to life in a playful and entertaining way). If we compare the current situation to the tourism marketing of the region before the establishment of the agency and its regional tourism organisation (2018), we can see that the former marketing was oriented more to attracting tourists to the Low and High Tatra mountains with short visits to mining cities of the region (mainly Banská Bystrica and Banská Štiavnica), monuments, castles and folk architecture reservations. However, this was done without offering unique experiences engaging with local people and culture, learning new skills, doing something unusual—without allowing the tourist to build or co-create his or her own personal experience. As the number of visitors of the Banska Bystrica region has been increasing since the foundation of the agency,[61] it seems that the new, more targeted and rather innovative communication and marketing strategy works, although it is too early to make any conclusions after less than three years.

Concluding remarks

Cultural heritage has been one of the most important engines of tourism development in Slovakia in recent decades. It is demonstrated in various tangible and intangible forms (such as visits to historic cities, heritage sites, cathedrals, castles or monuments, known as built or tangible heritage; living cultural heritage that includes people, folklore, customs or foods, defined as intangible heritage; and other forms—industrial heritage; nature-based heritage, personal heritage or dark heritage). This paper's objective was to provide a short overview of key trends in the conceptual development of heritage and heritage tourism studies[62] and to present a case study from Central Slovakia as an example of the implementation of new tourism destination marketing trends.

Based on recent concepts of heritage and heritage tourism in scholarly literature, we can see the shift from "monuments to people; from objects to functions, and consequently from

[58] https://www.bystricoviny.sk/z-regionu/regionalne-pulty-v-kraji-funguju-aj-pocas-korokrizy-vratane-online-nakupov; accessed on 23 May 2020.

[59] LOULANSKI, Revising the Concept..., pp. 220–221.

[60] TUNBRIDGE, John E., ASHWORD, Gregory J. *Dissonant Heritage...,* pp. 34–35.

[61] https://kocr.dobrykraj.sk/subory/dokumenty/Sprava-o-cinnosti-a-hospodareni-2018-2019.pdf; accessed on 6 February 2021.

[62] The paper did not aim at covering all contemporary concepts of heritage, mainly because heritage is a territory of different disciplines and domains – cultural, social, economic and environmental.

preservation to sustainable use and development".[63] The case study of the tourism strategy in the Banská Bystrica Self-Governing Region ("*The Good Region*") partly reflects these changes. The regional tourism strategy and destination marketing have been built on:

1. the people—local bearers of heritage traditions and their personal stories (this is heritage with a human face);

2. the functions—numerous tourism activities of the Good Region with social and economic objectives (heritage as a human construction cannot be identified without referring to society and its meaning for societal purposes—this refers to the social and economic values of heritage;

3. the sustainability and resilience of heritage as a resource value in several overlapping areas—cultural, economic, social and political.[64] This can be seen in the continuity of heritage development in numerous local contexts, both in tangible and intangible heritage forms.

Heritage is without any doubt the most powerful source of the tourism development in Slovakia. The country is a place of numerous hidden cultural and natural tourism treasures with a large potential to attract tourists from all over the world. The questions related to the tourism developement are: who, why, where or to which extent. The Good Region Banská Bystrica started to develop a new tourism vision and strategy built on the lesser-known and marginalised districts and destinations of the region with the objective not only to improve and increase cultural and natural experiential tourism, but also to create new job opportunities for local people and even attract young people (sometimes called neorurals) to live in the countryside and develop new activities that could contribute to innovative tourism developments.

In order to achieve these objectives, it is important to create and build new partnerships and bridges between and across all stakeholders involved: state institutions, local and regional municipalities, academia, non-governmental organisations, informal citizen groups and active individuals—but primarily to build and empower local communities. The COVID-19 pandemic revealed new global trends—one of them has been the trend towards de-globalisation. The focus on local developments and stronger local communities based on better communication and collaboration among various actors seems to show the trend for the future. This trend will definitely also have an impact on tourism development. It is too early to make any predictions, but will be exciting to examine further developments.

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[63] LOULANSKI, Revising the Concept..., p. 212.

[64] LOULANSKI, Revising the Concept..., pp. 215–220.

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The Story of the Old Rectory in Žilina

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The Story of the Old Rectory in Žilina
The fate of the so-called Old Rectory in Žilina, situated next to the monumental Church of the Holy Trinity, was emotionally charged, controversial and, in the end, very sad. The Rectory's architecture and construction reflected both the needs of its various owners, and many of the dramatic events that had affected the city throughout its history. Despite repeated damage by fire, the faith community always found the strength and energy to restore the building and bring it back to life. Up until 1989, the Rectory was an integral part of the community's spiritual life, and even after then, its upper storey continued to serve as the Church's pastoral centre and a meeting place for Christian youth activities, while the ground floor housed the city's Tourist Information Board and a popular restaurant. The Rectory was declared a national cultural monument in 2008, just as a developer was taking an interest in the site on which it stood. At this point, the local Church authorities decided it was not worthy of salvation and swiftly lodged an appeal against the decision to protect it, downplaying the building's historical and architectural value, suggesting that since its original Late Medieval/ Early Modern features had been lost to fire 1678, the current building, reconstructed in 1777, was of no significant value. While a decision on the appeal was still pending, the Rectory was demolished, in the middle of Saturday night, July 12, 2008. The ground on which it stood was completely excavated within a week, allowing no possibility of recovery archaeological research. Eventually, a shopping centre was built over the place it once stood. This article discusses the controversial processes that led to the building's abrupt demolition, and explores the failure to bring charges against those responsible for its destruction, which took place contrary to the Monuments Act.

Keywords: Rectory, national cultural monument, declaration, church, demolition

In September 1987, the historic core of Žilina was declared an urban monument reservation.[1] Despite the fact that its historical architecture and period details do not quite make it the equal of such cities as Levoča, Bardejov, Košice, Kremnica or Banská Štiavnica, its monumental-historical value is undeniable. It displays a clearly legible and almost intactly preserved historical urbanism, which, together with a special legal system, was brought to Žilina at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by German settlers, most notably the Saxons. On a slight hill, in the immediate vicinity of the already standing church, they established a market

[1] The Government of the Slovak Socialist Republic, under Resolution No. 194/1987 of 11 September 1987, declared the cities of Trenčín, Trnava and Žilina to be urban monument reservations.

square with a rectangular network of streets, which were placed within the oval floor plan of an older settlement.[2] Žilina never became a Free Royal City; it was only an agricultural town led by a hereditary mayor. Nevertheless, by the end of the Middle Ages, it was one of the largest and most important cities in Slovakia, and its legal sphere of influence extended over a wide area. Dozens of villages were governed by the law of Žilina, and the burghers of Žilina were hereditary mayors in many settlements.[3]

One of the likely reasons Žilina never gained the privilege of a Free Royal City was the absence of brick fortifications. The people of Žilina did not build such defenses, even though King Sigismund of Luxembourg (1368–1437) ordered them to do so by his decree of 15 April 1405, which stated:

> that the city of Žilina are to be enriched with the usual walls and other suitable or necessary fortifications in the city and on its perimeter. Elected burghers are to professionally measure the perimeter of the city.... We also want, and by this regulation we establish, that the burghers, guests and inhabitants of the city are to contribute personally and materially to the construction of the intended moat and other fortifications at the appropriate time, namely to build walls, moats and fortifications. We also establish that townspeople and inhabitants of Žilina, as well as inhabitants and the whole villages of Strečno, Starý hrad and Hričov, are to provide the necessary carriages at their own expense, together and continuously helping each other. [4]

The people of Žilina probably started the construction, but they were not able to finish the work on the masonry walls. The costs were too high and Hussites who were staying in the town and its surroundings in the 1430s did not bring peace or provide resources for this work. This was perhaps why Matej Korvín (1443–1490) forgave taxes in Žilina for three years in 1474, but even that did not help.[5] The city never got its brick walls. In the end, it was protected only by earthen ramparts, wooden palisades, moats, two main gates – the Upper and the Lower Gates – and a smaller pedestrian gate.

At present, the medieval plan of the city is clearly legible in its urban structure and some streets bear names directly derived from its original form (for example, the streets Na bráne, Dolný val, Horný val, and Na priekope). Today, the position of moats and ramparts is indicated only by strips and green areas, which, however, are constantly shrinking under the pressure of the construction of new parking spaces. The extent of medieval Žilina, that is, the territory inside its "fortification", is basically reproduced in the boundaries today's urban monument reservation.

Until recently, residents and visitors who came to the city centre on foot from the railway station could perceive a silhouette and other characteristics of the city that had remained al-

[2] The almost regular square floor plan of the market square covers an area of 1 hectare, where each side measures approximately 100 metres. Individual sides of the square were originally divided into ten long, narrow plots, on which burghers' houses were gradually built. The first/ground floor was mostly wooden. Later, after a fire in 1521, it already became storeyed and was constructed in brick. On the ground floor of the house there are open arcades (so-called *laubne*) which create a unique atmosphere and a special genius loci.

[3] MORAVČÍK, Jozef. Prečo sa Žilina nestala slobodným kráľovským mestom? In: *My, Žilinské noviny*, 21. November 2008, p. 34.

[4] DVOŘÁK, Pavel (ed.). *Pramene k dejinám Slovenska a Slovákov V. Prvý cisár na uhorskom tróne. Slovensko v čase polstoročnej vlády uhorského, českého, lombardského a nemeckého kráľa a rímskeho cisára Žigmunda Luxemburského, syna Karola IV*. In: Bratislava: Literary Information Centre, 2001, p. 136–138.

[5] Principles of monument care for Žilina Municipal Monument Reservation. Slovak Institute of Monument Care and Nature Protection Bratislava, 1988, T 109, p. 15–16.

most intact since the Middle Ages. This is where the most impressive view of the historic part of the city opened up for people. The dominant Parish Church of the Holy Trinity and Burian's Tower, which stood adjacent to it, were lined on one side by the younger building of the Municipal Theatre and on the other side by the two-storey building of the former Rectory. Today, we can no longer see this typical Žilina panorama. The historic Rectory was replaced by the materially oversized and architecturally disruptive new shopping centre, known as Mirage. It is an appropriate name for the building, which, from its position on the edge of the Žilina Municipal Monument Reservation area, acts literally as an illusion, a Fata Morgana, a vision or a delusion ... but since 2010, it has been a reality.

The historic Žilina Rectory stood only a few metres from the Parish Church, on a busy main pedestrian route, on the corner of the streets Dolný val (Dolný Rampart) and Farské schody (Parish Stairs). It is via these streets, and further along Farská Street, that people most often approach the historic square. The Parish decided on the further development of the burgher houses on Dolný val street situated on a terrain break above the original Váh River and its local tributary.[6] During the 1960s and 70s, houses with a medieval core on one side of the street were renovated and the original urbanism of this part of the city was partially disturbed. For many years, the vacated space was used only as a temporary parking lot, but it was intended as a reservation area for future development. This was not realized until the beginning of this century.[7]

The Farské schody themselves were built on the site of the Rectory garden only in the 1920s.[8] Under public pressure and after the replacement of the affected land, the Church agreed to build them so that the main square could be connected to the street leading from the railway station.[9] The station was established around the turn of the twentieth century, after the construction of the Košice-Bohumín Railway which, in the following decades, enabled the rapid economic development of the city. At the time the Farské schody were being built, the original medieval fortifications of the church, along with the ossuary building, were destroyed and the Rectory garden was completely destroyed. The Rectory thus became a solitary building, but closely related to the medieval urban structure of the historic city centre.

The first written mention of the Rectory in Žilina dates to the beginning of the fourteenth century and the first known pastor, Ján, worked here in 1357, as Žilina had the privilege of choosing its own pastor.[10] Around the middle of the sixteenth century, the Rectory was taken over by the Evangelicals of the Augsburg faith (so-called Lutherans), who, together with the current Parish Church of the Holy Trinity, administered it for more than 150 years. Throughout the turbulent seventeenth century, the Church and the adjoining Rectory building, under varyingly dramatic circumstances, alternated between the hands of Roman Catholic believers and the temporary use of the Evangelicals. It was only after the defeat of the Kuruk troops in the battle of Trenčín at the end of 1708 that the Church and the Rectory unambiguously belonged to the Roman Catholic Church.

[6] In the past, the area was called "Pod farou", and period maps show that even in the eighteenth century there were larger bodies of water, probably ponds and later a brewery; today this area is included as part of Andrej Hlinka Square.

[7] In 2006, underground garages were built on this site, as the first stage of the future shopping centre.

[8] Farské schody, as a separate street, was created only in 1992 by its separation from Farská Street.

[9] The current Národná Street, which changed its name several times in the twentieth century (Lajosa Kossuth Street, T. G. Masaryk Street, Hlinkova Street and the Street of the Slovak National Uprising).

[10] PRIKRYL, Lubomir. *Stručné dejiny farnosti Žilina*. Rímskokatolícky farský úrad, Farnosť Žilina – mesto, 2006, p. 11.

We know very little about the appearance of the oldest Parish building in Žilina – only that there was a ground floor and probably a two-room stone building with a hipped roof which stood near the Parish Church. Until 1586, it bore the patronage of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

On August 30, 1678, a large part of the city was destroyed by a devastating fire. It seriously damaged the houses on the square, the nearby church, and the Rectory. While the church was quickly restored by the faithful, the Rectory was not repaired, according to the current general knowledge and opinion of some Žilina residents and the Church itself. In theory, it should have completely disappeared, based on the fact that from the end of the seventeenth century, leadership of the local Roman Catholic parish was taken over by the Jesuits, who soon held the position of parish priests in Žilina.[11] According to this hypothesis, they no longer needed a Rectory damaged by fire, because they resided instead in one of the burgher houses, in a nearby square.[12] It was the Jesuits who were to dismantle the disturbed Rectory in 1699 and use the materials to build a new school.[13] After the abolition of their order in 1773 and their subsequent departure from Žilina, the town's representatives, in 1777, built a completely new parish building, two storeys high, on the site of the original Rectory. This means that, according to this hypothesis, the original single-storey Rectory disappeared and a new one was built "on a green field" after only a hundred years or so. However, it is questionable whether the Rectory was not at least provisionally repaired and used by the Evangelicals after the fire in 1678, as they operated in the city until the beginning of the eighteenth century, including in the years 1704 to 1708, when a prominent Evangelical priest and superintendent, Daniel Krman Jr. (1663–1740), author of the well-known Baroque travelogue itinerary, preached in Žilina.[14]

Like the rest of the city, the newly built Rectory, along with an older and perhaps only temporarily repaired building, did not escape other dramatic events. On June 21, 1848, another large fire damaged the Rectory. The shingle roof and the entire floor were destroyed. At the same time, an extremely rare library with a chronicle was irretrievably lost. The Rectory was not restored until 1855, and that repair can be assessed as a late classical stage of the building's development. The intervention mainly concerned a dispositional change to the floor, which, however, respected the previous late Baroque arrangement. A new truss with sheet metal roofing was built and the floor and wooden beamed ceilings underwent the most radical restoration on the ground and first floors. Massive chimney bodies from the second half of the eighteenth century and the oldest vaulted room were preserved. This repair is probably related to the hastily built rear longitudinal wall, where, perhaps due to lack of funds, low-quality unfired brick was used.

Another large-scale fire engulfed the city centre in 1886, causing extensive damage, destroying almost all the roofs of the square houses, and severely damaging the Church. The Rectory did not escape its ravages. The subsequent repairs dragged on for many years and the Church

[11] The first known Jesuit to became a Parish Priest of Žilina was Juraj Jankovič (1638–1696), in 1688. PRIKRYL, Ľubomír. *Stručné dejiny farnosti Žilina*. Rímskokatolícky farský úrad, Farnosť Žilina – mesto, 2006, p. 15.

[12] Most probably it was one of the burgher houses, on the site of which the Jesuits built a church and a monastery in the middle of the eighteenth century (today the Church of the Conversion of St Paul).

[13] The Jesuits built the school on the other side of the Church of the Holy Trinity. In 1775 it was replaced by the Catholic Boys' Elementary School building and finally, during the Second World War, by the building of the so-called Representative House (today's Municipal Theatre).

[14] In May 1708, Daniel Krman Jr. set out from Žilina on a journey to the Swedish King Charles XII (1682–1718) to seek support from him for the High Mountain Evangelicals. Daily records and personal travel experiences, including a description of geographical, economic, political, social and societal conditions, form the content of this work. It represents one of the best travel memoirs in our older literature.

community only completed its comprehensive restoration in 1913. Among other things, this is proven by the inscription under the decorative festoon of the side façade, which reads "RENOV.1913". At this time, the facades of the building acquired a historic appearance, and a partially modified relief depicting the coat-of-arms of Upper Hungary appeared above the main entrance. The building was restored as a two-storey block with a rectangular floor plan, a simple hipped roof, and sheet metal roofing. Its disposition was continuously adjusted and adapted to the contemporary requirements of the Church. The restored building still bore the basic features of the Baroque architectural style but, on closer inspection, also reflected older architectural spaces and structures. In contrast, rather more recent classicist modifications were applied to its facades in the form of simple flat lysines, profiled cornices and window linings.

After the construction of the Farské schody and the subsequent implementation of a multi-level terrace near the Church of the Holy Trinity, the immediate surroundings of the Rectory changed significantly. Not only did the Rectory garden disappear, but at the same time the level of the surrounding terrain was reduced. Thus, the Rectory found itself in one of the busiest and most attractive parts of the pedestrian zone of the city. This could also be one of the reasons why, at the turn of the 1930s, the Church decided to carry out a new construction on its site, as well as in the area of the former garden, between Dolný val and Štôlňa Streets. The disturbed construction and technical condition of the Rectory probably weighed in this decision, as a large part of its rear wall was built of unfired brick. The church was counting on its redevelopment, although a new multi-storey department store, designed in the spirit of modern interwar functionalist architecture, was to be built in the vacant space.[15] The projects were prepared by the well-known architect Michal Maximilián Scheer (1902–2000), but in 1938 only a small part of the plans was implemented due to lack of funds and a low-rise development with the retail space on a plot next to the Rectory itself. During the second half of the twentieth century, only minor building alterations were made to the Rectory, which did not fundamentally devalue its urban, architectural and artistic-historical qualities (floor replacement, additional cladding of the interior walls with a new burnt brick panel, two new windows, some new partitions and installation of technical infrastructure).

In February 1989, the Slovak Institute of Monument Care and Nature Protection in Bratislava (the legal predecessor of today's Monument Board of the Slovak Republic) sent a written recommendation and a proposal to the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic to declare the Žilina Rectory a cultural monument. A specific proposal with photo documentation was prepared by the Regional Institute of Monument Care and Nature Protection Banská Bystrica, Žilina Centre (the predecessor of today's Regional Monuments Board of Žilina) in 1988. The written recommendation for the declaration stated:

> The building of the Roman Catholic Rectory ..., originally Baroque, structurally modified in the Classicist style, has been preserved in an authentic form and with architectural artistic details with considerable informative value. Due to its location near the former Parish Church, it also represents an urban value in the context of historical buildings.[16]

The Ministry of Culture rejected the proposal in question, even though, based on the same initiative regarding monuments, the functionalist Tržnica building on Horný Val Street was

[15] The permit for the redevelopment of the rectory was issued by the city of Žilina on December 30, 1930 under No. 27650/1930.

[16] Letter No. 849/89 of 21 February 1989. Archive of the Monuments Board of the Slovak Republic in Bratislava, Regional Institute of State Monuments Care and Nature Protection, Žilina Centre.

declared a cultural monument of Žilina. It is not impossible that this could have been due to ideological and political perspectives that were dominant at that time. The reason for the non-declaration could also be the fact that the Church no longer relied on this building for administrative purposes because, by 1984, it had already bought a family house on the nearby Street of the Republic. The Church modified this building and, at the end of 1989, established a new Parish Office on its premises. After that, the building on the street Dolný val became known as the "Old Rectory". However, it became an unnecessary burden for the owner, and before long, the Church was considering its demolition and took the first steps in this direction, applying to the relevant building authority for remediation.

At the beginning of April 1990, a meeting was held on the premises of the Department of the Chief Architect of the District of Žilina on behalf of the District National Committee, Department of Spatial Planning. The main purpose of the meeting was to re-evaluate various construction activities that might endanger the environment. As well as discussion on suggestions for the suspension or cancellation of several of the building authority's decisions, the committee also addressed the issue of cancellation of the already issued decision on the rehabilitation of the Žilina Old Rectory. The participants did not agree with the demolition of this building, and their opinion was adopted in full by the Žilina District National Committee.[17]

The Old Rectory was protected from demolition, but was not declared a cultural monument, despite all efforts to the contrary. The church began to rent part of its ground floor to several business entities, including the city of Žilina itself, but still used other parts of the floor for its own purposes, namely, for various religious activities.

In the 1990s, only minor building alterations were made to the Old Rectory, as it was located in the Žilina Municipal Monument Reservation area. Two new window openings were created on the northern façade, and all the façades, including the window structures and the stucco emblem of Hungary, were re-painted.[18] The owner did not perform any major restoration work on the building.

In the summer of 2007, Žilina's preservationists, in accordance with the new Monuments Act, decided to prepare a proposal to declare the Old Rectory building a national cultural monument.[19] They presented their intention to the deputy owner, the Vicar General of the recently established Žilina Diocese, who welcomed this effort at a personal meeting. In accordance with the existing expert-methodological guidelines, by the end of the same year they prepared a standard draft declaration which included, among other things, the characteristics of the seat; a description of the proposed case and a declaration of its status; its current use; a justification for the proposal, including relevant characteristics of the monument; and a proposal regarding future measures. The proposal included the required historical and contemporary photographic documentation. The Monument Board of the Slovak Republic in Bratislava, before sending the complete proposal to the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic, asked the Žilina Regional Monuments Board to supplement it with an architectural and historical survey of the

[17] Minutes of the working meeting held on April 5, 1990 at the Department of the Chief Architect of the District of Žilina. Archive of the Monuments Board of the Slovak Republic in Bratislava, fund of the Regional Institute of State Monuments Care and Nature Protection, Žilina Centre.

[18] The works in question, which had the character of maintenance, with respect to minor monuments, were approved by the Žilina Monuments committee in June and July 1993. Archive of the Monuments Board of the Slovak Republic in Bratislava, fund Regional Institute of State Monuments Care and Nature Protection, Žilina Centre.

[19] Act No. 49/2002 Coll. on the protection of the monument fund, as amended (the so-called Monument Act), defines all monuments as national cultural monuments.

building.[20] This survey was carried out by employees of the Žilina Regional Monuments Board in January and February 2008, using non-destructive methods, as the Old Rectory was still in use during this period. The ground floor was home to a fast-food restaurant (Pancake House) and the Tourist Information Office of the city of Žilina, while first floor housed the Pastoral Centre of the Roman Catholic Church. The survey in question, as a supplement to the proposal, summarized the monumental values of the Old Rectory into three levels: urban, architectural-historical, and art-historical. After a thorough visual evaluation of the layout and structures of the building and reassessment of the known data, the Žilina preservationists questioned the common theory of the complete destruction of the original Rectory at the end of the seventeenth century and the construction of a new Rectory in the second half of the eighteenth century. Based on their knowledge of the period context of historical stylistic architecture and its construction methods, they proposed a new theory of its uninterrupted existence and gradual building modifications. The facts supporting this new theory were first expressed in a supplement to the proposal to declare the Old Rectory a national cultural monument.[21]

According to the preservationists' theory, the original single-storey stone Rectory was severely damaged by fire in 1678 but was never completely dismantled or destroyed. The church community repaired the building, and it again served its purpose, with only a few breaks. After the departure of the Jesuits, pastoral activity in the city was taken over by the Rectory itself. There was most likely a need to repair and enlarge the existing Rectory, and this happened in 1777. This means that the community did not build a completely new building, but only repaired, expanded and added one floor to the original Rectory. If this was case, then we should instead describe features from this era as part of the late Baroque stage of the older building's development.

We do not know the exact year or decade the original Rectory was constructed. Some architectural details suggest that it may have been as early as the sixteenth century, but it is not entirely out of the question that it could have been even earlier, perhaps even in the late Middle Ages. This hypothesis could only have been tested by means of a comprehensive study of the architectural, historical, and archaeological features of the monument. However, none of these research directions were possible to implement at the time the proposal for its declaration as a national cultural monument was being drafted. It was not even possible to carry out any depth probes on the Rectory building's premises to verify details of its architectural-historical development, such as individual construction stages. Further, from a legislative point of view, it was not possible at that time, in accordance with the Monuments Act, to demand implementation of a full-fledged research project on a monument that was not yet a national cultural monument.

The newly expressed expert opinion on the uninterrupted existence of the Rectory was based on two basic assumptions. The first assumes a certain logic in the behaviour of the faith community and the Church itself towards its property, and the second is based on knowledge of historical building structures and construction techniques. It is not logical that no separate rectory building should have stood in Žilina for a hundred years (1678–1777). After the arrival of the Jesuits, a burgher's house on a square was supposed to have served as a clergy house. But the thing to remember is that the Rectory was located right next to the Parish Church when it

[20] At that time, objects were declared national cultural monuments, as defined in the Monument Act, by the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic. At present, the Monument Boards of the Slovak Republic in Bratislava has this responsibility.

[21] Archive of the Regional Monuments Board Žilina (T 335)

was held by the Protestants. During the seventeenth century, this group formed the majority of the city's population. It seems highly unlikely that the Protestant community would have left a burnt ruin with the charred remains of a rectory right next to the main city church, as part of the church grounds, especially in such an attractive and religiously significant place. Rather, it seems probable that the community would have repaired the fire-damaged single-storey stone Rectory, just as they repaired many houses in the square and, in particular, the damaged church, which they gradually equipped with new furniture. Thus, the Rectory could have continued to serve its purpose, albeit in a makeshift form. In addition, it is questionable what building material the Jesuits would have actually used from the site of the burnt Rectory in 1699, when the fire had occurred more than twenty years previously. After such a long time, the material would have been very degraded and difficult to reuse for construction purposes. Rather, it seems that the Jesuits used material from other nearby buildings, perhaps from the unused farm buildings.

Another supporting argument for these conclusions stems from the type of historic building structures and materials that the recently demolished Rectory building contained. The space on the ground floor occupied, in the late twentieth century, by Pancake House was a room with a barrel vault, with characteristic opposing sections (lunettes). This type of vault was no longer built by the end of the eighteenth century: it is typical of the late Middle Ages and Early Modern periods. Elsewhere on the ground floor and first floor, a more recent wood-beamed ceiling with an upper folded flap was added.

When comparing the rubble and the remains of masonry from different parts of the Rectory just after its demolition, there was a clearly legible difference between the building materials used in the vaulted ground-floor room and the other spaces. In this room, pure stone masonry was used, in the form of relatively large and carefully worked stone blocks. Other areas of the ground and first floors were made of mixed masonry with a large proportion of bricks; a large part of the rear longitudinal wall of the first floor of the building was made of poor-quality unfired brick. This also testifies to several separate construction stages through which the Rectory acquired its final form. If the builders had (re)built the building in its entirety, as a completely new construction in 1777, they would never have used such diverse materials, but would have made it from one and the same compact material. Therefore, it is entirely reasonable to assume that the "Pancake House" room was the oldest part of the Rectory. In other words, the hypothesis is that after it was damaged by fire in 1678, it was subsequently repaired by the faith community, and was later expanded by adding one more floor in 1777.

The fact that there was a separate rectory building in Žilina before 1777 is also supported by data from the List of Rectories of the Nitra Diocese, collected in 1754.[22] The census states that there was a part-brick and part-wooden rectory in Žilina. Apparently, after the fire, the original single-storey stone Rectory was repaired with a wooden, perhaps only temporary, extension. It is unlikely that the inventory would have mentioned other constructions, such as the building on the nearby square, where the Jesuits had just finished establishing their monastery and completed the church (today's Church of the Conversion of St Paul).

The Žilina Regional Monuments Board supplemented the original proposal to declare the Rectory a national cultural monument with all these unearthed facts, and sent this updated information to the Monuments Board of the Slovak Republic in Bratislava. Its expert-methodological commission, as an advisory body to the Director General (Commission for the

[22] The inventory is stored in the State Archives in Žilina, located in Bytča, Trenčín County (ecclesiastical documents), inv. no. 1645, No. 2, 1754, p. 367, fol. 55R.

Assessment of the Monument Fund), which collectively assesses all initiatives and proposals for declaring national cultural monuments, as well as requests for the abolition or change of monument protection, recommended declaring the Old Rectory in Žilina a national cultural monument.

A comprehensive set of documents – the proposal, the supplemental materials, and the positive opinion of the above-mentioned commission – was sent for direct processing to the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic. The Ministry, by its decision No. MK-1734 / 2008-51 / 7206 of 20 May 2008, declared the Old Rectory a national cultural monument.

It therefore came as a big surprise that the owner – the Roman Catholic Church, Parish of Žilina city – did not agree with the declaration. On June 4, 2008, they exercised their right to appeal against the decision. This meant that the decision to declare the Žilina Old Rectory a national cultural monument did not entered into force. The Minister of Culture himself had to decide on the appeal (the so-called dissolution).

The Church summarized the main reasons for its disagreement and appeal in several points. In the announcement, it claimed that certain procedural requirements had been violated, so it could not comment on all the documents relevant to the decision. In Church's view, the public interest had not been was not clearly demonstrated in the procedure for declaring the Rectory a national cultural monument. The Church stated that as early as 1930, a sanitation permit had been issued for the construction due to its poor technical condition, and this was not only for economic reasons. It further recalled that in 1989, the Ministry of Culture had not agreed to declare the Rectory a cultural monument. Finally, it pointed out that the Ministry's decision contained inaccuracies and gross professional errors.

It was probably while the proposal to declare the Rectory a national cultural monument was being drafted that the church diametrically changed its opinion on the building's future protection. As it turns out, they had completely different plans for the building, and that, in fact, they did not expect the building to continue existing at all. It is reasonable to believe that they had, for a long time, been negotiating with an investor who was planning to build a shopping centre around the Parish Steps, a plan which would involve construction directly on the site of the historic Rectory. The Rectory was simply in the way of these plans, occupying space in one of the most attractive and valuable plots in the city centre. The Church probably no longer saw any meaning in the Rectory's existence; it held no significant value for the institution. On the contrary, the authorities saw in it only a source of material income and profit. This attitude emerges, quite clearly, in the Information Letter of the Žilina Parishes: Žilina-mesto, Vlčince, Solinky, Salesians, Hájik on June 22, 2008, from the Vicar General of the Žilina Diocese:

> Therefore, we consider it reasonable and responsible to take an opportunity that does not occur so often and receive, in the exchange for other spaces, the commercial premises, from which the diocese will have some income to support work with youth, families, charitable works, for the operation and repair of churches, etc.

In order to free up space for the construction of a shopping centre, the church had to acquire some space for its administrative functions on its new premises. At first, the Church authorities considered establishing a new episcopal office in the mall, an idea which was rejected relatively quickly. They favoured the idea that it would be more appropriate to use some of the allotted the premises for pastoral activities and offer up the rest for rent. But it is questionable whether they were serious about this. It would have been very challenging, to say the least, to convince parishioners of a plan to carry out pastoral activities in the environment of a modern

commercial centre. It seems that the exchange mentioned in the Vicar General's letter probably had a completely different meaning.

During this period, lively and often passionate debates on the historical value of the Old Rectory began to take place among the wider professional and lay public. However, some of the arguments put forth were driven by questionable motives; for example, there were those that wished to downplay the Rectory's monumental-historical value in the eyes of the city's inhabitants and, especially, the local churchgoers, and to question expert opinions about the building. The Church itself acted in this spirit: church/parish announcements and local print media began to systematically inform believers that the Old Rectory had no historical value and that its registration as a national cultural monument was professionally unfounded and, in fact, went against the church's interests. This viewpoint was supported by the widely publicized opinions of some experts contacted by the Church.

The efforts against declaring the Rectory a national cultural monument were supported by a letter to the Ministry of Culture dated June 13, 2008, from Peter Štanský, Director of the Bytča State Archives, Žilina Branch; Ľubomír Viliam Prikryl, the chronicler of the Roman Catholic Church, Parish of Žilina; Jozef Moravčík, a long-term archaeologist at the Považské Museum in Žilina; and Richard Marsina, a prominent Slovak historian, at that time working at Trnava University.[23] What led them to take this step is not known, and it is questionable whether every signatory knew exactly what was written in the letter itself and what statements and arguments it contained.

The letter asked for the declaration of the Rectory as a national cultural monument to be cancelled. It fundamentally questioned the validity of the proposal and its professional foundation. The vehemence with which the authors advocated against the possible protection of the Žilina Old Rectory was astonishing. The letter disputed the Ministry's decision mainly by arguing that the majority of the data presented by experts in the proposal was incorrect. In addition, it claimed that the Ministry based its decision on incorrect information provided by the preservationists, which de facto questioned the technical side of the proposal itself.

The proposal for the declaration was prepared by the Regional Monuments Board of Žilina and all relevant data were stated in it in accordance with the latest knowledge. Some inaccuracies in the decision of the Ministry probably arose from an erroneous transcript from the submitted proposal and its supplement (data on repairs and renovations of the building in 1678, 1699 and 1777). However, from a professional point of view and in terms of the ultimate goal of the proposal, this did not change the fact that the Old Rectory was a valuable building that fully met the criteria to justify its registration as a national cultural monument. The proposal set out the case for its monumental value at the architectural-historical, artistic-historical and especially the urban-historical levels, also necessarily taking into account the location of the building and the development of the immediate vicinity of the Parish Church of the Holy Trinity. In this context, the Old Rectory held a significantly role as co-creator of the distinctive silhouette of Žilina's historical core.[24] At this point, it is necessary to emphasize once again the specification of monuments and the evaluation of the significance of the Rectory, as the Regional Monument Office stated in its proposal:

> Together with the building of the Parish Church and the Burian Tower, [the Rectory] forms a valuable complex of historical architecture in the most exposed part of the Žilina

[23] The mentioned letter is a part of the subject file agenda of the Regional Monuments Board of Žilina.

[24] See, for example, historical photographs of the city published in the book MRVA, Marián. *Žilina na starých pohľadniciach*. Bratislava: Dajama, 2008.

> Municipal Monument Reservation. The Old Rectory is situated on the break of a terrain ridge, on which the historic core of the city is located. Panoramic views of the terrain ridge are one of the most characteristic and impressive for the city. For this reason, it is necessary to preserve the historic panorama and silhouette in the characteristic viewing cones.

The appeal letter's claim that "no research has yet been done on the existing Rectory to find medieval parts" is inaccurate and misleading. In fact, a professional and appropriately qualified employee of the Regional Monuments Board of Žilina carried out a non-destructive visual survey focused on the historic building structures and details. The survey was submitted as a professional supplement to the proposal to declare the Rectory a national cultural monument. In addition to demonstrating the architectural and historical value of the building, the survey states that:

> First of all, it is the original medieval mass, preserved in the "high plinths" of the foundation structures on the southeast and northeast side (which may include parts of the buried basement, which could be specified by rescue archaeological research) and a barrel vault with opposite sections in the northeast corner of the ground floor, which is the oldest part of the interior of the Rectory, dating to the time before the "rebuilding" of theRectory in 1777.

Another statement in the appeal letter claimed that "the parish building from 1777 has no historical significance for the city, no significant events, important for the history of the city, took place here."

This was incomprehensible and unbelievable as it rests on some highly subjective assertions as to what objects and what periods are important to our history, cultural heritage, and the very genius loci of a particular place. The Rectory still has unquestionable historical, urban, architectural, and cultural-social value: it is irrelevant whether the building is from the last third of the eighteenth century or it is older.

Another highly problematic argument the appeal letter made against the protection of the Rectory was that:

> By rehabilitating the building, a comprehensive archaeological research could be carried out in this area as well, which could bring new knowledge about the origin of the town, the castle and the beginnings of the church history in this area. It is a realistic assumption that the foundations of the original older Rectory, renovated in 1699, would be found.

It goes without saying that the redevelopment of the building would irreversibly destroy the authentic building material of the historic construction. There is no case that can be made for carrying out research that completely destroys the present building, just to prove that there was an earlier building there before. Our primary task is to protect and enhance buildings of historical significance, not to demolish and destroy them, so that we can look for hypothetical remains of even older objects under them.

On the other hand, it would certainly not have been impossible to investigate the building's architectural and historical features, for example using non-invasive geophysical methods (for instance georadar, magnetometria) on the existing building while it was not in use. Such an approach could have been used to confirm or refute the existence of an older core. And, under certain circumstances, other archaeological techniques, such as interior probes or non-destruc-

tive geophysical analysis) could verify the existence of older underground architectures. The appeal letter concluded that the redevelopment of the existing Rectory building

> will create preconditions for further research in the Rectory and its surroundings, which could bring important knowledge from the Middle Ages about the beginnings of the city and castle, which is more important than saving the building from 1777, which was of poor quality and quickly built and rebuilt several times.

The destructiveness of this attitude is striking and, from the point of view of cultural heritage protection, completely unacceptable. The Old Rectory building was in good material and technical condition, as is normal for this type of historical architecture, and did not show any visible signs of major static defects. Indeed, the Rectory was in use and its premises were rented commercially to various business entities, including the city of Žilina itself.

While the disintegration proceedings were taking place and the decision of the Minister of Culture was still pending, the historic Old Rectory in Žilina was demolished. This happened on the a Saturday night, through to the small hours of Sunday morning, on 12 to 13 July 2008. The excavator needed only a few hours. It was probably no coincidence that this happened at night and in the darkness, at a time when as few direct witnesses as possible were expected.

On Sunday morning, when worshipers walked to the adjacent Parish Church, they were greeted with an unpleasant surprise. On the place where, only a few hours before, the historic Žilina Rectory had stood was a large pile of building rubble. A few days later there was only a deep pit there. Thus, despite the arguments set out in the appeal letter, it was not even possible to carry out any monumental archaeological research on the site. There was nothing left of the building; it had been sacrificed to the modern construction of the shopping centre.

So, what had been going on behind the scenes that made this possible? After the Regional Monuments Board of Žilina issued a binding opinion against the application to redevelop the Rectory back in March 2008, the Church, together with the investor planning the future shopping centre, had sought a different solution to deal with the Rectory, so as not to hinder further construction activities. In close cooperation with the city, a debatable solution had been found.

On 7 July 2008, the Joint Municipal Office in Žilina, the Department of Construction and Environment, and the Department of Building Regulations issued a controversial building permit for the modification of the Old Rectory building.[25] This permit spoke of the complete reconstruction of the Rectory. It set out a number of, frankly, bizarre conditions, stating the national cultural monument was to be completely dismantled, albeit without a valid decision, and then reassembled! Incidentally, the issues of the building's stone and mixed stone-brick masonry and its brick vault were discussed. After re-assembling, with a flat roof instead of the original hipped one, the building was to be incorporated into the architecture of the planned shopping centre and thus become a part of it. The permit represented a highly unusual approach to the restoration of the monument, given that the whole building was not taken into account, but only its two perimeter walls.

It is not unreasonable to suggest some of the possible underlying purposes of this solution. The wording "complete reconstruction" used in the building permit was, as later events suggest, basically a euphemism used to cover up the planned demolition. The conditions for the reconstruction contained no stipulation to preserve the authenticity and integrity of the

[25] Building permit No. 10657/2008 / MsÚ-OSP / Fri was issued in record time, only four days after the application was submitted. It typically takes several months for the relevant building authority to issue a building permit for similar buildings.

building, either in terms of its construction materials or shape. There can be little doubt that the ultimate goal of the "complete reconstruction" of the Rectory was its destruction, and that its restoration was probably never seriously considered. This is amply proved by the secretive and abrupt manner in which it was "dismantled" overnight by an excavator. No monumental architectural-historical, art-historical, or restoration research into the historical Rectory was carried out in advance of its demolition. None of the relevant preparatory and project documentation required for this type of project, detailing the exact characteristics of the object, its valuable elements and details, was prepared in advance. The Regional Monuments Board of Žilina did not issue any decision or binding opinion on the planned modifications, even though this was a direct consequence of the wording of the Monuments Act. There was not even an opportunity to comment on the construction procedure in question, despite the fact that it was the state administration body that was concerned with this issue. The Regional Monuments Board therefore had no opportunity to raise objections and comments during the construction procedure. In these proceedings, the Construction office made full use of binding opinion on the remediation of the Rectory and adjacent buildings from March 2008. However, there were completely different construction proceedings.[26]

Regarding the legal problem of whether or not the Rectory was a national cultural monument at the time of its demolition, it should be recalled that the monument fund consists not only of monumental areas but also of movable and immovable national cultural monuments and objects for which the procedure for declaring national cultural monuments has been initiated. Therefore, from a legal point of view, the Old Rectory fell under the last category, that is, it was in the process of being declared a national monument, even though the decision on the declaration was not valid due to the appeal of the party to the proceedings. Pursuant to § 15 par. 4, letter a) of the Monuments Act, the owner of the object proposed for declaration as a cultural monument at the time in force was obliged to protect the object from damage, destruction, or theft from the date of the delivery the notice of commencement of proceedings and to notify the Ministry of any intended or implemented change of ownership. Despite this provision, and before the Minister of Culture was able to reach a decision, the Old Rectory was demolished, using heavy construction equipment, on the basis of a properly issued building permit. The historic Rectory in Žilina thus definitively ceased to exist and no part of it was restored or acknowledged in any way.

Based on the special commission (the so-called Appeals Commission of the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic), established by the Minister of Culture, the Minister rejected the owner's appeal, and on 15 August 2008 upheld the decision to declare the Rectory a national cultural monument. Thus Old Rectory became a legally declared national cultural monument, although by then it no longer physically existed. The Monuments Board of the Slovak Republic subsequently assigned it a registration number 11566/1 in the Central List of Monuments. This was a "Solomon's solution": the monument de jure existed, but de facto it had already been destroyed.

The Monument Inspectorate of the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic, in consultation with the Regional Monuments Board of Žilina, prepared two criminal notices concerning the demolition of the Rectory. Both, with the necessary attachments, were submitted on 25 July 2008 to the General Prosecutor's Office of the Slovak Republic by the Minister of Culture

[26] The mistake of the city of Žilina as a building authority and its violation of legal provisions in the procedure in this regard was later stated by both the District and Regional Prosecutor's Offices in Žilina (April 2009).

himself. The first notice was against the owner for the abuse of property, according to which an important cultural interest had been damaged by applying for a building permit and, based on that permit, destroying the building, which at that time was part of the monument fund of the Slovak Republic. The second notice was against the unknown perpetrator who, without permission, excavated the area without undertaking any archaeological discovery and thus destroyed an important archaeological site (excavation of a construction pit without the providing of prior archaeological research). At the end of September 2008, the Ministry of Culture supplemented the criminal offenses in question with other (according to them) important facts which should have fulfilled the factual substance of the crime. In both notices, the Minister of Culture pointed out, among other things, the mistakes of the relevant building authority and the fact that the building permit for the building modification of the Rectory was issued in violation of the Monuments Act.

The General Prosecutor's Office forwarded the above-mentioned criminal reports to the District Prosecutor's Office in Žilina, and the investigation was first conducted by the District Department of the Žilina-West Police Force. However, the investigation went nowhere and was terminated. The Ministry of Culture had serious objections to both the procedure and the conclusion of the investigation, and turned instead to the Regional Prosecutor's Office in Žilina. They objected to the interpretation of the District Prosecutor's Office, according to which the Old Rectory did not have monument protection at the time of the demolition. According to the Ministry, this assertion was in conflict with the stipulations of the Monument Act. In the opinion of the Ministry, the interpretation of the terms "monument fund" and "cultural monument" by the District Prosecutor's Office set a legal precedent, according to which it would not be possible in future to ensure the protection of any object even after a procedure for declaring it a cultural monument had been initiated. According to the interpretation of the District Prosecutor's Office, it would be possible to destroy such objects without the criminal sanction and thus remove their protection. The investigation was finally taken over by the Regional Directorate of the Police Force, the Judicial and Criminal Police Office in Žilina. In October 2009, its investigator stated that there had been a breach of several obligations by the owner and the relevant building authority in accordance with the provisions of the Monuments and Building Act. However, according to him, there was no intentional conduct and the act in question was not defined as a criminal offense. Therefore, he halted the prosecution in February 2010. In this case, too, the Ministry of Culture objected to the cessation of criminal prosecution. At the same time, in August 2010, the Prosecutor General's Office requested a review of the regional prosecutor's procedure. They requested that criminal liability should to be inferred in the matter of the destruction of a national cultural monument. At the end of 2010, the General Prosecutor's Office announced that they upheld the opinion of the Regional Prosecutor's Office in Žilina. According to them, it was not possible to state the existing intentions of specific persons, which would be aimed at fulfilling the factual substance of the crime of abuse of property, with respect to damage and degradation of cultural heritage. On this basis, on 30 November 2010, the Ministry of Culture postponed the initiative.

The Old Rectory has not stood for more than ten years, and its pseudo-replica has not become the part of the architecture of the new shopping centre. However, it still appears in the Central List of Monuments of the Slovak Republic as a national cultural monument. This is an absurd state of affairs. The monument protection of a non-existent object lacks any logic. The Monuments Board of the Slovak Republic in Bratislava should avoid professional embarrass-

ment and quickly abolish the monument protection of the long-defunct building.

However, the Old Rectory should not be completely lost from human memory, because the years go by fast, and people forget quickly. Despite all the dramatic events that accompanied the Rectory's immediate demise, at least a simple and tasteful memorial plaque could remind visitors to the shopping centre and all passers-by that such an object once stood here. It is hard to understand why no one, neither the church, nor the city, nor any civic initiative, such as "Zbor Žilincov", has come up with such a proposal yet.

Thus, the only material monument that today at least partially recalls the existence of the historical Rectory in Žilina is the furnace, an Art Nouveau tile kiln from the beginning of the twentieth century. However, its owner did not take care of its preservation. Literally a few hours before the insensitive demolition of the Rectory, the dismantled fired tiles were saved by the members of the Association for the Lietava Castle Preservation. They selflessly transported and stored them in a protected place. After ten years, this furnace was reconstructed and today it is fully functional and forms the part of the Lietava Castle exposition.[27] In addition to the tiles of the Art Nouveau kiln, the association also saved a few fragments of an older classicist kiln with antique motifs, which also complement the castle exposition.

The police investigation into the destruction of a historic building in the very centre of the city led to the bald statement that no crime had been committed. Despite the fact that the deed happened and the Old Rectory in Žilina was demolished in a rough and insensitive manner, the culprit was not named, and no one was prosecuted. From a legal point of view, the culprit was not identified. However, the moral responsibility for the fact that Žilina lost a rare historical building – no matter how the value of its monuments was questioned – has remained. Above all, it lies on the shoulders of those who had owned and used it for many centuries and who had a moral obligation to care for it it and eventually pass it on to future generations. Why efforts to protect the building were not successful, at the very moment its importance was increasingly recognised and it became an integral part of our monument fund and cultural heritage, is incomprehensible. It is even sadder that the historic Old Rectory disappeared only a few months after Pope Benedict XVI established the Diocese of Žilina and the Parish Church of the Holy Trinity as its cathedral church.[28] The Old Rectory had stood in the proximity of this church for centuries, and it was closely connected with the latter's existence. It is just another paradox that the Old Rectory disappeared in the year when Žilina commemorated, with great glory, the 800th anniversary of its first written mention.[29]

English translation: E. Lelakova

[27] The renovation of the tiled kiln was supported by the VUB Foundation. Damaged ceramic tiles were repaired, and in some places restored to their original shape, and the entire kiln was rebuilt in the traditional way. At the end of January 2018, it began to emit pleasant warmth again.

[28] The Diocese of Žilina (Dioccesis Zilinensis) was established on February 14, 2008 and Žilina became the seat of the Diocesan Bishop.

[29] The first written mention of the territory of Žilina is from 1208 in a document issued by the Nitra county. It mentions the boundaries of several properties of the Nitra diocese in the Trenčín capital, including Hričov. It was adjacent to the territory of a smaller settlement called Terra de Selinan. OKÁNIKOVÁ, Mária (ed.). *800 rokov od prvej písomnej zmienky o zemi Žiliňany*. Považské múzeum v Žiline., 2008, p. 18.

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Appendix

Fig. 1: *The town of Žilina in the middle of the nineteenth century (Regional Monuments Board of* Žilina)

Fig. 2: *The Holy Trinity Church and the Rectory at the beginning of the twentieth century (Regional Monuments Board of Žilina)*

Fig. 3: *The map of the town, 1848 (State Archive in Žilina with its seat in Bytča)*

Fig. 4: *The Rectory several weeks before its demolition (photo: J. Feiler, 2008)*

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Fig. 8: *The construction development of the Rectory according to the architectural-historical study –ground floor plan (Regional Monuments Board of Žilina)*

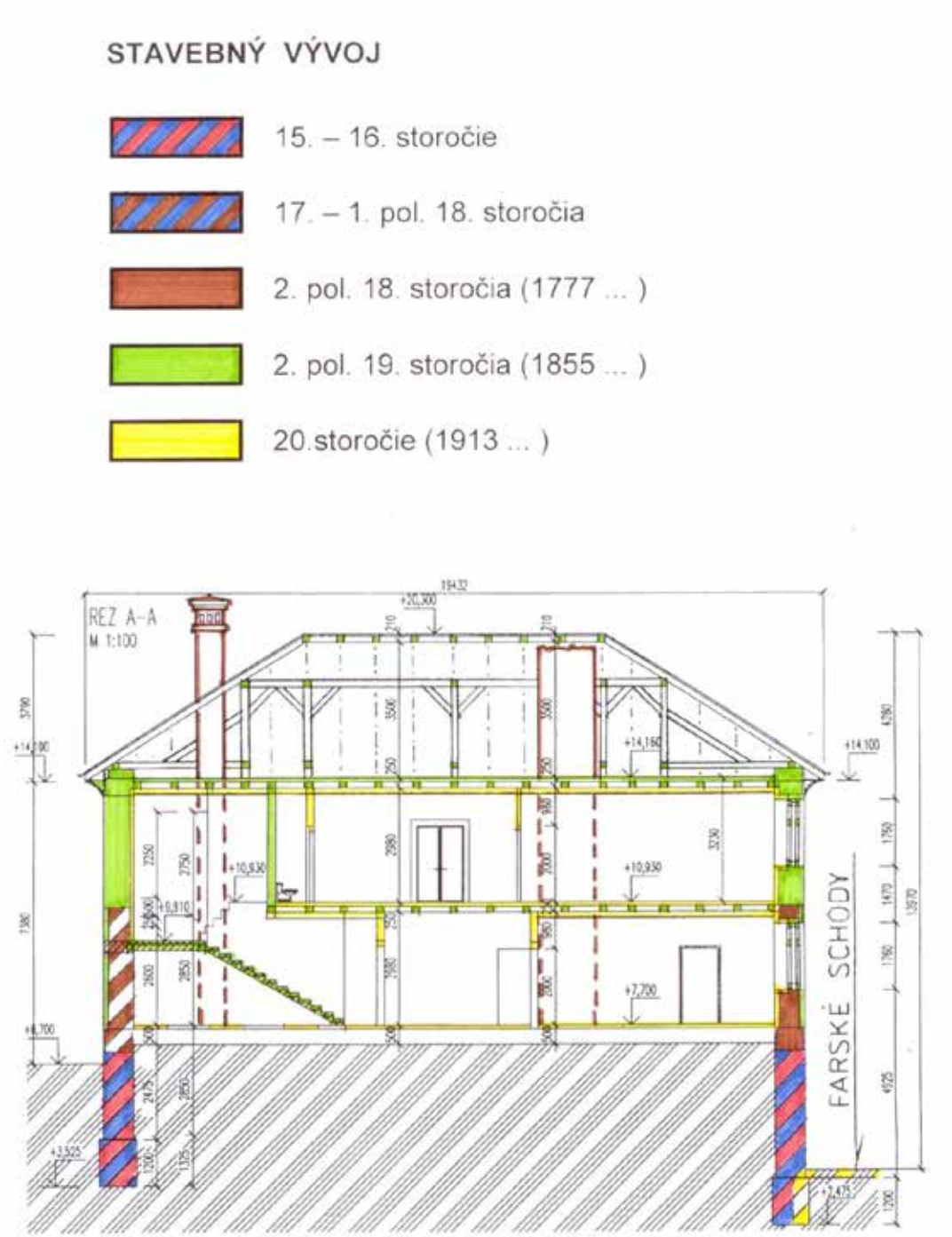

Fig. 9: *The construction development of the* Rectory *according to the architectural-historical study – cross section (*Regional *Monuments Board of Žilina)*

Fig. 10: *The remains of the Rectory on Sunday morning, July 13, 2008 (photo: J. Feiler, 2008)*

Fig. 11: *The Rectory plot one week after demolition (photo: M. Dudáš)*

Fig. 12: *New shopping centre on the site of the former Rectory (photo: M. Dudáš)*

Typology and Audience Engagement of University Galleries

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Typology and Audience Engagement of University Galleries
The main objective of this study is to analyse the environment and the processes of university galleries and their exhibition spaces, primarily on the territory of the Czech Republic and Slovakia. The historical development of university galleries and their role in society are briefly introduced. An important part of this research paper deals with the definition and typology of university galleries, followed by an analysis of their role and a discussion on the aspect of audience and public engagement. The study draws on research conducted by the author in the years 2016–2020 predominantly in the Czech Republic and Slovakia, described in detail in her doctoral thesis. The methodology of the research is mainly based on semi-structured interviews and study visits of the various institutions in question. The research paper brings forth the subject of university galleries and their role in the advancement of the academic cultural environment.

Keywords: university galleries, university museums, cultural management, audience engagement, experimental university spaces

Introduction

Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, university galleries and museums have enjoyed a resurgence of interest, which has naturally led to their growth. Important events that have indubitably contributed to this development include the foundation of the European network UNIVERSEUM in 2000 and the International Committee for University Museums and Collections (UMAC) under the International Council of Museums (ICOM) in 2001, the 2009 renovation and reconstruction of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, universally recognised as the first[1] university museum in the world founded in 1683, and the renovation of the Musée des Arts et Métiers in Paris, which reopened its collections to the public in 2000. While the growing interest of the general public gives university galleries and museums a new direction, it also further stresses the need for official recognition by the international museum and gallery community. As is the case with other cultural organizations, the audiences of university galleries are becoming an ever more important part of the development strategies of these institutions.

This research is the first of its kind to propose a typology of non-collection-based university galleries. It can therefore serve as a starting point for researchers interested in this new and rapidly evolving discipline. The focus on the context of the Czech Republic and Slovakia is also

[1] The Ashmolean Story, accessed February 7, 2021, https://www.ashmolean.org/history-ashmolean

unique, as little research on the topic has been conducted in the region of central Europe, in part due to the fact that most local university galleries were established in the past twenty years, and none of them possess any collections. This makes them undeserving of attention in the eyes of some, a misconception that this research paper sets out to tackle. Lastly, the research also proves the important role that non-collection-based university galleries play in public-university interaction, interdisciplinary cooperation and artistic experimentation.

Origin and Development of University Galleries

University galleries experienced a gradual growth, and their origin and subsequent development towards actively engaging with their audiences is generally considered to have come about quite late. They first came into existence when the recently established art history departments of universities concentrated their collections into one place or when wealthy benefactors bequeathed their private collections to academic institutions. If we want to look for origins of art galleries in school settings outside of universities, newly emerging art academies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries deserve our attention. These academies would hold contests, organise exhibitions and house collections of both reproductions and originals of important works of art for educational purposes. To this end, they built picture galleries (pinacothecae), sculpture galleries (glyptothecae), plaster cast galleries (gypsothecae) or graphic art rooms.[2]

Around the end of eighteenth and beginning of nineteenth century, these collections were made accessible in newly established academic picture galleries and museums or donated for public use in an effort to establish new museum-like institutions focused on art history.[3] One of the most impressive academic picture galleries is The Paintings Gallery of the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna, which was established after Count Lamberg-Sprinzenstein donated his entire painting collection in 1822.[4] Art schools also gradually incorporated exhibition halls, spaces where short-term exhibitions took place, which is exactly what Francis Haskell referred to when he talked about the "ephemeral museum"[5]. One such example illustrated by Haskell is when the Academy of Fine Arts Vienna revitalised a theatre inventory space and scenery depot to use it as exhibition and theatre spaces (1990–1995), cementing the local tradition of these spaces being used as a modern centre for education and the presentation of artistic production.

In the context of the historical development of university galleries, universities located in the United States play a specific role. Thanks to the fact that they operated on larger campuses and would often receive generous donations of significant museum collections from local benefactors, the development of university galleries in the US had a head start compared to Europe. The Yale University Art Gallery in New Haven, Connecticut, the oldest university gallery in the western hemisphere, was established in 1832. Prestigious university art collections tend to be called "galleries" in US terminology, and their placement on the campus usually corresponds with their esteemed status.[6]

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[2] KROUPA, Jiří, personal communication, May 14, 2020.

[3] PEVSNER, Nikolaus. *Academies of Art: Past and Present*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2014, p. 256–257.

[4] The history of The Paintings Gallery, accessed February 7, 2021 https://www.akbild.ac.at/portal_en/collections/paintingsgallery/collection/history/the-history-of-the-paintings-gallery?set_language=en&cl=en

[5] HASKELL, Francis (2000). *The Ephemeral Museum: Old Master Paintings and the Rise of the Art Exhibition*. Yale: Yale University Press, p. 22–49.

[6] KROUPA, Jiří, personal communication, May 14, 2020.

New university galleries started emerging in Europe at the end of the nineteenth century in the form of galleries of art history, as this discipline rose to prominence around that time. These galleries were closely tied with the instruction of art history as well as research activities in the field.[7] Of the more prominent European university art museums whose existence and legacy had an impact on the academic sphere and art history, the Ashmolean Museum is certainly worth a mention. It was established in 1683 at the University of Oxford to house a collection made up of the cabinet of curiosities donated to the university by Elias Ashmole. He envisioned for the museum to become a centre of practical research and learning based around its collections. Even today, research on collections is at the core of the museum's activities. Though originally established as a museum of natural sciences, the Ashmolean Museum broadened its focus towards art collections in the end of the nineteenth century, as first art history classes were taught at the university in 1870, followed later by the establishment of the Department of History of Art at the Faculty of History. This first ever university museum also became the first museum in the world to be open to the public.[8]

In the United States, a key development in the history of university museums and galleries was the establishment of the Princeton University Art Museum, founded in 1882. Today, it houses a remarkable collection[9] of around 100,000 exhibits from various time periods and a number of culture areas, donated to the university in large part by its alumni.[10] Another milestone in the development of university museums and galleries came with the 1852 manuscript of The Ideal Museum: Practical Art in Metals and Hard Materials by Gottfried Semper,[11] in which he stresses the modern notion of an art museum, tied closely with the establishment of art academies, with the "museum" being considered conducive to the instruction of art. Semper further proposes that every museum be accompanied by an associated school, claiming that an ideal art museum must fulfill the role of public education.[12] Subsequently, the Imperial Royal Austrian Museum of Art and Industry, known today as MAK, was founded alongside Vienna School of Arts and Crafts, while in the Czechoslovak context, the Museum of Applied Arts in Brno was established alongside the Secondary School of Arts and Crafts. Since the 1990s, the process of emergence of university galleries in the Czech Republic has been mostly connected to their development within art schools.[13]

In contrast to English-speaking countries, such as the United States, the Czech Republic and Slovakia have a very specific portfolio of university galleries, the typology of which will be introduced later on. They are exclusively non–collection-based, and their establishment can be traced back to the end of the twentieth century. They were founded not only with an aim

[7] PEVSNER, *Academies of Art*…, p. 160–176)

[8] The Ashmolean Story, https://www.ashmolean.org/the-ashmolean-story

[9] The museum's European art collection includes works of art from the likes of Hieronymus Bosch, Albrecht Dürer, El Greco, Michelangelo, Rembrandt, Anthony van Dyck, Francisco Goya, Paul Cézanne, Édouard Manet, Claude Monet, Pierre-Auguste Renoir, Paul Gauguin, Vincent van Gogh, Edgar Degas, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, Amedeo Modigliani, Wassily Kandinsky, Jean Arp, Emil Nolde and Pablo Picasso, arguably a good example of a representative academic art museum.

[10] S. WOOD, Christopher. *A History of Art History*. United Kingdom: Princeton University Press, 2019, p. 252–266.

[11] SEMPER, Gottfried. *The Ideal Museum: Practical Art in Metals and Hard Materials*. Vienna: Schlebrügge, 2007. Začátek formuláře

[12] Frankenberg, Pablo. Museum Utopia. A Brief Architectural History of the Ideal Museum. In *Art History Supplement*, 2(3), May 2012, p. 23–26. Accessed at: https://www.vonfrankenberg.cc/site/assets/files/1072/museum_utopia_ahs.pdf.

[13] KROUPA, Jiří, personal communication, May 14, 2020.

to showcase student projects and the works of academic staff but also with a vision to present young and up-and-coming authors who contribute to shaping current trends in the fields of fine arts and design. The oldest university gallery in the Czech Republic still in operation is considered to be the AVU Gallery, a gallery of the Academy of Fine Arts, Prague, which was established in 1993 as an exhibition space for students and has since broadened its scope. It was preceded only by the Czechoslovak Medium Gallery at the Academy of Fine Arts and Design, Bratislava. The period after the turn of the millennium is generally considered to be an era when the field of Czech university galleries experienced the largest boom.

In 2001, the UM Gallery was founded at the Academy of Arts, Architecture and Design in Prague, followed by the FFA Gallery (Galerie FAVU in Czech, originally known as Aula) at the Faculty of Fine Arts of Brno University of Technology, established in 2004. The Academy of Performing Arts in Prague opened its own gallery under the name of GAMU in 2008, while the Ladislav Sutnar Faculty of Design and Art of the University of West Bohemia followed suit with its own gallery in 2011. The field of university galleries in the Czech Republic achieved a new dimension with the 2016 opening of the Ústí nad Labem House of Arts at the Faculty of Art and Design of Jan Evangelista Purkyně University in Ústí nad Labem. Though currently the youngest of its kind in the country, G18 Gallery, established by the Faculty of Multimedia Communications of Tomas Bata University in Zlin, has also managed to garner attention in the academic sphere. Many other university galleries have emerged since the year 2000, some of which are no longer in operation and have since been replaced by new concepts or spaces (such as Armaturka Gallery in Ústí nad Labem). An important factor to consider when surveying the history of university galleries in the context of the Czech Republic and Slovakia is the fact that most of these countries' universities do not have a long enough history and tradition to have developed their own collections.

In the final years of the twentieth century, an international community centred around university museums and collections started to form and mobilise. Initially, these formations did not surpass the national level, as several countries founded their own national associations[14] (for example in the UK, USA, South Korea and Brazil), but through networking and transnational cooperation, the first international associations emerged.

In Europe, two important networks focused on academic heritage and university museums were formed. UNIVERSEUM, also known as the European Academic Heritage Network, was established in 2000, while UMAC, the International Committee for University Museums and Collections, was set up in 2001. The establishment of these European international networks, resulting in closer cooperation and intensified communication efforts among their members, has improved the quality and, more importantly, the perception of university museums (and galleries) over the past twenty years. As Marta Lourenço, the current UMAC chair, pointed out in her speech at an ICOM meeting in Milan in 2019, awareness of university collections and museums has grown, mainly thanks to recognition by the international network ICOM. In the meantime, many collections and university museums have been reorganised, renovated, gradually made accessible and reintroduced into the teaching process or opened to the general public. New university galleries and museums are being created, and they are much more open

[14] Networks. UMAC ICOM, accessed January 10, 2020, http://umac.icom.museum/resources/networks/Začátek formuláře

and better prepared to engage their university-based audiences or even the general public.[15]

The Phenomenon of the University Gallery

As mentioned earlier, two institutions concerned with university museums exist in the European context: UMAC and UNIVERSEUM. However, their definitions and information are too broad and general, and in their purpose they do not deal with purely artistic and design-oriented non–collection-based galleries, but rather with the whole portfolio of university museums, which includes such disciplines as biology, history, psychology, archaeology, etc. The category of non–collection-based university galleries will be discussed later on.

In order to better understand and contextualise university galleries, it is necessary to describe the role and function of the International Council of Museums. ICOM is an international organization of museums and museum professionals, first established in the years 1946–1947, "committed to the research, conservation, continuation and communication to society of the world's natural and cultural heritage, present and future, tangible and intangible."[16] ICOM is the only global organization in the field of museums.

The Czech Republic also has its own ICOM national committee, founded in 1994 as a successor to the Czechoslovak committee, which was one of the 14 founding members in 1946. The mission of the Czech committee is mainly to support the involvement of Czech museum and gallery professionals in international communities.

ICOM's membership is quite large, and its conferences and congresses are visited by thousands of gallery representatives from all around the world. Apart from national committees, ICOM has also set up a host of international committees, dedicated to specific areas of expertise in the field of museology, UMAC being the most relevant for university galleries. The International Council of Museums Committee for University Museums and Collections is one of the two significant international networks that contribute to the development and support of university galleries and museums. It was founded by an international group of professionals active in university galleries who had understood that university museums and galleries faced a number of challenges, which often had to do with the fact that they operated under higher education institutions. The first international UMAC conference took place in Barcelona in 2001. The current committee chair is Marta Lourenço.[17]

Although ICOM sees university galleries as one of the categories within university museum, it has recently shifted its definition of a "museum", something that will definitely have an impact on the perception of galleries, too. A generally accepted definition of the term "university gallery" has not been proposed as of yet.

[15] LOURENÇO, Marta. *Defining the UNIVERSITY MUSEUM today: Between ICOM and the 'third mission'*. accessed July 10, 2019, http://umac.icom.museum/defining-the-university-museum-today-between-icom-and-the-third-mission

[16] ICOM Museum definition, accessed August 29, 2019, https://icom.museum/en/about-us/missions-and-objectives/

[17] UMAC: International council of museums committee for university museums and collections, accessed July 23, 2019, http://umac.icom.museum/

In a follow-up personal communication[18] regarding the redefining of museums on April 24 2019, Marta Lourenço said that we first need to define all types of institution that are not very different from university museums in their activities but are ineligible to be called "museums" under the current definition. A list of all these spaces has been put together, on which we can find university science centers, botanical gardens, showrooms, exhibition halls and also university galleries (including non–collection-based), all of which are institutions that should be discussed and included in the redefinition process. According to Lourenço, we need to start from a general museological definition and slowly make our way towards places that show very little resemblance to the universal common features that define other museums and collections in the fields of natural sciences, anthropology or history.

Once we attempt to define the term itself, we can further examine various types of university gallery, unearthing a potential for more efficient synergies within their activities and studying the different variants of their audience engagement efforts.

Fig. 1: *AMU Gallery. The Academy of Performing Arts in Prague.*

University galleries (also known as university art museums) can be defined as collection-based or non–collection-based institutions, established and operated by higher education institutions or their subparts (faculties, studios, departments, etc.). They represent non-commercial spaces that primarily serve as a point of contact between the academic sphere and the general public to the end of presenting art and design. University galleries established by higher education

[18] "ICOM museum definition has two parts. The first is the one now under discussion, but it is followed by a list of institutions that are eligible to be called museum (science centers are museums, botanic gardens are museums, etc). Galleries are in the list – even galleries without collections, which is problematic. The second note is that I do not think there should be a special museum definition for a university museum (or gallery). I get asked that all the time – what is the definition of university museum – and I believe it should be the same as ICOM's. Otherwise, we would be positioning ourselves outside a system where we fought so hard to belong to."

institutions of both the university type and the non-university type,[19] such as art academies (e.g., Academy of Performing Arts in Prague, Academy of Fine Arts, Prague, Academy of Fine Arts Vienna), also provide space for public discussion. As is the case with public galleries and museums, the terminological usage of the terms "university gallery" and "university museum" is heavily influenced by the historical, cultural and geographical context.

In order to fully put the given subject matter into the context of its development and into an objective timeframe, the investigated phenomenon of university galleries is assessed from a contemporary point of view. The term "university" in university galleries/museums should be interpreted in its broadest possible sense, as it is meant to encompass all types of higher education institution.

From an ICOM perspective, university galleries are considered to be covered under the common term of "university museums", which in turn fall under the umbrella of MUSEUM. ICOM (and the asscoaited definition). More precisely, the international committee of UMAC, which deals specifically with university museums and collections, sees university galleries as one of the categories and constituents of university museums with a specific focus on art. No exact definition of the term "university galleries" has been proposed so far within UMAC/ICOM. The importance of defining the term has to do with the need to intensify academic research and investigate the subject matter in more depth. As Sébastien Soubiran, President of the international network UNIVERSEUM, stated, while the phenomenon of "university museums" has received some attention, there has been very little research in Europe dealing specifically with non–collection-based university galleries or exhibition halls.[20] Defining the term, encouraging its use and applying it in scientific research will improve the visibility and stress the importance of university galleries, not to say all academic cultural heritage, among not only the scientific community but also the public at large.

In literary sources from English-speaking countries outside of Europe, the following terms may be used to denote university galleries:

academic gallery;
college gallery;
campus gallery.

Typology of University Galleries

As the necessity of self-identification becomes more pressing, it is beneficial to introduce a typology of university galleries, based on extensive research conducted as part of my dissertation.[21] The different existing archetypes of university galleries have been determined and identified based on several criteria, including exhibition plan quality and frequency, accompanying program frequency, financial and staff structure, exhibition space size and visitor communication. The categorization and definition of these archetypes can facilitate the process of self-identification mentioned above and help both the expert community and the general public set realistic expectations and demands before visiting a particular exhibition space.

From a European as well as global context, university galleries can be categorised into two

[19] *Typy a druhy vysokých škol*, accessed February 6, 2021, https://is.muni.cz/do/rect/el/estud/praf/ps13/pravo_vs/web/04.html

[20] SOUBIRAN, Sébastien, personal communication, June 23, 2019.

[21] GARTNEROVÁ, Eva. University galleries and their potential for international networking. Zlín, 2020. Dissertation thesis. Tomas Bata University in Zlin.

main groups, based on their approach to working with academic heritage:[22]

Collection-based university galleries, i.e., university galleries/art museums that have their own collections. These types of gallery can be found in the United Kingdom, France, Germany and Belgium, as well as outside of Europe. Examples include Yale University Art Gallery, Harvard Art Museums, Ashmolean Museum in Oxford and Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge. In the Czech academic sphere, there is currently no university gallery open to the public that preserves and exhibits its art collections.[23] In addition to exhibitions, collection-based university museums and galleries are mainly engaged in the research and preservation of their collections, which is why they also play an important role in the field of object-based learning. Collection-based university galleries are mostly bigger in size compared to other types, as they are usually established by larger universities with a longer tradition, they employ a bigger staff, and their facility management is more developed.

Non–collection-based university galleries, that is, exhibition-oriented university galleries that do not have their own collections, based on the concept of exhibition halls, known as Kunsthallen in Germany. These are a popular concept not only in the Czech Republic and Slovakia but also in Poland, Ukraine and other European countries. Representatives of this category can be found all around Europe and include Angewandte Innovation Lab in Vienna, Exhibition Laboratory in Helsinki, designtransfer in Berlin and many others. This type of university gallery has a well-defined staff structure, typically accompanied by a clear division of roles, staffed mostly by academic or administrative employees of the university. They tend to have regular exhibition plans, in which each exhibition cycle is clearly defined in terms of timeframe, topic and organization. Another characteristic feature of these spaces is clear, accountable and visible public communication, usually done through a website, social media or printed materials. In terms of size, non–collection-based university galleries usually operate in larger and more presentable facilities than the experimental university spaces described below, though generally not as large as in the case of university art museums. They tend to have a well-developed accompanying programme for their exhibitions, which translates into good-quality audience engagement. In the context of the Czech Republic and Slovakia, exhibition-oriented galleries include Medium Gallery in Bratislava, Ústí nad Labem House of Arts, G18 Gallery in Zlín or UM Gallery, GAMU and AVU Gallery in Prague.

Fig. 2: *G18 Gallery. Tomas Bata University in Zlin.*

Although experimental university spaces and projects tend not to be given the label of

[22] CO JE GALERIE? Prague: Metodické centrum pro muzea výtvarného umění, 2021, accessed Feburary 8, 2021, http://www.mc-galerie.cz/admin/files/pdf/cojegalerie/CO-JE-GALERIE.pdf

[23] Czech university museums, such as the Mendel Museum of Masaryk University in Brno, Hrdlicka Museum of Man at the Faculty of Science of Charles University in Prague or Fort Science at Palacký University Olomouc, self-identify as "university museums of natural sciences".

galleries by the international gallery community, they deserve a category of their own in the typology of university galleries. They mostly operate on smaller experimental premises (such as a small room or hallway), and their exhibition plans are irregular and/or incomplete, often featuring short and frequent exhibition cycles. The management of these spaces is in the hands of either students or doctorands. Alternatively, academic staff of the university can be put in charge, though their commitment is usually only part-time, as they perform other work-related tasks alongside running such spaces. In most cases, the staff structure lacks any clear definition, and no gallery advisory board or other advisory body has been appointed. These types of space may be less visible and harder to look up, as some of them do not have their own website and public communication is carried out on an irregular basis. Many experimental university projects also lack the time and human resources to organise accompanying programmes and gallery animations. In the context of the Czech Republic and Slovakia, this category is represented by Galerie FSv in Prague, František Vrána Exhibition Hall in Brno and CZU Gallery in Prague. Experimental university spaces can be "experimental" in several different aspects – some might experiment with the concept of space and step out of the traditional "white cube" approach, such as NIKA Gallery, an exhibition space located inside a wall niche in a Prague metro station, or Billboart Gallery, known for presenting art through a billboard; others may experiment with the very concept of exhibition, such as Díky Moc, a rotational photography exhibition programme run by the students of the Studio of Advertising Photography at the Faculty of Multimedia Communications of Tomas Bata University in Zlin that takes place in the students' homes.

The diversity of university gallery concepts demonstrated in the Czech Republic, Slovakia and beyond brings forth the necessity to consider other forms of categorization in our approach to university galleries. An important role is played by the focus of the establishing university, which often reflects the mission and the role that the given university gallery fulfills.

Fig. 3: *NIKA Gallery. Academy of Arts. Architecture and Design in Prague.*

With this in mind, university galleries can be divided into the following categories:

Established by a higher education institution specializing in art or by its subpart (such as faculties, departments, …) specializing in art. Examples include UM Gallery, FFA Gallery, Ladislav Sutnar Gallery, Ústí nad Labem House of Arts, G18 Gallery and Fx Gallery.

Established by a higher education institution not specialising in art or its subpart (such as faculties, departments, …) not specializing in art. Examples include Pitevna Gallery orGallery P.

Speaking about different forms of categorization, it is also beneficial to make a distinction

between university galleries and student galleries.

Student galleries are different from the categories previously mentioned in that they are established by the students of a given university, independently of the academic structure. In order to pursue their gallery activities, students often resort to founding associations or other entities. In their operation, student galleries imitate the functions of university galleries, as is the case withGalerie Podlaha Ostrava or the Photogether Gallery in Zlín. Many of the student galleries denoted as such eventually turn into established exhibition spaces. The stories of Czech independent galleries are documented and presented in Lenka Sýkorová's project, entitled Action Galleries.[24]

Non–collection-based galleries, discussed in detail in the next part of this research paper, are a place for experimenting and presenting the works of students and academic staff on an international stage and, most importantly, a space for public discussion. They are also instrumental in reaching a better understanding of the added value and third mission of universities. Defining university galleries and improving their perception as a component of museum and gallery culture is essential for the mere fact that in this way, they can be categorised and included in general culture statistics, since currently they are often left out and forgotten or even classified under activities with little relation to galleries, which they intrinsically are.

University galleries mostly have a non-commercial character, with the exception of fundraising elements in their financial strategies. It is precisely the absence of the need to sell artwork that gives university gallery exhibitions creative freedom and independence. Jeffrey Taylor[25] goes so far as to claim that in the US, the network of university galleries serves as a hub for artistic forms which would be unable to exist in the commercial sector.

Role of Non–Collection-Based University Galleries

Fig. 4: *Medium Gallery. Academy of Fine Arts and Design in Bratislava.*

The past two decades have been something of a golden age for non–collection-based university galleries, which has been reflected in the content of their exhibitions as well as the role they perform, and not only within the academic sphere. The topic of university galleries in the Czech Republic is finally at the forefront of discussion, which is demonstrated by the establishment of an academic conference dedicated specifically to university galleries (Univerzitní galerie – Tradice, výstavní praxe a edukační potenciál), whose aim is to "bring attention to the importance of university galleries as a first space in which students of art and art education learn how to present their work, experience how a gallery is run and explore the obstacles of curatorial work."[26]

University galleries have demonstrated the ability to realise the ideals that other types of art museum or gallery promote in their missions – especially their commitment to serve as a

[24] Action galleries, accessed February 7, 2021, http://www.actiongalleries.info/

[25] TAYLOR, Jeffrey. *Visual arts management*. New York: Routledge, 2018, p. 51–58)

[26] Held in the period of November 10–11 2020 under the auspices of the Department of Fine Arts and Textile Design, Faculty of Education, University of Hradec Králové.

source of culture for the public and to make art education accessible. In their programmes, communications and open approaches towards audiences, university galleries are as much an equal part of the creative industries and cultural economy as their public counterparts. In many cases, they go so far as to serve as an additional culture tier, complementing the cultural landscape of their hometowns and communities in a way that public institutions might not have the capacity to do. This may be due to their more informal and open atmosphere and the fact that they have to listen to the needs of their audiences twice as hard, as, unlike their public counterparts, they must struggle to convince visitors of their quality and bust the myth of university galleries being mere training grounds for students, with no cultural relevance of their own. As institutions affiliated to universities, university galleries are arranged in such a way that they can educate their visitors about the basic skills associated with any museum, art museum or gallery, which is visual literacy. The ability to "read" art is rarely intuitive. It requires attention and a level of cultivation.[27] A specific feature of university galleries is undoubtedly their interdisciplinarity, as the plethora of study programmes offered by their home universities often serves as an element of enrichment. Differing views on potential topics or activities bring about new knowledge and opportunities for the creation of joint projects and endeavours, with the university gallery serving as a source of inspiration.

In most cases, university galleries are the first place where students can establish a connection with the academic environment and gallery operations (from the point of view of an artist or gallery worker). Starting from potential students and moving outward to other target groups, university galleries can serve as a point of contact with the university for various audiences by giving the general public a reason to step onto the premises of university campuses, which they would otherwise not do.

Projecting the Missions of Universities onto University Galleries

One more feature that university galleries can benefit from is the academic environment in which they exist, as it gives them creative freedom. In a semi-structured interview conducted as part of my doctoral thesis, Romana Veselá[28] discusses the first, second and third mission of universities and how these tie in with gallery activities.

The mission of education is fulfilled by university galleries in several ways:

a) Academic fields that are directly or indirectly tied to the gallery exist on two levels. The first level gives students a chance to practice working in a simulated gallery environment and apply theoretical knowledge into practice. Students learn how to use the gallery as a tool for educating and communicating with audiences. These academic fields include curatorial studies, arts management, fine arts and education. The second level serves as an opportunity for students to practice different methods of interpretation and use the gallery as one of the many ways to approach an art object or develop new concepts. These academic fields include art history and museology.

b) Education on current global topics and issues is achieved with every single exhibition or its accompanying programme.

c) In line with the mission of education, gallery educators help adapt the potential of an exhibition to convey a message to the needs of different audience segments and age groups.

[27] Boston Review: The Rise of the University Museum, accessed May 13, 2019, http://bostonreview.net/arts-culture/alana-shilling-janoff-university-art-museums

[28] GARTNEROVÁ, University galleries…, p. 68–70)

Important topics are addressed in a gamified form and later contextualised.

d) By providing a platform where different visitor target groups can meet on purpose, they facilitate non-formal and informal education.

e) Individual projects are oftentimes tools for interdisciplinary and intercultural learning.

f) University galleries also play an important educational role in universities of the third age by allowing senior students to stay in close contact with current developments, which are usually reflected very well in art.

The mission of research is severely underdeveloped in Czech and Slovak university galleries. This may have to do with the fact that, unlike many university galleries and art museums abroad, they do not possess their own collections and cultural heritage on which to conduct research. In the Czech Republic, the research outputs of university galleries can be divided into the Register of Art Output (known as RUV) and the Registry of Information About Results (known as RIV). Exhibition-oriented galleries can be involved in academic research in a variety of ways. Primarily, they can serve as a platform for artistic research, since they provide the ideal environment for it.

Contrary to other European countries, Czech and Slovak university galleries have not yet developed a strong and primary connection to the third mission of universities. It is only a matter of time, tempered by their ability to respond to current trends, before these university galleries become strong carriers of this mission. Nowhere else can we find a more ideal place to combine the academic and the public, the formal and the informal and theory and practice, than in university galleries, which are also a hub for interdisciplinary cooperation. It is the unique nature of non–collection-based galleries, which do not center their program around their collections, that provides new options and opportunities in the field of audience engagement and beyond.

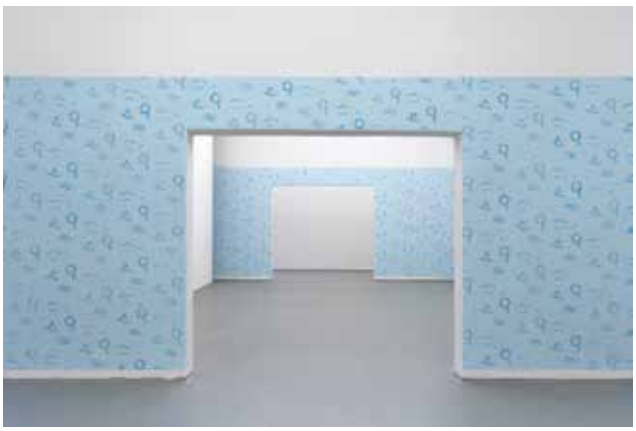

Fig. 5: *FFA Gallery, Brno. University of Technology.*

Audience and Public Engagement

In most cases, university museums and galleries in the Czech Republic still face the issue of insufficiently diverse audiences that are mostly limited to students, educators, researchers or their close friends. In line with today's museological trend of the visitor being an active centre[29] of communication and a co-creator exhibition content and accompanying programs in public galleries, it is necessary to penetrate beyond the academic sphere and make communication and content more accessible and adapted to the general public.

Actively engaging university gallery audiences is indispensable. Cultural recipients evolve in parallel with the transformation of the general public's perceptions. The university gallery

[29] BOLLO, Alessandro et al. *Final Report Study on Audience Development - How to place audiences at the centre of cultural organisations*. Brussels: European Commision, 2017.

setting provides an ideal space for the development and experimentation of communication and audience interaction. Fortunately, the number of university galleries that actively deal with audience engagement – ascribing as much importance to the accompanying programs as they do to the actual exhibitions – is growing quickly, as demonstrated in their strategies, missions and activities; this is the case, for example, with Ústí nad Labem[30] and Zlín.[31] This way, university galleries have the potential to earn their rightful place as institutions participating in the enrichment of cultural life in their communities and contribute towards an increased decentralization of cultural tourism through their activities.

University galleries should stay up-to-date with current trends in museum and gallery practice, turning audience engagement into a mantra of their existence. They must not be afraid of experimenting, whether they do so by changing their opening hours, using new technologies or switching up their exhibition content.

Generally speaking, university galleries all converge on their interest in stimulating young audiences, who do not necessarily have to come from the ranks of students of the respective university. It is in the best interest of university galleries to attract broader audiences, which can even include students of secondary and elementary art schools in the region, ideal for their specialization, or potential university applicants, for whom the gallery can serve as a platform from which the university can appeal to them. It is therefore not uncommon to see university galleries in the Czech Republic and Slovakia adapt a large part of their activities to this target group. Nevertheless, promotion of these activities forms only a small part of the complex approach of university galleries towards civil society. Educating and cultivating young people, connecting them and motivating them to engage in interdisciplinary cooperation, constitutes the bulk of what university galleries want to offer. For example, the Ústí nad Labem House of Arts offers a diverse portfolio of activities in this regard, such as a screen-printing workshop, gallery animations, guided exhibition tours, educational programmes and a sound workshop, to name but a few.

Fig. 6: UM Gallery. *Academy of Arts. Architecture and Design in Prague.*

As far as accompanying programmes are concerned, university galleries are able to cover a wide range of cultural products not necessarily related to the exhibition itself or the exhibition plan in general. University galleries can also organise concerts (UM Gallery in Prague), dances (Medium Gallery in Bratislava), performances (209 Gallery in Brno) and a variety of workshops and lectures covering a diverse range of contemporary issues. University galleries, just as their public museum and gallery counterparts, have already internalised the fact that artwork is no longer the centre of attention of these cultural institutions, as this position has been taken over by the visitor. Extra activities, perceived

[30] Ústí nad Labem House of Arts Faculty of Art and Design Jan Evangelista Purkyne University. Accessed February 13, 2021, https://duul.cz/en/usti-nad-labem-house-of-arts-faculty-of-art-and-design-j-e-p-university/

[31] GARTNEROVÁ, Eva. Přístup k návštěvníkům univerzitních galerií a udržitelnost jejich zapojení. Nenávratné stopy: tradice a udržitelnost jako roční téma galerie G18. In: *Irreversible traces: tradition and sustainability as the annual theme of the G18 Gallery*. Zlín: Univerzita Tomáše Bati, Fakulta multimediálních komunikací, 2019, (p. 225–241)

as a sort of an "added value" by the public, are used to appeal to visitors and encourage them to visit a particular exhibition.

Many university galleries also focus on working with different target groups by preparing specific programmes or appealing to the elderly, disabled or other groups with specific needs. It is, however, safe to say that efforts to engage special needs and minority audiences could be intensified and produce more activities that would increase the social inclusion of these marginalised groups.

Conclusion

Non–collection-based university galleries are a part of academic cultural heritage and deserve to be treated equally to other cultural institutions and collection-based university museums by all potential stakeholders. They deserve to be discussed, researched and exposed much more. To this end, this research paper introduced and discussed the topic of non–collection-based university galleries, one of the first publications with this specific focus in both the Czech Republic and Europe, in order to motivate and inspire other researchers and culture professionals to give the subject more attention and promote the development of university galleries on the levels of awareness, education and research. The study briefly outlined the historical development of university galleries. For the first time in the history of research on non-collection-based university galleries, a typology of these cultural institutions was introduced. Furthermore, the topic of audience engagement was discussed, highlighting the fact that even though these cultural institutions do not possess collections and cannot rely on object-based learning, they can still offer rich and diverse programmes that can contribute to bringing new educational, cultural and entertainment aspects to their public. The underlying survey on which this study is based was conducted by the author in the years 2016–2020, predominantly in the Czech Republic and Slovakia, therefore the study also reported best practices and examples of Czech and Slovak university galleries and their approaches, bringing added value to the field, as little research had been done on the topic in the Central European region.

University galleries help reveal and strengthen the identity, image, uniqueness, significance and also the value of universities. They are a bridge between the academic and the public, performing the role of mediating the university artistic environment to the general public. A university gallery can also express and mirror the historical, cultural or economic context of its university or faculty, as well as the commitment to its vision, mission and philosophy. University galleries can serve as a perfect marketing and communication tool for higher education institutions; apart from fulfilling the third mission of universities, they have the potential to cultivate students, employees and other stakeholders. In their region, they provide a new means of cultural enrichment and contribute to the development of creative industries. They represent a channel that can be used not only by the establishing universities but also by cities, regions or other cultural organizations. University galleries are a phenomenon worthy of attention, and improving their quality should be a priority. I believe that it is necessary to raise public awareness of university galleries as places for art and design that are open to new possibilities. Let us put them on the map of cultural and educational institutions synonymous with success and quality, rather than letting the label of "university" be perceived as another word for "training ground" or "amateur".

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https://artmuseum.princeton.edu/

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UMAC: International council of museums committee for university museums and collections. Accessed July 23, 2019, http://umac.icom.museum/

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Collections Mobility Today: How is the mobility of collections encouraged in Slovakia and Czechia?

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Collections Mobility Today: How is the mobility of collections encouraged in Slovakia and Czechia?
The article is focused on the mobility of museum collections today in Slovakia and Czechia. The paper begins with a brief overview of the first specialist conferences to focus on the issue of collections mobility in Europe. It continues with an overview of present-day information support for sharing collections between museums in Slovakia and Czechia. It analyses the online activities of museums and cultural institutions and currently literature on the issue, as well as changes to legislation which affect the awareness of collections mobility and facilitate the process of loaning collection objects between museums. In particular, it summarises changes to the Slovak Law no. 207/2009 on conditions pertaining to the export and import of objects of cultural significance, which was amended in 2018. The conclusion includes a brief list of the most basic and, at the same time, the latest approaches to collections mobility in Europe.

Key words: collections mobility, collections in transfer, support for collections mobility, collection object, museum

Introduction

The safe deposit and protection of a collection object does not represent fulfilment of its role as a collection object. This state is only achieved after an expert scientific review has been conducted and the subsequent transfer of stored information to a person. Museums have radically changed their approach to their visitors' needs during the last two decades. They are more open[1] and they continue to seek more inventive forms of presentation. But what do museums need to do in order to take better advantage of the power of their collections and to make use of aspects of their collections that have been neglected until now? Overcrowded and unused collection objects located in depositories are not the only reason the mobility of collections is important. Placing collection objects directly in museum exhibitions helps to complete the essential context from which these objects can communicate stories from different points of view.[2] In the twenty-first century, the mobility of collections has started to emerge as one of

[1] An interesting contribution on capitalizing on the received information and cultural values from expositions is available in the following article: BALLARINI, Marie, MOUGENOT, Chloé, PROKŮPEK, Marek. Evaluating the reception of an exhibition: DeTermination at the DOX Centre for Contemporary Art. In: *Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo*, year: 2019, vol.: 7, number: 1, pages: 41-55, ISSN 1339-2204.

[2] MENSCH, Peter van, MEIJER-VAN MENSCH, Leontine. *New Trends in Museology II*. Celje: Muzej novejšie zgodovine, 2015.

the main tools providing visitors with wider access to collections. The journey towards greater collections mobility began with conferences on museology at the beginning of this century which tried to tackle the problems connected to the transfer of collection objects between museums in Europe. The role of museums and their collections in the twenty-first century and support for cultural heritage and its sharing were also themes in these conferences. One of the desired outcomes of these conferences was to develop a manual that summarized the theory of collections mobility and proposed an ideal plan-of-action for the transfer of collections between museums. The first attempts at improving the mobility of collections had also exposed difficulties that needed to be articulated and discussed, as a basis from which to find alternative methods and solutions. The progress made on the issue of collections mobility and the advancement of a shared vision for the current direction of museums was achieved as a result of these discussions, which took place within numerous conferences.

First discussions on the issue of collections mobility

The mobility of collections appeared as a main theme in the field of museology at a conference, held in 2003 in Athens and Delphi, under the name *Enhancement and Promotion of Cultural Heritage of European Significance*. Following this, many similarly themed conferences took place across Europe, and the resulting publications, in the form of proceedings, expert articles and reports, became fundamental documents for the support and realisation of the mobility of collections. One particularly significant publication for the mobility of collections was the 2005 report, *Lending to Europe: Recommendations on collection mobility for European museums*,[3] presenting the conclusions of a working group of museum experts chaired by Ronald de Leeuw, Director General of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. The document may be considered a founding stone of the theory of collections mobility. It presents a list of summarized ideas and information based on previous successful projects and offers practical advice on how to approach mobility.

The major turning point in the mobility of collections came with the rapid developments of 2006. Firstly, several conferences, including the *Conference on Museum Training, Museum Collections and Planning* (Madrid, Spain, Spanish Ministry of Culture) and *Encouraging the Mobility of Collections* (Helsinki, Finland, Ministry of Education and National Board of Antiquities) took place. Secondly, an important document on the mobility of collections, *Action Plan for the EU Promotion of Museum Collections' Mobility and Loan Standards* was published.[4] The last, but nevertheless more important point is the creation of six working groups during the Austrian presidency to facilitate realisation the mobility of collections and find solutions for the problems this entails. The following thematic groups were created: standards (Austria); state indemnity, insurance, immunity from seizure, long-term loans and loan fees (Finland); and building up trust and networking (Germany). Europe has witnessed an expanding trend of conferences thematically oriented on collections mobility in Europe since 2006. Astrid Weij has composed a timeline of important milestones in the development of the mobility of collections based on specialist conferences, expert reports and other documentations, in her paper "Collections Mobility Ti-

[3] *Lending to Europe*. Rotterdam: Netherlands Ministry of Education, Culture and Science. Available at: https://www.muziejai.lt/ImagesNew/LENDINGTOEUROPE_PDF_051105.pdf. The document was created by a working group of museum experts during the Dutch presidency and was approved by EU Ministers of Culture on 23 of March 2015 during the presidency in Luxembourg. The goal was to facilitate the mobility of European collections.
[4] PETTERSSON, Susanna et al. (eds). *Action Plan for the EU Promotion of Museum Collections Mobility and Loan Standards*. Helsinki: Finnish National Gallery. Accessed October 10, 2019, at: https://uk.icom.museum/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/Encouraging_Collections_Mobility_A4.pdf.

meline", which was published in the collection *Encouraging Collections Mobility: A Way Forward for Museums in Europe*.[5]

The essence of these conferences is their effort to divert museums from hoarding and duplicating their collection fund and to lead them to being more open, to sharing, collaborations and mutual trust within the European museum network. Several conferences – their name a clue – were focused on various obstacles concerning increasing the movement of collections between museums. They came up with suggestions and proposed ways on how to eliminate the most pressing problems and make the process easier. These conferences and their documents are considered crucial. They began to form new ideas concerning museology and began to open many questions which changed the dogmas about museums.

The issue of collections mobility had been discussed between museums and in the cultural environment mainly on an international level. Most publications concerning expert solutions and assessments were published in English. In the next part of this article, we focus on the encouragement of collections mobility in Slovakia and in Czechia, considering the sharing of these documents in an online environment and possible translations into Slovak/Czech. We look closely at the changes to legislation pertaining to Slovak and Czech museology with the aim of creating a space from which to form a foundation for encouraging collections mobility in these countries, and for Slovak and Czech museums to participate in the affairs of European museums.

Encouraging collections mobility in Czechia and in Slovakia

The Methodological Centre for Visual Arts Museums in the National Gallery in Prague offers significant support for the mobility of collections by publishing expert documents, creating methodological manuals and helping institutions prepare in advance by introducing interactive forms for institutions to use. On their website,[6] under "Mobility of Collections", all articles clarifying the issue of mobility are available to read, as a primary mission of the Cultural Affairs Committee. One useful article available there is "Art in Motion", by Dr Magda Nemcová,[7] which summarizes the main factors influencing the mobility of collections in the Czech Republic. It also assesses the current situation of collection mobility in terms of legislative regulations. On October 9, 2019, the Methodological Centre prepared a workshop (the second in its series) entitled "The work of a specialist registrar in museums".[8] The aim of the workshop was to clarify the rules necessary for correct administration of a museum exposition, including the rules surrounding the international mobility of collections. A new method for mobilising collections, *How to administrate a museum exhibition*? (published in May 2019) was introduced in the workshop. The publication can be regarded as a manual summarizing basic procedures for the international mobility of collections from the perspective of both sides: the owner of the collection object and the recipient. It is based on some fundamental rules which were the

[5] WEIL, Astrid. Mobilita sbírek – Časový přehled. In: *Podporujeme mobilitu sbírek: cesta vpřed pro evropská muzea* [online]. Český preklad Praha: Metodické centrum pro muzea výtvarného umění v národní galerii v Praze, 2014. Accessed December 18, 2019 at: http://www.mcgalerie.cz/admin/files/pdf/ENCOURAGING-SBORNIK-konecna-verze.pdf. ISBN: 978-80-7035-555-8.

[6] Website of the Methodological Centre for Visual Arts Museums in the National Gallery in Prague: http://www.mc-galerie.cz.

[7] NEMCOVÁ, Magda. Art in Motion. Originally published in: *Ateliér*, 9, 2011.

[8] Information about the workshop is available at http://www.mc-galerie.cz/seminare-metodickehocentra/prace-registratora-specialisty-v-muzeich---workshop.html.

result of work carried out under the European Cultural Agenda 2001–2010 involving the International Council of Museums, and cover issues such as contractual guarantees and common organisational procedures. The name of the workshop raised the question of who exactly a registrar specialist is. There is a section in *How to administrate a museum exhibition?* which bears the same name as the workshop, as well as annexes that include interactive forms.[9] Without these forms, the international loan of collection objects would be extremely difficult. Museums and institutions are responsible for the collection object in the collection fund of their museum. That is why when a collection object is moved outside the museum where it normally resides and out of the country where the museum is located, the museums on both sides of the loan bear an enormous responsibility. The forms ensure that suitable conditions are established for the transfer of the object(s). The basic forms are: facility report, request for immunity from seizure, request for state guarantees – letter of comfort, a condition report and a checklist for the evaluation of collection objects.

Compared to Czech cultural institutions, the websites of Slovak cultural institutions do not strongly encourage collection mobility by promoting awareness of its possibilities. For this reason, I am going to highlight information from the Slovak legislation concerning the import and export of an object of cultural significance, and also some significant foreign publications translated into Slovak which are also available on Slovak websites.

In September 2012, the website of the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic published the *Toolkit*,[10] the final report of the OMC (Open Method of Coordination) Working Group, composed of museum experts from various European Union Member States which focused on collection mobility. This preparatory study, which took the form of a manual, was purposefully oriented on methods to reduce the cost of collection mobility. The Working Group primarily focused on proposing practical steps throughout, from recommendations to warnings about potentially problematic parts of the process. A more common name for the *Toolkit* is the "Set of tools concerning practical ways to reduce the cost of lending and borrowing of cultural objects among the Member States of the European union"[11].

The Museological Committee of the Slovak National Museum (SNM) published a set of methodological instructions for its 18 specialised museums in 2014. The document, "Procedure for temporary export of collection items from the museums of the Slovak National Museum (SNM)",[12] summarizes four essential components of the process of exporting a collection object: i) the export of collection objects within the customs territory of the EU; ii) modification of conditions of temporary export of collection objects; iii) the export of collection

[9] Forms can be viewed and downloaded from the Methodological Centre's website: http://www.mc-galerie.cz/mobilita-sbirek-1/jak-administrovat-muzejni-vystavu---interaktivni-formulare.html.

[10] *Súbor nástrojov týkajúci sa praktických spôsobov zníženia nákladov na požičiavanie a vypožičiavanie predmetov kultúrnej hodnoty medzi členskými štátmi európskej únie* [Toolkit on practical ways to reduce the cost of lending and borrowing of cultural objects among member states of the European Union.] Open Method of Coordination (OMC) Working Group of EU Member States' Experts on the Mobility of Collections. European Agenda for Culture, Work Plan for Culture 2011–2014. [In Slovak] Accessed October, 17 2019 at: http://kultur.creative-europe desk.de/fileadmin/user_upload/omc_toolkit-mobility-ofcollections_en.pdf.

[11] The Slovak mutation of the Toolkit method is available in translation on the website of the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic. Accessed October, 15 2019 at: http://www.culture.gov.sk/extdoc/5846/3_ubor_nastrojov.

[12] Procedure for temporary export of collection objects from the museums of the Slovak National Museum. Accessed October 19, 2019 at: http://www.snm.sk/swift_data/source/odborna_verejnost/dokumentacia/Postup_docas_vyvoz_ZP_SNM_130502014.doc.

objects outside the territory of the EU; and iv) notification of the return of collection objects. This offered basic directions for all museums (not only the SNM) that wishing to organize a loan, reminding institutions that any request to export a collection object must be confirmed by the Director General of the Slovak National Museum and be submitted for approval to the establisher, i.e. the Ministry of Culture, and that for this reason, it is necessary to submit export requests well in advance. On the Slovakian Ministry of Culture's website, under the section "Cultural heritage", is a category "Export of objects of cultural significance".[13] There are two parameters defining the export of an object of cultural significance: permanent/temporary and within/outside of the territory of the European Union. This categorization simplifies the orientation between regulations and directs the user to the relevant guidelines, with individual steps clarifying the procedures for exporting objects of cultural significance in accordance with the relevant legislation. Specific documents for each type of export are available to download, along with an attached description on how to fill out the document correctly. However, documents which are considered a standard tool for collection mobility in European museums, such as the aforementioned "Condition report", are not mentioned on the site. Nevertheless, the law on exporting and importing objects of cultural significance[14] does require the creation of photo documentation and provision of an expert opinion on the value of the object before export. This documentation establishes the initial condition of the object before export, not its condition during the transfer or after it is received by the new host institution. The Ministry of Culture's website also provides no information about other documents which were created to support problem-free collection mobility. It explains the procedures linked to collection mobility only from the perspective of legal norms between the collections manager and the state. A new law entered into force in 2019, "Law No. 160/2018 of 15 May 2018, amending Law No. 207/2009 regulating the conditions of export and import of an object of cultural significance".[15] The aim of the amendment was to improve the conditions governing the protection of objects of cultural significance and to secure suitable expert opinions. One aspect of the amendment was the creation of a new form for permission to export. This document introduced modifications based on international standards, including a requirement for the submission of an expert opinion to support the application. Taking the category of object of cultural significance into the account, the Ministry of Culture must request an opinion from one of the following institutions: the Monuments Board of the Slovak Republic, the Slovak National Gallery or the Slovak National Museum. The amendment to the original law is aimed at making requests for the export of objects of cultural significance more effective.

Immunity from seizure took some time to become part of Slovak legislation. The United Nations Convention on Jurisdictional Immunities of States and their Property[16] was adopted in Resolution No. A/59/38 on the 59th session of the UN General Assembly on December

[13] "Category Export of the object of cultural significance" can be found in the section Cultural Heritage section of the website of the Kultúry Slovenskej republiky website: http://www.culture.gov.sk/posobnostministerstva/kulturne-dedicstvo-/vyvoz-predmetu-kulturnej-hodnoty--2ed.html.

[14] Zákon č. 160/2018 Z. z. o podmienkach vývozu a dovozu predmetu kultúrnej hodnoty a o doplnení zákona č. 52/2004 Z. z. o orgánoch štátnej správy v colníctve a o zmene a doplnení niektorých zákonov v znení neskorších predpisov v znení zákona č. 38/2014 Z. z. a ktorým sa menia a dopĺňajú niektoré zákony.

[15] Zmena zákona o vývoze a dovoze predmetu kultúrnej hodnoty. Zákon č. 160/2018 Z. z., Ref. 13. Available on-line on: https://www.noveaspi.sk/products/lawText/1/90299/1/2.

[16] *United Nation Convention on the Jurisdictional Immunities of States and Their Property* (New York, 2 December 2004); Document OSN A/RES/59/38. Available at: https://undocs.org/en/A/RES/59/38.

2, 2004. Despite having signed the Convention[17] in 2005, the Slovak Republic set a deadline of 31 December 2007 for a government hearing on incorporating it into Slovak legislation. The government hearing on the convention was cancelled a year later by Resolution No. 892 on 10 December 2008, due to technical reasons. The proposition to enact instruments of ratification of the United Nations Convention on Jurisdictional Immunities of States and their Property was adopted by the National Council of the Slovak Republic on June 3, 2015.[18]

State warranty offers significant encouragement for collection mobility. This was incorporated into the legislation of the Slovak Republic under Law No. 207/2009 "On conditions of export and import of objects of cultural significance".[19] The law defines the rules for receiving this type of funding from the state budget in the event of damage that could arise during the transportation of a collection object from abroad to the territory of the Slovak Republic.

Collections Mobility Today

The mobility of collections appeared as a new subject in the field of museology at the beginning of the twenty-first century, especially in the context of museology conferences. The need for new ideas and approaches to collections that could potentially change classical and deep-rooted attitudes about preservation and collecting were the driving force in making collections mobility a common theme within museology discourse. New ideas for the strategic creation of collections have been put into motion in recent years, stepping away from outdated notions about improving museum collections by accumulating objects of cultural significance. European museums' collections are a rich source for learning about cultural heritage and they are the reason for mutual sharing.[20]

This fact is supported by current views on how to direct museums to their visitors. One of the attributes of rating is the visitors´ assessment of the museums activities. It is the quality of museum products, the method of creation of presentations for example, and possible ways of interpreting information.[21] Mobility of collections is a tool for improving the quality and availability of extraordinary collection objects in the museum representation. A collection object enables us to recognize different cultures, ethnicities or religions and even serves as a tool for bringing the cultures[22] closer together.

These days, many experts advocate for greater efforts to facilitate the process of collection mobility. One of the steps towards facilitating the export and import of collections is immunity from seizure. This stipulation is not only designed for museums lending an object, but also for

[17] United Nation Convention on the Jurisdictional Immunities of States and Their Property. Available at: https://www.nrsr.sk/web/Dynamic/DocumentPreview.aspx?DocID=417154

[18] Presentation report. Návrh na vyslovenie súhlasu Národnej rady Slovenskej republiky s Dohovorom Organizácie Spojených národov o jurisdikčných imunitách štátov a ich majetku sa predkladá v súlade s bodom C.1 uznesenia vlády Slovenskej republiky č. 297/2015 z 3. júna 2015. Available at: https://www.nrsr.sk/web/Dynamic/DocumentPreview.aspx?DocID=417153.

[19] Zákon č. 207/2009 z 28. apríla 2009 o podmienkach vývozu a dovozu predmetu kultúrnej hodnoty a o doplnení zákona č. 652/2004 Z. z. o orgánoch štátnej správy v colníctve a o zmene a doplnení niektorých zákonov v znení neskorších predpisov.

[20] *Collections for the Future. Report of a Museums*. London: Museums Association, 2005. Accessed November 3, 2019 at: https://www.museumsassociation.org/download?id=11121.

[21] ELIAŠOVÁ, Silvia. Motívy a metódy výskumu múzejného publika s dôrazom na podmienky slovenského múzejníctva. In: *Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo*, year: 2019, vol.: 7, number: 1, pages: 27-39. ISSN: 1339-2204.

[22] See an article on the presentation of African art: PAWLOWSKA, Aneta. African Art: The Journey from Ethnological Collection to the Museum of Art. In: *Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo*, year: 2020, vol.: 8, number: 4, pages: 161-176. ISSN 1339-2204.

museums borrowing an object, protecting both museums from a third party that could claim rights over a collection item. For example, this would protect an object from being seized by the government of the receiving institution's country which claims historical property rights over the object. It also prevents collections mobility being used as a means to recover objects of disputed ownership held in foreign museums.[23] Another possibility is the absence of commercial insurance. Law no. 160/180 on export and import of an object of cultural significance requires the custodian of a collection to submit an expert opinion on the value of the object before export, on the basis of which the level of commercial insurance can be set. This is an especially disputable subject, as commercial insurance is a well-known cause for increasing the cost of inter-museum loans of collection objects. Expert working groups[24] have discussed ways to get around this problem, including not insuring or reducing the cost of insurance. One solution is long-term loans, which shortens the insurance period to cover the time taken to transport the object. Another solution is to replace commercial insurance with a state guarantee to repair any damage to the object in case of accident.

Conclusion

Cooperation between museums and the encouragement of collections mobility depends on building mutual relationships and trust. Specialist conferences on museology and the work of expert working groups in the field aiming to find ways to facilitate and boost collections mobility have shown that mutual cooperation and the suggestion of individual steps are key to successful cooperation between museums. Thanks to these efforts, a huge amount of experience and relevant information has been collated, leading to the publication of guidelines and recommendations aimed at encouraging collections mobility. Some of these publications have been translated into Slovak and present the right direction towards improving awareness about the significance of mutual cooperation between museums in this field. The paper specifies publications that were also translated into Czech, especially because of the language availability for Slovaks. The fact that the availability of information and support is much further ahead in the Czech Republic than in Slovakia is confirmed by the numerous publications this paper has mentioned.

In Slovakia, insufficient attention has been paid to collections mobility. With the exception of some translated publications, there is a low level of interest from experts, and no uniform manual for museums (except the aforementioned law) exists. The encouragement of collections mobility and exhibitions in Slovakia is worth mentioning and deserving of the interest of experts. The aim of collections mobility is to improve interactions between museums, create friendly museum networks and bring collection funds closer to the public. Collections mobility challenges us to find out whether we know the collection and how we may deepen that knowledge. The mobility of collections demands that we reassess common practices and encourages deeper research into the collections.

[23] WOUDENBERG, Nout van. Immunity from seizure: a legal exploration. In: *Encouraging collections mobility – A Way Forward for Museums in Europe*. Accessed October 10, 2019 at: http://www.lendingfor europe.eu/fileadmin/CM/public/handbook/Encouraging_Collections_Mobility_A4.pdf

[24] Specific problems of collection mobility were discussed by the collection mobility group within the OMC Working Group between 2008 and 2010.

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The Phenomenon of Digital Art as a Means of Preservation of Cultural Heritage Works

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The Phenomenon of Digital Art as a Means of Preservation of Cultural Heritage Works
The constant development of multimedia technologies and, as a result, their rapid spread among countries around the world has been a general trend in digital art in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. This phenomenon, as practice shows, comes out top among other creative activities. With the help of multimedia technologies it is possible to optimize multimedia systems in figurative and meaningful value relations. An important role here is given to the development of a unigue multimedia "language", which harmoniously combines technical, creative and value-oriented components.
This article presents an analysis of the use of the submersive method in solving scenario-design problems for the preservation of elements of cultural heritage through the use of 3D mapping and video projection in exhibition space design and for projections onto the facades of architectural landmarks. The content of such video projections and specific characteristics of the artistic images they draw upon depend on the functional purpose of the context in which the interactive work is presented. There remains a need for greater scientific understanding of the phenomenon of interactive art, in the interests of improving professional design practices in the preservation of cultural heritage works.

Keywords: interactive art, submersive method, exhibition space, design, cultural heritage.

Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, interactive technologies have had a decisive influence on the dissemination of information, the transmission of events by artistic and computer-based means, the reproduction of cultural values and the creation of new spectacular scenarios that reflect historical and cultural events. Solving this problem from the standpoint of the evolution of creative approaches to the disclosure of exhibition material by various means has occupied many scientists. Paul Basu and Sharon MacDonald were actively involved in the problem of defining transformational processes in the formation of the information field of the museum space[1]. The authors emphasize that despite the diversity of the authors' professional experience and the contexts of the exhibitions they write about, there was an extraordinary sequence of arguments and observations in many aspects of their work. The idea of the growing dissemination of the exhibition experiment as attracting the visibility of the exhibition processes themselves is relevant in terms of coverage of experimental interactive concepts. The intensification of the introduction of digital technologies, of course, contributed to the mass spread of interactivity in the creation of exhibition and museum space, as evidenced by a study by Irida Ntalla. Interactive technologies, according to Irida Ntalla, will help improve visitor communication, direct him to active participation within the exhibition space and engage in social interaction[2]. The multifunctionality of 3D video projections – that is, artistic images designed specifically for projection onto a contoured background such as an architectural landmark – and their development both as a means of communication and as works of art, has led to the identification of specific ways to reflect reality and helped to create a "universal" language of design solutions. Rapidly evolving, interactive technologies have intensified the search for new visual means of forming the emotional climate of socio-cultural space through new techniques and ways of synthesizing architectural and natural elements of the urban environment using virtual technologies. The process of forming such syntheses is complex and involves both architecture and design.

In addition, one of the main tasks of today is the digitization of cultural heritage, the use of works of art by means of virtual reality, the creation of cyberspace, modeling projections of 2D and 3D images. All these concepts affect the development of new directions in the humanities, especially in the field of art education, and help to solve important problems of preserving world cultural heritage in the form of virtual tours[3]. An important factor is the presence of the theoretical justification of techniques and the means of taskling the design of special effects in multimedia art. Researcher A.–V. Kerlow describes the fundamental aspects of creating three-dimensional animation, which include modeling, visualization and the realisation of digital works. He shows the directions in which design concepts are implemented in practice, taking into account various techniques[4]. S. Kryvuts' work defines the system-forming factors

[1] BASU, Paul and MACDONALD, Sharon. Introduction: Experiments in Exhibition, Ethnography, Art and Science. In: Basu & Macdonald (eds.), *Exhibition Experiments*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007.

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[4] KERLOW, Isaac V. *The Art of 3D Computer Animation and Effects*. Wiley, 2009, p. 512.

which "… promote revealing of mechanisms of self-regulation within system of exposure"[5].

These should include: 1) elements that determine which parts make up the system itself; 2) the form by which the degree of harmony is revealed; 3) a function that makes it possible to identify the nature of the system as a whole; 4) content that expresses its concept, meaning and purpose. Problems relating to the interconnections between information and communication environments, multimedia design and modern societal culture are considered by researcher O. Shlykova. At all stages in the formation of the artistic image of a 3D-projection, the authors creates the image through the prism of feelings, thoughts, preferences and professional experience. The creation of interactive works of art is based upon the dynamics of their installation, freedom in the composition of the material and the aesthetic significance of each element arising from the professional movement of the camera or change of focus. As for the specific expressive accents, they are provided by the combination of reality and game that is characteristic of 3D projections: the observance of balance in their combination makes the image meaningful. That is, the general concept of 3D-image is of an artistic image-work that has a certain influence on the formation of the audience's impression.

The role of modern 3D video design in society is huge, because video projections perform several important functions: they can be informative, emotional-entertaining, semiotic (symbolic), translational and a function of the aestheticization of both personal and social spiritual space. The weight of the above functions is analyzed in the paper "Cyberspace as a modern form of communication"[6]. The authors emphasize that important steps in the future include is not only ensuring easy access to digital collections, but also bringing about a meaningful change in the services offered by providing the exhibition with more detailed accompanying texts, interpretive or educational interactive presentations. Only in this way, will the virtual exhibition be of real benefit to the general public, and not only for researchers and students. L. Kesner deals with the problem of the quality of visual perception of the proposed exposition material[7]. Observing that modern people are oversaturated with visual stimuli. Given this, attention should be paid to the quality of museum exhibits. The main responsibility should be the professionalism of interactive information services.

Therefore, it is advisable to explore the possibilities of experimental design developments that reveal the content of the exhibition material by artistic means, taking into account the above functions. In addition, it should be noted that the techniques of creating artistic images on the basis of *hyperbolization* fill the modern visual space with effective and vivid artistic-graphic, informational projections. Hyperbolization enhances the impact of the underlying meaning of video images on the viewer from the beginning. The main tool here is a large number of special effects, built on visual illusions that make the viewer believe in the created video projection. Thus, with the help of optical illusions, designers try to build a new reality, to discover a new structure of things, thanks to which it is possible to emphasize the expressiveness and

[5] KRYVUTS, Svitlana and GONCHAR, Olena. Polyfunctionality of 3D videomapping as a new structural model of communicative influence in a design environment. In: *Aktuelle Themen im Kontext der Entwicklung der modernen Wissenschaften: der Sammlung wissenschaftlicher Arbeiten "ΛΟΓΟΣ" zu den Materialien der internationalen wissenschaftlich-praktischen Konferenz,* Dresden, 23 January, NGO "Europäische Wissenschaftsplattform". Vol. 6. pp. 17–19; see also KRIVUTS, S.V. (2015). The role of media design in the formation of the exhibition space. In: Danilenko (ed.) *Bulletin of the Kharkiv State Academy of Design and Arts: Collection of scientific works*, V.Ya. Kh.:KSADA, p. 36–41.

[6] ŽUPČÁNOVÁ, Martina and ŽUPČÁN, Ladislav. Kyberpriestor ako moderná forma komunikácie. In: *Mediálna seba prezentácia a budovanie individuálneho imidžu múzea,* 21, 2014, p. 82.

[7] KESNER, Ladislav. *Muzeum umění v digitální době: Vnímání obrazů a prožitek umění v soudobé společnosti*. Praha: Argo a Národní galerie v Praze, 2000..

informativeness of the environment. As the visual material of some of the spectacular interactive works of art that already exist show, designers use various means of figurative expression, among them:

- reception of colour contrast;
- reception of optical illusions;
- geometric patterns in the form of lines, points, spirals;
- compositions of constantly moving parts.

It should be noted that the visually contradictory configuration of the elements creates a conflict between the actual shape of the architectural object and the shape that can be seen in the video image. Thus, the illusion is created of spatial movement, expansion and merging of forms with the help of colour and tonal contrasts, rhythmic repetitions and intersection of spiral configurations and lines. In addition, 3D video projections can be built that create an interactive show with the participation of viewers. This innovative approach exploits the possibility of 3D-projections to react to the movements of the spectators, involving everyone in the game by means of interactive video control. First of all, there is the effect of presence-involvement, which arises from the great power of involving the viewer in the constructed image design through something that actually happens to the viewer and that has personal significance for him or her. The effect of presence-involvement can virtually unite a huge audience, giving a sense of unity and contributing to a certain form of empathy.

In the creation of interactive works, the function of aestheticization of both personal and social spiritual space is the ability by means of a 3D display to join aesthetic ideas and norms, the ability to shape a person's own aesthetic demand and, due to this demand, to develop an active social position.

It should be noted that the translation function is becoming increasingly popular among modern viewers, because it helps to reveal the boundaries of knowledge and cultural information through the use of virtual reality. The digital art of video projection, where 3D images create the illusion of multidimensional movement through the contours of any surface or around these contours, is becoming widespread. By incorporating this ambitious form of technological art, almost any story can be told using the content of a *historical, cultural or mythical event*.

In today's conditions, modern digital technologies allow the prolongation of the life of any work of art, especially in the case of a museum exhibition or exhibition space. Video projections can most quickly respond to contemporary problems, attract new visitors, expand the range of exposure. The use of interactive technologies to convey the concept of an exhibition is of great interest to professional designers, curators and exhibition organizers. The information function, in this case, involves the development of 3D - human visual culture, which contains a set of qualities aimed at the aesthetic perception of reality and art. In addition, the ability to record and transmit 3D processes in the dynamics only confirms the ability to convey emotional impact, which is widely used to address the educational function, which involves the dissemination of knowledge, skills and ethical norms required of modern person.

The organization of the architectural space design and its author's concept are created with the expectation that the spectators should feel as comfortable as possible on the one hand, and experience the new, the unknown on the other. The concept of forming an interactive work of art provides for the possibility of a consistent and effective "reconstruction" of the original image, which through certain temporal dimensions controlled by the designer, may be manifested through the following characteristics:

- incompleteness, an unspoken plot line;
- the relative destructiveness of composite image presentation;
- transformation of the overall composition of video images;
- the openness of the structure of the architectural space to dialogue with the viewer.

A striking example of the above is the multimedia exhibition "Avant-guard. Space of colours and shapes ", an exhibition on the avant-garde which took place in 2014 at the ART Mall shopping and entertainment centre in Kyiv, Ukraine. Episodes of images in the multimedia performance revealed the art of the avant-garde in all its variety of colours, genres and directions. Works by prominent avant-garde artists such as Amedeo Modigliani, Vasyl Kandinsky and Kazimir Malevich were presented at the exhibition, in a bespoke video projection designed to be projected on the walls of the gallery by means of A-Sense technology (Fig. 1-2). The author of the project created an individual artistic space through the preservation of authentic cultural codes. The main concept is the reproduction of cultural heritage traditions by means of modern visual culture.

Fig.1. a and b: *Exhibition "Avant-garde. Space of colours and shapes", ART Mall shopping and entertainment center, Kyiv (2014).*

The gallery was a huge 200m long multimedia space whose walls were entirely formed of screens. With the help of 52 projectors, the necessary dynamic high-resolution images of paintings by prominent avant-garde artists were displayed. A powerful server synchronized the sound. The innovative creative characteristics, in this case, lay in the ability to reproduce flat paintings in full three-dimensional volume. When forming video projections, light from the

images of the characters of the paintings is easily perceived. Thanks to the accurate transfer of colours and shapes and the effects of light and sound, visitors are surrounded by an atmosphere of complete immersion in the space of the exhibition.

The method of immersion, sometimes called submersion, centres on the effect of being completely immersed in the atmosphere of the era or event being depicted; it is used in the design of an artistic image that includes the viewer's imagination and invites It can be used to express the meaningful scenario of an exhibition exposition by incorporating the spectator into the integrity of the exhibition space. The author's idea is aimed at awakening the live interest of the viewer, to manifest his or her personal experience from the interactive show. It is this orientation of the viewer to the plot of the exhibition and his or her complete immersion within it that distinguishes the submersive method from others approaches. A cognitive interactive story about the characteristics of styles and directions of avant-garde art was presented at the multimedia exhibition, by means of music namely (interpretations of famous classical works, light jazz and modern dynamic compositions) to allow viewers to navigate what was happening on the screens, as well as contribute to the formation of stable value-oriented components.

Given the realities of today, it can be noted that the role of media design as a phenomenon of modern culture is actively growing. Rapid changes in this direction allow us to identify ways to optimize its growth. As shown by the material of the developed project proposals, in addition to the above components, the criteria for evaluating multimedia art in the exhibition system are: script, multimedia communication language, interface, functionality and ergonomics (usability). The system-forming factor plays an important role in shaping the design of the exhibition space with the use of interactive technologies. It affects the quality of interaction in the system "personality - society - culture".

Fig. 2: *Exhibition of works by Vincent van Gogh: Center for Digital Art L'Atelier des Lumièresthis, Paris (2019).*[8]

It should be noted that in the process of creating a design of 3D images, designers seek to enhance the perception of video projections and encourage the viewer to take the necessary action. In this case, the creation of images is solved on the basis of hyperbolization. This technique is actively used by designers from around the world, filling the modern exhibition multimedia space with effective and bright artistic and graphic, informational projections. The technique of hyperbolization enhances the impact of the underlying meaning of video images on the viewer from the outset. In addition, the hyperbolization of video images is characterized by a significant reduction or increase in the size of the desired shape and the number of its parts (Fig. 2).

[8] Accessed March 13, 2020, https://www.carrieres-lumieres.com/en/van-gogh-starry-night [13.3.2020]

Video projections create amazing optical illusions through the play of light and help to expand the possibilities for transforming the exhibition space chosen for the design. Thus, we can note the system-forming factors inherent in media design, which contribute to the identification of mechanisms of self-regulation within the exposure system. These include:

- elements that determine which parts create the system itself;
- the form by which the degree of harmony of images is revealed;
- a function that makes it possible to identify the nature of the system as a whole;
- content that reveals the concept of artistic multimedia work;
- submersion method, which determines the degree of immersion in the interactive world of the video projections.

The authors of the project, possessing professional-level means of artistic expression, harmoniously combine the presentation of static and dynamic information. The ability to work within the compositional parameters of space and time allow exhibition designers to play with the rhythm and pace of the story in a multimedia virtual environment. This approach is typical of interactive art, where the temporal component is more compressed and its speed is many times greater than in reality. The combination of text, graphic language, animation and music - with the help of interactive audio-visual technologies that have the maximum impact on the visitor - contributes to a breadth of coverage that can appeal to a wide variety of target audiences. As a result, the design of the exhibition space, created by means of interactive technologies, is designed to connect all these multifaceted and highly specialized components into a single whole, functionally and compositionally. It is modern interactive technologies that determine the nature and direction of today's mass communications. The influence of digital art affects the processes of translation of cultural values and the task of preserving the works of great masters of the past and present.

The project practice of today's famous masters has shown that in the context of globalization, many professionals and finding design solutions for the visualization of abstract, fantasy-based or realistic artistic concepts and images. The media design of the exhibition space allows the creation of interactive multimedia complexes, spectacular exhibits and interview films. Such exhibitions are full of information for visitors of different educational levels and take a modern approach which, if submersive design methods are used, surrounds visitors in the world of digital art, allowing them to travel in the time through dimensions of the past and present. At the same time, interactivity, which is a unique feature of multimedia technologies, fundamentally changes the viewer's perception of the internal or external space of objects.

It should be noted that among the main digital technologies a significant place is occupied by 3D video mapping. It has become a powerful artistic means of reproducing high-quality animations that transform the image of real architecture into a dynamic virtual 3D environment. Today, thanks to this technology, designers have the opportunity to work on images that can be both simple-abstract and complex-modulated. Masters in this field modulate the design of 3D video mapping, which has its own individual image, using the following approaches: the contextual approach and the ironic-game approach.

Let us consider them more carefully. The contextual approach is based on the interaction of the natural context with architectural or landscape objects and takes into account the following indicators:

- **Spatial openness.** This indicator allows the designer to explore the most important characteristics of the natural or architectural object through 3D video mapping using the

techniques of transformation, modularity and cyclicity (Fig. 3-4). In the examples below, the multimedia video sequence designed to be projected onto the facades of landmark architecture is created as several separate images that enable a stereo effect.

Fig. 3: *Techniques of transformation, modularity, cyclicity in 3D video mapping design. BORDOS.ARTWORKS at Screen City Festival 2013, Stavanger, Norway.*[9]

Fig. 4: *Techniques of transformation, modularity and cyclicity in 3D video mapping design. Stereo 3d mapping at Mapping Festival 2012, Geneva (Museum of Art and History).*[10]

- **Historical context.** The nature of the design concept of 3D video projection is influenced not only by the present, but also by important events of past years. The composition of the 3D image has its own features associated with the geographical, ethno-cultural and other characteristics of the region in which they are created (Fig. 5).

Fig.5. *BYBLOS 3D Project Mapping on the water, Byblos-Jibail, Lebanon.*[11]

A striking example of water video is the BYBLOS 3D Projection Mapping event celebrating the 8000-year history of Byblos-Jibail, a UNESCO World Heritage Site and one of the oldest cities in the world. The 3D-project was intended both to have a positive impact on tourism and to showcase contemporary technological innovations. The design, by Studio Mr. White and Minus5 Architects, gave central importance to the architectural heritage of Byblos, choosing the medieval fortress in the centre of the old port as a medium on which to project specially offer designed 3D video above the water's surface. The narrative concept of the design focused on expressing each historical period of the city, with historical events depicted in such a way as to

[9] Screenshots from video, accessed at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=thCAi3AXBP8, accessed March 13, 2020.

[10] Accessed March 13, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n36cpSmKt1c

[11] Accessed March 13, 2020, https://studiomrwhite.com/8000-years-old-city-celebrates-heritage-and-future/

reveal visually the essence of those times. The flow of plot sequences presented viewers with a series of unexpected visual multimedia compositions while maintaining interest throughout the show.

- **Cultural context.** The main result of this indicator is the ability to reveal the content of socio-cultural reality through the creation of an artistic image of the environment. This task affects the public consciousness of both the designers and the viewer. That is, there is an opportunity to form a common sign system that helps to enter into a dialogue with the viewer (Fig. 6).

Among the masters who pursue continue the theme of how generations connect through historical works of art, it is worth mentioning artist Paolo Buroni, who designs images for projection onto the facades of architectural landmarks in the city squares. He undertakes commissions for events such as the Venice Biennale and has created 3D video mapping for the cities of Budapest, Istanbul, Paris and Seoul. The main idea behind Buroni's work is the use of three spatial dimensions in the interaction between the projected images and the surface of architectural structures. In his video projections, building facades become an integral part of the creative event. Using ancient facades, the artist reveals the content of cultural events, directing the attention of the audience by means of immersive technigues. For example, his annual interactive performance in Piazza di Fabriano, which now in its fifth year, has become a cultural spectacle on an international scale.

The general concept behind the author's 3D images is the creation of an image-work that influences the formation of the audience's impressions and, if necessary, induces participants to engage in certain actions according to a narrative script (Fig. 6). Using collage techniques to create 3D projections from fragments of images, Buroni develops compositions from the paintings of historical masters, reworking them to present new forms and encourage fresh individual perceptions of the historical object. Paolo Buroni calls his work "arte visual", reminiscent of a trip around the world through the past achievements of the works of great masters.

Fig.6. *Interactive performance in Piazza di Fabriano, artist Paolo Buroni.*[12]

It should be noted that the author of the project creates his composition in such a way that the viewer perceives the design of 3D images on the surface of buildings not only in space but also in time, in motion. To see the video images, viewers need to move, to walk around the building, constantly experiencing angles, changing points of view and unexpected expressive images of cultural and historical content. Buroni, through the alternation of pictures, virtually "paints" the route along which spectator move, at the same time permitting their relative free-

[12] Accessed March 13, 2020, http://www.stark1200.com/public/uploads/proiezione_di_immagini_di_grandi_dimensioni.jpg, http://www.stark1200.com/public/uploads/1513012064.jpg

dom and presenting them with unexpected emotional discoveries. Moreover, the author forms projections of images by planar plans which change interactively.

Among Paolo Buroni's latest innovations are the interactive video images at the Diocesan Museum of Venice (2017), near St. Mark's Square, in which he combines video projection, a 3-dimensional soundscape and olfactory effects to present the famous figure of Venetian musician Antonio Vivaldi. Buroni's design concept represents an innovative form of interactive art, a completely new way to recreate cultural heritage. The formation of this composition of images, sound and smells is associated with the activation of memory and imagination of both the artist and the viewer. Premonition of the expected and the surprise of discoveries contribute to the pleasure arising from the 3D video mapping and create unique impressions (Fig. 7). The meaningful openness of this interactive artistic work contributes to the formation of the viewer's understanding of the relationships between code systems and signs, providing a methodical education by means of professional art.

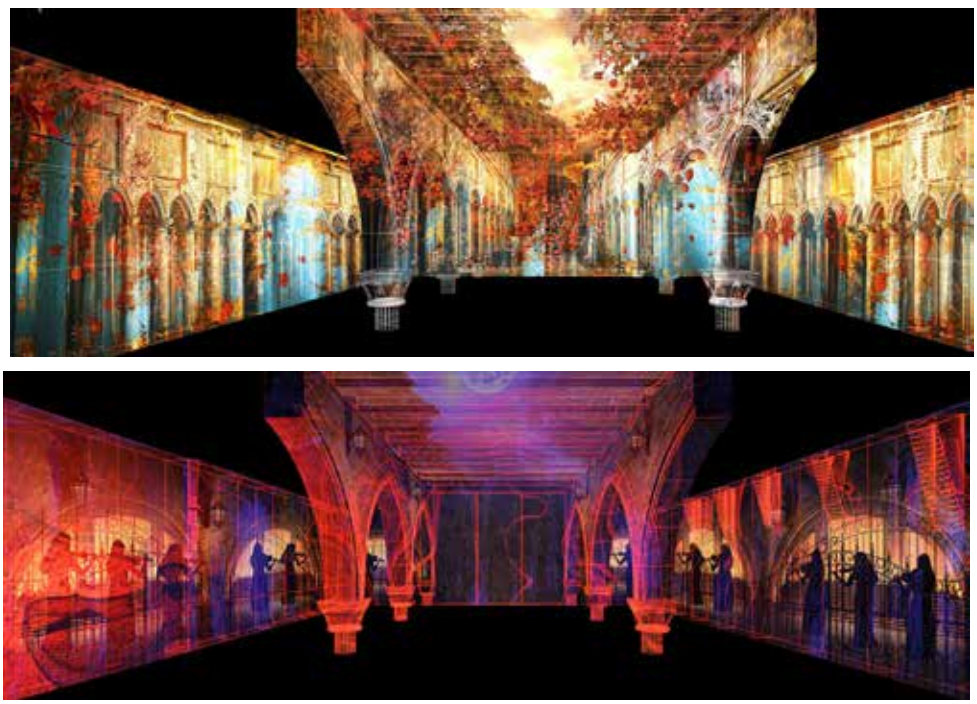

Fig.7. *Diocesan Museum of Venice.*[13]

Thus, the analysis of the above projects shows that in recent years it has become especially important to study the genesis and dynamics of the development of 3D video images in the works of artists from various countries, which can be expressed through the following indicators:

- the expressive plasticity of graphic projections;
- a variety of conceptual ideas;
- an innovative character;
- the ability to interpenetrate spaces;

[13] Accessed March 13, 2020, http://www.centralpalc.com/2017/04/viva-vivaldi-a-venezia-il-primo-mapping-di-interni-al-mondo/

- a strong conceptual idea;
- original ideas about form, space and time.

To fully realise the above tasks professionally, it is necessary to determine the logic of the built museum space, with emphasis on creating images that can display the necessary information in an easily accessible way.

Thus, through interactive artistic images of the architectural environment, socio-cultural reality influences the public consciousness, with 3D video images becoming an important component in the overall composition of the exhibition or museum space, which in turn contributes to updating the cultural and historical content of events and the dissemination and improvement of valuable components of cultural heritage.

Digital art has a huge role in influencing the information of values in modern society. According to the Kryvuts and Gonchar: "…Synthesis of the image of 3D videomapping evolves from the synthesis of sound and images into the synthesis of a new structural model of environmental reflection, which, with the help of multimedia technologies, combines into a single image, document and game" [14]. Multimedia audiovisual tools and technologies have enormous potential in terms of preserving and transmitting cultural heritage. It should be emphasized that the harmonious, holistic combination of multimedia system, in conjunction with professional design solutions for exhibition or museum spaces, is changing the principles according to which exhibitions are perceived, as well as demarking a clear division between author and viewer.

Thus, the development of new methodological approaches to the optimization of media design projects that contribute to the development of multimedia culture and the formation of new criteria for its evaluation becomes relevant. In addition, a characteristic of modern interactive communication systems is that they bring together different cultures and promote mutual understanding between people. Multimedia systems are found in an ever-wider sphere of influence, and this is due to the variety of audiovisual media. Immersive exhibitions directly affect the viewer, changing people's behavior and lifestyle. The phenomenon of interactive systems is such that, by influencing consciousness they form a new worldview and outlook. Digital art, as a communication the culture of today, creates new opportunities for the maximum degree of immersion of the viewer in the interactive world, encouraging him or her to undergo personal experiences. The "social" nature of 3D video images helps to create a new sociotype of person with stable signs of personal perception in modern conditions for the formation of information and cultural space.

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