Interpret Europe’s Conference 2018 was held in Kőszeg, Hungary, from 23-26 March 2018. It was organised by KÖME, the Hungarian Association of Cultural Heritage Managers.

The conference included 85 presentations and workshops from participants, in addition to a selection of study visits. The following participants submitted full papers to be published in the proceedings:

- Esra Aytar
- Ilyas Aytar
- Shraddha Bhatawadekar
- Vera Boneva
- Britta Burkhardt
- György Csepeli
- Luiz Antônio Bolcato Custódio
- Jasna Fakin Bajec
- Stuart Frost
- Aniko Illes
- Istvan Kollai
- Katalin Nagy
- Sheila Palomares Alarcón
- Vaidas Petrulis
- Angela Pfenniger
- Filip Skowron
- Ottó Sosztarits
- Mária Szilágyi
- Saša Tkalec
- Nikolaas Vande Keere

The abstracts of the other presentations are included after the full papers.

All opinions expressed are the authors’ own and are not necessarily endorsed by Interpret Europe.

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The identity concept for Muslim Hungarians and Muslim immigrants in Hungary

Esra Aytar (Hungary)

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Abstract
This presentation is part of ongoing research that will become a PhD dissertation. The paper will focus on inherited and acquired identities. The target group of the analyses covered by this paper will be Muslim Hungarians. The main questions will be whether they integrated their Hungarian and Muslim identity or one replaced the other, what kind of process they have gone through to embrace their identity, what reaction has society had to them and how they define themselves and express their feelings about their identity. The comparison group will be Muslim immigrants in Hungary. The main questions for them will be whether they are integrating their inherited identity to the identity of the host country, what kind of integration process they have gone through, how are they keeping alive their identity and cultural heritage and what kind of problems they are facing in Hungary.

The presentation will compare differences and similarities between Muslim Hungarians and Muslim immigrants in terms of their inherited and acquired identities via qualitative interview. This conference aims to highlight of the importance of the heritage for our future. On the other hand, the heritage is not merely an artefact but there is a kind of heritage within people and within communities and this kind of heritage has been studied by social psychology, sociology and anthropology. The aim of the paper is to contribute to the conference by showing an example of inherited and acquired identities which are part of heritage within people and communities and to discuss how identity and a sense of belonging are a complex and hybrid concept in the modern world.

Keywords
acquired identity, inherited identity, heritage within people, Muslim immigrant, Hungarian Muslims

Introduction
“We know what we are, but not what we may be.” (William Shakespeare)
“We should feel empowered by where we came from and who we are, not hide it. It is important to acknowledge that everything we do affects our ancestors as much as they have affected us.” (Lorin Morgan-Richards)

I have found the above quotes quite useful to make a prologue to my paper and I believe that they provide a good insight into the concepts that this paper will cover. The focus of this paper will be identity and culture. Once upon a time, when anthropology started to make an early appearance as a science - not under the name of the anthropology but as la Société des Observateurs de l’homme1 (Ugo 2011: 4) around 1799 - it was rather easier to study and talk about pure identities and local cultures. Not even going back that far, in the19th century when ethnography made its rise as a study of culture and ethnicities, and nationality movements all

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over the world were initiated, one could have still discussed the ethnic and national identity more easily than today. However, in the 20th century, the easy mobility of large numbers of people, the migration movements, enabled easy and quick movement of ethnicities, cultures, identities, and beliefs. The mobility of these cultures and identities is inevitable because of many economic and social balances in the contemporary world and these issues are not the concern of this paper. However, this mobility establishes an environment in which different identities, cultural backgrounds, traditions and beliefs can meet, interact, conflict, influence, oppress or suppress one another.

Hungary, being located in the centre of Europe, has the characteristic of a transit country between East and West. Apart from that, Hungary has been encountered several times with Muslim countries and Muslim groups during its history. Therefore, Hungary also hosts Muslim residents and there is an obvious increase in the Muslim population in Hungary2. It is also a well-known fact that the current Hungarian government is not so tolerant of immigrants and minorities, especially Muslim ones. There are clear targeting statements from the Hungarian government that indicate the Muslim community as a threat to Hungary3. Although the percentage of the Muslim population in Hungary is not as high as in other European countries, such as France and Sweden, the negative view of the Muslim community is the highest in Hungary among other European countries, according to the research conducted by Pew Research Center4. On the other hand, there are Hungarians who converted to Islam. Even though the number of both converted Hungarian Muslims and Muslim immigrants of Hungary are not high compared to other countries in Europe, their presence and experiences are important to analyse a different perspective of identity, which is the acquired and the inherited identities. This paper will cover the identity concept of Hungarian Muslims and immigrant Muslims in Hungary.

Research question
The paper is an account of ongoing research that explains my journey and my initial findings on inherited and acquired identities. The focus of the present paper will be the Hungarians of Budapest who later acquired Muslim identity.

The main questions for them will be whether they integrated their Hungarian and Muslim identity or one replaced the other, what kind of process they have gone through to embrace their identity, what reactions have they experienced from society and the environment they belong to and how they define themselves and express their feelings about their identity.

The comparison group will be Muslim immigrants in Budapest who moved to a place that has a different cultural and religious inheritance. The main questions for them will be whether they are integrating their inherited identity to the identity of the host country and, if yes, what kind of integration process have they gone through, in which ways are they keeping their inherited identity and cultural heritage alive, and what kind of problems related to their inherited identity are they facing in Hungary.

The presentation will compare differences and similarities between Muslim Hungarians and Muslim immigrants in terms of their inherited and acquired identities. The methodology of the paper will be qualitative interviews and surveys carried out with Hungarian Muslims and Muslim immigrants.

Methodology

“Sometimes it is the quiet observer who sees the most.” (Kathryn L. Nelson, Pemberley Manor)

There is no single absolute truth in scientific and academic studies. One of the founders and fathers of sociology, Max Weber, has argued that nature does not just give us pure facts that are not affected by previous ideas. Our own sets of concepts and judgments clearly shape the way we see the world, the way we observe and give meaning to them. Additionally, he claimed that, “The only way to make sense of things is to understand their meaning for the actors involved”.

‘There is no absolutely ‘objective’ scientific analysis of culture… All knowledge of cultural reality… is always knowledge from particular points of view. … an ‘objective’ analysis of cultural events, which proceeds according to the thesis that the ideal of science is the reduction of empirical reality to ‘laws’, is meaningless… [because]… the knowledge of social laws is not knowledge of social reality but is rather one of the various aids used by our minds for attaining this end.’

As Weber stated above, each research that aims to analyse a specific cultural and sociological context in fact provides a new empirical reality of their own perspectives to the knowledge ocean of the science of the sociology. Anyway, this certainly does not mean that the researcher should just dispose of his or her ideas, ideologies and perceptions as a piece of scientific research. On this step comes the importance of the methodology that will guide the researcher to form scientific research that would fit to the norms of sociology. The nature of the obtained data will be qualitative and the applied methodology will be the grounded theory method.

The classical idea of science and scientific method has been changing day by day. How scientific a piece of research is does not depend on the parameters of the physical sciences but depends on how systematic, credible and convincing the research is with the provided abundant data. The abundance of data is the main foundation stone of the Grounded Theory. The grounded theory operates just in the opposite way of a hypo-deductive method that requires a theory framework at the beginning of the research. However, the grounded theory is a methodology of the social sciences and has its specific system that includes constructing the theory via analysis of the abundant data. Therefore, it is the opposite of the traditional logico-deductive research design (Charmaz: 1995).

Grounded theory is not a brand new or a research design that comes from nowhere. It still has the characteristics of ethnographic and case studies. However, the most important feature of the grounded theory is that it rejects a concrete hypothesis and framework before doing the field research. This is the point that attracts the attention of the new researchers, like me, day by day. From my point of view, having a concrete hypothesis before you gather the data does not really make sense. Having something concrete to look for in the field and to search for the data to prove it does not really seem to be ‘credible’. If you direct your perspective to find your hypothesis, that certainly narrows your research and it is quite possible that this kind of approach will make the researcher blind to the data that proves the opposite of their hypothesis. Therefore, I prefer to use the grounded theory research structure for my ongoing research. On the other hand, I support it with other qualitative approaches, such as silent and participant observation, qualitative face to face interviews and questionnaires with qualitative open-ended items.

Silent and participant observation

As a Muslim myself, I might naturally be seen as a participant observer. However, the characteristics of any religious or minority group does not allow one to easily become part of the group as a researcher and even makes them an outsider in some cases. As part of my research, I regularly visit Muslim associations, basically mosques, in Budapest. I just go there as a Muslim and meet with women, sometimes only observing without any interaction and sometimes

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6 Ibid.
interacting with them without mentioning that I am a researcher. On some occasions, I approach them directly saying that I am a researcher and would like to conduct an interview with them. In some cases, I just sit there and pray with them, befriend some and then reveal my researcher identity and ask them if they would be interested to contribute. In each case, I received different and various feedback or reactions that will form part of the data I will use in the complete version of my research. I have been keeping a research diary in which I am recording every observation, even tiny details I happened to observe during each visit.

**Face-to-face interviews**

I conduct face-to-face interviews wherever and in whichever language the interviewee feels comfortable. The questions of the interviews are not fix and pre-structured. There are the main questions that I intend to direct to the participant but they may all change according to the answers provided by the participant. I ask the interviewee if s/he agrees to voice recording and I inform them that these records will only be listened to by me and that I will preserve their anonymity when the audio is transcribed. If they agree, I record the interview, but if they don’t then I just keep notes and transcribe the whole interview afterwards.

**Questionnaires with qualitative open-ended items**

The research also includes questionnaires with qualitative open-ended items that are handed as a hard copy and distributed online on social media. In some cases, people have refused to complete a hard copy as they considered it as a kind of intrusion to their privacy.

**Comparison of identity concept of Hungarian Muslims and immigrant Muslims in Hungary**

European states have been grounding their identity mostly on national than religious grounds since the French Revolution and the nationalism tides that it brought. National identity is a kind of self-defining of oneself through belonging to a nation. The nation does not have to be purely the same ethnicity or the people of a nation do not need to belong to the same religion. Anderson (1983:5) defined the nation in one of his seminal works concerning national identity, *Imagined Communities: The Origins and Spread of Nationalism* as: “In an anthropological spirit, then, I propose the following definition of the nation: it is an imagined political community -- and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign”©. Hungary is one of these nation states of Europe that based their identity on an imagined political community. In Islam umma is also a kind of imagined community that has a both political and religious dimension. The prophet ensured the unity of believers with the concept of umma preventing the disintegration of the Arabic tribes (Mernissi 1987: 28).  

In this part, I will analyse the concepts that come out from the available data I obtained in this early stage of my research. I will compare the difference and similarity of each concept for Hungarian Muslims and Muslim immigrants in Hungary.

There are several challenges a Hungarian convert would come across when s/he becomes a Muslim. During the initial field research of this ongoing study, I have come across different stories of conversion. Even though there is a prejudice about Muslim women converts and they are assumed to be converted because of their association with their husbands, this generalisation is not exactly the truth in all cases. There are Hungarians, male and female, who decided to convert after their research and their attendance of seminars about Islam. Some of these converts come from religious Christian families, some were religious Christians and were practising their religion up to this point. Interestingly, all the converts that I interviewed or observed either had a religious family or were religious themselves. When they are asked how they would identify themselves, they replied in this order: as Muslim, Hungarian; Hungarian, Muslim; or a Muslim Hungarian. None excluded their identity as Hungarian but all emphasised that being Muslim has a great influence on how they shape their lives and define themselves. On the other hand, during my

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observations or my interactions with them, I always saw their differences among non-Hungarian Muslims. The way they sit, the way they wear their clothes, the way they interact with the opposite sex or the way they talk to their children was always slightly different to migrated Muslims, which in a way reflects that they keep alive their Hungarian cultural and national identity. Nevertheless, they opened some space in their previous identity to accommodate their new identity. For instance, there are Hungarian or Christian values that contradict or do not fit Islam, such as eating pork, drinking alcohol, celebrating Christmas, women’s dressing, male and female interactions. When the inherited identity clashes with acquired identity, in some cases Hungarian Muslims open a space for the acquired identity requirements by quitting the traditions and habits of their inherited identity, but in some cases they make an adjustment, kind of sacrificing a bit from both parts or bringing a new perspective by integrating them both.

To give some examples for each, they may quit eating any kind of meat that is not halal\(^6\) and pork and drinking alcohol, as these acts are clearly forbidden in Islam. However, regarding celebrating Christmas, they do not celebrate it at home but they do not mind if their childrens’ school celebrates it and they mostly don’t consider that it would harm their childrens’ Muslim identity. Regarding women’s dressing, some Muslim Hungarian women choose to cover their hair as it is a requirement of Islam but adopt a more western dress style. Some new converts do not cover their hair but do adopt the practice of conservative dress to cover their body, and some decide not to adopt any specific covering. Islam also regulates male and female interactions; it does not forbid them to interact in social life but regulates how they should behave. Islam prohibits physical contact between males and females who can marry under the law - so not first-rank relatives, such as father, uncle, aunt, grandparents. This is quite a detailed topic that I will not discuss here. Hungarian Muslim women mentioned that they started to be careful about this matter but they find it easier and more natural than some of the Muslim-born immigrants to interact with men, but of course avoiding physical contact that includes hand shaking, hugging or any kind of touching.

Immigrant Muslims also meet a new cultural heritage and environment when they migrate to Hungary from different Muslim countries. Even though they are not acquiring exactly this host country’s culture as much as Muslim Hungarians do when they embrace Islam. On the other hand, they certainly have to interact with the Hungarian culture during their daily life. There are Muslims from quite different local cultural backgrounds, from Turkey, the Middle East, and Africa. Therefore, their integration process or concept may vary in many aspects. One can come across a very highly integrated Muslim immigrant while it is possible to observe less integrated ones or the ones who have hesitation and fears about integration itself and consider it as an assimilation. For instance, an immigrant Muslim could reveal or reflect their Muslim identity in the host country more than their country of origin. What I indicate here is not fundamentalism but a reaction that appears under the fear of assimilation or losing one’s identity. The biggest fear of a practising Muslim is the fear of losing his/her faith or distancing from the faith. The majority of the immigrant Muslims who I interviewed or observed during my initial field research, mostly emphasised their concern about the faith of their children and raising Muslim children in a non-Muslim country. For example, one young Muslim mother from a Middle Eastern country mentioned that she is afraid that her daughter would be like Christians and this is something cursed by the Prophet and another Muslim woman mentioned, in response to her, that it is also suggested by the Prophet that we should have good relations with the people of the Book (Christians and Jews) and she said that your daughter will know she is Muslim but she will be also in contact with Hungarians. There are also the ones who are not concerned about the faith of their children and are not raising them according to the cultural codes of their country of origin. On the other hand, most of them speak Hungarian fluently, have knowledge about Hungarian foods and consume them and these are some indicators of a partial integration.

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\(^6\) Halal is an Arabic word that means ‘permissible’. In terms of food, it means food that is permissible according to Islamic law. For a meat to be certified halal, it cannot be a forbidden cut (such as meat from the hindquarters) or certain animals (such as pork.) [https://www.thekitchn.com/good-question-what-is-halal-me-60979](https://www.thekitchn.com/good-question-what-is-halal-me-60979)
Conclusion
The obtained data from my observations could suggest that Hungarian Muslims are still maintaining a strong feeling for their inherited Hungarian identity even though they make adjustment or sacrifices from it to make room for their acquired identity. On the other hand, it might be claimed that Muslim immigrants construct stronger ties to their inherited identity in Hungary more than they had in their country of origin because of the fear of assimilation or losing their faith. However, one cannot interpret this act as fundamentalism but a mere reaction of an actor when s/he is exposed to a new setting. Additionally, there is a second generation who are the children of mixed marriages between converted Muslim Hungarians and born Muslims. As most of them are born in Hungary but are Muslim-born not converts, they might have both identities integrated better than their parents. However, this analysis presented here only discusses concepts that have arisen from the available data in this early stage of my research. As the research is not yet completed, a conclusive and scientific statement is not yet possible.

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Problematical identity: How do second-generation children in Hungary identify themselves?

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Abstract
This paper gives a summary of my ongoing research about second-generation Muslim students in Hungary. I research their integration into Hungary, their academic success in school, how they identify themselves, and how this bilateral interaction affects both the Hungarian society and the young generation. According to the website of the Hungarian government (kormany.hu), there are around 15,000 foreign children from kindergarten to high school. Some of the children were born in Hungary or have been living in Hungary for years. Some speak Hungarian very well. Some even explain their ideas better in Hungarian than their ancestral languages. On the other hand, some of the second-generation Muslim students in Hungary do not speak Hungarian very well and their understanding of the way of life of the Hungarian people is limited. No doubt, they get input about the Hungarian language in their daily lives - they live in Hungarian surroundings - but, some still need to study the Hungarian language more.

Second-generation Muslim students in Hungary are generally aware of the European, Hungarian identity. They know the difference between the society's culture and identity they live in and their own culture and their identity. Some of them consider Hungary as their 'homeland'. Despite the differences, they want to make their lives in Hungary. In addition, some consider that having an acquired identity of being ‘Hungarian’ is advantageous. They think that having Hungarian citizenship would eliminate any struggle with visas or other official difficulties. Some teenagers want to have a girlfriend or boyfriend, as Hungarian teenagers can freely, but their Muslim family cultural and religious code would prevent this. At this point, there is a conflict between the identity they inherited from the parents - being Muslim - and the identity and culture they currently live in - being Hungarian.

Some, however, consider themselves as 'guests' in the country. They mention that they do not belong in Hungary. They consider their interaction with society as compulsory and temporary. They are resistant to acculturation. They want to protect their own Muslim and national identity. They do not want to be 'assimilated' or 'integrated', preferring to live in their own ghettos.

Identifying themselves is a dilemma for second-generation Muslim young people. They sometimes emulate to describe themselves as Hungarian by means of the acquired identity, sometimes they identify themselves as non-Hungarian. Because of the social pressures around them, they are skeptical about identifying themselves. I will search for the reasons behind this difficulty. I plan to use mixed methods but mainly qualitative methods. I will make interviews and surveys with these students in state and private schools and record videos and speeches. I will also observe some of the children in the context of their schools.

Keywords
migration, migrant students, second-generation, integration, identity dilemma
Introduction
There are many ‘migrants’ in different parts of the world. People move to other countries in order to make their way in life. People who are in difficulty because of wars, conflicts, political crises, lack of health services, unstable economy and lack of regular jobs often migrate to other countries. On the other hand, some industrialised states need employees to fill their labour force. In today’s world, many ‘foreigners’ are coming to Europe. As a result of industrialisation, European countries need a greater labour force. There are many retired and older people in some European countries and so these countries need more employees. In addition to that, Europe has been considered as a safe and wealthy place by ‘foreigners’. Migrants come to Europe to look for a better life.

For the employee, working is the primary concern. However, having a regular job does not wholly fulfil life itself. Working people also struggle with official documents. In addition, some are able to learn the language of the society which hosts them, but others cannot learn this language. Those people live in a kind of limbo: they neither belong simply to their own country nor do they fully belong to the country they live in.

What’s more, working people often have families with children. They sometimes have migrated to another country alone and only later bring their families to the country they live in. Some marry in the host country and for their children, the second generation, the situation is more complex. My main questions in my dissertation are: Who are these migrants’ children? Where do these children belong? Are they native to Hungary? Or are they just ‘guests’ in Hungary?

When it comes to Hungary in particular, there are many debates about migration issues. Nowadays, Hungary is known as an anti-migrant country. There are many news items about Hungary’s attitude toward migration. The government does not accept the migrant quota which the European Union proposes. There are people who see migrants as a treat to their culture and lifestyle. They claim that Hungary belongs only to ‘Hungarians’. These reactions are against the refugees and asylum seekers. However, there is an issue which is overlooked: ‘foreigners’ and their children who have residence permits and have been living in Hungary for years. I do not use the term ‘legal’ for the people who have residence permits because, by the terms of the 1951 Geneva Refugee Convention; no one is illegal. Every human being deserves to live freely.

According to statistics from the Immigration and Asylum Office (Bevándorlási és Menekültügyi Hivatal), there are 163,000 foreigners in Hungary. So, in the coming years, there will be many studies and much research about migrants in Hungary.

The question of identity of the second-generation Muslim children in Hungary
The question of identity is a complex issue throughout. In addition, in the present era, as a result of naturalisation, and nation-state modal, identity became more complex and nowadays the complexity of identity is at its highest level. If we take into consideration the migrant Muslims who are coming to Hungary and Europe day by day, the identity issue becomes more interesting and well worth discussing. Hungary is a nation-state today and Hungarians form the biggest proportion of the population; in addition, the majority of people believe in Christianity. However, it should not be forgotten that throughout history many ethnic and religious diversities have lived in what is today’s Hungary. It may be useful to take into account the effects of their presence. We can identify briefly the ethnic and religious diversities who have lived in Hungary: the Jewish community, Ottomans and Muslims, Arabic people, the community of Roma, Romanian people, German people, Serbian and Croatian people and so on. Today, according to existing official data11 there are 232,751 people who have minority identity and 137,724 of them speak their own language, not Hungarian.

11 http://www.mfa.gov.hu/ last accessed 13/02/2018
When it comes to religious minorities today, 37.1% of the population self-identify as Roman Catholic and fewer than 5% of the population include Greek Orthodox, the Faith Congregation (a Pentecostal group), other Orthodox Christian groups, other Christian denominations, Buddhists and Muslims’.12

There are also people whose ancestors were not Hungarians but today they have ‘Hungarian’ names and citizenship. I think, in the coming years, there will be more studies about the non-native Hungarians. Plus, today, there are many Muslim children from Asian countries who were born in Hungary but are originally non-Hungarian and non-Christian. They interact with society in their early years. As a teacher in an international school of Budapest, I have had the chance over the last two years to interact with and observe around fifty second-generation Muslim students. Most of them speak Hungarian very well, better than they speak their own language. They do not consider speaking Hungarian a problem. On the contrary, they are aware of the usefulness of speaking Hungarian in Hungary. It is a big advantage for their studies and their daily life. But they do not want to forget their own languages completely.

Then, religion is a delicate matter for second-generation Muslim young people. As I see it, they are faithful to the practices of Islam. Girls wear the hijab. They consider covering their body as a part of their identity. Once, one of my students told me her personal experience in a train station in Budapest where a man shouted her ‘hey idiot terrorist, go back to Syria’. She said that she did not answer and when she returned home she cried. Normally, she is a successful student and she is preparing for the competency tests for high schools. She plans to go to university and make a life in Hungary. She does not want to go back to Syria because of the political crises and the war. She says she misses her friends and her relatives but being in Hungary is a better option for her now. She added that her father is preparing the documents to apply for citizenship of Hungary. She said that, although she wants to keep her inherited identity and continue practising Islam as an inherited identity, she would be happier if they get Hungarian citizenship and acquired that identity at the same time.

There is another type of second-generation; semi-Hungarian children. As I explained above, I met with children who are second-generation in Hungary. Around ten of them are semi-Hungarian. Their fathers are from Turkey and from Central Asian countries and their mothers are originally Hungarian. They are bilingual children, they speak Hungarian very well and Turkish quite well; both are their inherited identity. Interestingly, when they meet friends of their fathers, they speak their fathers’ languages - Turkish or Uzbek. And when people ask them ‘What do you feel?’ or ‘How do you feel?’; they identify themselves as Turkish and Muslim. They defend their inherited identity. If a person makes a joke them like, ‘You are Hungarian’, they do not accept that. On the other hand, when those children communicate with their Hungarian relatives, they speak in Hungarian and their relationships seem good. This is now their inherited identity. They have a dilemma about being ‘Hungarian’ or ‘not being Hungarian’.

**Methodology**

In order to gather data for my research, I will apply mixed methods but mainly qualitative methods. Since integration and identity issues are delicate matters, and they are related to opinions and feelings, it would be better to work with mainly qualitative methods. In that way, the subjects of the study may feel comfortable and relaxed, and they may express their ideas and feelings better and in more detail.

I will select 50 students randomly from a mixture of state schools and private schools. They may represent and give general ideas about the second-generation Muslim students in Hungary. To gather data, I will conduct interviews and surveys and interviews, especially, would be very useful for gathering data about their feelings and opinions concerning their own identity. I plan to ask them open-ended questions to try to get them to talk as much as possible. Plus, during the

12 [https://www.state.gov/documents/](https://www.state.gov/documents/), last accessed 13/02/2018
interviews, I will be able to interact with the subjects of the research. It should be possible to improve trust and fidelity. And, as a researcher, I will have the chance to see the interviewees’ gestures and expressions. These gestures and expressions are natural and so valuable in gathering data and understanding interviewees’ real feelings and opinions.

Surveys may also be very useful for my study. I will prepare the questions and ask the interviewees to complete their answers. Surveys have some advantages. For instance, if the interviewees have difficulty in talking about themselves, survey questions will give them a chance to start expressing themselves. Even if the interviewees cannot explain their feelings completely, the surveys help the researcher to understand and gather data about ideas which are close to interviewees’ real ideas.

Then, I will be participant observer for my study. By using the statistics, we may have some ideas about the topic we are working on. However, for some delicate issues, like integration and identity, observations will be very useful. It will be a field-work study and will be a chance to see matters in their own circumstances. Naturally, people-teachers, and students in this context, want to be seen as ‘professional’ or ‘hardworking’. This could be a tricky point for my study. But if they behave as usual, as they do in their daily life, this may provide valuable data for my research. So, at the beginning of the study, I plan to explain my study to them and aim it correctly. I need to convince them that this research is useful not only for social sciences, but also for them to give a voice about themselves. I also plan to express myself to offer my own identity. I am already a practising teacher in an international school of Budapest, and I can understand my colleagues better; we can share our teaching experiences. Also, I have Turkish and Muslim origin and have been living in Europe for more than seven years. So, I understand Muslim students’ concerns and attitudes and the reasons behind them. In addition, I can help to encourage the Muslim children to speak.

Additionally, I plan to make video or audio records. There is a possibility that some teachers or students may not want to talk in front of a camera. I need to convince them of the importance of the study and, in that way, they may join. In any case, some people like to be seen. They may prepare the surroundings professionally and so video recordings will be very useful.

**Conclusion**

At the end of my research, I will analyse the data I collect. The research may provide valuable data about second-generation Muslim students in Hungary. The conflict between inherited identity, being Muslim and Turkish, and acquired identity, being Hungarian and Christian in some cases, will be observed, and better evaluations about the issue will be carried out.

The second-generation Muslim students in Hungary want to keep their inherited Muslim identity. At the same time, they partially want to have their acquired Hungarian identity. In practice, the children have dilemmas about identifying themselves. Hopefully, this research will give clear ideas about their dilemma and help the children to share their difficulties.

As already mentioned, this is an ongoing study and at this point, it is very difficult to foresee the results. The research may also show interesting and surprising points about the children and their identity. I am personally excited about my research, because I share characteristics with the people in this research. I hope that this study, completed as a piece of scientific research, will contribute to the social sciences and will be useful for Hungarian society.

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[https://www.state.gov/documents/](https://www.state.gov/documents/) last accessed 13/02/2018
Railway heritage and identity: Interpreting railways as ‘third places’– a case of the railways of Mumbai

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Abstract
The question of railways, heritage and identity is not well explored. In cities, railways form a lifeline for thousands of people who use the system to commute every day between workplace and home. Where the collective identity of people lies in the case of operational railways is an interesting discussion. How do people use railways? How do they relate to and identify with railways? This needs to be studied, for it would inform how railway heritage is construed and negotiated. This paper attempts to interpret railways as ‘third places’ – a notion developed by Ray Oldenburg – thereby providing a new dimension to understand railways and identity. The research particularly focuses on the railways of Mumbai as a case study and critically analyses suburban trains as third places. It reflects on the role of railways as an ‘anchor’ for community building; the way they create a ‘sense of belonging’. By analysing railways with reference to the characteristics of third places, this research sheds new light on railway heritage, identity and interpretation.

Keywords
railway heritage, collective identity, third place, Mumbai railways

The railways of Mumbai
Railways are a ‘lifeline’ of Mumbai. Every day almost a third of the city is onboard the suburban railways of Mumbai. The number is striking; over 7.5 million people (Rao 2017) traverse daily between home and office using the three lines – central, western and harbour – the three arteries of the city.13

Railways have always been integral to the life of ‘Mumbaikars’ – the people of Mumbai. Since the running of the first railways on 16 April 1853 from Bombay14 to Thana, railways started attracting more business, industries and thereby more people to the city. The development of industries, railways and urbanisation of the city went hand in hand. Railways brought raw material into the city, and new industries were born to process them. At the same time, the railways were further developed to facilitate production and transport produce from these industries. The populace coming to the city in search of jobs needed places to stay, and suburban areas were promoted by the government for these housing needs. These areas were incentivised by providing railway connections (Awasthi 1994: 173). Thus, railways became the most convenient mode of transport for many people to travel between their home and work.

13Map of the Mumbai Suburban Rail Network: http://www.wr.indianrailways.gov.in/view_section.jsp?lang=0&amp:id=0.6
14The British used the name Bombay, which was changed to Mumbai in 1996. For historic references, particularly dating to the British period, the name Bombay is used in this paper.
From the beginning, the two British railway companies present in Bombay – Great Indian Peninsula Railway (GIPR) and Bombay Baroda and Central India Railway (BB&CI) – gave attention to developing suburban services. Subsequently, the harbour line was developed in the early 20th century, which connected both GIPR and BB&CI lines. The dependence on railways kept on growing in the following years. After Indian Independence in 1947, GIPR became Central Railway and BB&CI became Western Railway, with the ownership vested in the Government of India. Managing the harbour line became the responsibility of Central Railway.

Today, between them, the Central and Western railway run more than 2,700 daily services with a frequency of about three minutes during peak hours\(^{15}\). The trains normally have 12 coaches, though some nine and 15 coach trains also run on the lines. The trains with 12 coaches can carry about 3,500 passengers (Aklekar 2011) at one time, though many more travel on one train during the peak office hours. The trains run for almost 21 hours a day, from 4am to about 1am at night. These trains serve more than 100 stations (Bhide et al. 2016: 9) thereby connecting not only Mumbai city, but also the extended Mumbai Metropolitan Region.\(^{16}\)

**Railway, heritage and identity**

The system of railways as heritage is not something that easily comes to mind. Even though the idea of what constitutes heritage is slowly expanding and becoming more fluid, heritage is still largely perceived as testimony to the past embodied in physical remains. As Lauranjane Smith (2006) states, heritage is commonly observed as ‘old; grand, monumental and aesthetically pleasing sites, buildings, places and artefacts’. Architectural, aesthetic values, therefore, take precedence over other intangible values of heritage. Sites like the Taj Mahal and museums are considered places of heritage, but practices like dance and music are not seen through the same lenses. Smith (2006) criticises this material-oriented approach to heritage by designating it as ‘authorised heritage discourse’. She regards heritage as a *cultural and social process, which engages with acts of remembering that work to create ways to understand and engage with the present* (Smith 2006: 2). She emphasises heritage as an *active process and experience*.

Heritage as a process is not just about the past, but looks at how this inheritance is perceived in the present. Heritage is constantly being created, negotiated and attributed meaning through interactions and active engagement of people in the present (Smith 2006).

The railways of Mumbai are a British colonial legacy. The British presence in India led to the development of railways in Bombay less than 30 years after they first ran in England. Though initially apprehensive, Indians were quick to adopt railways. Railways have constantly grown to suit the needs of the time. Railways can thus be viewed as a continuously evolving process. The railways have attracted the attention of writers, poets, painters and film-makers. Railways have become part of many folk stories. This constant meaning-making reaffirms the heritage values of railways.

Railways – The ‘Mumbai local’ as it is called, constitute the heritage of people in a true sense. Numerous conversations, interactions and performances on the railways create, shape and reshape railway heritage. Railways afford a sense of belonging to people. ‘I have to catch the 7.40 local, or 8.45 local...’ People plan their day with railway times. There are specific coaches and groups in trains that people associate with. In this way, railways help to provide collective identity to people.

The term collective identity has been defined in various ways by scholars. Jasper and Polletta (2001) defined collective identity as an *‘individual’s cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution. It is a perception of shared status or relation...and it is distinct from individual identities, though it may form part of a personal identity’*

\(^{15}\)http://www.wr.indianrailways.gov.in/view_section.jsp?lang=0&id=0.1

\(^{16}\)Map of the Mumbai Metropolitan Region showing railway lines: [https://mmrhcs.org.in/index.php/heritage-information-system/overview](https://mmrhcs.org.in/index.php/heritage-information-system/overview)
Melucci (1995) in his essay, ‘The Process of Collective Identity’, calls it a process that involves cognitive definitions...constructed through interaction and comprises different and sometimes contradictory definitions. He further states, ‘...collective identity as a process refers to a network of active relationships between the actors, who interact, communicate, influence each other, negotiate, and make decisions’. He adds, ‘Finally, a certain degree of emotional investment, which enables individuals to feel like part of a common unity, is required in the definition of a collective identity’. (Melucci 1995: 44-45)

Railways bring people from diverse backgrounds together in one place, facilitate interactions and create cognitive connections and help them identify as ‘Mumbaikars’ beyond their individual, religious or any other community identity.

This creation of collective identity is also determined largely by the nature of the railway system. Observing a railway as a distinct place will unfold this process of identity formation. As a connection or transition between home and work, it is possible to view railways as a ‘third place’. ‘The third place is a term used in the concept of community building to refer to social surroundings separate from the two usual social environments of home and the workplace’ (Monti 2017). Ray Oldenburg developed the concept in his book, ‘The Great Good Place’ (Oldenburg 1989/1997). He defines ‘home as the first place and work setting as the second place’. He talks about the necessity of a third place. He writes, ‘...daily life, in order to be relaxed and fulfilling, must find its balance in three realms of experience. One is domestic, a second is gainful or productive, and the third is inclusively sociable, offering both the basis of community and the celebration of it’ (Oldenburg 1997: 14).

Before analysing railways as a third place, it is necessary to look at the concept and characteristics of a third place as described by Oldenburg.

**Characteristics of a third place**

Oldenburg writes, ‘The Third place is a generic designation for a great variety of public places that host the regular, voluntary, informal and happily anticipated gatherings of individuals beyond the realms of home and work’ (Oldenburg 1997: 16). He says that third place is essential in life, but is not given any attention. He calls it ‘people’s own remedy for stress, loneliness, and alienation’. He denotes that these are the places where people are most alive and most themselves (Oldenburg 1997).

Oldenburg (1997) goes on to describe characteristics of third places. For him, the first important virtue of a third place is that it has to be on neutral ground – ‘There must be places where individuals may come and go as they please, in which none are required to play host, and in which all feel at home and comfortable’ (Oldenburg 1997: 22). He believes that this aspect allows for more intimate and informal relations between people than at home. Another feature of a third place, according to him, is that these places are levelers – ‘It is accessible to the general public and does not set formal criteria of membership and exclusion’ (Oldenburg 1997: 24). He feels that, in these places, a person is one’s own self, despite the status they hold in their job or in society. Thus, third places give opportunity to know other people for what they truly are.

Oldenburg gives utmost importance to the aspect of conversation in third places. He says, ‘Nothing more clearly indicates a third place than that the talk there is good; that it is lively, scintillating, colourful, and engaging’ (Oldenburg 1997: 26). Accessibility and accommodation are further virtues of a third place according to him – ‘Third places must stand ready to serve people’s needs for sociability and relaxation in the intervals before, between, and after their mandatory appearances elsewhere’ (Oldenburg 1997: 32). These are essentially public places and thus are accessible. People can choose to go there alone, or with others, sometimes regularly or sometimes not so often. This aspect brought Oldenburg to another characteristic of a third place, which he called ‘the regulars’. He says, ‘It is the regulars who give the place its character and who assure that on any given visit some of the gang will be there’ (Oldenburg 1997: 33-34). He
also says it is typical to observe a number of groups of regulars in third places and newcomers vying for a place in a group. Third places have a low profile. They are rather plain, not fancy places. Third places, according to Oldenburg (1997), are ‘an ordinary part of a daily routine. The contribution that third places make in the lives of people depend upon their incorporation into the everyday stream of existence’. He also adds an aspect of the mood of the place. He mentions, ‘Whether pronounced or low key, however, the playful spirit is of utmost importance. Here joy and acceptance reign over anxiety and alienation’ (Oldenburg 1997: 37-38).

With all its characteristics, Oldenburg believes that the third place becomes a home away from home. Familiarity with the place, feelings of connectedness, freedom, warmth and regeneration are the essential qualities of home, which can be found in a third place too. Though it cannot replace home, the third place can be home-like (Oldenburg 1997).

Oldenburg argued that ‘third places were important for civil society, democracy, civic engagement, and establishing feelings of a sense of place’ (Monti 2017). Oldenburg’s idea of third places was associated with cafes, coffee shops, community centres, beauty parlors, general stores, bars and hangouts, as also mentioned in the subtitle of his book (Oldenburg 1989/1997). The concept has been adopted by many social hangout places. In the book, ‘Introducing Sociology Using the Stuff of Everyday Life’, the authors talk about how Starbucks has used the concept of third place: ‘…the print ad which states, ‘There’s home. There’s work. And there’s Starbucks’” (Johnston et al. 2017: 96). The idea of third place has become very popular and has informed the development of many public settings across the world, including: new libraries in Colorado and at Nanjing University in China; the Kuhnya project in Novosibirsk in Siberia for creating places to gather outside work; and even community gardens in Australia (Nyden et al. 2012: 296).

The same concept is very much applicable to the railways of Mumbai as you can see in the analysis below.

Interpreting the railways of Mumbai as a third place
Mumbai has a unique place in the map of the world. It is an imagery of activism, a constant desire and action to pursue a dream of its own. Mumbai is even today a magnet of the country when it comes to business, enterprise and finance. Mumbai is growing every day, thereby expanding the city limits. People live at the outskirts of the city and have to travel more as businesses are still concentrated in specific parts of the city. It is the extent to which the railway line extends that people commute on a daily basis. Thousands of people commute to Mumbai from smaller cities, like Nasik (circa 170 kilometres from Mumbai) and Pune (circa 150 kilometres from Mumbai). The increase in travel time has led to more dependence on trains as a faster and cheaper mode of transport. People’s lives are so hectic that the only time they get for themselves is during the travel between home and office. Railways have become part and parcel of Mumbaikars’ life and tend to act as third places for them.

A democratic experience: If we look at the nature of trains in Mumbai, there are 12 to 15 coaches in the trains. There are a few first-class compartments, where better seating, of course, comes at a higher cost. There are compartments reserved for women called ‘ladies compartments’. There are also special sections for differently abled and cancer patients and for those carrying heavy goods. In the recent past, some ‘ladies special’ 12 coach trains have been added. This division exists to suit the users of the train. However, this doesn’t hinder accessibility of the trains overall. Trains accommodate people from every class, caste, race and community without any bias. They serve people almost around the clock. Railways, as a system of transport, are formed on a neutral basis. In-keeping with Oldenburg’s description, people may come and go as they please on trains. Buying a ticket is the only criterion to travel on the trains. Trains are all inclusive and act as levelers. Many people who work in the same office travel together in one train. They use their time on the train to talk about their personal life or office life beyond their
routine work. Conversations, reading, sharing about everydayness are prominent happenings on the train journey.

The biggest live meme of Mumbai; its trains: The atmosphere on the trains is very lively and, in fact, quite charming. While the journey is ongoing, the train offers a choice to each one to make of their own. Multiple behaviours can be seen on trains. Reading, sleeping, talking on the telephone, playing games, eating, buying products or produce from vendors (e.g. jewellery or vegetables) – there are numerous activities going on simultaneously. Conversation is a major activity on the train. Discussions about cricket and politics, playing cards and singing songs (bhajans – devotional songs) are common activities in the general compartments. In the ladies’ compartments, personal life, fashion, entertainment, religion, festivals and shopping are often the favourite topics. Women generally look at this place as their third place other than home and work. It is their legitimate space to relax, de-stress from routine and bond with friends. The noise of the passing trains causes a momentary disturbance to the conversations, but this also creates a rhythm, which assures mobility and continuity, and adds to the overall atmosphere.

There are multiple groups of regulars found on the trains. They sing together, pray together, celebrate festivals and each-others’ birthdays. If there is something special cooked at home, an extra portion is carried to share with the train group. There are colour codes followed in the clothes worn during special festivals, like Navratri – the festival of nine nights, where each day represents a different colour. It is this characteristic of imbibing diversity, the eclectic nature of the trains that justifies their character as third places. The interior of the trains is practical, simple, but it is the playful spirit fostered through conversations that brings connectedness and warmth to the trains.

A creator of sense of belonging: People tend to spend more than an hour on the trains to travel between work and home. Their life revolves around the train. Trains create an affinity and sense of belonging and a home away from home. Third places, as Oldenburg mentions, thus become an ordinary part of a daily routine (Oldenburg 1997). “You find a friend in Mumbai’s train and the train becomes your friend”, says one lady commuter, who has commuted every day for the last 18 years on Mumbai’s locals. “It’s my home, actually, as many hours at home, same number of hours I spend in train each days”, says another lady commuter, who comes to work each day from Pune.

Travelling on railways also gives rise to certain behaviours, symbols and rituals. There are specific ways of getting on and off the trains, which invite specific skills. People use handkerchiefs to keep a seat for their friends. There is also a system of code for who gets off where and how a seat could be occupied faster. There are several train-specific coinages of words. In Mumbai’s crowded trains, ‘fourth seat’ is one such word. The seat that is meant for three people is quite often shared by four people as there is no place to sit on a crowded train. Newcomers to the trains have to acquaint themselves with this train-specific behaviour. Once they adapt to it, they also become a part of ‘Mumbai local’.

A feeling of nostalgia can be seen with trains. This connectedness sometimes heightens to such an extent that people celebrate the anniversary of trains – the day when a particular train first ran!

Paradoxically though, there are several stressful experiences on trains, given the number of deaths on the tracks, people falling out of the trains, threatening behaviour towards lone female commuters due to lack of safety, etc. These, too, are part of the life experiences for the commuters of Mumbai. Stress due to overcrowding leading to fights and abuse is also evident. However, these are more understood as some of the perils of hectic Mumbai life than specifically to do with trains. For commuters, trains provide safety, togetherness, a larger sense of community and camaraderie and that matters.
Own space in a place: Contradictory to the above, trains can be places to find oneself. On trains, people find their own solace and enjoyment, they stay in their own zone amidst crowds and chaos. Third places may be viewed as an outcome of individuality. A pioneer of the feminist movement, Virginia Woolf, refers to a need for a room to oneself as a woman to read, write and be. The idea was perceived as radical in the early 1900s. However, the place is the space – moving, providing a rhythm to one’s life, a sort of a conduit to acquiring an identity away from just the ascribed one. Women comb their hair, dress up, shop, eat, chat, sing, read, dance, sleep, watch TV serials on this journey. Many play up and compensate for their desires, many gear up for better role performance, many simply de-stress from daily life.

A provider of collective identity: On trains, people are themselves but, at the same time, they connect with a larger community of fellow passengers; the regulars, sometimes newcomers or even strangers travelling with them. Together, they create and share similar experiences and, therefore, identify with each other as Mumbaikars. There are conflicts observed on the trains too, but these are mostly resolved by fellow passengers, which is testimony to this sense of belonging to a train community. Railways thus help shape and reinforce this collective community identity. The spirit of this collective identity is witnessed also in difficult circumstances, such as terrorist attacks and when a deluge (heavy rains causing floods) hits the trains. This is when the train community members especially help each other, despite their own personal discomfort.

A deeply embedded dimension of heritage: Mumbai’s railways have become a part of cultural living and a lived experience of its commuters. It is indeed a deeply embedded dimension of Mumbai’s heritage. Like an Eiffel Tower or a Qutub Minar stands upright as evidence of a piece of history, the railways of Mumbai are that point of distinction - that the city is not just a megapolis, but also a global city, from the times the trains emerged. An identity, a character that the city derives from the railway, is also offered to Mumbaikars, the fast-paced citizenry, with an infinite tenacity to navigate life through the chaos, rush, inequalities and poverty.

Offers a horizon: A piece of history has something hidden for each one to take. It may be aesthetics or valour or art. You find your own horizon while you view a piece of heritage. Trains and their journeys enable oneself to find one's own horizon, get closer to oneself, develop an insight, gather new courage, form a new perspective, become part of the large mass - it provides plurality of choices and that interactive space is the third place. The interactive space of railway (local), and a space to oneself turns into the third place.

Implications of railways as third places
The understanding of railways as heritage is limited, for it doesn’t always fit into the set notions of heritage. A broader perspective to comprehend collective identities of people, as discussed here, helps understand how railway heritage is deeply rooted in society. Railway heritage is shaped by people’s use, nostalgia, experiences, interactions, meaning-making, and is undergoing constant modification. This understanding of how people associate with trains is important for city planning, transport studies, railway architecture and design, which can take cues from this. There is a growing focus on the importance of third place in human life. In a city with want of space, attention on railways as third places can actually serve as a breather. Where lack of time hampers people’s enjoyment and restricts activities, such as going to bars, cafes, and other social hangouts, railways offer them their own space for enjoyment and relief as a third place.

While developing railways, some critical questions can be asked. How can what we learn from entering a new city (for example, Mumbai is a city of migrants and learning to travel by train is a measure of settling down in the city) be conveyed through the symbols of a train journey? If safety, navigation and purpose are critical aspects of the life of a city dweller, what role can railways, as a part of a city’s precious heritage, play for its citizens? How can citizens be involved in protecting, preserving and empowering the train journey experience? Like rivers that flow, trains flow in the city of Mumbai. Are there lessons to be learned from the rural hinterlands of
India that can be woven into Mumbai’s trains to understand the commuters and build a stronger sense of allowance, space and tolerance towards each other?

These are a few triggers which can be used in hindsight in the discussions about modernising the railway system. Railways are a public transport system and are expected to fulfil the travel needs of people. They act as a lifeline and relate to peoples' lives much more than just a mode of transport. In this scenario, the use of a third place model can help enhance the railway experience, thereby elevating the relationship between the city, society and its railways. This will ensure the ultimate visitor experience, which will sustain fondness towards railways and allow for continuity of railway heritage.

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Bulgaria keeps the memory of the Hungarian Revolution alive: Lajos Kossuth House Museum in Shumen

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Abstract
By the end of 1849, a large group of 1,469 emigrants - Poles and Hungarians - were settled in the city of Shumen. The Ottoman authorities sheltered them temporarily after the defeat of the Hungarian Revolution (1848-1849). The group was headed by Lajos Kossuth. Several months of Hungarians living among the Bulgarians left lasting traces in our society – modern political ideas, new artistic genres, new manners of communication. The Hungarian impact on the Bulgarian Revival society was presented in a museum – the Lajos Kossuth House Museum - in the city of Shumen. The place of remembrance was established in 1949 in the restored historical house which was home to the revolutionary leader a hundred years before. A special exhibition hall was constructed in the yard of the old estate. The exhibition tells the story of cultural contacts between Bulgarians and Hungarians, stretching over the last thousand years. This article discusses the current vision and operation of that attractive topos in Shumen, along with a general view of the presence of museums in our national cultural life.

Keywords
Lajos Kossuth, Shumen, House Museum, Bulgaria, Hungarian-Bulgarian relations, Bulgarian Revival Epoch, Hungarian Revolution 1848-1849, cultural policies

Bulgaria keeps the memory of the Hungarian Revolution alive
The Hungarian revolution of 1848-1849 was a remarkable event of European significance. It marked with blood and fire the will of the Hungarian people for national independence, a modern constitutional state, and removal of the core social injustices inherited from feudalism (Gángó, 2001). The tragic end of the national liberation war pushed out some of the troops and leaders eastward to the Ottoman Empire. The Sultan government sheltered the exiles driven mainly by geopolitical considerations. On 12 October 1849 nearly 6,000 refugees entered the territory of the Ottoman Empire through the area of Vidin fortress. In a few weeks, most of them returned to the riotous lands of the Habsburg Empire (Arato, 2002, 10-11). The rest of the demilitarised revolutionaries were directed by local authorities at the fortress city of Shumen. The head of the group was the most prominent rebellious leader ex-Governor-President of Hungary, Lajos Kossuth (1802-1894). (Chilingirov, 1943, 34-42). Due to his strong political influence, Lajos Kossuth was conceived by compatriots and foreigners as a symbolic continuation of Hungarian national independence (Deák, 2001). Among the emigrants, besides the Hungarians, were a few hundred Poles; they also participated in the revolutionary army (Tóth, 2014).

17 This article presents part of the work on a research project named "Models of Cultural Heritage Socialisation in a "Smart City". The project is supported by the National Science Fund at the Bulgarian Ministry of Education and Science (MES). Project Number ДН05/3 or 14th December 2016.
18 Shumen is the tenth largest city in Bulgaria – 85,685 citizens in 2017. It is the administrative and economic capital of the Shumen Province, located in the centre of the industrial and agrarian region of North-eastern Bulgaria. In the era before liberation from Ottoman rule, Shumen was also the administrative and military centre of the mentioned territory. Here the processes of cultural and political modernisation of Bulgarian people were remarkably intensive in the middle of the 19th century (Andreeva, 2016).
On 21 November 1849, a compact group of 1,469 emigrants entered the city of Shumen. The greater number of ex-soldiers were settled in a tent camp near the barracks of the Turkish soldiers. The officers and other more affluent immigrants were accommodated in private houses – mostly Bulgarian, because of their close religious affiliations (Arato, Djord: 2002, 144-375). The political leader of the Hungarian Revolution, Lajos Kossuth, was staying in the home of the local Bulgarian leader, Hadji Dimitraki Hadji Panev. The house of the Shumen merchant offered all the amenities available to the rich families that lived in major provincial cities in the Balkan provinces of the Ottoman Empire. For this reason, and because of the hospitality of the owners, Lajos Kossuth remained a lodger in the Hadji-Dimitraki home until the end of his stay in Shumen – on 16 February 1850.

During that time, Shumen was a relatively large provincial city. With a population of approximately 30,000, the fortress settlement had real demographic, economic, urban and military strength, supported by a well-populated agrarian region. The largest population in Shumen in the middle of the 19th century was the Thrush people, followed by the Bulgarians – about 8,000 residents. The smaller ethnic groups were presented by Armenians, Jewish and Roma people. The city was also an administrative centre (a sandjak) and a religious centre for the Orthodox population; from the 15th century, the residence of the Metropolitan of Preslav had been established in the city of Shumen. Albeit slowly, in the 1840s, Bulgarians had already managed to strengthen their community. They had the right to manage autonomously their religious, social, educational and neighborhoods' work – of course, in observance of the official imperial order. In economic terms, Bulgarians were the most active, productive and wealthy ethnic group in the city of Shumen (Boneva, 2002).

As a traditionally hospitable nation, Bulgarians opened the doors of its houses, shops and pubs to migrants – not for free, of course. However, our predecessors maintained a certain distance from foreigners. The reason is that the Hungarians and Poles were presented by local authorities as the Sultan’s guests; and at that time political dissatisfaction with the Ottoman government among the Bulgarians was a notable social phenomenon. The language barrier was the next obstacle to good communication. Nevertheless, the four-month temporary settlement of migrants left durable traces in the local communities (Arato, 1999, 54-63). Of course, one of the strongest memories was related to the personality of Lajos Kosshuth. Not by accident, the Museum of the Bulgarian-Hungarian friendship is dedicated only to him. This issue will be discussed later.

It is necessary to note here that the Hungarian influence on Bulgarian society in the city of Shumen is considered as significant in the context of modernisation from a historical point of view. Hungarian and Polish soldiers and officers, accompanied by servants and wives, expanded the influence of European clothing, Western manners and political ideas of nationalism and liberalism etc (Nedkov, 1953). It is considered that migrants provoked the emergence of non-professional theatre and non-professional symphonic orchestration into cultural practices of the local Bulgarian community. Also, some local entrepreneurs learned from Hungarians how to produce beer and spirits. The first casino in the city was organised under the push of foreigners too. The first steam milling machine was also made with the technological assistance of Hungarians. And as can be supposed, in the squares and in the pubs, diverse ideas for society and politics were exchanged – initially in a cautious manner but later boldly. Unambiguous evidence of reported circumstances have been preserved in the memories of local leaders, in the diaries and memorial notes of some migrants, in single drawings and in other historical sources.

Part of these records are important for our historical analysis of the state of the Revival society. One example is that, in his memoirs, published in Budapest in 1878, Shandor Veres wrote: “We went through extremely beautiful areas, again. Only little enlightenment is missing in Bulgaria to be one of the best countries. However, in its current political situation the country will have to wait longer for that. The Turkish people are foreign seedlings. They feel themselves as guests on this territory, do not feel familiarly with this land. It is not homeland for them. So that, without major reforms, this country cannot escape from its century-old stagnation” (Arato, 2002, 344). It is seen
from this that this Hungarian emigrant made not only accurate observations about the local society but also predicted, fairly accurately, some major political trends.

Good memories, new practices and manners, and some of the urban legends were left behind by Hungarians and Poles after their departure on 16 February 1850. The traces left by Lajos Kossuth in a small Shumen society were particularly bright and durable. The very fact that they communicated how a leader of a legendary, rebellious Christian nation strengthened Bulgarian faith in the outlook for political liberation. Although defeated, Hungarian and Polish revolutionaries had not abandoned their ideology of national independence. Their confidence in the better political future of the Hungarian nation had a strong impact on Bulgarian public life (Nedkov, 1953; Herman, 2006; Andreev, 2017).

Vibrant memories from the residence of Hungarian emigrants in the city of Shumen provoked the emergence of a special museum in 1949 – a hundred years after the four-month stay of revolutionary fugitives in the fortified city of the Ottoman Empire. The project received additional impetus from the popularity of the Hungarian Revolution (1848-1849) in the Bulgarian historical consciousness. The socio-political convergence between Bulgaria and Hungary after their forcible inclusion in the Eastern block was an additional prerequisite for the creation of the new place of commemoration in the historical area of this provincial city (Lajos Kossuth, 1999, 15-16). Moreover, the museum’s creation in 1949 was preceded by identification of the house where Lajos Kossuth had lived and by placing a marble slab on it with a memorial inscription. The cultural enterprise referred to was accomplished in 1933 by the Bulgarian-Hungarian association, led by professor Géza Fehér (1890-1955) (Arato, 1999, 104-105; Markova, 2014, 187-2017).

In the changed political situation after the Second World War, Bulgarian authorities decided to create a museum of Hungarian emigration in the house where Lajos Kossuth had lived a hundred years before. In 1947, the urban administration in the city of Shumen bought the old Revival building from the heirs of Hadji Dimitraki Hadji Panev. A number of appropriate artefacts had been collected with the help of the Bulgarian government, local people and the Bulgarian-Hungarian association. The exhibition and the interior design were made by leading artists and historians – the painter Boris Angelushev, the ethnographer professor Hristo Vakarelski, the historian professor Jack Natan and the historian professor Alexander Burmov. The house was completely restored and adapted for museum purposes. Suitable exhibition texts and illustrative materials on Hungarian emigration were prepared in a short time (Arato, 1999, 105).

On 20 November 1949, the new House Museum in Shumen was officially opened. The ceremony became a great celebration of Bulgarian-Hungarian friendship. Influential politicians, academics, artists, writers and hundreds of citizens and students were involved in a memorable commemorative event. The ceremony ended with a festive concert in the local theatre, at the opening of which the Hungarian ambassador, Emánuel Safrankó, said: "By establishment of the Lajos Kossuth Museum you made of Shumen a small Mecca and Medina for Hungarian people. We will come to worship here to revive the memory of our heroic sons" (Petrova, 1979, 4-5).

In the following years, the words of the ambassador came true. In the 1970s and 1980s, the Lajos Kossuth House Museum was visited by approximately 40,000 people annually. Most of them were Hungarians. Meanwhile, the collection of exhibits became richer and more diverse. Nowadays the museum collection is estimated at more than 2,000 exhibits. Some of them are original pieces provided by Hungarian museums. A number of copies of documents and photos were also acquired with the help of Hungarian heritage institutions.

The main volume of materials in the exhibition represents some important lifestyle particulars and facts from the residence of Hungarian emigrants in Shumen. Several personal items are also accessible. Lajos Kossuth’s pipe is shown along with two small portable portraits of the political leader and his wife (Lajos Kossuth, 1999). The photo-documentary part of exhibition is entirely bilingual – in Bulgarian and in Hungarian. English translations are still missing, which is an
obstacle for some foreign guests wishing to appreciate the overall content of the museum narrative.

The Lajos Kossuth House Museum has a second cultural and historical layout which presents the lifestyle of a rich Bulgarian family from the 19th century. Typical of that era are building structures, separation of living areas, furnishing, clothing and bedding, which are accessible for viewing and studying by visitors. Nowadays the ex-residence of the Hungarian political leader is the most impressive architectural artefact from the Revival epoch entirely preserved in the historic centre of the city. With its large and bright living rooms, with carvings and stone fragments, with rational arrangements and with sensitivity to the family’s security, this home tells about 19th century Bulgarian society more than a whole pile of lofty historical monographs (Slavinski, 1949; Popovski, 1978).

A few years ago, the museum impact of the house was reinforced by three human mannequins which symbolised the personalities of the Bulgarian house owners. Dressed in traditional clothes and placed in the living room, the allegorical figures of Bulgarians from the Renaissance era add to the house’s sense of habitation, which strengthens the visitor’s vision of authenticity. A realistic silicone mannequin of Lajos Kossuth is placed in the living room. This symbolic presence adds additional exposure power to the home.

By the end of 1960s, a new museum building was erected in the yard of the old Revival house. Its main purpose was to shelter an additional exhibition on Hungarian history. The idea was also to provide more space for events, educational programmes, official meetings, and public ceremonies. In the spirit of the communist era, the first exhibition in the new hall was named “Hungary on the road of socialism”. This exhibition no longer exists. We have only a few faded pictures of it, memories of contemporaries for its manifestly ideological content, and this short description from the museum’s guide, printed in 1979: “In the exhibition visitors have possibility to become acquainted with contemporary history of Hungary. The narrative starts with the foundation of Hungarian Communist Party, the establishment of Hungarian republic, antifascist struggles of Hungarian people and liberation from fascism; then, the development of socialism is presented. There is a section, dedicated to the Bulgarian-Hungarian friendship, which is strengthening and expanding every year.” (Petrova, 1979, 15). Obviously, the accent is on the communist clichés, but it does not put an obstacle in the way of the Lajos Kossuth House Museum to become the most popular place of cultural communications with Hungarian traditions, language, and history on the territory of Bulgaria at that time.

In the post-communist period, the Museum of Lajos Kossuth remains one of the most consequential institutional points in present-day Bulgaria for sustainable contacts with Hungarian culture, history, education, language, and heritage. Nowadays, the complex is a branch of the Regional History Museum in the city of Shumen (Rumenov, 2014). It is a really exciting place for tourists, mainly Hungarians. The number of annual visits is not as high as it should be – approximately 5,000 per year. One possible explanation is connected to the relatively weak attractiveness of Shumen and its region as a tourist destination. The museum would definitely benefit from more active promotion; primarily through the use of modern digital technologies. It also would benefit from a more solid relationship with some Hungarian heritage institutions – the National History Museum, the Hungarian Ministry of Education and Culture, etc. For the Bulgarians, the house of Hadji Dimitraki Hadji Panev could also be more attractive – because of its unique architecture, because of its Revival warmth, and because of its picturesque furnishing.

The popularity of Lajos Kossuth in Bulgaria is a fact associated not only with the activities of the named cultural institution. In the centre of Shumen there is a bronze statue of this revolutionary leader, beautifully crafted by a Bulgarian sculptor. There are dozens of streets in different towns and cities named after Lajos Kossuth. Several biographical books and articles in Bulgarian are also available for history lovers and for professionals. Generally, the cult of Lajos Kossuth lives in
close parallel with the cult of our national heroes from the Revival epoch – Geogi Stojkov Rakovski, Vasil Levski, Ljuben Karavelov and Hristo Botev.

The Lajos Kossuth House Museum maintains a large variety of educational programmes. Literary readings and creative writing courses are organised periodically. Sometimes teachers from local schools conduct painting and singing classes with their pupils in the museum yard or in the museum hall. Some artefacts of Hungarian culture, language, and heritage are studied and popularised with the typical methods of informal education. Joint activities between the Faculty of Humanities of Shumen State University and the Regional Museum of History are also regularly organised in the museum space. Nevertheless, the high educational potential of this venerable institution has not yet been fully utilised (Arato, 1999, 107-108).

Of course, it is necessary to emphasize the systemic communications between the Hungarian Cultural Centre in Sofia and the Lajos Kossuth House Museum in Shumen. As a result of this creative association, a series of conferences have been organised over the past two decades. Several scientific and documentary books have been published. The new trilingual catalogue of the museum has been prepared and published. Each year the national holiday of Hungary is celebrated with special events – lectures, performances and the presentation of new books and films. In the main exhibition hall, a new permanent exhibition is maintained and popularised. Its storyline is focused on the complex twists in Bulgarian-Hungarian relations over the last millennium. As is well known, in past epochs both nations had complex and difficult destinies (Molnár, 2001; Ilchev, 2005). However, their current position in our common European community is stable and firmly attached to their historical roots and traditions. An indisputable sign of this is our lasting commenoration of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848-1849 (Dowe, 2000) and the Bulgarian empathy towards it, which is carefully guarded in the Lajos Kossuth House Museum in Shumen.

References


Heritage in ruins - Ancient Roman sites and the case of sustainable ruin tourism in Romania

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Abstract
The management of archaeological sites is a field of increasing interest, as evidenced by a growing number of professional conferences, publications and international projects focused on heritage management and site presentation. The past is a cultural construct experienced specifically at certain places or occasions, as said by Cornelius Halter. This paper discusses aspects related to how tourists, local and regional communities perceive ruins, in light of the project of the UNESCO World Heritage Committee to include the Roman Limes on the UNESCO list of protected heritage sites and the endeavours of the ‘National LIMES’ Committee and the ‘Danube Limes UNESCO World Heritage programme’. These concepts are essential in devising adequate methods for managing the heritage significance of ruins, setting proper policies and serving ‘the understanding of the monument’ by all collective groups involved, as a bedrock for (self-)sustainable ruin tourism.

Keywords
Roman archaeological sites, tourism, living heritage, people centric heritage management, integration of community

What is the state of affairs in Romania?
In our country, research into archaeological heritage goes back to the second half of the 19th century. Heritage protection in Romania has a long and substantial tradition. The Commission for Historic Monuments and the Museum of Antiquities, followed by a series of institutions of the same nature, enjoyed major importance from the end of the 19th century until the Second World War. During the interwar period, protection of ruins was established as a formal discipline – similar to the situation across Europe. The enactment of several legislative procedures during the second half of the 20th century represent the starting point, and the groundwork for formalised archaeological heritage preservation practices (Borș 2014:35-45). In its post-revolution period, Romania has in the last 20 years gone from an almost-total legal desert (the early 90s) to having a multitude of specific legislative provisions (Borș 2014: 121-126).

This setback resulted in the adverse situation of the present-day ruin-preservation which often constitutes a rather ill-defined discipline. The post-communist heritage policy followed classic or commonly-implemented procedures, sometimes outdated solutions, characterised by what we may call an architectural habit: it is important to conserve the structure, full stop. For some areas, this persisted during the first decade of the 21st century. Parts of the restored structures suffered deterioration. Although this was a common occurrence in many European countries, in our case the continued use of reinforced concrete damaged by the volume of water, resulted in cracks that allowed vegetation to seep into the structure causing further fracture and deterioration.
Another result of the architectural approach to ruin-preservation is when we strive to pass on a particular aspect of social identity to a visitor or tourist (here it is the Roman cultural identity that characterises the ruins), archaeological finds are often not used to help understanding. They generally either remain in storage (and out of public reach) or they are not displayed, or related to, the remains of the built structure in which they were found. The presentation of relics would enhance the value of the ruin and people’s understanding of it. For example, by enabling public access to remains and associated relics and, at the same time, providing descriptive or explanatory boards are all a ruin needs to boost public interest and engagement. It should be all under one roof, showing how an archaeologist interprets space, function, identity in ancient architecture – for example as an open-air museum often does.

Recently, a couple of similar projects have been launched in Romania, for example the case of the Roman forts of Resculum - Bologa, Cluj County and of Potaissa Turda, Sâlaj. The concept of these rehabilitation projects is promotion and conservation of ruins based on the intention to suggest the original scales of the fortified enclosure – for example, the building density, size and volumetric weight of some structures - as well as to protect and preserve and present the valuable archaeological findings discovered so far (Fodor et al 2016, 19-25).

Until recently, we seldom reflected upon heritage sites from different perspectives and the display of archaeological heritage wasn’t driven by economic, social or educational imperative. A major sense of obligation still falls on the archaeologist, although these projects ought to seek out the perspective of several areas of expertise (Nardi 2010: 1–7, 5).

When considering central-eastern Europe we need to take into consideration the reality that, alongside the majestic remnants of the Mediterranean region, Roman remains function differently and generate different issues, whether we are talking about research or about heritage presentation. Due to the cold climate and natural surroundings, we also have various problems relating to ruin maintenance. As a consequence of the colder climate, Roman structures in our region have disappeared over time, although remaining partly visible during the medieval ages until the 18th and 19th centuries. Much of the building material has been reused by local people over time. With rare exceptions in some parts of central Europe, the legacy of Roman civilisation is a buried heritage. As we find from reading different scholars (Morrison 2009: 20, Jokilehto 1995; Czétenyi & Vukov 2009), European ruin-preservation and conservation policies differ from region to region as each country displays a separate set of problems as a result of the cultural pluralism of Europe and the co-existence of different national legislation which is a major characteristic of the European Union.

Another dilemma of classic, structural ruin protection in Romania is that the preservation has been, and remains, carried out in conjunction with the financial framework of the research project, creating uniformity in the appearance of archaeological sites. According to international practice, interventions should be adapted to the opportunities for each heritage site (Clark 1998; Clark 2000; Gard’ner 2003; Matero 2004; Kelemen 2011) When considering the planning of a project, it is advisable to take into account factors that increase income and benefits: tourism often pays for the maintenance of heritage (Harrison 2010, 17). In Romania, the situation is different: what is earned by the presentation of a ruin, the value of its income, often cannot generate sufficient resources for maintaining the ruin. In order to target the market effectively, you need to know exactly who purchases your products and exactly how to reach them. In this case, we know who purchases the product but the general public in Romania does not show enough interest to meet the economic needs of a site. In many cases, there is no benefit in sustaining an archaeological park. The question is, what is the revenue generator? We need self-sustainable ruin tourism.
Roman ruins and the limited opportunities which they offer

What are ancient ruins? Why do they fall into a separate category from built heritage? An ancient ruin is an architectural structure, characterised by a multiple succession of deposits, resulting in decay and deterioration over a period of time. A ruin can be defined as part of a historical structure or site or manmade construction which has lost its original purpose and/or usefulness, a historical document, which is gradually losing parts of its original structure. This is why, according to international agreement, the process of preserving and revealing value (historical correctness) needs to be based on respect for the original fabric and documentation of its authenticity, in accordance with the Venice Charter. Considering the architectural fabric of any structure, when building material has been used in a physical construction, it is considered a product of human labour (in this case, in the Roman period). Henceforth it becomes an element of history. In consequence, one can argue that restoration procedures, including rebuilding, become essentially futile, because they always alter the original fabric (Burkhardt 2016: 59).

Specialists agree that, when it comes to historical ruins, all essential features of ruins are disrupted if we interfere too much with the architectural fabric.

The most important quality of ruins is that they retain an innate historical character, defined by many scholars, from the beginning of the 20th century (Dehio 1914) by the German term, Alterswert. Simply put “archaeological sites are made over time …” (Matero 2006: 55-64). The customary view sees ruins as being part of the past. We predicate the non-renewability of archaeological heritage and hinge everything on the importance of keeping the original fabric intact. If ruin-presentation practices are to remain in compliance with these accepted realities of heritage preservation, we come to a stopping point: how do we encourage people to reflect upon sites, if they cannot visualise these deteriorated architectural structures in their former grandeur?

Recently, lightweight constructions have developed as an alternative solution to the impediments set in the way of structural reconstruction of ruins. A metal, wooden or even organic vegetation or synthetic frames can replace or substitute for the disintegrated or non-existent parts of a structure. The whole process of reconstruction can be a rewarding research project and the resulting building becomes an important didactic tool for visitors (Nicholas 2009: 36). The disadvantage is that these interventions may not blend well with the historic environment. A bare metal frame filled with rocks may seem a strange intrusion in a stone building. But it represents a ‘restorative’ intervention which is easily set into, and just as effortlessly removed from, the original structure. Although scholars believe it to be the less expensive option, if executed properly, for several Eastern European countries it falls into the category of expensive, if novel, oddity. I have not yet witnessed a single example of it in Romania, although designs have been drafted (series Identitás & Kultúra: Identity & Culture, vol. 1-3).

We must come to realise the fundamental concept of ancient heritage management: the value of ruins is not characterised essentially by appearance but by the meaning we may attribute to these piles of stones and tiles, for example, they are a symbol of (any) society, of the achievement of (any) society. They are a result of human effort in a community long past. I have come to find this to be the key shift in our perspective which is necessary to ensure new ways of ruin-preservation practices in Romania.

The Roman Empire, an extensive political entity, displayed among other qualities, a most effective road system: the Limes (the Empire’s limits, or frontiers) re-inforced border defence and enabled mobility, linking all parts of the Empire with a network of military roads. They consisted of a complex combination of towers, earthworks, fortifications and civilian structures. Taken together, all structures of the Limes form a valuable assemblage of architectural and cultural heritage. The buildings (of any period) have strong ties to their builders, in this case the Roman military regiments aiding the integration of Roman administrative and cultural models. As such, the architectural structures, linked in with the establishment of the Roman fortification system, are strongly defined first and foremost by human involvement. This powerful social aspect of architectural structures extends into issues like the exchange of models, movement and trajectory.
of ideas, typicality versus ‘otherness’, interrelation of local and Roman models, and retains ethnic identity and hybridity.

Re-discovered through archaeological excavation and investigation, the archaeological remains of the Roman Limes reveal several facets of Roman daily life and, most importantly, urbanisation. These architectural remains reflect the versatility of an apparent homogenous Roman identity and also the identity related to the links upheld by a specific social category (auxiliary and legionary troops) to a specific architectural category (public military architecture). They reflect the mobility of knowledge.

Although we cannot describe European heritage policy or what it should encompass, it is safe to say the Roman Limes and their remains represent heritage landscapes of ‘European importance’, and strategies of community-wide recognition are strongly called for.

In comparison with other European regions (Italian peninsula and its splendid Roman remains; the socio-economically different West with its management opportunities, from the point of view of a financial framework and individual possibilities for Roman heritage sites located in the “kidnapped West“ (Kundera 1984, as Kundera insists on the description of Central Europe from the perspective of European identity and culture and the impact of totalitarianism) are burdened by limited opportunities. Ruin presentation as well as site maintenance encounters a different set of problems – as expressed above. One might argue that all this is doubled by the limitations of structural reconstruction policy and the respect of original fabric. In the case of archaeological heritage, the uncovering of ancient structures is a disruptive process. The removal of material that is not part of the original structure further deteriorates the building, allowing no possibility of returning to the original work made by man. In the end, what remains to be displayed for public viewing is hardly a spectacle.

‘Living heritage’ and rejuvenating old ruins
In recent years, the number of sites that have been added to the UNESCO World Heritage List has increased. Their number has not increased because of consciousness of the need to raise awareness and knowledge, but due to the undoubtedly worthwhile material resources guaranteed by a UNESCO-recognised site. Therefore, the primary purpose of many governments is not to achieve better conservation methods, but to attract more tourists (Araoz 2013: 144-154). The authors of heritage maintenance fall into the trap of being too keen to meet the needs of visitors and therefore to try to produce attractions, causing irreversible damage (Szilágyi U.D.: 8).

Nevertheless, in modern day Romania, as in other parts of Europe, tourists are more varied: they are local residents, national tourists, and international tourists, so-called deep and shallow heritage tourists. A site should offer experiences for all types. It is clear that people seek different things when travelling, they are not specifically looking for any educational experience, but visit places for more simple and general sightseeing reasons (McIntosh 1999: 45). This leads us to attempt to create an environment in which there is something to see for everyone, and that appeals both from the perspective of education as well as from plain aesthetic enjoyment.

In Romania, there is a general tendency among professionals to devalue re-enactment or “Kitchland”-like solutions as, for example, Roman days and creative (often regular) workshops at festivals organised for the entertainment of children and family. But is this from the viewpoint of targeted marketing? In the case of ruins and Roman heritage, the authenticity of the remains or the place itself is replaced by the credibility of the tourist experience. The experience often makes a very deep impression on visitors as they will have an opportunity to get an insight into the everyday lives of several centuries before ‘their own time. In this way, often inexpensive workshops are effective and profitable. In the case of incomplete structures, such as the modest wall and arch structures that we encounter in former Roman Dacia, the visitor’s experience is far from unforgettable. In the absence of detailed explanation, the displayed layers of brick and tile can remain meaningless for the visitor. We come to realise that the cultural management of archaeological heritage is closely tied to public education and tourism. We all know that when it
comes to tourism, archaeological documentation hardly has any influence on the public. Public education and museum pedagogy both aid tourism, which in turn helps in creating economic benefit and offers recreational prospects, while at the same time it is key in increasing an awareness of archaeological heritage. In Romania, the neglect of this area of interest is to a great extent due to a lack of proper financing.

Fortunately, new discourse in heritage promotion encourages the idea of rejuvenating structures. As widespread ‘conserve not restore’ philosophy applies, it often conflicts with the policy applied to building in continuous religious or other use which carry out regular renewal. Today it is widely acknowledged that preserving the spiritual values of such buildings is more important than preserving their physical fabric, coining the term ‘living heritage’. But how does this approach apply in the case of ancient ruins? With a true ‘living heritage’ at its core, when we consider the romanticism of the concept that “archaeological sites are made over time …”, a disintegrating ruin itself captures the essence of time passing. I would counter this approach with the recent view. Once something ‘tangible’ is lost, (in this case its structure), the ‘intangible’ (in this case the heritage value, market value or social value of a ruin) may eventually also be lost (Mason 2008: 99-124).

Jean-Louis Luxen discussing how important the way a heritage site is perceived, points out how ultimately the social concept of these cultural properties bears more importance than the object in question (Luxen 2000: 231-233). This value-based approach should be inherent in site-management and ruin-presentation practices also. From the point of view of sustainable tourism, the social value or social identity of archaeological heritage is most important and its applicability in ruin-presentation depends on the way it relates to the intellectual and cultural development of a society and a specific group or community.

These finite resources we call archaeological heritage, which are tapering off at an increasing pace, remain ‘living heritage’ when they enter the custody of a community or group of people, who are engaged in enhancing ‘the past (already existing) and present (gained) values. This rejuvenation process brings dead or outdated structures (which often reflect core values of long gone societies) into a second existence, through the integration of these values into the present community. In this case, history is viewed from the perspective of the present: ‘it is only the assumption of antiquity which matters, not the actual artefact’ (Holtoff 2008: 126). How we perceive the ruins matter. Ruins shown through the eyes of a ‘history curator’ help the audience to understand these incomplete structures of Roman heritage. Along with this perception, we can spiral back to a concept emphasised often in Cesare Brandi’s aesthetical theory where architecture preservation can be considered as a creative process (Brandi 1992: 165). We create heritage, further; archaeological research plays a major role in creating a heritage site (Nardi 2010: 5, Matero 2006: 4, Matero 2008:3). These so-called ‘heritage constructs’ of society (whether authorised by an expert or shaped by public opinion) are often enclosed into existing social identity constructs.

When we start speaking about heritage tourism we should identify the heritage tourist (Dallen 2007: 9) Whilst ‘westerness’ in heritage ideology focuses much more on the material aspects of a place, and sees historical buildings as a ‘deductive symbol with an emphasis on historical legibility’, many non-western cultures have a ‘spiritual’ link to the importance of their past (Wei Ch. & Aass A. 1989: 6). The first leads to a freeze-in-time methodology, presented as such in the Venice Charter, which may not accord well with the non-Western ‘sense of place’.

Returning to ‘heritage constructs’ of society, we should think about the case of the Roman Empire and the whole of Italy; remnant structures of the former great Empire shape to a certain extent the identity of people and vice-versa. Now similarities apply to the case of Romania, but the non-western ‘spiritual’ perception of heritage is obvious when we consider the appearance of the ‘Dacian Sentiment’ in the 18th century and the implications of the theory of Romanised Dacian continuity. In Romanian historiography, the continuity of Daco-Romans and other populations that
have contributed to the formation of the Romanian folk in the Middle Ages is a controversial issue. The continuity of communities in the eastern area of the Carpathian region was, however, repeatedly challenged, during the 19th and 20th centuries. The theory finds its rejection in the vain search for the supposed continuity of Roman cities in former Dacia, where, as archaeological evidence shows, economic, political and administrative chaos lasted for two to three decades after the retreat of Roman troops (Gál 2018).

For a considerable period, there was a relationship of interdependence between archaeology and national ideology, related to the birth of the nation-state and its origin-seeking policy. In the case of Romanian historical theory, being often misused in nationalist discourse may have shaped heritage policies and the category of sites excavated (prevalently Roman). Archaeology from the middle of the 20th century up to the Revolution, similar to the communist historical discourse, followed in its intention to find the origins of the Romanian people and demonstrating the continuity of the Geto-Dacian ‘natives’ in the Roman province, then of the ‘Daco-Romans’ after the Aurelian withdrawal of troops, concentrating on artefacts and vestiges related to the Dacians. In the works of that time, the history of the Romanians began directly with the Romanisation of Dacia (Ștefan 1984: 138). In present day Romania, it is interesting when discussing origins, that individuals may relate to two or even more different historic identities (when including minorities), thus rendering a complex map of the impact which heritage interpretation has on shaping identity constructs in this particular region.

Giving heritage back to the community: People centric heritage management
There is an innate interconnection between culture and civilisation, due to the very definition of culture, which can be seen as tradition that creates cohesion and continuity. Culture is often considered a trait of human civilisation and it is part of society. Society must not be stripped of culture and ‘its remembrance should be ongoing. This is why heritage preservation is important. Culture plays an important role in the formation of society, and, subsequently, how a community relates to ‘its cultural heritage determines that community. This is why the involvement of society into matters of heritage preservation, and further into educating our society on these important issues, is really important.

Although, at first glance, various issues may arise from the various incompatibilities existing between didactical presentation, aiming at the enlightenment of the public, and the fundamental principles of archaeological heritage preservation, such as preserving the original fabric (Matero 2006: 57, Demas 2000), the education and integration of the tourist goes a long way in empowering heritage value recognition. We should opt to produce ‘people centric’ heritage management and integrate the public into ruin-rejuvenation projects in every step of the problem, in a similar manner to human centred design or HCD (Maguire 2001: 587-637). As is customary, museums can become hubs for public outreach and also for collaboration for both local and non-local communities. This approach is, to a certain extent, also reflected in the new visual language of the logo of the National Museum of History of Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca, Cluj (Figure 1). A simple or minimalist representation of Man, the human individual - the centre of the museum’s concerns. The logo, more than mere contemporary cultural marketing, is based on the fundamental concept that such an institution should focus on the past of man and, in this case, the past of Transylvania.
In the case of ruins on site, activities and programmes are added possibilities of establishing public heritage recognition (figure 2). In the United Kingdom, many major management bodies have become so-called ‘educational charity organisations’, which consider execution, and – very importantly – the promotion of archaeological work.¹⁹

Figure 1 – Logo of the National Museum of History of Transylvania

Figure 2 – Example of programmes and activities (Photo: Barabás Ákos, for the online newspaper Székelyhon.hu)

The key is public outreach through measures of public archaeology. In order to establish ‘public-outreach’, we should incorporate the methodology of alternative archaeology categories and practices. Specialised literature identifies no more than six categories of archaeology: professional archaeology conducted through official channels (state institutions); archaeology didactics and pedagogy (museums, publications); open archaeology (open for restoration);

¹⁹http://www.dayofarchaeology.com/tag/publicity/
community archaeology (archaeologists working with the public); popular archaeology (blogs, short-films, websites); and archaeology by the people for the people (historical societies, re-enactment) (Szabó 2017: 18-20). Concerning issues of raising awareness of surrounding heritage, ruin-presentation and the impact on tourism, we should focus especially on the first four categories of archaeology which I believe combine popular approaches with scientific conduct.

This is similar to a management framework that solves the problems by involving human thought and opinion in every step of the problem-solving process (the essence of HCD). In each community, there are people from whom we can gain a historical perspective, valuable insights regarding how the region functions and a better understanding of critical community issues as well of what is meaningful to people. Establishing this at the beginning of the process will help to create a sense of community ownership over heritage.

We encounter similar endeavours in Romania when considering the public debates organised in official institutions by county museums and the Minister of Culture: the Museum of History of Cluj on the topic of reconstructing archaeological sites (‘Arheologie și restaurare. Tentată reconstitucţiei monumentelor antice’) and a series of public discussions upon the failed restoration project of the fortress of Capidava.

During organised open discussions, we should engage in community brainstorming. Archaeology heritage projects should try the implementation of models in community spaces or where members of a community interact, like public cultural and educational institutions.

This stage would include, to a certain degree, the tools of archaeology didactics: lectures, press release and presentations; as well as open discussion held at schools or at public meeting points like the simple town pub. An example for this is the series of public lectures held on the topic of city centre restoration and the project of Saint Michael’s Church in Cluj-Napoca, Cluj County, by research staff (Csók Zsolt, project leading archaeologist; Lupescu Radu, project leading art historian; Felix Marcu, museum manager). The Old Cluj Association, with its series of unconventional stories about Cluj, offered a great platform for presenting information and on occasion they involved younger team-members who made similar contributions to ensure public acknowledgement of the importance of the heritage found in the town’s centre.

Extra-curricular programmes in archaeology organised especially for schools, however, remain a neglected matter in regards of public archaeology tradition in Romania. In view of the lack of methods as well as of trained staff suited to centralised teaching and establishing learning initiatives, the field of archaeological pedagogy is ‘wet behind the ears’, although international specialists agree that one of the most important target and resource groups are young people. Adolescents are an important force for current and especially future heritage protection (Wang et al, 2017: 179-192). In the case of ‘on site’ education, however, Romania has a precedent when we consider excavation camps organised for schoolchildren. These projects fall into the category of community archaeology.

In terms of public education and archaeology didactics, we must not fail to mention the contributions of Cluj County Museum, encompassed in the series of informative articles issued in the Bulletin of the Limes Programme (Figure 3), as well as the archaeological magazine Lustra, issued by the Haáz Rezső Museum, Odorheiu Secuiesc. Both publications are produced on a half-yearly basis and have interactive content, similar to that in the archaeology magazines published in Germany or England which grasp the interest of the general public.

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22 http://www.cikk.20170411_mi_van_a_foter_alatt
23 http://foter.ro/cikk/20170411_mi_van_a_foter_alatt
24 https://limesromania.ro/ro/articole/publicatii
The emphasis is on a seemingly simple thing: information about what we do, what is the value of the ruins discovered. To an extent, ‘ruin pedagogy’ is also about the propagation of archaeological work. In part, a bit of popular archaeology is necessary: the customary focus on promotion but in a modified manner. The troublesome ‘open days’ or Roman festivals accompanied by guided tours and exhibits are customary in Romania. Recently, an archaeological site rejuvenation project hosted by the Mures County Museum met the requirements of broadcasting linked with heritage education in the form of a rather innovative ‘site launch’.25 According to the published press release, a two-thousand-year-old Roman watchtower was ‘liberated’ from shrubs and vegetation on Hagymás hilltop in Ocland, Harghita County. Drones and geophysics helped archaeologists supplement and reconstruct the findings of excavations performed in the 1970s and reconstruct the observation point and set up interpretation panels.

![Image](https://szekelyhon.ro/aktualis/kontinenseket-atvelo-vedelmi-rendszer-egyik-legjobban-megmaradt-lancszemet-tartak-fel-szekelyföldön)

Figure 3 - The Bulletin of the Limes Programme – sample front covers

Jointly broadcasting the ‘life’ of the project by the means of the internet with delivering updates throughout the excavation period, is another regular practice in Romania. This type of action is paralleled by the endeavours of one or two bi-lingual and several single-language webpages and social network sites created and led by the archaeological research teams of the following archaeological sites:

- National LIMES Programme (Felix Marcu, George Cupcea and colleagues)26 and Limes - Frontierele Imperiului Roman in România27
- the 2013-2014 Apulum Mithraeum III Project (Dr. Matthew M. McCarty; Dr. Mariana Egri; Dr. Aurel Rustoiu; drd. Csaba Szabó;)28
- as well as the Roman Limes Route Project29 and Digitizing the Roman Limes. Sector: Brâncovenesti-S耙teni (Mureş county Museum);30
- Castrul Malaiesti Prahova;31
- the ‘Valorificarea si Promovarea Limes-ului Roman Bistrita-Nasaud’ Project;32

26https://limesromania.ro/
27https://www.facebook.com/limesromania/?ref=br_rs
29http://www.limesdacicus.ro/
30http://www.rlrc.ro/
All these projects aimed to deliver public broadcast of work in progress.

Additionally, according to general practice in all European countries, the public can count on the strong presence of archaeology in the local and regional press demonstrated by a series of articles and interviews with the leading archaeologists or museum representatives.

Along the lines of HCD, we should call upon public participation in projects and research as well as record the levels of effectiveness, and deploy community feedback allowing us to produce better solutions together. An important aspect of archaeology didactics, or as I would call it ‘ruin pedagogy’ is understanding why saving these ruins is important. Developing people’s role consciousness as ‘heritage guardians’ happens usually through open archaeology and community archaeology. This expertise of public archaeology is encompassed by the organised integration programmes for each and any systematic excavation, even rescue excavations as well as workshops and training programmes for the general public or for specialists from other fields. The first such public initiative was launched in 1985, at the Arch of Septimius Severus, at the Roman Forum, in Rome, Italy.

The ‘Open for Restoration’ (Matero et al, 1998: 129-142), a valuable effort that focuses on social inclusion and active citizenship, which is based on the idea that the site must become (as part of the community) a part of the tourist circuit while maintenance work is still performed upon the ruin. This type of project unfortunately, does not have a great tradition in Romania when it comes to Roman archaeology. In a few cases, as mentioned, we do have a precedent for educational workshops organised for young people. The ‘open’ pre-restoration research of the Castle of Bonţida, in Cluj County organised by the Transylvania Trust Foundation targeting the newbie specialists and the general public (school system), as well as the research excavations led at the prehistoric site of Bobald-Carei, Maramures County are great examples. These archaeological camps were especially organised for 9th to 12th grade students.

The apprentices are the workforce, the community sponsors the work, and the programme is also supported by fundraising (Nardi 2010: 6). The same can be achieved through inclusion of interested parties in an archaeological research/practical training programme, bearing witness to the discovery of the very ruins they ought to help preserve. Otherwise widespread practices include a simple thing as being part of a heritage building maintenance programme: for example, organising voluntary groups for eliminating overgrown vegetation, or weed killer projects, as well as the construction of a protective roof or shelter for the ruins, like in the case of the medieval fortress of Liteni, Cluj County where a small group of pupils, with guidance from professionals, helped in the removal or destruction of unwanted vegetation, thus contributing to the preservation

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33http://castrul-apulum.ro/ and https://www.facebook.com/castrulroman/?ref=br_r  
34https://www.facebook.com/Limes-Transalutanus-729444053797839/?ref=br_r  
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of the ruin. Various sites in Romania are not kept properly; parts of the restored structures suffer deterioration (often due to visitors) – a common occurrence in many European countries. Outdoor or ‘open air’ heritage, like archaeological sites, are considered particularly vulnerable by heritage specialists. We should give extra care to these ‘living cultural landscapes’ (Matero 2008:9). This aspect of public or local training, even specialised training for maintenance technicians, is important to establish a sense of responsibility.

This perception is in conformity with modern European heritage propagation practices: heritage, although it began as human-centred reality, has shifted away from the modern individual through the technological and digital vicissitudes and progress of the last century. Heritage is self-sustaining only when closely tied in with human individuals.

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The making of the European identity

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Abstract
The paper will deal with the discrepancy between the ‘real existing European Union’ and its social psychological unreality. Results of identity research carried out on individual national representative samples demonstrate the prevalence of national identification over European identification in the populations of the member states. This result is proof that, in the course of building the European Union, identity matters were neglected. European identity, however, will not be built spontaneously. It must be made in the way national identities had been built in the individual nations of Europe. European identity cannot be conceived without the values stemming from the common European heritage. The new Europe has to return to the exceptional take off of the ‘Occidens’ that was built from below creating the circles of freedom that prevented the concentration of power and provided a counterweight to the brutality of subordination. Europe cannot exist without Europeans who should be educated.

Keywords
European identity

The making of the European identity
According to Herodotus, ‘history is the teacher of life’, but the truth of this saying has mostly remained unfulfilled. One rare exception was at the end of World War II, when the leaders of defeated Germany (i.e. its western part that stayed free), Italy and France, which became a consolation ‘winner’, decided that enough was enough of the repeatedly zero result games between the nations of Europe. The French, Italian and German politicians then realised that, after repeated wars, each nation had become weaker than it was before.

Common sense interest dictated that European nations should agree with each other and create the space for non-zero-result games, to which, having joined - even if not equally - every participant would be better off.

Europe had no other choice if it did not want to engage in subordinate roles in the order ruled by the two absolute winners of the World War; the rule of the United States of America and that of the Soviet Union. The small Central and Eastern European nation states, liberated by the Soviet Union east of the Elba and the Leitha, had no choice. They all came under the Soviet influence zone. With the exception of Austria, which was released in 1955, the Eastern European countries and the ‘German Democratic Republic’, formed hastily in the eastern part of Germany, irrespective of which side they had been on at the end of the World War, received the same prize or punishment. They all lost their national sovereignty. Only Yugoslavia was left out of the line. Later, Albania and Romania were also released, but the regained sovereignty furnished a basis for a cruel dictatorship in both fugitives.

Seeing the aggressive expansion of the Soviet Union, the situation was different in Western Europe. As Hitler had foreseen, the United States and Great Britain turned against their former
ally and became the enemy of the Soviet Union, while they became allies with their former enemies, Italy and Germany. The Cold War, which ran for more than four decades, had begun.

The United States, unlike the Soviet Union, did not subjugate the liberated Western European countries and thus did not prevent them from following the decision of the leaders of Western European nations born in 1945, i.e. to put an end to the repeated wars between the European nations in the past centuries and to join forces in order to survive.

As the first step of joining forces, on 18 April 1951, the leaders of six Western European countries signed the treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community, aiming to remove the strategically important coal and steel industry from nation-state control and place it under joined control. The decision and the act could not have been created had there not been such great democratic politicians like the French, Jean Monnet, the German, Konrad Adenauer, the German-French, Robert Schumann, the Dutch, Paul Henri Spaak, or the Italian, Alcide de Gasperi.

Six years had passed and the six countries that signed the Paris Treaty (Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy) entered into a new contract in Rome on 25 March 1957, which expanded the so far modest co-operation and established the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom). After less than ten years, the cooperating European countries set up the European Communities, bringing together the former three communities into one organisation.

The organisation of the Communities grew wider in 1973 with the accession of Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom. Growth was ongoing in later years. Greece became a member in 1981, Spain and Portugal became members in 1986.

The Cold War ended in 1989 with the total defeat of the Soviet Union. The small states in Central and Eastern Europe regained their sovereignty. This opened up the opportunity for Europe with the Iron Curtain to unite. It was not long before this opportunity came true. With the merger of Germany, in 1990, the former German Democratic Republic automatically became part of the merger.

With a view to deepening economic and political integration in Maastricht on 12 February 1992, the members of the Communities established the European Union with effect from 1 November 1993, and Austria, Sweden and Finland joined in 1995. On 1 May 2004, ten countries joined (Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Malta, Slovakia, Slovenia) at the same time. Two years later, Romania and Bulgaria became members. The newest member is Croatia, which joined in 2013. On June 23, 2016, the UK held a referendum and, by a slim majority, decided to leave the Union.

The Member States signed a convention in Schengen in 1985 which allowed citizens of the Member States to travel from one country to another without border control. The European flag was first used as a symbol of the European Communities in 1986. The Council of Europe chose Beethoven's Ode to Joy in 1972 as its anthem, and in 1985 the EU leaders made it the official anthem of the European Union.

Following the entry of the Central and Eastern European countries, the Lisbon Treaty was launched in 2007, which entered into force in 2009. The European Union received a single legal personality from the Treaty. The legal personality mixes over-nationalities and inter-government elements. There are areas where decisions are taken on the basis of negotiation between the governments of the Member States, but there are also areas that are the responsibility of independent institutions above the Member States. In 2002, twelve Member States introduced a common currency called the Euro, which has since replaced the national currency in six new Member States. It is still an open question what will happen to those countries that are permanently outside of the Eurozone.
Among the leading bodies of the European Union are the Council of the European Union, the European Commission and the European Council. There is a European Court of Justice and a European Central Bank. Members of the European Parliament are elected for a period of five years by voters living in the Member States, who are also EU citizens. However, the Parliament has a very limited influence on the functioning of the European Union.

If we only consider the timetable, the European Union is a success story. However, the success of the past is no longer sufficient for success to continue. As a result of the growth in the number of Member States, the institutions responsible for managing the Union are unable to fulfil their tasks. The 2016 migration crisis has only overturned the disruption of the unduly complicated decision-making mechanisms. In the eyes of the external viewer, the EU is characterised by uncontrollability, slow reaction, indecision and aimlessness. Although there are leaders in each European leadership (Council, Commission, European Parliament), there is still no answer to Kissinger's famous question: 'If I want to talk to Europe, who should I call?'

The ambitious plans and decisions have remained empty words. Who remembers now the strategy adopted at the European Summit in Lisbon in 2000 envisaging reforms aimed at the global competitiveness of the European Union? The focus of these reforms was on R&D, innovation and info-communication. The Summit of the Member States' Heads of State and Government aimed at the goal of achieving sustainable economic growth by 2010 by 'the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion'. This target had not been met by 2010, and will not be met by 2020 either. The European Union has not become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based society in the world.

Seeing the success of the Union as a bureaucratic, over-organised political and economic project, it must not be forgotten that the unity remains fragile without social psychological foundation. The governance of EU Member States is democratic, but the democratic legitimacy of the Union as a legal personality can be questioned.

The European Union has come to a crossroads. One possibility is that today's loose, tangled frames will be kept, and the Union as a customs union will continue to be an actor in the world order, slowly but surely becoming a 'skanzen' (losing its dynamism and potential to grow unless radical changes happen), being crushed in the mills of nation-state ambitions, trying to achieve their goals at each other's expense. The other option is that, with democratically legitimate leadership, a directly elected two-chamber Parliament, and the President and Government elected by Parliament, it will act as a legal entity with a united European will on the world stage. This goal will only be achieved if the citizens of the Member States identify with the European Union, whose leaders they can directly choose.

The task is to create the conditions that allow European voters to be educated whose European identity is not the opposite of their national identity, but a complement to it. European identity can be the bridge linking the national identities of the citizens of the Member States, grasping the national conflicts inherited from the past, the overcoming of which was considered so important by the founders of the European Union.

The priorities of the Maastricht Treaty, which entered into force on 1 November 1993 resulting in the legal entity of the European Union, unfortunately completely lacked the building and further development of the cultural identity of Europe, which could have complemented the human rights and democratic priorities recognised by the treaty that are the basis for the European identity rooted in Western civilisation.

The nation-states of Europe have all gone through the process of nation-building. The fundamental condition for nation-building was the cultural definition of national uniqueness in each country, followed by the political phase of organising the nation-state. This process took
place first in Western Europe and later in Central and Eastern Europe (Szűcs, Parti, 1983, Hroch, 1985). There are countries left in the eastern part of Europe where it is still well in progress, and it cannot be excluded that previously failed national endeavours will break up the status quo (e.g. Catalonia, Scotland, Flanders, Wallonia, etc.)

The recipe for building a national identity can also be applied to the building of the European identity (Weber, 1976). The question is whether there is enough willingness in citizens identifying themselves according to their national categories in Member States of the European Union to identify themselves as European and whether there are politicians who are able to shape this willingness into the democratic political will that would make it possible to build a European identity. Attila Pók is right in stating that the ‘European demos’ has not yet taken shape (Pók, 2017. p.297)

The process of building a national identity is a process that takes place in the sociological sense ‘from the bottom up’ and ‘top to bottom’ simultaneously. This cannot be different for European identity.

The most important condition is to find a common means of communication, i.e. which language it should be. After the UK leaves the European Union, a fortunate situation will emerge, namely, the dominating English language in the EU is not the language of the citizens of any member state. So, if English is to become the ‘lingua franca’ spoken by most of the citizens in all the EU Member States, then the conflict over which Member State provides a common European language will be out of the question. English does not need to exclude national languages. The Russian Federation is an example of the fact that speaking Russian in the Federation is well-suited to the national languages spoken in the 21 republics of the Federation and in five autonomous units. There are also examples in the EU that the use of the language of the state does not displace, nor does it render the languages spoken by national minorities extinct.

The first condition is the creation of a ‘European stage’, enabling the narration of historical and cultural narratives essential to the European identity to be imagined. Landscapes, natural values, mountains, plains, seas, rivers are in front of our eyes, but we do not yet see them with a ‘European eye’. During the nation building, the physical space was transformed by national metaphysics, resulting in the emergence of a ‘national gaze’. It is similarly possible to create a ‘European look’ that identifies mountains, plains, rivers and seaside as a special ‘European landscape’ with a positive emotional meaning (Leerssen, 2006).

The building of the European identity requires commonly accepted historical and cultural narratives, the elements of which are available, but no serious action has yet been taken for the repertoire of the elements that make up the narratives to be born. The territory of the states belonging to the European Union belonged to the Roman Empire before the birth of nations, and its physical remnants, buildings, roads, mosaics, objects - wherever they are - are witnesses of a by-gone unity. Even more important is the cultural heritage of the ancient Greek city-states that the Roman Empire continued. The Empire later split into two parts, but the ancient continuity was undertaken by both the Eastern Roman and Western Roman Empires. The age of the Renaissance revived the ancient heritage in the area of the West (‘Occidens’ - the ancient ‘world’ that formed a belt around the Mediterranean in opposition to Byzantium and Islam), enlarging the bounds of ‘Europa Occidens’ to include Central Europe (Szűcs, 1983).

The built elements of the cultural heritage necessary for the development of a European identity in the Member States of the Union are there, visible and accessible. These elements are part of the European identity puzzle, which, if assembled, would show us the common past as an environment carrying the meanings of the European identity (Csepeli, 1997).

As soon as the stage of European historical and cultural narratives is ready, actions and actors can be visualised; their lives, their works and their thoughts can give new generations examples
of what it means to be European. It would be interesting to think about who the free men and women would be who could become actors of the ‘European stage’ as members of a now-imagined ‘Great Europeans’ gallery.

The European Capitals of Culture Initiative has been an effective tool for developing and strengthening European identity since 1985. The initiative has been successfully designed to highlight the richness and diversity of the cultures of Europe. The succession of the selected cities as European capitals of culture increased the citizens’ sense of belonging to the common European cultural area and enhanced the awareness of the shared European cultural features.

The core of the message that shapes the European identity is the catalogue of values that give the meaning of the ‘European’ category, distinguishing it from identity-forming categories in other parts of the world. European values are rooted in the spiritual-historical beginnings of Western thinking about being and time when, and ever since, the Western individual, by virtue of his language, stood up to the totality of what is, which he questioned and conceived the being that it is (Hedegger, 1985). The European value system is based on the inalienable freedom of the individual, which is a prerequisite for the establishment of all other values.

Historical past becomes part of the present if there are places or occasions that allow memory, the re-living of the once happenings (Hobsbawm, Ranger, 1992). There is a need for a European calendar, which, like national calendars, would provide the days to which celebrated persons and the fateful events of the road to European unification could be attached. National memories also work in the presence of festive days confirming the national identity, which are held through rituals, annually repetitive speech acts in a festive environment suitable for the occasion. Currently, May 9 is the ‘Europe Day’, which is lost in the days of the year as it is not a public holiday and has no unified protocol for its celebration.

Symbols are an indispensable part of the environment endowing the meanings of national identity. This is the case for European identity as well. Emotional meanings of national identity are carried by three symbols. The flag, the coat of arms and the anthem. The European Union has a flag that can be seen on public offices of the Member States and in the official, representative interior spaces. The flag can also be seen on the registration plates of cars registered by the Member States. The European Union has no coat of arms and there is no explanation for this. Ludwig van Beethoven composed the music for Friedrich von Schiller’s 1785 poem, Ode to Joy, as part of the of his 9th Symphony in 1823. This movement of the 9th Symphony became the European Union’s anthem, but only with music, no words. The European ear will hear the words of freedom, peace and solidarity in the music, but it would be better for the anthem to have words, too. Banknotes and coins are important carriers of symbols, and they have always represented the political system under whose authority they were used day to day. The coins and notes of the Euro only moderately refer to the motifs of the built European cultural heritage. The opponents of European unity may be right when they compare the Euro banknotes to the banknotes used in the board game, Monopoly.

The everyday environment that keeps national identity awake is composed of uniforms for members of various organisations in the nation-state as members of military and custom services, and nation-states use their own trademarks and postage stamps. These carriers of collective identity do not currently have counterparts in the European Union, so they cannot be considered to have contributed to the European identity.

Nation-building, in the social psychological sense, is a political socialisation task that has been solved by the schools of nation-states. Forming the foundations of the European identity will be successful when the elementary schools in the Member States of the European Union are obliged to teach English and there will be a subject to teach the historical and cultural content necessary to understand the message of Europeanness.
For the creation, survival and expansion of European identity, a single European higher education space would be of key importance, which would, as in the Middle Ages, provide a long journey for students, teachers, their continuous communication and exchange of information. Taking the European University Institute in Florence as an example, a European network of universities in higher education should have been established long ago.

The Erasmus Programme plays a very important role in the development of a unified European space of higher education, which will run under the name Erasmus + between 2014 and 2020. Erasmus + is the new 14.7 billion Euro catch-all framework program for education, training, youth and sports. The new Erasmus + programme combines all the EU's current education, training, youth and sport programmes, including the Lifelong Learning Programme (Erasmus, Leonardo da Vinci, Comenius, Grundtvig), Youth in Action and five international co-operation programmes (Erasmus Mundus, Tempus, Alfa, Edulink and the programme for co-operation with industrialised countries).

There are currently more than 4,000 higher education institutions participating in Erasmus across the 37 countries involved in the Erasmus programme and by 2013, 3 million students had taken part since the programme's inception in 1987. In 2012-13 alone, 270,000 took part, the most popular destinations being Spain, Germany, Italy and France. Erasmus students represented 5% of European graduates as of 2012.

Belonging to the European Union can only successfully be built into the stock of knowledge of social identity when the citizens of the European Union will be aware that the European Union is the scene of their lives in which moving freely they and their children can be successful and prosper. At present, the popular support of the European Union is very different between the individual EU countries. The public is most for the EU in Belgium, Denmark and Spain. EU skepticism is particularly strong in the Czech Republic. In Hungary, the larger part of the society is for the EU. (Csepeli, Örkény, 2018, pp. 66-72).

The European Union will be a strong and legitimate player on the world stage when its existence is wanted by its citizens. The internet provides a unique opportunity for expressing the European will, as it is accessible through the use of mobile devices for all European citizens, and all the cultural content needed to formulate a European identity can be found there. The European Commission has launched the Europeana digital platform, whereby citizens can access cultural and creative industries (CCIs) can access European culture for the widest possible variety of purposes. Europeana gives access to over 51 million items, including image, text, sound, video and 3D material, from the collections of over 3,700 libraries, archives, museums, galleries and audio-visual collections across Europe. It can be used by teachers, artists, professionals in cultural institutions and creative fields but also everyone looking for information on culture. For example, 155 of the pieces of art chosen by Europe's museums, libraries and galleries to share through 'Europeana 280' have been made available under open licences.

The digitised material from cultural institutions can be re-used to develop:

- learning and educational content;
- documentaries;
- tourism applications;
- games;
- animations;
- design tools.

An efficient ecosystem of digital cultural goods cannot be created and maintained by processes only initiated from the top. Whilst we must rely on digitised data from cultural institutions, such as libraries, theatres and museums, user-generated information should also be used to strengthen European identity. New information technologies make it possible for European citizens to actively participate in cultural processes through the production and sharing of information. A
community-based system could be developed that, in response to real needs, would stimulate international cross-border cultural consumption. An English-language referral system would offer tailor-made recommendations to the users based on individual preferences. Knowing the individual preferences of users, it would also be possible for the system to offer the cultural activities and events that interest users continuously.

Information collected from users through folksonomy would be combined by the system on a shared platform with information provided by cultural institutions (museums, exhibition halls, concert halls) and business organisations, such as restaurants and hotels. The various user profiles could be analysed on this platform. By analysing different patterns of use, predictive recommendation models could be created. Such a system would be beneficial for both users and service providers. In connection with the spatial movement and cultural consumption of individuals, as well as with the data produced by cultural institutions and operators on the supply side, an ever-increasing set of data would be generated. Until now, no ecosystem has been created that, combining these databases, would be able to make real-time recommendations based on realistic behaviour, either for the user population or for decision-maker.

The emerging innovative cultural ecosystem would allow users to follow the choices of people of similar profiles or to follow different subjective cultural patterns in terms of age, gender, education and interest. These maps would cover all areas of the European cultural heritage.

The future of the European Union depends on whether there are sufficient numbers of citizens in the Member States whose first answer to the question, ‘Who are you?’ will be: ‘I am European.’

References


Heritage and identity: The Jesuit-Guarani Missions interpretation experience

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Abstract
During the Spanish conquest of America, religious orders, such as the Society of Jesus, took charge of the Spiritual Conquest of native tribes. The Jesuit Province of Paraguay was created in a territory that includes Paraguay, parts of Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil, where a network of 30 villages was developed in a cooperative social system considered at the time a utopia. This experience was interrupted in 1756 with the Guaranitic War among Portuguese and Spanish armies against Guarani Indians.

In the 19th century, the remnant land of the Missions in Brazil was occupied by European migrants who, in an attempt of cultural insertion, adopted a symbolic relationship with the history of the past. Today, there are some archaeological sites declared National Heritage, open to the public. In these sites, promotion projects are developed involving interpretation techniques: light and sound shows, interpretative trails, museological exhibitions, heritage education activities, web site, etc.

Keywords
heritage interpretation, archaeological interpretative trails, cultural tourism, cultural heritage, heritage education, Jesuitic-Guarani Missions

Context
During the Spanish conquest of America, religious orders, such as the Society of Jesus, took charge of the Spiritual Conquest of native tribes. One experience in particular within this process was the Jesuit Province of Paraguay - Paraqvária - created in a territory that today includes Paraguay, parts of Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil (Figure 1). There, along with the Guarani Indians, the priests developed a civilisation process that lasted about 150 years, creating a network of 30 villages called Missions or Reductions with a similar cooperative social organisation and urban structure under the influence of Renaissance ideas.
In the Missions, the priests developed architecture, urbanism and fine arts using Baroque references, which were also included in theatre, to aid conversion processes (figure 2). The economical basis of this system was cattle breeding on large farms, on which European cattle, introduced to America by the Jesuits, were raised. The other important item for consumption and exchange was the native erva-mate tea (*Ilex paraguariensis*), largely consumed by the Indians and sold at the colonial markets of the region.

In the context of the colonial system, the urban characteristics of these settlements and their peculiar social, political and economic organisation have been considered by European philosophers, such as Voltaire and Montesquieu, as a utopian experience.
This significant experience was interrupted in 1750 by a new delimitation of the boundaries of the territories between Portugal and Spain. With an agreement called the Treaty of Madrid, Spaniards were forced to exchange seven of their Reductions by the town and port of Colonia, today Colonia de Sacramento, located near Buenos Aires. The decision drew an immediate reaction from the Indians and priests and provoked the Guarani War that resulted in the death of more than 1,500 Indians. Consequently, the system was destroyed and the Jesuits were forced from America.

After the Jesuits left, these villages were governed by civil administrations supported by clergymen of other Catholic orders. The Indians abandoned their villages that little by little were incorporated into the colonial system, carrying their cultural roots and the know-how acquired during the missions’ experience. They contributed to the construction of a new human type that became the representation of the whole region, the so-called Gaucho, a brave and courageous farm worker absorbed by the numerous cattle farms that were established to take care of the huge amount of cattle left untamed in the fields by the Jesuits.

The abandoned ancient villages underwent a natural decay process. In the 19th century, the remnant land of the Missions in Brazil was occupied by new European migrants, mainly Germans, Italians and Polish people, that used all the material at hand in the ruins, mainly square stones from churches and Indians houses, to build their houses and other buildings. As time went by, in an attempt of cultural insertion, they adopted a symbolic relationship with the history of the missionary past. More recently, some Guarani groups of M’Biå Indians, remaining in the region, also intended to establish relations with the missions’ past.

With the set-up of South America national frontiers, at the beginning of the 19th century, the remnants of the Seven Towns of the Missions fell into Brazilian territory as war trophies of a huge
and famous experience. Mainly as an example of the struggle of the Indians to defend a cultural and civilisation process that had been built with tremendous efforts. The archaeological ruins of four sites have been declared National Heritage, and the main one, São Miguel, as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO and MERCOSUL (figure 3).

It is a long history with many actors on the same territory. The first period, when the native American people lived freely for centuries, in harmony with the exuberant nature of the continent; the period of conquest and colonisation by the Spaniards and Portuguese, adopting particular processes and phases in each region; the Missions period, in the Paraguay region; the period of occupation of the same territory by new immigrants, with the formation of new identities; and nowadays, with the new populations trying to establish links with the past.

**Promotion and valorisation: a trajectory**

During the 20th century, the remnants of the ancient Missions had their cultural importance recognised and the preservation institutions started to care for the archaeological sites which were increasingly being visited by tourists and students. Little by little, some interpretation techniques were introduced to qualify these places and the visits, searching to increase knowledge and allow richer direct experiences in situ: light and sound shows, interpretive trails, museological exhibitions, heritage education activities, websites, etc.

Among the first valuation actions that involved interpretation techniques, was the *Sound and Light Show*, installed in São Miguel das Missões, at the end of the 1970s. The show incorporated the voices of recognised national TV actors, who interpreted different characters of the history of the Missions, involving the audiences and contributing to the public use of the archaeological site. This brought greater numbers of visitors to the site and widened the knowledge of the history and its significance.

A very important external contribution to the international promotion of this theme was the film, *The Mission*, by Roland Joffé, starring Robert de Niro, Jeremy Irons and Liam Neeson and with music by Ennio Morricone. It was nominated in seven categories for an Oscar and won the Gold Palm in the Cannes Festival in 1997, thus amplifying the more popularist interest in this particular history.

Since the remnants of São Miguel have been recognised as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO, other initiatives have been taken to improve the preservation and condition of the sites. A high value project was implemented in 1987, during the commemoration of the 300th anniversary of three reductions. This commemoration stimulated research and historic documentation that allowed the beginning of educational activities involving heritage education in archaeological sites.
As a result, educational material for schools was developed; teachers were trained to handle the theme of the Missions and some practical activities, involving local communities, were organised at the sites. The four sites received infrastructure for access to facilitate reception of visitors and included exhibitions rooms to share the site history and the archaeological research developments.

The Museum of the Missions, installed in 1940 in São Miguel (figure 4), had its building restored and the exhibition of mission-baroque art, made by the Guarani Indians, received new museography in the 1980s. At the same time, the process for the restoration of the ancient polychrome wood sculptures began.
In 1992, the region delivered a pioneer project using information technology applied to the cultural heritage of the Jesuit Missions of Guarani. In partnership with IBM, the project developed databases with an inventory of archaeological sites, historic documents and general information about the artistic, archaeological, architectural, historical and touristic remains. Along with this, a webpage and multimedia resources were installed on site and shared on CD-ROM media for the diffusion of the International Circuit of the Missions to visitors and regional schools (figure 5).

![Figure 5 – Saint Michael the Archangel Computer graphics reconstruction (IPHAN Archive)](image)

In the early 2000s, an interpretive project implemented at the archaeological sites of São João Batista, São Miguel Arcanjo and São Nicolau, sought to complement the heritage education activities developed during the previous decade. The interpretive project considered these products and sought to prepare visitors for each archaeological site.

At the start of the project, the available resources were identified: the environmental characteristics of the places and ruins; and any iconographic and documentary information about each location and historical alternatives. Considering the existing documentation, including a few drawings of architectural and urban plans and some historical documents, priests’ letters, military and travelers’ diaries, it was decided to tell the story in three stages, one at each archaeological site. The ‘creation’ of one of the villages, early in the process, later the ‘conquest’ after the Guaranitic War and, the ‘decay’ or the ruins period, almost a century later. The technical team that developed and implemented the project consisted of professionals from the fields of history, environment, architecture and design, coordinated by the regional representation of the Institute of National Historical and Artistic Heritage (IPHAN).
In the first case – *The Creation* – in *São João Batista* (Saint John the Baptist), besides the architectural remnants, a rich and diverse natural environment was included in the project with an eco-cultural interpretive trail. Here, in addition to the detailed reports of the priest who founded the town, describing the procedures for its design, images of the details of urban plans from that time were used, so as to link the text and the historic drawings to each place (figure 6).

In the second case – *The Conquest* – in *São Miguel Arcanjo* (Saint Michael the Archangel), the theme was defined as ‘The path of the Conquerors’, and was supported by two military diaries, in Spanish and Portuguese, which reported occurrences on the day the troops of the two Crowns, after the *Guaraní War*, occupied the village and described their spaces and everything that was happening. Interpretive panels were developed in Portuguese or Spanish, according to each diary, in every place described, which allow the visitors an imaginary trip back to 1756 (figure 7). Complementing the process, and providing a brief report of this history, interpretive signs were also made to tell the stories of other characters: the priests and the Indians who wrote letters to the King of Spain protesting against the decision to surrender the place to the Portuguese Crown.
In the third case – *The Decay* – in São Nicolau (Saint Nicolas), we had no drawings from that time, but a detailed report of a French researcher, Auguste Saint Hillaire, a voyager who visited the region in the early 19th century and described the state of the ruins after the expulsion of priests and the Indians’ abandonment. To illustrate each place and the previous situation of the current ruins, schematic, clearly contemporary drawings were made and used on the interpretive panels (figure 8).

**Figure 7** – São Miguel Arcanjo Archaeological Site interpretive trail (IPHAN Archive)

**Figure 8** – São Nicolau Archaeological Site interpretive panel (IPHAN Archive)
With the support of the Brazilian Micro and Small Enterprises’ Support Service – SEBRAE- and regional municipalities, new services were proposed and some sites were prepared to receive visitors. New touristic trails were proposed as the Imaginary Circuit, which intended to present existing collections of missionary religious sculpture in churches and little museums of the region.

Another activity implemented, inspired by the Santiago de Compostela Trail, focused on walking or biking tours on the local roads between the archaeological sites. In addition to these initiatives, promotional souvenirs were developed and sold, including t-shirts, caps and brochures featuring the logos created especially for the identification of the touristic places in the Brazilian circuit.

Another important contribution for the process of promotion of the Missions was a course-workshop organised by the World Monuments Fund (EUA), which involved professionals from Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay, to align knowledge, concepts and praxis. One of the themes discussed was the public use of archaeological sites, where simulated projects were prepared to improve the quality of the products, using interpretation techniques.

Along this period, the theme of Missions was researched and profoundly studied under different aspects in the archives of America, Italy, Spain and Portugal. The results of these studies and a strategic plan contributed as a base for new communication actions. Recently, another line of promotion has been developed with the production of information folders for each site, as well as the renovation of the sites’ exhibitions, enriching them with information about works realised and archeological remnants found (figures. 9, 10).

Figure 9 – Missions Museum Panels renovation (IPHAN Archive)
All these projects, taking different forms and strategies, involve local communities and visitors who seek through cultural references to strengthen identity relationships, integrating or reintegrating actors from diverse ethnic groups with a particular heritage, with multiple approaches and connections.

References


Ways of interpreting Saint Martin’s heritage for more social unity and understanding among Europe’s citizens

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Abstract
The rich tangible and intangible cultural heritage connected with the cult of Saint Martin of Tours triggers many reflections on how to achieve more solidarity, hospitality and trust among the citizens of the globalised world. The legend of St. Martin, who cut his cloak in half with his sword to dress an unclothed beggar, has become the symbol of sharing in the process of European integration and outlines the need to reduce distances, overcome frontiers and lack of understanding, and fill the gaps between cultures and generations. The traces of St. Martin’s cult are ubiquitous in our way of life; we just have to look from the right angle. The question which arises is how to value, interpret and utilise the St. Martin’s heritage to overcome contemporary challenges connected with the crisis of social values and how to involve those of 15-18 years of age in this process, as they are often excluded from heritage activities.

Keywords
St. Martin’s social values, Via Sancti Martini, voluntary associations, intergeneration ties

Introduction – The importance of St. Martin’s values in the contemporary world
In 2005, the Council of Europe proclaimed the most familiar and recognisable of the Christian saints in Europe, St. Martin (316/335–397), as a European figure. At the same time, the route he took from the place where he was born, Savaria (present-day Szombathely, Hungary) to the place where he was a bishop, Tours (France), has become the European Cultural Route of Via Sancti Martini. According to the Council of Europe, the mission of the Via Sancti Martini is to highlight important contemporary values, which are: mutual support, humanity, faith, sharing of resources, knowledge and values. These social values, which are inevitably important in today’s globalised and more neoliberal world, are ‘symbolised by the Saint’s charitable act in Amiens when he cut his cloak in half to share with a poor man who was dying of cold in the heart of winter’ (Internet site reference 1).

This image of St. Martin has become the most repeated iconographic theme in different nations and religions. Although he undertook different activities in his life—he was a Roman soldier, then a missionary and a priest as well as a bishop - this charitable act of sharing his coat appears much stronger in the people’s traditions than Martin’s other actions. Of course, he is respected and worshipped as an ecclesiastical leader, but he is also one who, in spite of his high ecclesiastical position, kept a sense of human sharing and generosity. He is also remembered for his simple lifestyle and piety. The Slovenian philosopher and theologian, Edvard Kovač, also underlines that, when he gave his coat to the poor man, he also gave him human warmth and mercy (2008:14) even though he was a Roman soldier with power and influence. Moreover, studies of his life (Bratož 2006, Šerbelj 2006, Gáspár 2008 et. alt.) also show that he always

41 Saint Martin of Tours has been part of Europe’s collective memory since the 4th century. A tireless traveller around Europe for his entire life, he was born in 316 in Pannonia, now Hungary, to pagan parents. Having been raised in Pavia, Italy, where his father served in the Roman army, he himself was enrolled in the army at the age of about 15. In 337, whilst stationed in Amiens, France, he cut his cloak in two to give half to a poor man who was dying of cold. His faith was then revealed to him and he became a Christian. Living as a hermit near Poitiers, he established a monastery in Ligugé, the first in the Western world. He
strived to solve political disputes and the unworthy life of some priests in Roman times with dialogue, determination, humility and modesty. Because of that, he is also venerated for his mutual human relationships, collaboration, joy of being together, personal enrichment, empowerment and seeing why we need each other, how to give things to each other and bring happiness to one another. According to Kovač, he is also a symbol of a man who recognised the distress of a human being and allowed himself to be humbled by the gaze of a poor person. Finally, he is a symbol of well-being and hope for the future when nobody will lack anything anymore (2008: 14).

According to these important kindnesses and other attitudes of Martin’s, the main mission of the Via Sancti Martini should be to highlight the integration of Europeans and strengthen common identity on the basis of the Martin de Tours’s heritage and develop it with the help of local authorities and private partners (internet site reference 2). Here, the words ‘should be’ are key, because, as we will see in the text that follows, the situation in reality is not so favourable. In the view of the Council of Europe, the Via Sancti Martini, which symbolically links past and present and connects national routes that relate to episodes of the saint’s life, cult or folklore, proclaims the European Union beyond distance, frontiers, lack of understanding and gaps between cultures (internet site reference 2). It now covers more than 12 countries and stretches across 5,000 kilometres. It is not merely cathedrals, churches and monuments that enrich it, but also the intangible cultural heritage, associated with St. Martin, such as myth, folklore, legends and traditions, which are alive among people and still keep an image and memory of him. In some countries, for example in Slovenia, most celebrations happen on St. Martin’s day, on 11 November. The celebrations are connected with the baptism of new wine, since people believe this is the day when St. Martin made wine from must (grape juice). In some Slovenian villages, a man dressed as St. Martin goes from one wine cellar to another and baptises the wine. The winegrowers accompany him and make it a special spectacle. Like all holidays, Saint Martin’s Day has special meals. The most famous combination in Slovenia is roast duck or goose together with a special kind of bread (mlinci) and red cabbage. The goose became a symbol of St. Martin’s Day because of a legend that, when he tried to avoid being ordained as a bishop, he had hidden in a goose pen. But then he was betrayed by the cackling of the geese, so geese must be killed in his day’s name (Hrvoje Oršanič et. alt 2014: 9). Although this and some other folk tales are not always historically based, they embrace the saint’s character and his personal attitude in a much better way than mere historiography (Kovač 2008: 12).

The life of St. Martin and his living memories are very interesting for the reflection on how to safeguard heritage, and use it sustainably, to foster common European identity. However, the purpose of this paper is not to highlight this issue, but to reflect upon how his social values of solidarity, sharing and hospitality should be exploited, interpreted and utilised in contemporary times to overcome challenges connected with the crisis of social values and how to involve in this process young people (of 10-18 years of age). The interpretation of his social values can be seen in every society, between different generations and groups. We just have to look from the correct point and evaluate them in accordance with contemporary needs, purposes and opportunities.

St. Martin managed in his life to feel the pain of vulnerable and poor people, who, due to different circumstances, failed to acquire basic human dignity. Today, many people suffer because of neoliberal ideology, which has increasingly interfered with our lives in the last three decades and has managed to spread individualism, competitiveness, pursuit of one's own economic interests, profits, corruption, and to break off the mutual relationships among people. This logic is also becoming more and more characteristic in the field of culture. In Slovenia, decision-makers at national and local levels work hard so that this culture and its heritage become a profitable matter, even to the extent that cultural and community rights are abused. Although the community and its members are recognised as the basic practitioners and bearers of cultural heritage,

became a bishop in 371; he founded the abbey of Marmoutier and the first rural churches in Gaul, whilst travelling extensively throughout Europe. Saint Martin died on 8 November 397 in Candes and was buried on 11 November in Tours (internet site reference 2).
sometimes their traditional knowledge, skills and ideas are abused for marketing purposes (as stories for promotional activities) or for development issues, where different project teams composed of experts from research and heritage institutions, development agencies, municipalities and others organisations utilise knowledge and skills of the heritage’s bearers without actively involving the heritage bearers as paid employees in the project team. The heritage practitioners are usually involved as local stakeholders, but on a voluntary basis. So, the questions that arise are: When can culture be a marketable or development element to ‘integrate societies, stimulate job creation and welfare’? (the aims of the European Year of Cultural Heritage, internet site reference 3) and, When should state bodies help local communities, NGOs, individuals and others who lead different kinds of heritage practices, which among many things also enable the creation of social cohesion, mutual trust and respect among people?

Furthermore, another burning problem that concerns the cultural heritage of St. Martin and his European Route is providing enough financial support for its management and maintenance. Although the Via Sancti Martini was proclaimed by the Council of Europe as the Great European Road, inevitably important also as a symbol for the creation and fortification of European identity, the Cultural Centres of St. Martin who plan, manage and maintain the road through the countries do not have enough financial resources for their work. The members of the Cultural Centre in Slovenia are volunteers and it takes a lot of effort to get sponsors and local support to finish the Slovenian part of the Via Sancti Martini. Some local municipalities managed to get the necessary resources from European projects (such as INTERREG), but many other mayors do not see its social and development potential. The members requested financial support from the Ministry of Culture as well as from the Slovenian Ethnographic museum which is the Coordinator for the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage, but without success due to the shortage of money for culture. Although the Council of Europe outlines that ‘cultural routes are defined as a project that connect space, memory and mobility among Europeans as well as fostering equality, cooperation, dialogue, diversity, commonality and multicultural coexistence, peace and inclusive cultural democracy. (Internet site reference 1), in reality, these statements are not sustained.

The paper first presents the Slovenian context in the field of culture, where, unfortunately, different political interests of other ministries led to the situation that the Ministry of Culture receives less and less money each year, while the need to preserve material heritage or safeguard intangible heritage is growing each year. Besides, although the decision-makers intend less money for culture, the number of NGOs that work on culture and its heritage are increasing. There is almost no village where the local association does not work on local heritage. Therefore, the second part of the paper presents some case studies from Slovenia illustrating where local associations have carried out interesting projects that indirectly show how heritage activities, such as researching and recording the past, awakening old customs, preparing exhibitions, books or other interpretation etc., can help individuals and communities to develop and reinforce social identity, improve visibility and enrich the economic offer.

The findings presented in the paper are drawn from different research projects but especially from the postdoctoral project, ‘Cultural heritage – a medium for the introduction of sustainable development in a local place’, financed by the Slovenian Research Agency in from 2012-2015 and the INTERREG project, NewPilgrimAge: a 21st century re-interpretation of the St. Martin-related shared values and cultural heritage as a new driver for community-sourced hospitality, financed by the programme of Central Europe.42 The NewPilgrimAge project started in 2017 and will be finished in the middle of 2020. The postdoctoral project focused on the development of new approaches and methods to make people aware that heritage practices can make an essential contribution towards facilitating sustainable development in local communities and making it more effective. An important aim of the project was to define the role of the humanities and social sciences in developing approaches to implementing sustainable policy, since in contrast to natural, mathematical and technical sciences, which develop sustainable economies,

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42 The lead partner is the Municipality of Szombathely (Hungary).
information, communication, and other innovative technologies, humanists and other social scientists assist in the application and implementation of these sustainable products and solutions in the real world. They deliver them to the people who are the main agents of change in a natural landscape. Partners in the NewPilgrimAge project work on the development of new approaches, methods and tools for innovative interpretation of the St. Martin’s values to empower local communities, especially the youth and small entrepreneurs, and achieve better and qualitative networks among generations as well as national and transnational societies.

Development potential of culture and its heritage between theory and practice

Art and culture have always been important issues in the history of the Slovenian nation. Prior to Slovenian independence in 1990, the Slovenes substituted the non-existence of their own state and political institutions with them, and through the Slovenian language they managed to preserve their identity as a nation for centuries. When Slovenia celebrated 25 years of independence in 2015, the Ministry of Culture outlined that ‘Culture and within it everything related to the Slovenian nation and Slovenian language as foundation of our being and creativity, has always been the unifying force of the Slovenian nation’ (internet site reference 4). Moreover, in the context of new paradigms in the field of sustainable development and the role of a culture as the fourth pillar of sustainable policy (Agenda 21 for Culture, Nurse 2006) the Ministry also pointed out that:

"culture is also important in the development of an innovative, knowledge-based culture. It contributes to the efficiency of education, economic growth, employment and the development of democracy. It is an inalienable part of our nation and the essence of our civilization. Culture, which is reflected in all of our national consciousness and our history, must therefore become both our brand and our mission" (Internet site reference 4).

This statement and wishes of the Ministry are seen in different strategies as well, such as Slovenia’s Development Strategy (adopted in 2017), in which it is highlighted that culture AND Slovenian language should be developed as a source for identity, international presentation as well as and social and economic progress. Because of that, the strategy strives for systematic preservation and development of the overall cultural heritage and links it to the modern way of living (Šooš et. alt. 2017:30).

The development potential of cultural heritage and its utilisation is more concretely presented in the Resolution on National Development Projects for the Period 2007-2023, in which one of the five key focus areas of the projects includes the synergy of natural and cultural resources which include natural and cultural heritage. Heritage is regarded as having huge economic and social development potential. The aim of these projects is to create the network of natural and cultural potential for economic use and with a view to sustainable protection of the natural and cultural heritage. Moreover, The National Programme for Culture 2014-2017, adopted in 2013 by the National Assembly at the proposal of the Government, highlighted that the culture of Slovenia contains development goals and would unlock development potential in different areas. Similarly, the cultural sector would contribute to the development of the country as a whole and to the well-being of every individual (internet site reference 5).

There are many other strategic documents in the drawers of politicians, where culture should resolve many development and social problems, but, in reality, the picture is completely different. Notwithstanding that the Ministry is aware of the social and economic role of culture and its heritage, there are still not enough financial resources to achieve these goals.

Despite the polycentric organisation of the cultural area, the financing of culture falls largely under the jurisdiction of the state, especially under the Ministry of Culture and Municipalities. The Ministry is responsible for forming and implementing cultural policy and cooperation with other ministries, as well as for the field of cultural heritage protection in Slovenia, including all sector regulations and financial management of the state budget, intended for protection interventions. It has established different bodies in connection with cultural heritage that operate under its
jurisdiction. According to an interview with the Secretary at the Ministry of Culture in 2016, prior to the economic and social crisis from 2008 and related reforms from 2012 (Fiscal Balance Act), the Ministry had intended to provide seven million euros, plus some funds from the European structural funds, for the protection and restoration of cultural heritage. In 2016, the Ministry received only 1.6 million for the investments, besides that, the Ministry of Finance decided that culture and its heritage have not been on a priority list for resources from the European structural funds in the period 2014–2020.43 Moreover, until the crisis, the Ministry also had special funds from the Cultural Act, named Cultural Tolar, which provided additional money for the restoration and presentation of the most important and most endangered monuments.

Due to the funds for culture having been drastically cut down, the Ministry is not able to acquire enough resources for renovation and conservation of many cultural monuments that are spread all over the country and are of crucial importance for social, economic and cultural development. In recent years, the funding for NGOs (local associations), which actually take care of the creative development of culture and its heritage, has drastically worsened as well. Although the Ministry is looking for new ways of the funding to protect material heritage, like the public-private partnership model, there are very few projects in the field of culture which try to implement this method of maintenance and management of material heritage.

Among the financial problems, the attitude toward culture and its understanding as a driving force for development is still very negative among local mayors and especially among entrepreneurs. Culture is often understood as an art practice and an element that just needs public resources which should be assured by the state.

The question that is still open is, How can the state or public institutions achieve the goal that cultural heritage becomes an important source to build and strengthen national and transnational identity and overcome integration problems, if nations like Slovenia do not support different cultural and heritage practices? Some funds can be obtained from different INTERREG projects, like NewPilgrimAge, but in the period 2014-2020 it has been very difficult to achieve success in the calls for funding and Slovenian partners have to ensure 15% of co-financing. Besides, partners have to provide the project’s funding in advance, as the money is only released after the reporting periods, and this is very difficult for small organisations and NGOs.

**Heritage practices led by local associations**

Despite the not very prosperous situation regarding financing of culture at a national level, there are some positive case studies in Slovenia that show how heritage practices led by many local associations (NGOs) can foster St. Martin’s social values to achieve a healthy society with values such as an empathetic attitude towards other people and the natural environment, mutual trust and networking, and respect for ethics.

The association of people based on common interests and purposes is a very old phenomenon in Slovenia whose earliest legal foundations were acquired with the emergence of the first national states in the 18th and 19th centuries. The authorities saw in various clubs, associations and fraternities their enemy, and it was, therefore, necessary to define their purposes, goals and permitted (or not) activities by law (Marušič 1999: 179). The greater rise of associations’ activities began after Bach’s absolutism (in the 1850s), when legislation governing associations was strongly liberalised and the organising of people had special significance in the development of different socio-political and cultural processes. At the end of the 19th century and in the first half of the 20th century, choral, reading, and educational associations dominated in Slovenia, representing a central cultural and social nucleus for the development and strengthening of national consciousness with the desire that the character of a Slovenian land, despite foreign political domination (by Austria-Hungary or the Kingdom of Italy), be preserved. Today, there is practically no village without a village association devoted to the discovery of local history and the

43 Interview was implemented on 25 November 2016.
customs and habits of the locality. This shows the strong need of people for socialising and having fun together. Members of the associations come from the younger (most often students) and older generations who do not have the major family responsibilities of children. For the most part the associations are involved in researching local history, reviving customs and habits, preparing exhibitions and village events and presenting the traditions of their ancestors to younger generations. Some of the associations even go further with their mission and do not work only on preservation and presentation of the local history but try also to build on local achievements and the skills of their ancestors with respect to contemporary social and economic needs. In that way, they produce new and interesting creative products built on traditional skills and knowledge but modified and improved according to modern needs, technology, aspiration, opportunities or methods.

This development mission is characteristic also for the Housewife Association and its drama group from the village of Planina pri Ajdovščini which for 14 years now has been contributing to the lively pulse of life in the Upper Vipava valley of western Slovenia. Through its work – research and (re)creation of Vipava customs and habits, preparation of traditional and new cuisine, acting in the drama group and singing – it strives towards sustainable development of the Vipava countryside and village community. Throughout their work, members have prepared many research projects which aim to record, safeguard and transmit local heritage to the younger generation, which is the important task in the framework of the new development potential of heritage. The most important achievements of the association are two books; one was published at the beginning of its formal establishment in 2004 and the second was published on the occasion of the celebration of the 10th anniversary of the association in 2014 and presents all the achievement and knowledge that members have achieved in these years. The first book, Lest we forget. Planina pri Ajdovščini: Customs and Recipes of our Ancestors (Aktiv Kmečkih žena 2004), presents the history of Planina, some costumes and old recipes that housewives collected at the request of a local journalist who wanted to collect recipes from the region of the Upper Vipava valley and turned for help to the farmers’ wives from Planina.

The publication of the book encouraged members to establish the association. In the second book titled, Lest We Forget II: Customs, habits, and recipes from Planina pri Ajdovščini (Rosa & Fakin Bajec 2014), the focus is on the presentation of recipes for traditional dishes and new ones which reflect the skills, experience, courage and boldness of modern-day housewives. The authors of the new recipes are the association members who used their knowledge to adapt traditional recipes to modern times and ingredients that were previously not accessible or known. At the same time, the recipes still retain their local character. In addition, the book is enriched by a presentation of customs and habits associated with a variety of holidays when families gather at the kitchen table and enjoy the foods presented (for example, Easter, Christmas, festivities, weddings, birthdays, times of major work on the farm and so on). Furthermore, the book is enhanced by sub-chapters titled Lest We Forget as well, which present old skills for making use of the natural resources of a particular area. The reader learns how to obtain seeds from traditional crop varieties, how to make fermented sour turnips, how to prepare wine vinegar, how to make a medicinal syrup from grape must etc. All this knowledge has exceptional importance today for achieving sustainable development policy, as shown by the book in overcoming significant development challenges. The social values of St. Martin and his important mission of sharing knowledge and building mutual relationships are seen in these published thoughts of the association members listed below the recipes. Some of the thoughts demonstrate the mission of home cooking and the importance of socializing.

Especially meaningful are the words of members whose participation in the association enriches their personal lives, filling them with new strength and courage. Among others, we can read these words in the book:

“We share happy as well as less happy life events with other members; they encouraged me to continue my studies and boosted my confidence. I can therefore say that they are
not just my fellow members but, even more, they are my friends” (Rosa & Fakin Bajec 2014: 64).

“The association…learning, life, singing, laughter, socialising and friendship. I am proud to have been a part of this since the beginning” (Rosa & Fakin Bajec 2014:76).

“In reflecting on the last ten years of the association’s activity, I was struck by the realisation that I came to know my neighbours and fellow villagers only through my membership in it” (Rosa & Fakin Bajec 2014: 98).

According to the conversation with the members, a book represents a tribute to their activity, where they do not only get new knowledge and friends, but also self-respect and courage for future achievements. As a member enthusiastically explained: “The book is a product that will remain for posterity. This is our heritage. What has been recorded will remain. The purpose of the association is not just to go there and chat for a bit and gossip, as we women are often accused of doing. We don’t just gossip, we also get things done and we have something to show for our efforts. I give the book as a gift since it is a part of me and I’m very proud of it. It’s not just a book, it’s something more.”

Figure 1 – Presentation of the book, Lest We Forget II: Customs, habits, and recipes from Planina pri Ajdovščini, at a scientific conference in the Slovenian ethnographic museum in Ljubljana (Photo: Jasna Fakin Bajec, February 2018)

Members of the association are also from the younger generation, who, in particular, contribute greatly to the association since they are somewhat bolder in the presentation of products and uninhibited in the presentation of village farming culture, whereas the older ones are still ashamed of it.

44 The interview with the member was carried out on 11 May 2015.
Members of the younger generation said this about their participation in the association:

“The association teaches me a lot; through it I experience new knowledge and have fun with it. As a member of the association I feel useful and capable. I enjoy discovering history, past customs and habits of our ancestors and transmitting them to others” (Rosa & Fakin Bajec 2014: 46).

“The association is like one big family. We are connected by our joy in our work, creativity and revival of old traditions” (Rosa & Fakin Bajec 2014:140).

“The preservation of tradition, socialising, relaxation, mutual teaching/learning … I soak up the knowledge of other housewives like a sponge and I am proud to say that I am a member of the Housewives Association from Planina” (Rosa & Fakin Bajec 2014:166).

Involvement of the younger generation in heritage activities is a big challenge, as many young people are not interested in the life history of their predecessors. Therefore, some projects, like the NewPilgrimAge, especially focus on the development of new modern tools (such as games for smart phones or different kinds of applications or other visual media like films etc.) to make heritage more accessible and interesting to young people.

Some approaches that can link younger and older generations and increase interest in history could be different workshops, like ethnographic courses in primary schools where children, through interviews, ask older people about their life in the past, old customs, recipes, products, experiences and philosophy. These kinds of intergenerational ties are becoming very important in contemporary society as they involve generations with different backgrounds, experiences and visions, empower the participants and encourage people of different ages to socialise. An interview provides an opportunity to establish a personal connection and gather information, opinions and ideas about the specific issue connected with local heritage as well. Both generations can gain new knowledge and can search for a common solution to properly safeguard, utilise or modify intangible cultural heritage.

Moreover, participants can understand the particular fears of each generation and better understand what members of different generations would like to do with their cultural heritage. Besides, children can better understand the problems faced by aging people, and gain respect towards older people. On the other hand, socialising can help the elderly to overcome isolation and depression due to loneliness. Through intergenerational interviews, we can also find out family stories which, in the long run, can improve the content of the cultural heritage products as well as their promotion, which is based on verified dates.

Beside interviews, the Association of Housewives from Planina try to involve the younger people, especially pupils from primary schools (10-14 years of age), through culinary competitions which are becoming very popular in contemporary society. Competitions also present an informal way to link different public sectors, local associations, companies and heritage institutions. This way of gathering is also important for setting up networks among different stakeholders, especially among business and the public sector, and to raise awareness among entrepreneurs that local heritage has much development potential. But it should also consider the protection of community and cultural rights.

Nowadays, cooking competitions are well known and popular, often supported by food companies which provide ingredients or awards. The competitions get additional value if the evaluators are nationally or transnationally known cooks or chefs who not just judge prepared dishes but also give moral support to participants and useful suggestions by sharing their knowledge. Furthermore, participating companies improve their reputation, social value and public recognition. In Planina, the housewives prepared a competition named Zrij Rejpo / To dig up a turnip designed for primary school children in the Primorska region. Turnips are a typical produce in the Vipava valley and an indispensable ingredient in daily menus of local people.
Children had to prepare dishes from turnips in a traditional or novel way while using local ingredients. Their theoretical and practical knowledge, reflected through their recipes, was judged by three nationally-known experts. The competition was organised for the first time at the end of 2017 and, according to the president of the association, they will try to make it an annual event. The successful and recognisable work of the association, which managed to get a lot of financial support from local sponsors, shows that heritage activities have social and economic potential, they just have to be managed in the right way.

Figure 2 – Group of pupils from a primary school who won the first prize in the cooking competition Zrij Rejpo / To dig up a turnip (Photo: Jasna Fakin Bajec, November 2017, Planina pri Ajdovščini)

**Conclusion**

The main values of the heritage of Saint Martin are social cohesion, sharing and hospitality. The expression and safeguarding of these values can be realized in every society, among different generations and groups. It is only important that we know them, recognize them and evaluate them. In his environment and life’s roles, Saint Martin managed to recognize the needs of people who suffer because of different socio-political and economic circumstances around the world. Although the European Union faces completely different challenges from people in Roman times, we still need to seek a more ethical society and respect the knowledge and achievements provided by our ancestors. This is the main purpose of safeguarding cultural heritage as well. An important intangible cultural heritage, and basic human mission, also includes a friendly word, a compassionate view, help and understanding of each other’s wishes and differences.

Ways of interpreting St. Martin’s heritage and his values can differ in different countries, regions or even local communities. The situation of developing culture or preserving its heritage is not prospering in Slovenia, although culture is recognized as an important development driver in many development strategies. However, even though the state cannot provide enough financial support, the work of many local associations in small local communities shows that heritage practices can help meet many social needs that many development strategies mention, like alleviation of poverty, ensuring gender/social equality, promoting growth and well-being among citizens, understanding ageing as a priority, gathering together different generations, stimulation of innovation and a knowledge-based society, mobilizing people’s creativity and ensuring cultural
diversity. As these activities can involve different participants – youth, elderly, experts, business and politicians as well as audiences who are otherwise passive citizens – different heritage activities conducted in local communities or local associations (by NGOs) can foster new social innovation which can contribute to cohesiveness, reciprocity and, consequently, a healthier population able to accept innovative ideas for economic development.

The main issue for interpreting or using St. Martin’s heritage and its value is to understand that cultural heritage is not here for its own sake but is here to empower us to stand together, trust each other, take responsibility and work for the common interest and better opportunities. Our predecessors, who did not have modern technology and information-communication tools, knew that personal and social development needs good relationships among people, connectedness, cooperation, and a receptive environment. Therefore, their tangible and intangible heritage has important social values which should be researched, safeguarded, protected and transmitted to younger generations.

References


Desire, love, identity: Interpreting LGBTQ histories

Stuart Frost (UK)

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Stuart Frost has been Head of Interpretation and Volunteers at the British Museum, London, for over eight years. Prior to commencing his current role in November 2009, he spent almost eight years as part of the Gallery Interpretation Team at the Victoria & Albert Museum, London. He began his museum career in 1998 at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, as manager of the Gallery Interpreter team.

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Abstract
Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender and Queer (LGBTQ) histories have long been omitted from interpretive frameworks for museums and heritage sites in the UK, Europe and the rest of the world. In recent decades, this has begun to change, although somewhat unevenly. The 50th anniversary of the partial decriminalisation of homosexuality in England and Wales fell during July 2017. This significant milestone was marked by many museums, galleries and heritage sites across the United Kingdom. More LGBTQ themed projects probably took place during 2017 than in any preceding year. This paper reflects on these anniversary-focused initiatives, exploring their impact on the public and considering their legacy. It considers what museums and heritage sites can learn from programming in 2017 to address omission, promote equality and to challenge prejudice and intolerance in the future.

Key words
LGBTQ, interpretation, diversity, museums, history, sexuality, heritage

Introduction
Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender and Queer (LGBTQ) histories have long been omitted from interpretive frameworks for museums and heritage sites in the UK, Europe and the rest of the world. Despite the decriminalisation of homosexuality in the UK from 1967 onwards it is arguably only from around 2000 onwards that a number of museums began to be more proactive in including LGBTQ histories in their exhibitions or interpretation (Frost 2008). LGBT History Month, celebrated annually in the UK from 2005 onwards, provided much needed impetus and an important focus for programming (Vincent 2014: 70-71).

The 50th anniversary of the partial decriminalisation of homosexuality in England and Wales fell during July 2017. This significant milestone was marked by many museums, galleries and heritage sites across the UK. More LGBTQ themed projects probably took place during 2017 than in any preceding year. Some of the higher profile examples included: Queer British Art 1861-1967, Tate Britain, London (Barlow 2017); Gay UK: Love, Law and Liberty at the British Library, London; Speak its Name!, National Portrait Gallery, London (Tinker 2017); Coming Out: Sexuality, Gender and Identity, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool (Keenan 2017); Never Going Underground – The Fight for LGBT+ Rights, Peoples’ History Museum, Manchester (O’Donnell 2017); Prejudice & Pride at the National Trust; and Desire, love, identity: exploring LGBTQ histories at the British Museum.

45 Many variants of the LGBT(+) acronym are used – sometimes ‘Q’ is added to denote ‘queer’ or ‘questioning’. ‘Queer’ is increasingly widely used as an overarching term to encompass a wide variety of identities related to gender, sexuality and desire. I have used LGBTQ in this paper when writing more generally. When writing specifically about other organisations I have consistently used the terminology and acronym adopted by that particular institution.

46 John Vincent’s research supports this assertion in relation to libraries and archives as well as museums in the UK.
Given the number of displays, exhibitions and events that took place during 2017, now is a particularly appropriate time to review and reflect upon approaches to interpreting LGBTQ histories, identities and experiences. Many of the projects listed above have influenced the points outlined here, and I have therefore included references in this paper for readers who wish to find out more about them. Due to constraints of space and time, however, I am going to focus briefly on three projects in turn to give a flavour of what took place during 2017 and to give some more specific and detailed insights.

*Never Going Underground: the fight for LGBTQ+ rights at The Peoples' History Museum, Manchester*

The People’s History Museum (PHM) in Manchester is the national museum of democracy and the home of ideas worth fighting for. *Never Going Underground* (25 February - 3 September 2017) focussed on fifty years of campaigning from 1967 onwards for equality and LGBTQ rights (Figure 1). This show took its name from a campaign against Section 28, an infamous piece of legislation passed by the Conservative government in 1988 that forbade the ‘promotion of homosexuality’. The exhibition was designed to be family friendly, and it included a wide range of interpretation, including participatory elements that encouraged visitors to actively think and contribute.

That the exhibition had such a unique tone and feel was arguably because it was not curated by museum staff, but instead by members of the local LGBT+ community, eleven volunteer community curators (O’Donnell 2017). Although staff at the PHM provided a great deal of support, the direction, content and focus of the show was determined by community curators. The exhibition was part of a wider year-long programme of exhibitions, events and learning programmes exploring the past, present and future of LGBT+ activism. The key to the success of all the LGBT+ history work at the PHM – including three other LGBT+ exhibitions – seems to reflect a wholehearted commitment to partnership working, developing LGBT+ relationships and networks, and meaningful community engagement.

![Figure 1 – Never Going Underground – The Fight for LGBT+ Rights (25 February- 3 September 2017), Peoples’ History Museum, Manchester (Photo: Stuart Frost)](image-url)
The National Trust – Prejudice & Pride
The National Trust is a charity founded in 1895 to preserve heritage and open spaces in England, Wales and Northern Ireland for the public. Its remit covers natural landscape, archaeological remains, nature reserves, historic houses, and its collection includes over one million artworks. During 2017 – to mark the 50th anniversary – the Trust ran a programme called Prejudice and Pride to explore LGBTQ histories at selected properties in its care. It focussed on a series of events and exhibitions at a small number of high profile properties. The Trust also produced a LGBTQ guidebook for the first time, and a series of six podcasts presented by Clare Balding (Cook & Oram 2017). It was a high profile and high impact project by an organisation that has – unfairly perhaps – often been seen as traditional (and conservative) in its approach and audience appeal.

During March 2017, the National Trust and The National Archives temporarily re-created the Caravan, a queer-friendly members’ club of 1934 (Hillel & Houlbrook 2017). The recreation took place at Freud Café-Bar – very close to the Caravan’s original location – and about a five-minute walk away from the British Museum in London (Figures. 2 & 3). Photographs, legal reports, papers and witness statements on the Caravan - all selected from the National Archives’ records - were used to re-create the interior of the club, and to provide interpretation that was pasted to the building’s windows for passers-by. The 1930s was a time when being openly gay would frequently lead to prosecution and imprisonment. The recreation of the Caravan club sought to highlight the important story of many similar LGBTQ spaces in London that were raided and closed by police before 1967.

The reconstructed Caravan club provided a venue for a programme of talks, debates and performances that explored queer life before the Sexual Offences Act of 1967. National Trust volunteers led daytime tours of the Soho area of London focused on LGBTQ heritage and club culture. These ended with a visit to the Caravan. In the evenings, visitors could become a club ‘member’ and enjoy a cocktail menu with drinks of the era served by the bartenders of today’s Freud Café-Bar. The Trust also published a guidebook about London’s queer club culture (Hillel & Houlbrook 2017).

More typically, most of the Prejudice and Pride programme focused on the interpretation of a small number of historic properties in the National Trust’s care around the England in more rural locations, drawing local, and perhaps more conservative, audiences than the Caravan. At Felbrigg Hall, Norwich, for example, the Prejudice and Pride focus was on the last private owner of Felbrigg, Robert Wyndham Ketton-Cremer (‘Bunny’ to his friends). He never married and, with no children, he generously bequeathed his restored ancestral home to the nation. The Trust - working in conjunction with University of Leicester - argued that previous official biographies of Ketton-Cremer’s life failed to acknowledge his homosexuality which was accepted by those who knew him. The project team used new research about his life to create a short film - The Unfinished Portrait - narrated by the actor, Stephen Fry.
Figure 2 – The National Trust’s temporary recreation of the Caravan Club, London (Photo: Stuart Frost)

Figure 3 – Detail of temporary interpretation used as part of the National Trust’s temporary recreation of the Caravan Club, London (Photo: Stuart Frost)
Desire, love, identity: exploring LGBTQ histories at the British Museum

Like the National Trust, LGBTQ history falls into the category of narratives that the British Museum has omitted until comparatively recently. The acquisition in 1999 by the Museum of a Roman silver drinking cup – decorated with two scenes of male-male sex - marked a significant shift and was a catalyst for change (Frost 2010, MacGregor 2010, MHM 2006, Williams 2006 & 2013).

In 2013, the British Museum published an award-winning book by Professor Richard Parkinson, A Little Gay History – Desire and Diversity Across the World (LGBTI ALMS, 2012; Parkinson 2013). The book focuses on 40 objects from the Museum’s collection, spanning ancient history to the present day and representing most areas of the world. The Museum drew on this research to curate a small display and permanent gallery trail, Desire, love, identity: exploring LGBTQ histories, at the Museum between May-October 2017. Richard Parkinson, now at Oxford University, supported the project in an advisory capacity. The display was also shaped by a steering group comprised both of staff from across the Museum who responded to an open invitation to get involved, and individuals from LGBTQ organisations in Camden and beyond. A number of academics and museum professionals – with experience of LGBTQ work – acted as external advisors.

One side of the small display focussed on European history, partly reflecting the strengths of the Museum’s collection. Ancient Greece and Rome, for example, were particularly well represented. This section also acknowledged the existence of a Secret Museum – a restricted collection that existed at from the 1830s-1950s (Gaimster 2000 & 2001; Wallace 2007) - emphasising that the British Museum - like other institutions - has historically marginalised and suppressed some histories. This part of the display also included a selection of campaign badges used to highlight more recent LGBTQ history in the UK post-1967. The other side of the exhibition space focussed on contemporary collecting, highlighting objects with an LGBTQ connection that had recently been acquired, particularly those from non-European contexts (Figure 4).

Figure 4 – Desire, love, identity: exploring LGBTQ histories at the British Museum (Room 69a) (Photo copyright: Trustees of the British Museum)

47 By 2000 there had been significant attitudinal and societal change towards same-sex relationships, but the acquisition of the Cup arguably facilitated institutional change, encouraging a shift from latent potential, to actual change.
48 For more information see, LGBT History Month. LGBT History Month website. [online] Available at: <http://lgbthistorymonth.org.uk/> [Accessed 20 February 2016]
Linked to the display – and intended to be an integral element – was a trail (or dispersed exhibition) highlighting 14 objects on display in the permanent galleries around the Museum. Each object was accompanied by a vinyl strip or stele sign with around 250 words allowing longer, more nuanced discussion than is possible in usual label formats (Figure 5). It was expected that some visitors would want to follow the trail systematically, visiting all of the objects. However, the project team also hoped that the vinyl and stele interpretation would impact on a larger number of visitors on a general visit, people who might not otherwise visit an LGBTQ themed display. The Museum wanted the project to reach as wide and mainstream an audience as possible. The overall aim of the display and trail was to demonstrate that same-sex love and desire, and gender diversity, have always been an integral part of human experience, but that the way that they have been expressed culturally has varied widely across the world and across time.

Figure 5 – The Warren Cup (Room 70) at the British Museum, part of the Desire, love, identity trail (Photo copyright: Trustees of the British Museum)

Conclusion
In many ways, the National Trust and the British Museum represent the history of LGBTQ interpretation in the UK in microcosm: a long history of omission with meaningful change only happening recently, long after the legislative change in 1967. Most museums, galleries and heritage sites have arguably lagged behind shifts in the mainstream and popular culture. The abundance of innovative, inspiring and controversy-free LGBTQ themed projects that took place during 2017 is a clear indication that professional attitudes and priorities have changed. The visitor and media response to all of these projects was overwhelmingly positive. Never Going Underground: the fight for LGBTQ+ rights at The Peoples’ History Museum garnered a great deal of praise and won several awards. Audience evaluation of the British Museum’s Desire, love, identity project revealed overwhelming public support for the initiative, and the main display was visited by over 166,000 people from around the world (TWResearch 2017). The approach to highlighting LGBTQ objects in the permanent galleries was particularly popular, with numerous people stating that the interpretation should be retained permanently. Inevitably, the project did

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49 This statement is referring primarily to the UK. There have been important earlier projects in Australia, Sweden, and Germany, amongst others.
generate some highly unpleasant, sometimes homophobic, responses, particularly online in response to social media posts:

"@britishmuseum @LondonLGBTPride The point is heterosexuals aren't rubbing their sexual preference in your face. Good for you, you're gay. who gives a ****...."

"@britishmuseum So you're celebrating sodomy now? What's next? Necrophilia?"

Some social media responses like this are probably – sadly – still a fact of life for this type of programming. They also underline how important it is that museums and heritage organisations continue to represent LGBTQ communities, histories and voices in their programming and interpretive frameworks.

Of all the projects that took place during 2017, it was probably Prejudice and Pride that generated the most media interest and debate (Hastings 2017). With regard to Prejudice and Pride at Felbrigg Hall, for example, Ketton-Cremer’s godsons were quoted as saying that they felt that it was inappropriate for the Trust to publically highlight Ketton-Cremer’s sexuality because this was something that he himself had chosen to keep private during his lifetime. The Trust’s motives in doing so were unfairly and inaccurately portrayed in some newspapers (Bennett 2017, Hopkins 2017).

Additionally, debate arose about the Prejudice and Pride badges and lanyards designed for volunteers and staff to wear in support of the programme. Although the Trust insisted initially that all volunteers at Felbrigg wear the branded items, some declined to do so. After further consideration – and debate in the media – the Trust changed its position, and left the decision to the individual volunteers’ discretion (Manning 2017, Grierson 2017).

LGBTQ projects that reach, engage and challenge mainstream audiences are as necessary as those that are targeted primarily at LGBTQ individuals and communities. The audiences visiting many of the National Trust’s Prejudice & Pride properties are likely to be different from those who frequent museums, libraries and archives in large metropolitan areas like Liverpool, London and Manchester. This suggests that heritage organisations like the Trust have a particularly important role to play. Some responses to the Prejudice and Pride programme indicate that some sections of the Trust’s audience felt uncomfortable with the approach that they had taken (Hastings 2017) but the fact that Prejudice and Pride – and projects like it – sometimes provoke negative responses or polarised debates is confirmation that they are still badly needed.

A key challenge for the museums and heritage sector in the UK is to ensure that the LGBTQ programming that took place during 2017 leads to meaningful and lasting institutional and organisational change. Important as special exhibitions are – and anniversary related programming is – LGBTQ histories and perspectives need to be an integral part of mainstream permanent museum displays and heritage site interpretation. There is a risk with any anniversary related programming that once the milestone has passed, and the temporary programming is over, that there is no real change to permanent interpretation, and no lasting legacy. Recent history demonstrates that liberal societies can become more conservative and less tolerant: it would be unwise for museums and heritage organisations to be complacent.
Find out more: important exhibitions and displays


**Gay UK: Love, Law and Liberty** (2 Jun - 19 Sep 2017), British Library [https://www.bl.uk/events/gay-uk-love-law-liberty](https://www.bl.uk/events/gay-uk-love-law-liberty)


**Prejudice and Pride.** The National Trust [https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/prejudice-and-pride-exploring-lgbtq-history](https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/prejudice-and-pride-exploring-lgbtq-history)

**Pride of Place: LGBTQ Heritage Project.** Historic England. [https://historicengland.org.uk/research/inclusive-heritage/lgbtq-heritage-project/](https://historicengland.org.uk/research/inclusive-heritage/lgbtq-heritage-project/)


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Cultural heritage and the meaning of museums for young Hungarians

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Abstract
In the paper, we analyse the attitude of youths towards museum visits, one of the most common occasions for encountering material and symbolic aspects of cultural heritage. The study presents Hungarian data of a cross-cultural survey on young people’s museum visiting habits, attitudes and beliefs and, in general, their perception of museums. Museophobia and museophilia as ideal types of relating to museums is suggested for interpreting our data on museum visits.

Furthermore, qualitative techniques were also applied for complementing survey data. We have conducted semi-structured interviews among young Hungarians on the issue of ‘What does a museum mean for young adults?’ The interviews demonstrated the diversity of interpretations regarding museums. Qualitative analysis reveals a complex relationship between identities, various types of free-time activities and museum visits.

Our paper offers a description of the pattern of young people’s museum visits, i.e. direct encounters of the new generation with a significant institution devoted to conveying cultural heritage. Then we will elaborate and utilise the concept of identity considered as a project for connecting the past with the future that is a task for individuals and communities alike.

Keywords
museum perception, youth, identity, cultural heritage, participation, interest, visitor study

Introduction
One of the most common occasions for encountering material and symbolic aspects of cultural heritage is connected to museums. Museums, as places dedicated to deal with and responsible for different kinds of heritage of human communities, face significant challenges nowadays. The traditional main functions of museums, such as acquisition, conservation, research, and interpretation (communicating and exhibiting) (ICOM 2016), have to be reloaded.

What is needed for a museum to be ready for the new generations that are immersed in a more and more digital world? Some museum associations prescribe the functions of museums (see ICOM above). At the same time, some authors offer clear dimensions by which to develop new streams (see Anderson 2012). Other experts make it clear that society and its members claim to participate much more actively in the process of activities concerning cultural heritage (see Simon 2010).
Some of these primarily prescriptive ideas and theories on the role of a museum will be presented in the forthcoming paragraphs. Additionally, we offer some points to consider on identity and cultural heritage and on their connections. After these more conceptual and theoretical remarks, some empirically founded descriptive results will be provided. Following that, we present the two waves of our empirical investigation: a survey-based and an interview-based analysis of museum experience. We hope that our research can offer some contributions to understand the museum perception of youths and clarify the connection between identity and cultural heritage.

**Museums’ challenges: changing mission of museums in the late modernity**

When grandparents tell stories of their childhood or a pupil learns some history or an art lesson from a book, or watches something on TV or any channels of the web, these activities all can be called sharing cultural heritage. These meetings with values, victories and losses, stories and artistic and/or entertaining events have very wide patterns. The most commonly accepted way of introducing and transmitting cultural heritage is the museum. This task of a museum is highly significant for a given community and for the individual as well. To understand the possibilities and the duties of a museum in the process of connecting the past with the present is more important than ever.

Anderson (2012), among others, speaks about paradigm shift in the history of museums. The contemporary society has a different point of view on museums. The museum cannot be the same palace as it was before, it cannot be a temple of high art and knowledge which is understood only by the privileged. If the cultural institutions want to be relevant and valid with regard to contemporary challenges and want their message to be spread widely, then they need to reflect on the changes. Therefore, museums should be perceived as places which are able to facilitate thinking and dialogue and give experience.

Simon (2010) is on the same side of the compellers who urge changes in the definition of ‘museum’. Her main idea is that it is better to reflect the needs of the society. If the museum wants to be in dialogue with its audience, it needs to let the audience in. This means the widest sense of invitation. The museum can open up the gates and reflect the late modern society. Simon argues the importance of participation. Participative initiatives include the visitor in the museum’s world as a partner not just a passive viewer. Simon devises four concepts in order to make the process of participation clear. These are: contribution, collaboration, co-creation and hosted situation.

German (2017) indicates that museum visitors are multilingual media users. They are self-confident and experts of several media. They use digital tools and social networks to share knowledge and experience. According to German, this also leads to the importance of participation. Following her idea, to get the visitors involved, the museum has to offer digital tools to use and, on the other hand, the museum also has to let the visitors use their own tools.

The idea that the museum should be a place for learning was also highlighted recently. For example, there was a very practice-oriented project run by six European countries (ITEMS 2010-12) targeting the question of the connection between schools and museums. ‘This partnership is aimed at developing the analysis, research and exchange on good practice with regard to museums as educational resources in the very context of school training and with particular attention to the secondary school level’ (see the project website). The project focuses on the importance of using modern IT tools to engage youths and to enable them to perceive museums as learning places. The initiative doesn’t explore the joy of a museum visit, but definitely looks at museum visits as meaningful experiences.

Innovative Teaching for European Museum Strategies (ITEMS) initialised, among other meetings, a conference entitled, ‘Museum as a learning place’. This conference was among the very first in the Vatican Museums on collaborating with schools in 2011.
Understanding museum visitors
Museum scholars have been working on prescriptive ideas on the mission of museums, as illustrated briefly above. But descriptive and empirical studies also aim to understand the functioning of museums.

Falk (2006) introduced a new dimension into the field of visitor research. According to Falk, the most influencing factor of museum visits is identity. He argues that the visitors’ needs are based on their identity. The motivations are characterised by their self-reflection. These identity-based motivations of the visitors can be described in five categories: explorers, facilitators, professionals/hobbyists, experience seekers, rechargers (spiritual pilgrims).

Thus, exploring museum visits is an interesting field for study for empirically-oriented psychologists as well. For example, the present authors were involved in an international group that was facilitated by Stefano Mastandrea to conduct an empirical research on museum visits (see detailed description later). Mastandrea and Maricchiolo (2016) edited a book to integrate and present the results. After citing several previous visitor studies, they conclude in the introduction: ‘These results suggest that in different parts of the world, museums do not attract very many young people’ (Mastandrea and Maricchiolo 2016:5).

Why is this? They and other authors of the volume offer empirical answers. We refer to some relevant thoughts from the book.

Höge (2016), for example, goes back to the beginning: he has realised that a lot of people belong to the non-goers. So Höge focuses on non-visitors. The majority of society never goes to a museum, and it means mostly the less educated and younger classes. He says that if museums want to invite and appeal to anyone, they need to be aware of the potential visitor’s motives. He argues on the importance of the mass who miss museums. He even goes as far as stating that focusing on visitors is not interesting in this sense because they are already in.

Some other research indicates one other aspect of visiting, claiming that a museum is a place perceived as an institution for elderly people and about old things. Young people are interested in the present and the near future rather than the past (Shrapnel 2012). This last issue leads us to the next chapter: the question of connecting the past with the future.

Connecting identity and cultural heritage
We do agree with Falk (2006) on the significance of identity in exploring museum visits, although we will not follow his interesting typology. Rather, we seek to understand visitors’ motives to select particular museums from their discursive act from their talk.

Identity is often defined as a process or project spread in time and place. In other words, identity connects the past with the present and the future, and it is a relevant concept for considering people’s connection to their past in general and cultural heritage in particular. Thus, in a previous study, Illes (2012) offered an analysis of Hungarian historical paintings regarding national identity. The research applied narrative psychological analysis in order to understand the meaning and structure of identity at the birth of the concept ‘nation’ in the second half of the 19th century. The so-called national feelings and thoughts started to appeal in this period and materialised in the historical paintings’ heroic and tragic atmosphere and topics. Furthermore, these paintings, exhibited mostly in the National Gallery, become very often cited and reproduced pictures, determining the visual and emotional representation of the nation. Having these pictures in the history books maintains the image of a successful nation (independent from the facts). This research gives evidence to prove the clamped structure of cultural heritage and identity.

Who am I? Who are you? Who are we? Social sciences try to catch the concept of identity and the relevant phenomena in very different ways. Thus, for example, while psychologists
concentrate mainly on personal identity, social psychologists and sociologists emphasise the importance of social identity in their attempts at analysing and explaining human conduct.

In this section, we will offer three major conceptual pillars or theses to clarify our stance toward the issue of identity. Then, we show the connection between identity and cultural assets, whether material or symbolic, of which cultural heritage is a particular subset. On a personal level, we will argue that this connection is realised in the ‘interest’ of the particular person, so if something is interesting to a person it relates both to the specific layer of her/his identity and to the specific aspect of the surrounding culture; actually, they are ‘the interests’ themselves which manifest the coordination between person to culture. And finally, in this context, we will show an analysis of the person’s talk related to museums, institutions of cultural heritage. We will see that ‘interest talk’ coordinates various layers of identity to cultural content.

(1) **Thesis on the social construction of identity**
Apart from some radical agnostics or solipsist thinkers, most scholars would agree with our starting claim: we humans are not isolated and eternally lonely beings, we humans are not ding an sich. Instead, we are relational, most specifically social, beings, and as such we are what others think about us, the way other people handle us. In short, we are what others define us as. At the same time, we are what we think about us, the way we handle ourselves, we are what we are according to our own self-definition. Thus, our approach maintains that any conceptualisation of identity should accommodate its double character, and its relational nature. Note, that analysing identity in this way goes back at least to G. H. Mead’s conceptualisation of self as it was detailed in his book, *Mind, Self and Society* (1934). Mead, the father figure of the sociological approach called symbolic interactionism, claimed that the self is a process, and it is a social construction. The self in his account is continuously emerging from the interplay of I and me, where the ‘I’ aspect of the self is the reaction of the person to her/his actual situation, while the ‘me’ aspect of the self is the interiorised version of others’ reaction to our own conduct. We are partly what we claim to be and perform and partly what others make out of our deeds.

In summary, in our view, any account of identity must consider what a person takes themself to be, i.e. the person’s self-definition, and what the person is according to others, i.e. the definition given by others.

(2) **Thesis on the descriptive and performative character of identity**
Identity has a descriptive, categorical constituent, especially with respect to social identity, and it has a performative, activity-bound constituent alike. For example, a teacher is a category to which certain people belong to. At the same time, being a teacher involves a special kind of activity, namely teaching of a given subject to a given audience. In linguistic analogies, identity has a noun and a verb facet alike. Thus, when we talk about identity, we provide descriptions, we talk about someone as a person who belongs to some category. Parallel to this, we can talk about a person’s activity which contributes fundamentally to the given identity, even creates the relevant identity. This is the performative constituent of the given identity.

In short: identity is classification and identity is performance at the same time.

(3) **Thesis on the temporal continuity of identity**
Identity is a concept which implies a certain time span. There is no identity without an enduring existence of the relevant entity. Furthermore, identity, in our view, is a process during which the past is connected to the future in and through the present. The time-bound character of identity is widely acknowledged, at least with regard to the past. As it is well-known, and the critical intelligentsia keeps reminding us of it, whether imagined or recorded, excavated and fabricated, real and invented, all the past contributes to a community’s unique sense of existence, to the common identity.
Although identity is considered as a unified something, for the purpose of analysis, it could be divided into various layers or aspects; it could be considered as a texture composed of multiple interwoven lines. And this analytical move of separating different aspects of identity may offer a key to the understanding and empirical analyses of the connections between identity and cultural heritage. Indeed, one can argue that a person’s identity manifests itself in his/her relations toward his/her cultural environment, including his/her claims and activities towards them. Thus, what is interesting (entertaining, attractive, etc.) to a person and what is not (boring, uninteresting, etc.) is an indicator of her/his relatedness to different aspects of her/his culture, including its constituents, which is taken as cultural heritage. The content of someone’s cultural interest, notably interest in cultivated cultural constituents stemming from the past, connects the person’s identity to a certain layer of cultural heritage. We believe the interest, or what is interesting, plays a crucial role in connecting identity to cultural goods. In other terms, connection between a person’s identity and cultural environment manifest itself in what is interesting to the person.

The patterns of visiting museums in Hungarian youths
The empirical material of the present section goes back to an international study of Mastandrea and his colleagues who surveyed the museum-going of younger age groups, especially students. An international group was organised and headed by Stefano Mastandrea from Roma Tre University. The group developed a collaborative research on museum visiting habits of young people and their perception of museums (Mastandrea and Maricchiolo (2016). Furthermore, we have elaborated several questions regarding the possible meaning of museums for the potential audience, including the young generation. Our questions were provoked by some casual observations on the meaning of museums. Earlier, we found that museums have the ‘smell of a crypt’ and that they are full of ‘frightening caretakers’, according to some students. Of course, we wished to get a more articulated and empirically supported picture on the young public’s favourable and dismissive view on museums. We were keen on having more or less naturally formulated discourse on museums. Therefore, we opted to use interviews. By this qualitative technique, deeper layers of meaning could be reconstructed which lie beneath the survey data. An analysis of interviews was published previously regarding the meaning of museums (Illés, Bodor 2016). In this paper, interviews will be analysed from the perspective of identity and heritage in the next section below.

Survey data on museum visits
Description of the sample
The Hungarian sample consisted of data from 457 students. 81 % of our respondents were female, and 19 % were male. They represented various universities, but the majority of our respondents were from the faculties of education, social studies and psychology.

![The participants' area of study in %](image)

**Figure 1** – The participants’ area of study (by percentage)
Description of questionnaire data on museum visits of young Hungarian university students

We will present some major descriptive results of our survey. We will show the number of museum visits in the past and the estimated number of museum visits in the near future as claimed by our participants. Data on the emotional and the cognitive impact of these visits will be shown as well, i.e. the way our respondents perceived their recent museum visits.

*Estimated number of museum visits*

![Museum visits in the past 12 Months (%)](image1)

*Figure 2 – Estimated number of museum visits in the last year (percentage of respondents and number of visits).*

Estimations on the museum visits during the last year revealed that the relative majority of our respondents paid a visit to a museum only once. There were relatively few people, less than 4%, who claimed not to have visited any museums during the last year.

Our data on anticipated museum visits are interesting as well.

![Museum visits in the next months (%)](image2)

*Figure 3 – Estimation of probability of museum visits in the coming months (from 'not at all likely' to 'very likely' in percentages).*
Here, we see that only 13.6% of respondents, so relatively few, claimed that they will not visit or it is not likely that they will visit a museum in the near future and most of them think that they will visit a museum in the coming months.

**Subjective outcomes of museum visits**

*Museums: a place to learn or a place to enjoy?*

What do our data attest on the outcome of museum visits? What do museum-goers expect from visiting a museum? Our questionnaire attempted to identify different types of motivations and experiences one could be driven by and gain from museum visits. In people’s estimation, is learning or emotional experience connected to museum going, and, if so, how does it relate to the frequency of visiting museums?

Our respondents answered to the question of how much they have learnt from visiting a museum. The data shows that if you visit a museum, you learn at least something. Furthermore, a greater number of visits corresponds to more learning, according to our respondents.

Emotional factors show similar connections and correlations with the number of museum visits. If somebody goes to a museum, s/he undergoes at least some emotional experience. Also, more visits go together with more emotional responses. Note however, that this tendency is true primarily for positive emotions. Negative emotions show similar tendencies, but in a much weaker measure.

It also seems interesting that both the cognitive and the emotional gain one could get from visiting a museum increases only up to five visits per a year, and then increases no further. It might be called a satiation or ceiling effect.

**Allocating types to museum visitors: Museophobia vs museophilia**

Perception of museums and judgements on the cognitive and emotional significance of the visits can be used to establish two broad types of personal attitudes or stances towards museums. A person who does not visit museums and thinks that neither cognitive nor emotional gains can be acquired from going to museums can be coined as museophobe. At the opposite end of the scale, we can find a person who believes that both cognitive and emotional gain can be taken from visiting museums. S/he can be called museophile. As we put it in an earlier analysis: ‘The two concepts describe two extreme stances of museum visitors: refraining from museums and avoiding museum visits on the one hand, and perception of museums as a place for gathering emotional experiences and learning on the other hand’ (Illés, Bodor 2016). There we defined museophobes as those respondents whose answer to the survey question, ‘How many times did you go to a museum, exhibition, etc. in the past 12 months?’ was ‘not once’. Museophiles were defined as those people whose answer to the same question was ‘more than five times’. In our sample, we had 17 museophobes and 69 museophiles according to these criteria.

**A short characterisation of Museophobes**

Museophobes are people having the weakest positive attitudes and the strongest negative attitudes towards going to a museum. These people usually prefer other cultural activities. They think that museums are not an appropriate place for acquiring knowledge, and they do not think that museum visits are more effective to learn from than books. They do not agree with some further survey items: they do not think that ‘museums provide important knowledge’, they do not agree with the claim that ‘museum visits make you more open-minded’, and they do not endorse the statement that ‘appreciation of objects in museums is a good feeling’.

**A short characterisation of Museophiles**

Museophiles have strong positive and weak negative attitudes towards visiting a museum. They are of the opinion that museums offer important knowledge to their visitors. They think that going to museums makes one more open-minded, and they believe that appreciation of objects in museums is a good feeling. And, on the other side, they do not prefer museum visits to other
cultural activities, such as going to concerts or the cinema, and they do not agree with the characterisation that museums are not appropriate for learning, and that museums are less effective to learn from than books.

**What is the meaning of museums for young adults?**
Questionnaire studies are useful when museum visits and some of their supposed motivational factors are the issue. Also, it was instrumental in developing a typology of persons, such as the museophobe and museophile types, on the basis of their general stance towards museums. But there are clear constraints of survey data. Research based on survey data could be complemented by some more qualitative information source, some more meaning-oriented, qualitative data. We decided to collect interviews that are more sensitive to meaning varieties than questionnaires which use mainly previously conceived alternatives to choose from.

Accordingly, in a previous study we argued that ‘personal experiences of visiting museums and the meaning of museums for the young generation could be approached through interview methods as well’ (Illés and Bodor 2016).

Our interviews were orientated by the following question, ‘What does a museum mean for young adults?’ The interviews we conducted on the meaning of museums provide us with rich material to study, both regarding the general issue of meaning of museums (Illés, Bodor 2016), and the more specific question of how cultural heritage and identity manifest themselves in and through relating to museums.

**Interviews on the meaning of museums**

**Description of interviews**
We collected 18 interviews with young Hungarians, aged 18 to 29 years. Most of them were university students: one had already obtained her university degree, 14 were active students, three had a secondary school degree; seven of our subjects were males and 11 were females.

The interviews took from one to three quarter of an hour, and were transcribed for analysis.

Our interviews were semi-structured. For our actual interview guideline, see the Appendix of our earlier paper on the topic (Illés and Bodor 2016). A final word on the manner of interviewing: our interviewers were asked to let their interviewees talk as freely as possible, rather than asking them all prepared questions. The interviewers were students of the second author, studying for a degree in sociology.

**Analysis of the interviews**

Like all everyday discourse, talk pertains to cultural topics, interviews on museums manifest the speaker’s relation to the topic, show his/her interest or lack of interest, etc. In this way, our interviews on museum visits can be taken as discourse which, among other tasks, reveals different aspects or constituents of the talker’s identity. As we will see, this sometimes explicit, sometimes implicit, identity aspect of talk refers to different material or cultural artefacts. Thus, a major analytical issue is what segment of cultural heritage a segment of talk is directed to.

In other terms, the methodologically highly significant issue is what aspects of cultural heritage the speaker is directed to or evokes in his/her claims. In the analysis of interviews, we will look for the identity implicating constituents in our interviewees’ talk. We propose that both the explicit use of ‘interesting to me’ and its implicit varieties can be taken by the analyst as occasions when the speaker connects his/her identity components to some cultural content. Of course, not all parts of these evoked cultural contents could be taken as cultural heritage in its narrower sense.

However, we decided to follow the internal logic of our respondents, instead of defining cultural heritage deductively, and in effect forcing our informants’ way of conceptualising museum visits and the connected experiences into the enforced uniformity of some preconceived theory. In this way, if an interviewee, for example, referred to visiting a beer museum in Amsterdam as one of his most interesting museum visits, instead of, say, visiting the Rijks, or the nearby Van Gogh museum or perhaps Rembrandt’s house, we have taken it as an element of connecting his beer-consumer male identity with its cultural realisation. Similarly, in our interviews a recurrent
exhibition experience was an exhibition called Body, which presents prepared and dissected human bodies in various positions. Of course, visiting the exhibition of Body and watching anatomised corpses is not attesting an interest in cultural heritage in its usual sense, as an interest in the face and smile of Leonardo’s La Giaconda may testify. Still, we argue that interest in the exhibition called Body testifies an interest in the visual appearance of internal constituents and layers of the human body, our own and our fellows’ bodies, and in this general sense attests an identity-relevant cultural interest.

Methodologically, our way of analysing the interviews was informed by grounded theory (Charmaz 2006), and it implied the aspects of identity and heritage our subjects reflected on whilst discussing their museum experiences. In the following paragraphs, the identity-related characteristics of museum visits will be analysed.

Several aspects of identity appeared and were connected to material and symbolic elements of cultural heritage in our interviews. From a psychological and a sociological perspective, body, gender, consumption, social status, educational level and profession all could be taken as aspects of a person’s identity. Examples from our interviews in the sections below will attest that these constituents of identity are regularly implicated in our respondents’ selective orientation toward cultural contents, toward cultural goods, including elements of cultural heritage in its narrower sense also.

We realised several aspects of identity as described above. In the analysis, we were curious to find the patterns of these aspects. The most salient categories were: social status or level of education, profession related, gender body and, time, participation, accompanying persons, consuming, micro, mezzo, macro areas.

Social status or level of education
This interview section shows that the speaker thinks that ‘enjoying’ museums and ‘curiosity towards museums’ requires ‘background intelligence and knowledge’: “I was in Milan and saw a Leonardo exhibition, and loved it. I think you have to grow up for this, it is necessary to have a background intelligence and knowledge. In order to be able to go in a way to enjoy it. Not to go and yawn all along. I think it is very important to have the curiosity for museums.”

Significance of knowledge appears in the context of interest in the works of ‘great painters’: “Which is really famous, … yes, or I don’t know. A couple of famous artists like Picasso, Chagall, Klimt, these are good anyway… so, it is good if you know how to understand these, at least one or two paintings you recognised, if you at least hear about them.”

Significance of education and training also appears in a slightly self-degrading form, when the speaker considers herself as ‘mentally underconditioned’: “Well,… at the art exhibitions I always feel a little underconditioned by intelligence, [laughing] so, I always feel that I should like it, but I don’t.”

A similar formulation appears when ‘maturity’ is mentioned as a factor for fully appreciating culture: “I really liked it, but it was too long. There were too many things there. Actually, I remember that there have been a lot of things to explore, too much information, but little time. And I actually felt that I was not mature enough to appreciate it.”

Profession
Profession as an important layer of a person’s identity, which also serves as a basis for interest. A student of personal training who is otherwise not a great fan of museums would visit an exhibition if it was connected to that topic: “I – as mentioned before – study to be a personal trainer. So, I have a peculiar interest in this topic, so, if there would be an exhibition with this topic, then I would probably go”.
Gender
Clearly, gender is an important constituent of identity for most people. And it surfaces as a constituent of museum experience. This interview section is about a beer museum: “… we were in Amsterdam, at the Heineken Museum, there, in Amsterdam. … Yes, well, it is a great experience for a man”.

Time
As we referred above, the identity’s main process is to connect the past and the future with the present. Therefore, we think that the dimension of time is an interesting issue. For example, the curiosity about how people lived in the past: “and there is everything in the same way as it used to be”.
“… and the mummies. I liked them, and I loved the pharaoh exhibition very much. And really, so long ago, people did it, and I can watch it now.”

Sometimes, a museum is only expected to hold really old things.
“… and I don’t know, so, we’ve been in a folk museum. Nobody was interested in how such old clothes looked like, trousers… and the clean room, so, nothing remains in your mind. The problem is that it is not so long ago. If you go to see a village, there are a lot of people living the same way today as well.”

One of the participants answered the question, ‘What kind of museum would you be interested in?’ with the following statement: “Probably the future, maybe, what will happen to the Earth, humankind, what will happen in x time far, so, this is what I would be interested in.”

Participation
We have found several quotes on the need for the joyful experience of participation:
“Once we were at Hollóháza at the Porcelain Museum with my parents, as part of the family holiday. And well, I don’t really remember the museum, but there was an opportunity for children to paint porcelain with porcelain paint. And they burnt it … And they sent is to us by post and I still have it. So, this is a good experience.”
“I remember a museum of war or like that. I remember because we could try the combat helmet on, and we could touch the weapons.”

Company
As Falk says, the museum visit is also identity related in the sense of who is the company of the visitor, e.g. going with school means a strict must, with the unpleasant feeling of duty. For example, someone reflecting on their childhood may think, ‘I didn’t like going to museums with school, because as a child I was not interested. I’d rather go with my family, because going out with the family is a more liberal programme than going with school, which is mandatory’.

Body-related consumption
In the interviews, as in everyday life, the material joy has some impact. For example, bodily good things related to consumption and the body itself: “At the Heineken Museum in Amsterdam, we saw such things like how to make beer, what kind of machinery they had, what kind of processes the material went through till reaching the bottle, and so on.”

Community membership
A further group of identity elements correspond to various group and community memberships. These communities can be classified as micro, mezzo and macro communities. Micro, in the present context, is a local community, like a town or a city. It can be coined as regional identity. Mezzo community is a greater unit, it corresponds to a country or a nation. Finally, we can speak of a macro community that is a less clearly defined but definitely greater unit; it refers to Europe and to the European culture, or perhaps it refers to an even more universal culture, the all human culture.
Micro
Examples of interview sections that mention elements of cultural heritage connected to the person’s micro community include ‘famous’ and rare or unique objects, like the castle in Gyula, considered as the only intact castle made of bricks in Middle Europe:
“...And, well, ... the castle of Gyula, I think, it is the first brick-castle of Europe, or something like that.”
“Well, for me it was free sometimes, because of being a citizen of Gyula (town), sometimes I get some VIP tickets because of that. And things like that.”

And the micro level also implicates the strangeness of the location:
“...so, although, mainly, someone was shot there, people have suffered there, this is so strange.”

Mezzo
The mezzo level community hosts various cultural goods, like the Zsolnay Porcelain Manufactory in Hungary, which produces ‘the most beautiful pottery what is Hungarian’:
“To tell the truth it was very good. Certainly, among all the potteries the most beautiful pottery what is Hungarian. And really those are really very nice and very well prepared, and extraordinary pieces.” – Alexa

The mezzo level of the cultural unit, the nation and its story and history is mentioned in the following excerpt: “...abroad I rather choose (museums) to go to get acquainted with a particular nation’s story, history a little bit better”.

Macro
In this category, we mean the widest sense of culture, the cross national, worldwide or general topics. For example, the body itself: “…and this is the reason I’d like to go there, because it is a rarity, but an everyday thing at the same time. Because we are all similar human beings, and there are a lot of things we don’t know about ourselves, but there, we can have a look. And this is not a typical exhibition, maybe this is the reason it is so popular”.

Conclusions
What is the role of museums in our ever-changing world? What do we know about their visitors? What influences a person’s attitudes toward museums, and what is the role of identity in the intricate process of connecting people to cultural heritage? These are some major questions our study purported to analyse.

In our paper, first we described some prescriptive approaches that seek to reconfigure the way museums should work. Arguments for a historical paradigm shift of museums, the move towards participatory museums, recognising the skills of multilingual media users, are all important elements for reconfiguring museums.

Then we touched upon some more empirically oriented research on museums. Empirical research on visitors indicates that significant strata of our late modern society are not attracted by museums at all. Some even suggest that we should study non-visitors instead of visitors.

After summarising a set of prescriptive and descriptive works on museums and museum visitors, we turned to describe our own empirical investigations. Our first study was based on survey data. The study subjects were young Hungarians who provided important descriptive data on visiting museums and on the perception of museums as well. It seems that two ideal types of stances towards museums can be established: museophobia and museophilia.

In a second study, we tried to analyse the connection between a person’s identity and her or his relation to her or his cultural environment. Cultural heritage is connected to identity in complex and multiple ways. Nevertheless, we argued that ‘interest’ is a key factor of connecting a person’s
various layers of identity to cultural content, including what can be taken as cultural heritage. This study identified sections of interviews that manifest this connection.

References


Bridging the past to the future: Utilisation of urban heritage in outdoor education

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Abstract
Outdoor education is an increasingly important element of educational methods, and a highly debated issue at the same time: these debates concern primarily the way, how to implement outdoor techniques into curriculum-based learning systems. Present paper intends to scrutinize the question, how outdoor methods have been present on heritage studies, and how IT solutions can bolster the functionality and usability of these methods. In addition, a particular IT-application called Peripatos will be presented, modelling a content-development process in the case of Kőszeg.

Keywords
outdoor education, urban heritage

Outdoor methods within the spectre of educational tools
"Teaching in the outdoors is both an art and a science", says one comprehensive overview about the effort when educators try to bring their audience out of the buildings of the schooling system (Gilbertson et al., 2006, p. viii). Audience can mean, from this point of view, not just pupils but university students as well; moreover, it includes visitors to museums and cultural institutions. In this way, outdoor educational techniques can be implemented in a great variety of ways, when personal experience and interaction with the subject can bolster the effectiveness of the way of learning. As Phyllis Ford put it in the guideline of US ministerial bodies: "The subject matter of outdoor education is a holistic combination of the interrelationships of all nature and the human being, attitudes for caring for the universe, and skills for utilising natural resources for human survival and for leisure pursuits" (Ford, 1986).

Despite this potential colourfulness of subjects and topics filtered by outdoor techniques, outdoor education had dealt with primarily, and in many cases exclusively, environmental education and recreational activities. The cover of the book mentioned above also elucidates this monolithic dominance of environmental subjects, showing children in the forests, as the whole content of the publication picks concrete practices regarding the environmental theme. Again, in Phyllis Ford’s manual, cultural aspects appear only as a supplement to nature-oriented topics, like visiting abandoned sites of civilisation or earlier industrial sites, discovering tombstones or comparing original and invasive species. However, as places for outdoor education occur in urban and built sites, such as the concrete of the playground or an urban renewal project, urbanised or industrialised places provide in this context mainly a platform for presenting the fractured balance between humanity and nature (Ford, 1986). Going further, ‘wilderness’ is often said to be the prerequisite of outdoor education (Higgins, 2002). This work points to the leading role of outdoor education in the Scottish education system as a result of the great extent of wild places in Scotland. The case is the same in Canada (Henderson-Potter, 2001). The proposed synonyms also depict the perceived bounds of outdoor education with non-urban sites, such as
environmental education, conservation education, resident outdoor school, outdoor pursuits, adventure education, experiential education and nature education (Ford, 1986).

Over decades, outdoor education has gained its reputation and infrastructure not just in the schooling system but in the academic sphere as well, having its own periodicals (Journal of Adventure Education and Outdoor Learning), international networks and conferences. Beside this globalisation of outdoor education, some geographical terrains and regions have remained dominant actors in it. And this bias is in relation with the nature-oriented utilisation of outdoor techniques. Australia proved to be a strong representative of outdoor education, due to the fact that people sought their source of organic identity through their own exploration of the land (Brookes, 2002). In this case, cultural aspects include reading of landscape as traces of inhabited places of aboriginal people (Stewart, 2008).

Another region with a strong outdoor philosophy is Scandinavia where an underlying principle of education is to find the way back to the open air as our home. In this model, nature is not just the subject of education but its framework and its background, a kind of replacement of classrooms. This attitude is called the friluftsliv tradition in Norway (Henderson-Potter, 2001), meaning ‘living in the free air’. Besides Norway and Sweden, Finland also has a long tradition of outdoor education, building it into the curriculum. The slogan of ‘friluftsliv’ has already spread through the global educational literature, improving the high reputation of Scandinavian schooling systems from the beginning.

Although the slogan of outdoor education has conquered the world, the formal recognition of its importance has not been coupled with practical popularity. This uneven situation is rooted partly in the difficulties of how to implement outdoor classes in official curricula. Teachers’ commitment toward organising outdoor sessions has not proved to be sufficient, since they typically need more time than the regular 45- or 90-minute-long teaching periods. So, primary and secondary schools or higher educational institutions have to be committed at an institutional level which is the case in the friluftsliv-countries, organising, for example, one outdoor schooling day in every second week. In universities, the technique of ‘intensive weeks’ has been spreading which breaks the regular rhythm of the semester with, for example, day-long field trips.

**Can IT solutions broaden the subjects of outdoor education?**

Another challenge of outdoor education has proved to be that it needs a special learning agenda (texts and publications), since traditional learning materials are not optimised for it. This special prerequisite needs more preparation time on the part of educators, which makes outdoor classes more difficult, at least compared to indoor classes. This challenge causes the dominance of non-text-based subjects in outdoor environments (physical or environmental education). The lack of curriculum-based social subjects and humanities has become an issue within the discourse about outdoor education. Several research projects pointed out this under-represented situation and called for defining outdoor education as a platform not just for natural sciences, but for geography, history and anthropology as well (Lai et al., 2013).

We cannot speak about the total lack of urban and social studies or humanities within outdoor education. ‘Cultural heritage’, as a topic of outdoor education has already appeared in the literature (Knudson et. al., 1999). The list of adventure programming has already contained the urban setting as well (Miles-Priest, 1999). But urban space has typically appeared just as a replacement of nature, where the same form of environmental education has to be imitated, and where the urban horizon is just a barrier to be solved (Beedie, 1999). The Praeger Handbook of Urban Education has the same logical structure as well.

The hypothesis of this paper is that, despite the lack of urban heritage subjects in the general literature of outdoor education, existing and developed methods – functioning primarily in environmental education – can be implemented in urban spaces as well, optimising them for heritage. For instance, such underlying principles as ‘the dynamic education environment’,
'contextual experience' or 'mapping' have to be considered as a basis for material development (Lai et al., 2013). This hypothesis is presented – and will be tested in practice – with a mobile application called Peripatos, developed by the author of this paper and serving as a tool for outdoor education.

IT solutions are present throughout the whole scene of education. A specific infrastructure has been developed for researching IT solutions in the schooling system (British Journal of Educational Technology), and there is already an academic consensus that time- and space-related limitations can be bridged by IT techniques (Lai et al, 2013). The development of IT-inspired adaptive technologies goes hand in hand with the growing popularity of gamification and edutainment. Even Pokémon Go inspired researchers to use this mobile game for teaching mathematics and social science: ‘this mobile, game-based educational setting seemed to encourage students to engage in collaborative learning. ... The conclusion is rather that location-based games have the potential to vitalise formal education, provided that they are carefully integrated into the curriculum’ (Mozelius et al, 2017). Nevertheless, the confluence of outdoor education and IT techniques has lagged behind, and this shortfall would be diminished by such applications like Peripatos.

Peripatos – Can the urban space be changed into an outdoor classroom?

- Peripatos is a geo-located (GPS-based) smartphone application which leads the audience through a walk where the application guides them where to go, what task to do or what to look for at the next step. The smartphone not only navigates but also tells the audience stories at certain points or poses questions or gives them tasks. In this way, students take part in a kind of ‘pedestrian class’, and learn while walking. The walk has its stopping points, which must be visited in the correct order. The smartphone indicates arrival at the stations using GPS coordinates and tells stories, gives tasks or asks questions about the landscape or places that can be seen from the point. These stories can be read on the phone’s display or audio played via a headset. The smartphone may give navigational instructions between stopping points. The development idea is based on the following principles: The smartphone is an extremely useful source of information and a communication platform but it is the responsibility of the community of today’s developers to avoid the risk of ‘digital fragmentation’ (Patrick-Weber, 2014). This means that, due to the enthusiastic, frequent and widespread use of the phone, the users’ attention will be dispersed and scattered, the skill of single-minded concentration will be weakened. A Smartphone needs smart usage – which is not different from other digital or electronic devices. Therefore, the ‘education industry’ and the sphere of edutainment has to produce coherent educational or information platforms. Peripatos sets out to contain whole tours and not just mosaics of knowledge, a kind of uneven mixture of information and entertainment.

- Outdoor education, as was highlighted above, needs special preparation of training materials. In the usage of Peripatos, training material means the content of educational routes whose development is open to the educators. A special feature of the application is its editor functions – through the login of educators – which can be handed over to teachers, cultural or educational institutes or museums. Tutors can launch new tours, adding contents and GPS-coordinates. Editorial access to educators can be used to expand elements of completed walks and by translating the coordinates of existing elements to create a walk that starts from your own school or ‘plays’ in the user’s own city.

- In the utilisation of smartphones, the use of audio features is somewhat behind visual communication (displaying written text), but this territory has been developing extremely rapidly. This means that the text material, knowledge and questions are not only written in the Peripatos but also read out loud. For this reason, the development intends to use the rapidly developing world of text-to-speech techniques. Text-to-speech software makes it possible for the phone user to keep track of the device display.
Interactive items should become an integral part of outdoor educational methods and these can be realised through IT applications like Peripatos. Peripatos offers not just stories about 'points of interest' but tasks or quiz questions can also be put into the content development system.

Last but not least, educators and educational developers can monitor whether their students have participated in the walking classes under their own initiative and whether or not they have passed the specified points of interest.

Peripatos was launched by the author of this paper, inspired primarily by such varied and specifically-issued (printed) guides which offer the readers different routes within Budapest and interpret the multi-ethnic heritage of this and other cities through several 'ethnic walks', such as the 'German walk in Budapest', the 'Slovak walk in Budapest' and so on (Kollai-Zahorán, 2011). The original aim was to create an IT platform which makes the interpretation of this multi-ethnic heritage more flexible and interactive. Currently, the development of Peripatos has been bolstered by market-based products (contracts) such as the request of Central and Eastern European academic institutes to develop educational tours about Communism and the cultural resistance against it in the capital cities of the Eastern bloc. This academic network ran a Horizon2020 project whose abbreviated title was 'Courage.; these new Peripatos-tours will provide the application’s team with international validation.

The presentation of Peripatos in Kőszeg in March 2018 was an important milestone. During the workshop, a specific Peripatos tour was created about the city in association with participants; in effect, the urban horizon of Kőszeg served as a platform for speaking about the main epochs of European cultural history, about the birth and development of European cities and citizens and about inter-ethnic coexistence in Europe. The participants in the workshop were free to suggest general stories about European cultural history which have their ties with the Hungarian town as well. (As an inspiration, see Simms-Clarke, 2015). For instance, the synagogue in Kőszeg can evoke the Jewish heritage of Europe, the many church towers can constitute the memory not just of Christianity but of how tower bells and clocks replaced natural occurrences for scheduling the time of the working day and adapted the daily routine. Reminiscences of town walls can remind visitors of the defensive function of medieval cities which have gradually lost this role. The walls became redundant and as a final act in European cultural history, they provided routes for city circuits and boulevards. In this way, a European heritage tour in Kőszeg was built up based on our general knowledge about cultural history and what the city evoked and resembled in our mind.

References


Trash or treasure? The role and importance of touristic products in state branding and the preservation of cultural heritage

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Abstract
The research aims to highlight the interaction between cultural tourism and state branding in their common roots. Both of them are based on a given community’s cultural identity, which is constantly changing because of its nature. Through collection of theoretical frameworks, this paper defines a complex concept of tourism. The Hungarian and Estonian case studies illustrate the fact that tourism deeply influences the cultural identity of a society as well. The study seeks to prove that, with the influence of tourism strategy, the decision-makers are able to shape the host cultural community’s identity. In this case, tourism can be defined as a way of nation and state branding as well.

Keywords
impacts of tourism, cultural heritage, collective identity, state branding, nation branding, touristic products, CEE region

Introduction and main questions
At first glance, the title of this paper should seem provocative and challenge us with a confrontational question. But after a few introductory thoughts we can see that the two ends of this theoretical scale are sometimes closer than we originally suppose. This differentiation depends on the perspective we use when approaching the question. Our globalised world is composed of a complex network of societies, nation states and economic units, which cover a special part of tourism. Every mention of this concept contains a sort of identity, a brand or at least a defined, limited “personality” of a group, community or nation. With regard to this, every single actor of any kind in this global relationship is pressured to design its own clear and unique brand. But who frames this personality – and perhaps, more importantly, how? What is the content of identity behind these brands? The key to these questions is the exploration of interactions in the background.

Tourism is a part of nation – or state – branding. To brand a country is a novel but more and more efficient device of diplomacy (Ang, Isar, Mar 2015). The aim of building state brands is creating a positive and attractive image of a nation state in as many terms as possible. This sort of official activity of a community could engender economic advantages at some point. The impact of these semi-political activities is palpable in the world of tourism as well (Kaneva 2012).

One of the most pervasive parts of the global network is tourism. This is a worldwide and diverse phenomenon which has changed in many ways in the last two to three decades. As a complex framework in parallel with societies and the expansion of capitalism, tourism contains within itself the point of view of culture, economy and branding at the same time. Its main task is to make a culture understandable, attractive and interesting for foreigners / outsiders through simplifying (ideally, mostly) authentic cultural values. Because of the unique features of tourism, a special approach drives its marketing, which seeks to send the simplest and clearest message to the target audience. But this way is also very dangerous because it forces a culture to simplify and interpret itself. Namely this artificially-designed image influences the original cultural atmosphere;
moreover, it shapes the identity of a community and the group’s relationship with its own cultural heritage. Obviously, in an optimal situation, the created brand of a culture or a nation's identity is based on its cultural traditions. By necessity, these components are connected to each other (Csépeli 1987). Otherwise, the built image would be disconnected and unbelievable; it would be non-authentic. But where is the divide between a useful, authentic and an untrue, harmful touristic brand or touristic products? How can we protect our value-based cultural heritage from being trashed by the ruinous opportunism of tourism? Or rather, how can we interpret authentic values in a modern way? These questions motivated me to reflect on this issue and discover some non-mainstream aspects of the issue.

Tourism marketing and self-branding are growing and changing in new and unexpected ways in today’s world. The self-definition of a cultural group can be see as somewhat of diplomacy-tool. A state-branded country image is related to this part of the theoretical method as a device of international relations, especially in terms of cultural diplomacy. Cultural collectivism has become mostly a theoretical community instead of a practical togetherness. Due to these changes, viral contemporary societies are shooting off their own traditions. Cultural heritage becomes a kind of show, a device for tourist appeal and communication instead of representation or a part of everyday life.

In this paper with a less-mainstream perspective I plan to highlight the intense interaction between today’s tourism products, touristic attractions, and the original holder community’s cultural identity. We tend to think of tourism as a fully positive phenomenon because of its economic outcomes and positive impacts in establishing a brand for a region or location. However, we should pay attention to the other side of the coin, namely, the social and cultural dimension of touristic impacts. After a quick exploration for the origin and history of the ecosystem of tourism, I frame the theoretical background of the economic and social scientific aspects of tourism and cultural heritage. I plan to illustrate the elements of authentic and value based tourism and its relation to the social and cultural environment. Besides these factors, actors and other additions will be mentioned as crucial elements of discourse. Then my focus will move on to the content and aspect of the host culture in order to uncover the nexus of contemporary culture and tourism. In every different case, the crucial question is the same: What is the content of a resident community’s real cultural heritage and values and how are they selected in terms of tourism and identity? (Urry 2002).

Finally, I would like to specifically address the issue of touristic products and attraction. Which type of tourist needs which kind of products or services? How does the host culture aim to satisfy their needs and demands? Touristic products are understandable as a physical appearance and essence of a culture, which means in this case a sort of self-image (Canavan n.d.). I plan to analyse the impact of cultural tourism from this perspective as well.

I would like to explore to the case of Hungary and its new tourism strategy. In parallel with Hungarian examples, Estonia's new state brand strategy will be compared with it in terms of two different heritage management strategies from the post-soviet region – and the assumed importance of cultural and creative industry in this area.

This paper aims to reflect some current international trends related to tourism. I seek to draw attention to the symptoms of globalisation and the destructive effects of tourism caused by many of them. A multidisciplinary debate about the impacts of tourism and its special operating principles in the given community’s cultural and collective identity can explain the different interests behind decisions and tendencies. In particular, I would like to emphasise the controversial impacts of tourism from the host community’s point of view. However, strategy-designers and decision-makers have to consider the issue of the original, host cultural identity and the interests of the holder group. The touristic self-defining process interrupts the natural modifying way of a local culture and cultural identity. As Adorno (in: Kaneva 2012) brings to our attention: 'Culture suffers damage when it is planned and administered; yet when left to itself,
everything cultural threatens not only to lose its possibility to have effect, but its very existence as well.’

Methodology
As a thought-provoking essay, which aims to find basic and scientific statements in the issue, this paper is based on wide theoretical fundament. Starting from the historical approaches to tourism through sociological and economic perspectives, the study contains an element of international relations and global marketing models as well. The literature review can build a solid framework for the topic and present tendencies at the same time.

After gathering the main scientific opinions about the effects of tourism, I use an inductive way of approaching method. It means that instead of using innumerable and emotionally relevant experiences, the symptoms of the tendencies will be examined from a theoretical point of view. Using this investigative method, I seek to avoid false confirmation and implications of features by way of my own perspective. A multidisciplinary approach and a complex regard is the most fundamental aspect of the approach during the whole research.

In order to harmonise the theoretical and practical dimension of these aspects, I will turn to case studies to demonstrate the thoughts in everyday life. My personal fieldwork and experiences will also be added to the examples and the statements of this study.

The ecosystem of tourism
Since people began living on the Earth, travelling and peregrination has existed. Wondering about another world, searching for something different, something extraordinary is a basic instinct in the character of human beings. On the other hand, this phenomenon engendered self-interpretation of the ancient form of brand. But how has this curiosity evolved into a complex industry, what we now know as tourism?

The definition of tourism is circumscribed by experts who often mention the same basic elements of the concept. After all, their opinions used to be as different as their work fields indicate. Obviously a sociologist looks at the issue as the interaction of two or more diverse cultures and an economist says tourism should be a major force of economic growth. Meanwhile, an international relations expert would add the perspective of state and nation branding as a means of public diplomacy (Kaneva 2012). Based on the common points of these approaches above, I use the concept of tourism as a complex mutual communication and interaction situation. Within that, members of a minimum of two different cultural areas meet in order for one of them to satisfy her or his own needs (for instance, to gather information, experience about the given host culture, to relax or to undertake adventure or to be involved) (Fejős 2010) in a different environment from their own. In order to puzzle out the coherency behind the phenomenon, we have to look back in history.

In the last two centuries, the industrial revolutions generated an intense and irreversible progress in western civilisation. After these events, societies began to transform. Step by step, people had more free time and more money. Moreover, the whole social framework started to change. The middle class was actively growing while the general pattern of travelling and relaxing developed worldwide. The activity of travelling or the manner of spending free tim, as a part of self-defining, was employed by most of the social classes. Every class found its own targeted location, type of sport or other activity to confirm and validate its own status within society and within its own class as well (Fejős 2010). Meethan (1996) mentions in one of his works, England and the English spa tourism as an example. These groups of self-defined identity changed and altered with society as society changed. As the English example showed, if a place has become much frequented,

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51 Lengyel, Szántó (1998)
52 creative examples in Tan, Siow-Kian, Kung, Shiann-Far, Luh, Ding-Bang (2012)
53 acculturation in: Rasmi, Sarah, Ng, Sielwmm, Lee, Julie A., Soutar, Geoff N. (2014)
54 Meethan: example of York city
the élite will search another beach for themselves. Likewise, a worker will join an activity where he or she can ensure his or her own personal identity as a worker. Through the milestones of industrial development, historians and sociologists can easily set forth additional connections between the changing world of work and spare time. During the first period of tourism, it was a privilege of élite groups or other special parts of society; but today, owing to the higher average quality of life, large numbers of people can afford to travel worldwide. This self-identification exists in terms of being a tourist as well.

Nowadays, we can see a more complex tourism ecosystem with much more fragmented motivations and forms than 20 or 30 years ago (Leed 1991). The core situation has not changed; a host culture seeks to satisfy the visitor's needs and demands in the most effective way. Even so, the phenomenon of so-called postmodern tourism (Bódis 2010) differs in many perspectives from the previous forms of tourism. One of the key factors in this change is globalisation. This extraordinarily overwhelming process influenced life hundreds years ago but the intensity and breadth of its impacts and affected fields are much more noticeable now.

Globalisation is recognisable all over the world. It is demonstrated by global brands like Coca-Cola, phenomena like mass tourism, fashion vogues or global trade fairs. And on the opposite side of the picture are the indigenous residents who take a practical part in the attraction realisation or preparation of products. These people are usually, at the same time, the original context of cultural foundation that tourism has transformed into a theatre. In this form, while global demands meet local circumstances and abilities, mostly the global interest wins (Urošević 2012).

Behind the complexity of tourism we can find a colorful collection of motivations to be tourist. As our worldwide society fragments into many narrower stratifications, the motivation to visit a tourist destination can also be different. Mostly, the literature uses additional types to categorise the tourist by goals: exploration, experience collection, living with indigenous residents, relaxation, coming out of everyday life or taking part in a different lifestyle (Cohen 1974). These different visitors demand various services, activities, attractions and products to purchase during their trip (Woodside, Shu and Marshall 2011).

Global tourism as a market of local cultures’ and nation states’ brands / Content and interpretation of the host culture
As mentioned above, the phenomenon of tourism covers a fragmented social and historical transformation but the key activity behind the scene is brand-building. It determines the communication strategy, the preparation of available activities and every other mechanism of tourism organisation. This part of the issue proves why the topic is relevant in the field of linkage between cultural heritage and identity, because, today, the identification of local or other kinds of collective cultural values is based on the motivation to make it saleable, unique and attractive in the global market (Howes 2002). From this point of view, tourism becomes a trading issue with local products in a global market (Rekettye, Tóth, Malota 2008). ‘The importance of culture and heritage is becoming more and more obvious, both in regionalists’ and regional development. Cultural factors are important because they directly affect economic performance and development and, therefore, the competitiveness of region’ (Bujdosó, Dávid, Tőzsér, Kovács, Major-Kathi, Uakhitova, Katona, Vaszvári 2016).

If we try to understand the conditions influencing the field of tourism, the decision-makers, politicians and local fishermen have also to be considered. Chinese people in the countryside didn’t decide to build up their authentic cultural life but the government forced them to make their cultural and historical heritage more attractive to outsiders. These kinds of interactions can

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56 Although I have to emphasise the fact that globalised goods are generally available for developed societies, tourism exists in every corner of the world. From this point of view, we realise simply the defencelessness and enforced situation of non-developed or developing cultural communities, especially in the case of tourism (Woodside, Shun, Marshall 2011).

56 Based on an article of Austin Ramzy: China’s Cultural Revolution in: NewYork Times (2016)
cause an unpredictable aftermath in society and culture. Not as radical, but similar, transformations occurred in other parts of the world as well (Boniface, Flower 1996).

As for this study about the impacts of tourism, the decision-making process and the selection of cultural heritage, values and traditions are the most important elements of managing tourism. The topic connects with the field of cultural diplomacy, due to the same source of their activity, which is the local national, collective culture (Ang, Isar, Mar 2015). Of course, cultural values are protected worldwide, for instance by UNESCO world heritage lists (Cuccia, Guccio, Rizzo 2016), or by other national, local legislation (European Cultural Convention 1954). As the most influential organisation, UNESCO - the institution of international cultural affairs, operates its tangible and intangible cultural world heritage lists (UNESCO 1972, 2006). This NGO seeks to give international protection to sites of special and certified cultural and natural heritage around the world. Local values are protected, in theory, by UNESCO as a universal value of humanity. The principal philosophy is that the cultural diversity of the world means peace and secure cultural identities around the world. I feel the necessity to emphasise again the paradigm that cultural values need protection at some point, but the form of 'labelisation' by tourism marketing doesn't belong to the useful and sustainable preservation methods. The fact is that present rules and lists refer mostly to the traditions and values of the past as a sort of lifeless conservatory. There is no doubt that this kind of protection is a pillar of keeping our cultures alive. However, the world has to see that labelling attitudes and missing contemporary aspects from the debate causes crucial results in cultural life. As I see it, the responsibility ought to be shared among institutions, policy makers and, clearly, the other active partners in tourism as well. The subject of the debate is the method and the approach of this activity. The mission of preservation indicates the positive and committed purpose behind the legislation. After all, as we can see in terms of tourism, the economic aspects don't follow these positive efforts, for instance, in the case of Thailand, where tourism has became a second dimension of life for residents, or in case of Cuba (Sanchez, Adams 2007) (Geertz 1994).

During the value selection via branding, participants choose the elements from the cultural content. It happens usually in accordance with the market's point of view instead of the real interests of the host culture or community. In keeping with this approach, the goal is to make something effective and attractive in the tourism market. This aim doesn't mean ensuring and preserving real values in a natural manner – as normally should happen in a value-based group. Stereotypes of nations, cultures and communities compete with each other, as brands should do, in any other normal market. The laws of this game are the same as with marketing's rules. Due to this goal, decision-makers formulate popular, stereotype-based messages while using simplified symbols of a given culture.

Minimising cultural heritage and values for economic benefits is a really dangerous way of branding. Communities feel the pressure to design a phony culture, especially a false cultural identity as a touristic tool. When we visit a local culture, or a whole state, we can face the differences between communicating the brand and the reality. We don’t have to make an effort to recognise the value-losing mechanism behind this simplifying process. Moreover false (incomplete) contents and non-real attractions demonstrate the problem. These pseudo-identities and cultural brands are created under pressure of oppressive competition (Richard 1996). Due to the necessary interaction between the touristic brand and host community, the false contents will alter the original cultural identity of the residents.

Theoretically, if we accept the justification of tourism, we have to face the failure of selection. To decide what is valuable or what is nonsense from a cultural heritage collection is a huge responsibility. But are decision-makers aware of this kind of liability when they pick up or drop out a part of culture or heritage? Do they know about the consequences of highlighting an unreal

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57 UNESCO tries to pay respect to the actuality and life of introduced traditions, but most of the national-level legislation focuses on heritage preservation as a conservation task. Still, we shouldn’t avoid the use of certification as a marketing message. The destructive effects of this process will be mentioned later on.
tradition as a demonstration in order to create economic growth and to raise the touristic potential of an area without a real social background? Is it worth it in the long-term? As the cited examples and practical experiences show, the answer is an absolute no.

From the perspective of the future, the question is, How wisely can communities manage their own cultural life? The conservation and artificial modification of cultures through economic justification doesn’t influence the cultural identity in a positive way. I really don’t question the relevance and necessity of the preservation efforts, but I would like to encourage the influencers and decision-makers to find a way where, in place of categorisation and certification, indigenous resistance gets effective mechanisms in their hands to protect their own values and their contemporary culture. Without this conceptual modification, for instance, the UNESCO list membership will remain mostly a marketing slogan without real protection. But we could also mention many examples from national legislation where heritage management could be immediately radically changed.

Tourism is growing dynamically. Due to this, the players in the sector (especially the communities) have to pay much more attention to value-based, sustainable tourism marketing and branding. Otherwise the assumed economic and other benefits of tourism will be transformed instead into a self-destructive activity rather than a real advantage in the long term future.

**Products of cultural tourism**

Creating cultural or touristic products is a way of communicating the identity of a value-based group. That is the main reason why a cultural community has to be aware of its own heritage and role and the content of traditions in contemporary life. As Martin and Nakayama (2013) argued, one of the most important reasons to study intercultural communication is to raise awareness of one’s own cultural identity and background (Anderson-Lain 2017). Because of this awareness, they will be able to create authentic, high quality and complex products from their own culture.

According to Handler, outsiders get to know a culture through consumption (in Fejős 2010). That is why it is essential for the host community to obtain detailed knowledge about its visitors as well. Because of the dominance of economic aspects during product development, the demands of tourists dictate the character of designed products. In this context, creating touristic products doesn’t differ from any other design concept. The economic perspective obliges the host community to examine, and to know profoundly, who their visitors are in order to understand their real demands. Therefore, we can interpret tourism as a marketing activity of a community while the visitor side is the consumer.

‘An object is cultural depending on the duration of its permanence: its durable character is opposed to its functional aspect, that aspect which would make it disappear from phenomenal world through use and wear and tear. … Culture finds itself under threat when all objects of the world, produced currently or in the past, are treated solely as functions of the vital social processes – as if they had no other reason but satisfaction of some need – and it does not matter whether the needs in question are elevated or base’ (Arendt in: Bauman 2011).

Every community needs to create and re-build its own identity, time after time. This ongoing activity is a core condition of a culture’s survival. Without re-defining and modifying its identity to reflect external and internal impacts, the given community won’t be able to exist as a coherent group. The secret of this process is the natural speed and method dictated by members of the host community. But how does this situation influence the design-process of touristic products and attractions?

Due to globalisation as a consequence of the tourism boom, visitors demand almost the same type of souvenirs or attractions worldwide. As one author writes, the tourism gaze became global (Urry 2002). This tendency means, in terms of touristic products, that the function and the type of objects are the same; only the content, the ornaments can be different. If diverse cultures have to
fill the same framework, the result will be also globalised and, at some point, a universal supply of objects. We have to face the problem of simplification and artificial modification of cultural content, thereby understanding that the process of creating tourism products is also a kind of selection. The problem is that, in this case, the main aspect is not the sustainability of the given local culture in its own way. On the contrary, the marketing needs will mostly dominate the decision-making process.

Commonly, the makers of these products are the members of cultural and creative industry, such as designers, ceramists, costume designers and so on. Educated contemporary artists and designers are able to filter the content of their own and well-known cultural heritage and interpret this knowledge in their own works and products. This new and dynamic thinking method seems to be the key to reforming, and making fluid, competitive cultural tourism. As touched on above, the importance of contemporary participants and their works comes from the natural character of the culture, which is a permanent transformation. As a Hungarian, I note here the story of the Kalocsa flower ornament as an example how a local tradition has grown into a world-wide recognised symbol of all Hungarian culture (Bárth 1987).

The other main group of cultural touristic offerings is the collection of attractions and programmes. These events occur often as theatrical performances which take place on an extraordinary stage amongst false-traditional settings. It can be solely a show without any real participation by visitors. The majority of these programmes is not widely-known, nor real traditions, nor parts of everyday life. Mostly they are part of history.

A special, typical and unique touristic product or activity contains, in some way, part of the local culture but in a contemporary way or in a modern form. A key condition of an authentic product is to be understandable to visitors and to be real and familiar to the host community at the same time. If a community looks at tourism as a business, the economic prospect, without authentic content, will lead it along a wrong and non-sustainable path. In this case, the host community itself will be excluded from its own cultural tourism brand.

After all, we have to see that – due to the headway of postmodern tourism – tourists care less and less about authenticity of products and cultural contents of attractions (Timothy 2014). Unfortunately, this tendency forces the local community to choose easily-produced souvenirs of low quality and to transform their traditions into low-grade, lurid shows and performances. At this point we turn back to the original question of this paper: How can we compensate for this destructive mechanism of touristic branding in terms of local cultural identity.

Hungarian and Estonian case study
The Eastern part of Europe contains countries that lag economically behind the western world but they possess a rich cultural and natural heritage. These treasures hide huge potential in terms of tourism for instance. This kind of cultural capital stands in focus of Nica’s research (2015) about competitiveness of the Central Eastern European region.

Both of my case countries belong to the CEE Region. This part of Europe contains former Soviet countries and societies which should be a relevant factor during our examination. Because, after the politicant transition of 1989-90, post-Soviet countries got a chance to catch up on the western part of Europe. Countries such as Hungary and Estonia had a destroyed collective, national and obviously cultural identity but after the fall of the Soviet Union, they were able to start to rebuild their collective identity. Some of us successfully managed this process but the majority also faced a deep cultural identity crisis in these days (Kaneva 2012).

Actually, I would like to allude to two different ways of nation-branding through a tourism strategy. Instead of the similarity of social, historical and political experiences, Estonia and Hungary (in terms of Soviet Union) have chosen completely different ways of giving a dynamic to the country in their new and capitalist era. Both of the states have a relatively small population but similar
social issues and with booming cultural and creative industries. These similar conditions would suggest that the countries’ plans were the same. But, as we now appreciate the differences between their nation-branding and tourism strategies, we might have to search for the answer to the reasons for the variation in aims behind the scene.

Estonia decided from the beginning of the new era to divorce its historical and political past. It now seeks to transform itself into a modern nation state and to break away from the past through finding a new concept for Estonia. In this way, it has accomplished a radical change in political élites, directed the national economy on a competitive route and begun to design a modern and competitive concept of its nation. For instance, a few years ago the Estonian government officially asked the other countries via its diplomats to stop calling Estonia a post-Soviet or a Baltic country. This political action was a crucial statement for the nation – its branding strategy too. Estonia encourages the creative industry sector, investments and small and medium entrepreneur startups. These fields are all operated by young business people, designers and other creative people who work day by day in the most developed sector of the economy. In this way, they have up-to-date knowledge and experience of international trends and business life. At the same time, in a healthy way, Estonians are very proud of themselves, including their cultural heritage and identity. Estonia’s tourism campaigns and offered programmes and activities mostly emphasise the contemporary face of the country and its everyday life. Communication platforms and tools relay the message of Estonia as a viable, colorful country full of creative and friendly people who are eager to share their life with visitors. They refer to their natural values and historical and cultural heritage, but in a novel manner. They preserve their cultural and traditional values and motivate their society to get to know and revitalise these values. They use and interpret their content in contemporary and trendy frameworks and through new functional products. These products are authentic and modern at the same time, as is the range of programmes. The activities offered form a broad list of different types and, in this way, every kind of visitor can easily find the best programme for himself or herself. By way of every communication channel and platform they send an image of a coherent, proven and vibrant society. This image is attractive not only for visitors but, it is assumed, also for Estonians as well. Estonia is one of the best examples of contemporary, brave and outgoing nation-branding. The new campaign is still very young so we have to wait to evaluate this strategy and its impacts and consequences.58

Hungary chose a very different strategy in terms of nation-branding after the economic transition. First of all, Hungary had no vision for the new Hungarian identity, the framework of society or a long-term strategy to develop the Hungarian economy in terms of tourism. As Füzi (2013) described it, the complexity of sustainable future planning, the absence of a coherent and multilateral strategy in the field of tourism, the economy and nation building has engendered a hesitant cultural identity and non-competitive economy in the country. At this time, we must realise that Hungary is much richer in cultural traditions, inventions, folklore heritage and natural values than Estonia. However, Hungary, is not able to use the advantages of its capabilities. After the political transition, German tourists started to ignore Hungary; after ten to 12 years they completely disappeared from Lake Balaton and, unfortunately, from the whole country. The Hungarian tourism ecosystem was not developed for decades. We had some years when the post-Soviet atmosphere, the nostalgia and a sort of special attraction of the former socialist country was an interesting part of the tourism palette. But Hungary couldn’t follow the trends of tourism and didn’t adapt to the new demands of visitors. Unfortunately, the innate aimlessness of society – as a cultural unit – arose year after year (Lind, Mary 1985) (Löfgren 1988).

After the financial crisis of 2007-8, the idea of ‘ruin bars’ (modern bars created in the ruins of abandoned buildings in the old Jewish quarter of Budapest) was born in an attempt to bring back tourists to the country. For now, the ‘party-districts’ idea culminated in protests from ordinary inhabitants. Due to the foreign bachelor party groups who crowd the capital city, some parts of Budapest are radically transformed. This trend unfortunately influenced other types of tourists.

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58 Based on: visitestonia.com and https://justestonishing.atavist.com/estonia-nation-branding
This matter highlighted the fact that tourism is an opportunity to transform cultural and other kinds of values into economic outcomes but shouldn’t allow the process to happen in reverse. Moreover, foreign tourism in the Hungarian countryside is hardly relevant statistically. That is one of the main fields of action of the new Hungarian Tourism Development Strategy 2030. It would like to invite foreign tourists to enjoy adventures outside Budapest in other parts of Hungary.

The other special part of Hungarian tourism is the dominance of folk art and folk traditions. Hungary is very lucky because it possesses a rich collection of folk heritage, for instance the dance house movement or the Kalocsa flower ornament mentioned above. Of course, we are very proud of these cultural roots. But, while visiting other countries and asking foreigners about Hungary, we meet many strange opinions. Unfortunately, we don’t tell the world anything about our contemporary culture, our inventions, our cultural and creative industry and so on. As trends emerge in the world, if we stick to this strategy we will be in huge trouble. If Hungary focuses only on traditions, we will become like Stockholm’s Skansen museum and live in the past. As Karácsony (Pálffy 2010) mentioned, folklore is interesting only once, so folklore based tourism on its own is not able to create a sustainable and long-term tourism strategy. On the contrary, for instance, there are a lot of contemporary Hungarian inventions, enterprises, arts and crafts and initiatives, and brands as well – many of them use Hungarian folklore or other aspects of cultural heritage as inspiration. They are certainly able to become a symbol of a newly branded modern and vivid Hungary just as our cities actually are.

After all, we can’t forget that without an authentic, complex and coherent nation and state branding strategy, the tourism development plan in itself won’t be enough to become the Hungarian tourism ecosystem, competitive and attractive in the world market. At the very least, we will have to create more opportunities for younger generations to channel their opinions and solutions into tourism. As mentioned above, only that way can we a sustainable cultural tourism system through contemporary vision and solution. ‘Tourism strategies ought to be assessed not just in terms of increasing tourist numbers or revenues but also according to how well tourism has been integrated into the broader development goals of local communities, regions and countries.’ (Brohman 1996:66-67).

Unfortunately, we can experience in everyday life the phenomenon that the majority of young Hungarians reject their own traditions and cultural roots. It is thought that this practice is caused by old-fashioned and unattractive tourism souvenirs of Váci street, for instance. As Winter (2017) indicates in one of his articles, cultural communities have to configure a kind of balance between past and future. ‘This means the past – its remnants and residues, both material and immaterial – is more explicitly seen through a prism of present futures. For those experiencing the vitality of youth, history rarely bears as heavy. With age comes a greater sense of that which has been learnt and inherited, as well as a more nuanced but fraught appreciation of what is to be cherished and protected, anguished over and discarded’ (Winter 2017) (Fejős 1992).

In conclusion, therefore, I have to note another relevant difference between the two case studies. Estonia has built a complex, extensive strategy of nation-branding with a tourism strategy as a subprogramme of that. Hungary tries to alter the field of tourism without a broader state-branding strategy which precludes cultural and public diplomacy as well.

Afterwards, and in summary

In this paper I aimed to highlight the main features of tourism to understand the mechanism below the surface. As we can see, this globalised phenomenon influences the cultural community not only in economic terms but tourism touches many other aspects of life, such as cultural identity.

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59 We can allude to the case of Kalocsa ornament which have become a symbol of Hungarian cultural heritage in an artificial way and, because it stands too far from our everyday modern life, young people can’t build in its own cultural identity. (Romácsics 2010)
60 For instance the Gombold újra! fashion show
61 We can find a positive example of a Scottish case in the case study of Fülemile 2010.
The official framework of culture protection is essential worldwide but without any interruption in the natural selection mechanisms of a given culture.

As the two cases demonstrated, whereas the tourism market is global, nation states have to choose for themselves the best and most effective way of branding themselves in this competitive arena. As Pudaruth (2017) describes the case of Mauritius, the fact is agreed that tourism is a tool and a part of a coherent policy and strategy of nation branding. Sometimes it produces positive impacts, at other times negative ones. As Köstlin said, in some cases, tourism generates the reconstruction of the cultural identity in the countryside. So, from this perspective, tourism has a lot of positive impacts. It motivates cultural communities to redefine themselves a community, as a cultural unit (Schelicher 2010).

But, as Lovrentjev (2015) found in her research, cultural tourism seems to dominate the tourism market of the future. In this case, cultural-value protection has to get more support and pressure from every partner in the ecosystem of tourism.

We have to pay attention to the vast differences between the culture of the western, developed world and that of the so-called exotic locations. Characteristically, visitors come from western cultures to a less developed area so a kind of hierarchy is suggested in tourism. Unfortunately, among many other arguments we can experience this kind of behavior all over the world in terms of a west to east direction. If the international community of humanity agrees to the universal concept of sustainable tourism, decision-makers have to reflect on the community interests of the host, indigenous inhabitants in long-term prospects as well. As literature and practical experience illustrates, sustainability embraces free and naturally changing contemporary cultures based on heritage and traditions.

Another useful exploration might entail the examination of the relationship between cultural tourism and cultural identity. Namely, we are able to challenge the question of whether or not the nation-branding activities are able to influence young people to choose to stay at home instead of emigrating to a more developed western country. If nations and communities are able to design a contemporary, sustainable cultural identity, that gives a coherent framework for tourism and local people as well.

The core statement remains the same: tourism as a way of cultural identity interpretation can play a leading role in shaping contemporary national identity. It might be a real direction for CEE countries in Europe in the short- and long-term future also.

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Ten visions of cultural heritage in Évora, Portugal

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Abstract
UNESCO World Heritage Site; Sociology and Intangible Heritage; Architecture; Photography and Communication; Museology; Industrial and Technical Heritage; Conservation and Restoration; Archaeology; History of Art and New Technologies Applied to Heritage. These were the themes of the ‘Ten Visions of Cultural Heritage’ sessions, held between November 2016 and November 2017 in the city of Évora (Portugal), which was classified as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1986.

This activity comprised a series of cultural meetings focused on sharing experiences and disseminating knowledge on themes related to cultural heritage. Ten months, ten themes to promote culture and heritage, and ten different places (some of which are usually closed to the public) opened their doors to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the classification of Évora as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO.

Keywords
Évora (Portugal), cultural heritage, World Heritage Site, UNESCO, heritage interpretation

Introduction
In Lisbon, in 1755, there was a historical event: an earthquake, followed by a tsunami and a fire, which resulted in thousands of victims and destruction of all kinds throughout the city (Cardoso, 2006: 210). It tore to pieces 85% of the most representative buildings of the Portuguese Golden Age (15th century). These included most of the examples of Manueline architecture, as well as other symbolic buildings of the Portuguese capital, such as the Royal Palace, the Royal Theatre of the Ribeira Palace and the Royal Library.

62This study was financed by national funds through the Foundation for Science and Technology, and European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) through the COMPETE 2020 Competitiveness and Internationalisation Operational Programme (CIOP) and PT2020, within the scope of the project CIDEHUS-UID/HIS/00057 – POCI-01-0145-FEDER-007702 and HERITAS [PhD] - Heritage Studies [Ref. PD/00297/2013]. Sheila Palomares Alarcón: PD/BD/135142/2017. CIDEHUS- Centro Interdisciplinar de História, Cultura e Sociedades / CIEBA- Centro de Investigação e de Estudos em Belas-Artes. Armando Quintas: PD/BD135143/2017. CIDEHUS - Centro Interdisciplinar de História, Cultura e Sociedades. Pietro Viscomi. CIDEHUS - Centro Interdisciplinar de História, Cultura e Sociedades / CHAIA - Centro de História da Arte e Investigação Artística.
63Architecture characteristic of the early 16th century, developed in mainland Portugal and in the ‘overseas islands, cities and fortresses’. (Dias, Rodriguez e Silva, 2017).
Luckily, Évora, a city located in the Portuguese region of Alentejo, considered the most important city of southern Portugal as it played a key role in the old peninsular commercial routes (Espanca, 1987:5), managed to preserve a beautiful historical heritage, both from the Manouline era and from other periods. This contributed to the classification of the historical centre of the ‘Museum City’ of Évora as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1986:

*This museum-city, whose roots go back to Roman times, reached its golden age in the 15th century, when it became the residence of the Portuguese kings. Its unique quality stems from the whitewashed houses decorated with azulejos and wrought-iron balconies dating from the 16th to the 18th century. Its monuments had a profound influence on Portuguese architecture in Brazil.*

Évora’s historical heritage is extraordinarily rich. The city’s urban morphology shows the different influences of the various cultures that inhabited it. The forum, the castle, the Roman temple and the Muslim mosque, later turned into the city’s cathedral (13th century), were built in the highest area of the city. Until the first decades of the 19th century, Évora preserved an urban structure with an almost Islamic blueprint, with narrow streets and irregular pavements, interrupted by small and large squares (Almeida, coord., 2001: 50), which we can still see today.

Due to the circumstances of its individual history, Évora is part of a group of inhabited historical cities that have evolved according to various evolutionary cycles, without the interruption of the violent destructions and profanations that affected a large number of European cities, caused by natural disasters or armed conflicts. Even the events of the third French invasion (1808), during which Évora was occupied and plundered by the Napoleonic army, did not inflict major damages to its built environment. Also, Évora did not suffer greatly as a result of the fast, and often radical transformations introduced by industrialization in the European urban fabrics. We should also add that its urban area did not witness significant expansions until the early 20th century, meaning that virtually all

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64Concept created in the late 19th century (Simões, 2007: 271).
66The bibliography that analyses the historical heritage of the city of Évora is rather extensive, see for example (in chronological order): (Haulp, 1927), (Proença, 1924), (Espanca, 1949), (Espanca, 1964-1965), (Espanca, 1987), (Almedia, coord., 2001), (Cardoso de Matos, Bernardo, Rodríguez, 2010).
the renovations and construction works carried out until the previous century occurred inside the perimeter of the city walls, preventing the emergence of a clearer difference between the old town and the modern quarters. That resulted in a city with irregular profiles, whose houses and other buildings are marked by a coexistence of elements, spaces and volumes from different periods, with successive appropriations and recycling of pre-existing components, empirically or knowingly assimilated and adapted according to the needs and trends of each period, where a Manueline arch is combined with a modern window or contrasted with a Baroque tile panel, and where surfaces made of materials from different eras overlap, sometimes interrupted by arches with different shapes – like the arcades that surround the Geraldo square. The white-washed walls, the wrought-iron balconies and the limit of height of the buildings give an apparent uniformity to this plurality, as the 1986 ICOMOS report pointed out. (Simões, 2007: 289-290).

Figure 2 – Cathedral. April 2015 (Photo: Pietro Viscomi)

Ten visions of cultural heritage in Évora (Portugal): the model

In 2016, to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the classification of Évora as a World Heritage Site, the CIDEHUS – Interdisciplinary Centre for History, Culture and Societies of the University of Évora⁶⁷, under the coordination of Sheila PalomaresAlarcón, Armando Quintas and Pietro Viscomi, organised the “Ten Visions of Cultural Heritage”: a series of cultural activities aimed at debating experiences and disseminating knowledge on cultural heritage from different perspectives.

With the city of Évora as background, the proposal was to develop ten different themes to reinterpret cultural heritage, taking advantage of ten different spaces located across the city, over a period of ten months. The main objective of these meetings was to bring different perspectives on cultural heritage closer together in order to further disseminate Évora’s heritage.

Based on conceptual plurality and disciplinary diversity, the aim was to bring together personalities from different areas of expertise to recount their experience, points of view and concerns.

⁶⁷ We would like to express our sincere thanks to Professor Ana Cardoso de Matos and to the CIDEHUS-University of Évora (Available at: http://www.cidehus.uevora.pt/) for their support and availability.
The intention was to give young researchers, well-established researchers, associations and representatives of public institutions the opportunity to showcase their work. Architects, historians, geologists, artists, anthropologists, sociologists and other specialists would create a joint discussion forum that could sow the seeds for new initiatives and experiences.

In these meetings it would be essential to open a space for debate in which all the participants could be involved and exchange experiences, raising the citizens’ awareness of the importance of looking after our heritage, as well as of reflecting on our cities and communities.

We considered the following main objectives:
- Raising cultural and artistic awareness of heritage and contributing to the overall education of the community.
- Imparting scientific knowledge and cultural values.
- Promoting a dialogue between the different stakeholders and the public.
- Debating cultural heritage from different points of view, as well as its relationships with public and private institutions and with society.
- Introducing different heritage-related awareness-raising and dissemination channels.
- Disseminating the work of different speakers from different areas and, especially, offering an opportunity for the dissemination of lesser-known research works.
- Engaging the general public with the city’s heritage.
- Obtaining feedback from the public by creating an e-mail account and a Facebook profile.

The meetings would be held in the afternoon, according to a schedule adjusted to each venue’s availability. Each speaker would make a 20-minute presentation. The different sessions would have a variable number of speakers, according to the theme in question and to the availability of the guests. At the end of the presentations there would be a 20-minute debate in which the attendees could ask questions and make comments.

Ten visions of cultural heritage in Évora (Portugal): Sessions held
A summary of the themes and locations for the ten sessions can be found in Table 1, below. Here follows the details of each session.

1. UNESCO City and Heritage. D. Manuel Palace
The ‘Ten Visions of Cultural Heritage’ were launched in November 2016 in Évora, under the theme UNESCO City and Heritage, in the D. Manuel Palace68 (15th century), one of the most characteristic buildings of the city, also known as the ‘Ladies Gallery’. Located in the public gardens, it is a Manuoline residential building with a Mudéjar influence, an evidence of the extraordinary São Francisco palatial ensemble, built in the surroundings of the São Francisco convent.

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This building, whose ownership was transferred to the City Council in 1865, served as Archaeology Museum, theatre and exhibition space until the roof collapsed in 1881. Following a series of recovery and extension works coordinated by the engineer Adriano Monteiro, in 1891 it was adapted to serve as a venue for public and theatre performances, fostering the city's cultural activity.

The building was partially destroyed by a fire in 1916, entering a period of neglect and ruin that lasted until 1940, when it was subject to recovery works that gave it the appearance it has today (Matos, Pereira, 2016). Currently, it is still in use for cultural activities.

The four guests of this first session, which lasted approximately one hour, included a mixture of city council and university representatives.

The importance of the classification of the historical centre of Évora as World Heritage Site for the development and enhancement of its cultural heritage was reflected upon. During the 30 years since the designation, the historical city of Évora has witnessed significant improvements from the economic, social, political, cultural and technological point of view, which have stimulated a consolidated development of the tourism industry (Matos, dos Santos, 2004).

2. Intangible heritage. Espaços Celeiros
The second session was held in December 2016, under the theme, Intangible heritage, in Espaço Celeiros, at Eborim Street.
Espaço Celeiros (literally, ‘Barns Space’), as the name suggests, was formerly a barn from the now defunct F.N.P.T. – National Federation of Wheat Producers (1932), which was used for storing the wheat produced by the members of that corporate institution who were based in Évora. When this organization collapsed, the ownership of the building was transferred to the municipality of Évora, which adapted it so it could host cultural activities.

The eight guests of this first session, which lasted approximately three hours, included a mixture of university representatives, from professors to researchers.

The speakers presented communications that gave rise to a reflection on intangible heritage, the challenges it is currently facing and the potential of the region of Évora, as well as on heritage education through oral tradition, the enhancement of this heritage, endangered trades and the exemplary case of Cante Alentejano, as intangible expression recently classified by UNESCO (Cabeça, 2016).

The session was enriched by Grupo de Cantares de Évora, which sang a series of songs from its Cante Alentejano repertoire. The public, mostly young people and foreign students, showed a great interest in this subject and expressed its will to learn more about the cultural expressions of the region of Évora.


The third session was held in January 2017, under the theme, Architecture, in the Espírito Santo College, (1553) currently the University of Évora69. This building is a landmark in the city’s urban historical landscape, as it was built on a rather steep area, therefore, playing a key role in Évora’s skyline. It was originally designed as a religious education building – it was a College of the Society of Jesus – with an irregular structure, whose compartments were organised around four rectangular courtyards. There is a church on one side of the building. The old Jesuit University closed in 1759 and, since then, the building has had different uses: High-School (1841), Industrial School (1915), University Institute of Évora (1973) and, finally, University of Évora (1979).

In this third session, which lasted approximately two and a half hours, architects, professors and researchers led us to reflect on the close relationship between architecture and heritage from different perspectives. Although the main territorial theme was focused on Évora, there were also references to other studies of Portuguese and international cases that allowed us to learn about and recognize the value of other heritages located beyond our borders.

From religious architecture to contemporary or industrial architecture, the aim was to make us reflect on the need to conserve and preserve an extraordinary and extensive architectural heritage that is at risk.

The large audience, with a predominance of students, showed a great interest in the speakers, generating a rich debate on the future of “other heritages” that run the risk of disappearing.

4. Photography and Communication. Soror Mariana Auditorium University of Évora
The fourth session was held in February 2017, under the theme, Photography and Communication, in the Soror Mariana Auditorium, currently used by the University of Évora Film Club.

The Soror Mariana building is an old ‘beaterio’ (home for nuns) located in the historical centre of Évora, which also accommodates a university residence and the aforementioned film club.

This fourth session, which lasted approximately two and a half hours, was created as a round table of photographers, historians and architects. With the purpose of analysing the historical evolution of photography, there was a reflection on the current situation, as well as on communication trends related to cultural heritage, specifically in the contemporary Portuguese photographic culture.
In addition, there was an analysis of a series of contributions from photographers who carry out their work in the city of Évora, as well as of the relationships between photographers and architects and the connections between these and the media.

The fifth session was held in March 2017, under the theme, *Museology*, in the Museum of Évora, currently the Frei Manuel do Cenáculo de Évora National Museum, officially created on 24 February 1915.
It was installed in 1929 in the old Episcopal Palace, opening its doors in 1930, and has been accommodated in that building ever since, despite various changes introduced in 1940. The Museum of Évora is one of the sides of the Conde Vilaflor Square, where the Temple of Diana\(^{70}\) (late 2nd century) is also found: one of the legacies of the Roman period together with other important archaeological remains, such as the D. Isabel Roman arch and the remains of the ruins of the thermae, located close to the building that accommodates the City Hall.

In this fifth session, which lasted approximately two hours, a group of historians, professors, professionals and researchers led us to reflect on museology and heritage, both the one it accommodates and the one it occupies, and its relationships with society.

Figure 6 – Frei Manuel do Cenáculo de Évora National Museum. March 2017 (Photo: Pietro Viscomi)

Some interesting questions were raised, such as: What actually defines a museum? and What should a museum have and not have? Heritage education in museums, based on a practical case and its influence in the development of local communities, and the enhancement of industrial heritage museums in Portugal, was discussed considering different case studies, particularly the case of an old slaughterhouse located in Évora, which is currently used for cultural purposes, as it accommodates a group of sculptors.

6. Industrial heritage. Library of the School of Arts of the University of Évora

The sixth session was held in April 2017, under the theme, *Industrial Heritage*, in the Library of the School of Arts of the University of Évora.

The library is accommodated in the Leões building, which was once a flour and pasta factory (Guimarães, 2010). Founded in 1916, the Leões milling plant operated until the 1990s, and was later purchased by the University of Évora with the purpose of accommodating the Visual Arts, Architecture and Theatre courses in it. More recently, in 2007, it underwent extensive renovation works to make it more suitable for the University’s needs.

![Figure 7 – Leões Factory. April 2015 (Photo: Pietro Viscomi)](image)

The speakers invited to this session promoted a reflection on the conceptualisation and topicality of industrial heritage as a valid element for the preservation of historical memory. There was a debate on the intrinsic values of this type of heritage with various examples related to navigation, railways, electricity and the exploration of underground resources, as well as to the agro-industrial industry, with an emphasis on milling. Several strategies for the dissemination and activation of industrial heritage in Portugal and Spain were also put forward (Mustieles, 2013).

7. Conservation and restoration. Regional Directorate for Culture of Alentejo

The seventh session was held in May 2017, under the theme, *Conservation and Restoration*, in the Regional Directorate for Culture of Alentejo, accommodated in the Noble House on Burgos Street, built in the 16th century but subject to a series of modifications in the 18th century, which gave it the morphology that has lasted to the present day.

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71Regional Directorate for Culture of Alentejo. Available at: http://www.cultura-alentejo.pt/ [Visited on: 2 February 2018]
In this seventh session, which lasted approximately two hours, a group of historians, professors, professionals and researchers led us to reflect on the importance of learning about our heritage in order to be able to enhance its value. There was a presentation of a series of case studies which provided an overview and also a more detailed approach, based on the detailed analysis of a case study from Évora. There was a reflection on the agents involved in the interventions, as well as on the need to rely on multidisciplinary specialists and to disseminate knowledge.

8. Archaeology. Vimioso Palace. University of Évora
The eighth session was held in September 2017, in the Vimioso Palace, University of Évora, under the theme, Archaeology. The Vimioso Palace\(^{72}\) was built by one of the noble families of the city of Évora - the Counts of Vimioso - in the 16th century. It underwent several restorations in the 19th and 20th centuries and has accommodated the University of Évora for nearly 30 years. All its research and advanced training centre are currently based in this building (Almeida, 2001).

In this seventh session, which lasted approximately two hours, a group of professionals and researchers led us to reflect on the social role of archaeology as an element of protection of territorial identity, on possible strategies for the future and on the role played by this discipline in the process of cultural valorisation based on tourism-related practices in the region of Alentejo, particularly in Évora.

9. New technologies applied to heritage. Public Library of Évora
The ninth session was held in October 2017, under the theme, New technologies applied to heritage, in the Public Library of Évora. The stonemason, Paulo Rodrigues,\(^{73}\) was responsible for the construction of this building in 1666, but the Public Library was only founded and accommodated there in 1805, by Friar Manuel do Cenáculo (Brigola, 2014), who donated a valuable collection of more than 50,000 books and, in order to guarantee its continuity and

sustainability, published the Statute of the Library six years later (21 September 1811). The Public Library of Évora\(^4\) was integrated into the National Library of Portugal in 2012.

![Public Library of Évora. January 2018 (Photo: Pietro Viscomi)](image)

**Figure 9** – Public Library of Évora. January 2018 (Photo: Pietro Viscomi)

In this ninth session, which lasted approximately two and a half hours, a group of professionals and researchers led us to reflect on the value of cultural contents and the way they are consumed in the era of social networks, addressing, on the one hand, the issue of individual creativity in digital surroundings as an opportunity for the creation and dissemination of cultural heritage and, on the other hand, the issue of technological devices and information overload.

10. **History of art. Church of Salvador. Évora**

The tenth and last session was held in November 2017, under the theme, *History of art*, in the Church of Salvador,\(^5\) in the city of Évora.

The church of Salvador was part of a monastery of Poor Clares (16th-17th century) built on top of a military structure from the Roman and the medieval periods.\(^6\) In 1590, the building was turned into the Convent of Salvador do Mundo da Província da Piedade da Observância Franciscana, which was deconsecrated in 1886, and used for different purposes until it was almost entirely destroyed. Only the church, the low choir, the high choir and the sacristy survived.

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\(^5\)Category: IIP – Building of Public Interest, Decree no. 8.252, DG, 1st series, no. 138, of 10 July 1922 / ZEP, Ordinance, DG, 2nd series, no. 185 of 11 August 1951 (Bell Tower)

In the 20th century, the building underwent restoration works to accommodate different uses. The Southern Division of Monuments of the DGEMN moved into the building in the 1960s and the Laboratory of Analysis of Construction Materials offered by the ICCROM of Rome was established there in 1995.

The reconstruction of the church began in 1907, in a style typical of the Counter Reformation, characterised by a strong external austerity that contrasts with a richly decorated interior.

The Abbess Soror Mariana do Rosário, who died in 1649 with a reputation for sanctity, is buried in the low choir. The building has been used as a cultural venue since 2012.

This tenth session, which lasted approximately one hour and a half, included two art historians professor as speakers and its purpose was to create a round table with the aim of answering the question: What is the future for the history of art? There were reflections, dialogues and proposals involving the public and the two art historians, who have a deep and varied expertise and whose studies present different types of historical-artistic narratives.

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Table 1 – General scheme of the sessions held in ‘Ten Visions of Cultural Heritage in Évora (Portugal)’.
Conclusions
With this communication we would like to show the success and the main objective of these meetings, which discussed cultural heritage from ten different perspectives. Personalities from various areas of expertise explained their points of view, opening a debate in which everybody could participate, achieving further dissemination of Évora’s heritage. Thus, it was possible to raise cultural and artistic awareness of heritage and contribute to the overall education of the community.

Another positive aspect of these sessions was the fact that they allowed the opening of several spaces to the community, particularly those which are less visited in everyday life, thus encouraging the public to understand the value and memory of each place, connecting it to the topic under discussion.

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Évora: Comissão Municipal de Turismo de Évora.


Historic urban landscapes of modernity: Conflicts of value perception

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Abstract
The article will concentrate on the historical part of Kaunas (Lithuania) – an urban landscape which is an artefact of late 19th and early 20th century developments. The period of 1919 to 1939 is crucial for Kaunas. At that time, the city became a temporary capital of the newly restored independent Republic of Lithuania, which gave inspiration for the rapid development of the city. In 2015, the interwar period architecture of Kaunas was honoured with the European Heritage Label. The article will present a short reflection on the phenomenon of Kaunas’ interwar architecture and the history of its protection. Based on the experience of Kaunas, the article further develops the main argument that value attribution processes in the evolving urban landscape have to rely more on the heritage community instead of trusting only heritage professionals. Tragic historical circumstances which caused the disappearance of core communities highlight the importance of innovative heritage interpretation models which aim to create new emotional attachments. In this process, official instruments, such as the status of the European Heritage Label or European Capital of Culture, can play an important role as a heritage community builder instead of concentrating on political efforts to develop a national or European narrative.

The article has been prepared as a part of the project ‘Heritage as a conflict: the shift between modernist and after-modernist concepts of heritage in Lithuania’ financed by the Lithuanian Research Council (project number VAT-028).

Keywords
modern movement, European Heritage Label, European Capital of Culture, heritage community, value, interpretation

Introduction
“I like complexity and contradiction in architecture. …I welcome the problems and exploit the uncertainties. By embracing contradiction as well as complexity, I am for vitality as well as validity” (Venturi 1966: 16). This quote is how prominently American architect Robert Venturi introduces the classic work of postmodern theory, ‘Complexities and Contradictions in Architecture’. These words perfectly define today’s heritage protection, which is one of the most relevant but, at the same time the most controversial, areas of culture. The impact of humanitarian values (historical, artistic, memorial, etc.) on everyday processes inevitably provokes political, economic, cultural and other kinds of conflicts. Confrontations of different
expectations of various social partners have particularly intensified in recent decades with an unprecedented increase in the number of protected buildings and areas. Such transformation requires significant changes of heritage policies and theoretical reflections that encourage these processes.

In the context of rapidly developing cities, heritage faces new challenges. In the complex environments of historic urban landscapes, it is becoming increasingly difficult to give constant value definitions and to set universal working rules. Some efforts to expand the scope of protection threaten to turn living urban landscapes into areas detached from the current world of everyday life. Another extreme gives a priority for development, which often means that the historical environment is radically changing and the historical character is lost. The example of Vienna (Kim 2017) shows that these processes cannot be stopped even by a status as significant as the UNESCO World Heritage. Heritage professionals gradually acknowledge that there are no universal answers and that only individual solutions should be the basis of preserving or adaptive reuse strategies. Furthermore, recent discourse on heritage conservation is often being interpreted as an experimental, creative process (see: Otero-Pailos 2016; Desilvey 2017), a kind of cultural laboratory. According to Professor Maria Gravari-Barbas, “there are two possible scenarios for Europe: to become a theme park (not wanted) or a heritage laboratory (for which global expertise is needed)” (Gravari-Barbas 2015: 2). Interpretation and (re)creation of narratives becomes a central issue of the cultural heritage protection process.

These issues are especially important when it comes to the legacy of the 20th century, which is different in terms of quantity first of all. Once embodying the progress and futuristic aspirations of the architecture of the first half of 20th century, these buildings are now undergoing a period of contradictory transformations. Instead of “ideological claims to technical, industrial, and stylistic innovation’ and also ‘political, and social progress and development” (Rausch 2017:21), modernist sites change their original function and have gradually become historical relics. On the other hand, recent heritage includes a hard-to-count pleiad of potentially valuable physical elements and events. Hence, the aspiration to preserve authentic past testimonies becomes a very challenging task. Willing to understand and to give a present meaning to artefacts which once were the language of progress, one has to look for non-traditional preservation strategies based on active dialogue between past and present instead of static preservation. Historical legacy there plays merely the role of the ‘resource and a material for alteration’ (Arrhenius 2016:194).

Considering this diversity of approaches towards the architectural legacy of the 20th century, the article examines the role of heritage interpretation in shaping the perception of values of the heritage community. The case study of this paper is an urban landscape of the first half of the 20th century in Kaunas, Lithuania. In 1919, in the whirlwind of the post-war territorial peripheries, Lithuania lost its historic capital, Vilnius. Kaunas, the former Government Centre of the Northwest Region of the Tsarist Empire of Russia, became a provisional capital of Lithuania and retained this status for 20 years, until 1939. The change of the city status has become a powerful impetus for the creation of hundreds of representative buildings and residential houses. It is obvious that Kaunas deliberately assumes the architectural legacy of this period as one of the cornerstones of the identity of the city. However, does the heritage community share the same story of the interwar architecture as the official institutions? The main question this paper tries to answer is: How might different narratives developed by different communities affect the formal concepts of value and the overall heritage protection process? Although this article is based on the case study of Kaunas’ interwar architecture, this particular example can be part of a broader discussion on the definition of value in historic urban landscapes of the 20th century.

**The phenomenon of Kaunas’ interwar modernism**

More than 6,000 buildings built during the interwar period are still standing in today’s Kaunas. Parts of these buildings have a representative function and an extraordinary architectural value. Vytautas - the Great War Museum (figure 1), Christ’s Resurrection Church, The Officers club
Ramovė, the Bank of Lithuania and other iconic buildings have survived as the dominants, which shape the network of urban landmarks. However, reminiscences of the temporary capital are also embedded in the daily environment. Still-functioning funicular railways in Žaliakalnis and Aleksotas (figure 2), residential houses (figure 3), schools, factories and other objects weave a diverse and manifold urban canvas. The unique local spirit is created not only by the façades but also by the small original details of the surroundings. Walking through the streets of the city, we can count hundreds of wooden doors (figure 4), and each one has its individual modern design. The interiors are decorated with authentic handrails and other elements; therefore, when it comes to Kaunas as a city where modernism is an integral part of the local spirit, it is important to realise that this is a multifaceted phenomenon which is directly related not only to the monuments but also to daily routine.

Figure 1 – Vytautas the Great War Museum, architects Vladimiras Dubeneckis, Karolis Reisonas and Kazimieras Kriščiukaitis, built in 1936. (Photo: Vytautas Augustinas, 1937, collection of National Museum of Lithuania)
Figure 2 – Funicular of Greenhill (Žaliakalnis) still in operation, built in 1931. (Photo: Vaidas Petrulis, 2016)

Figure 3 – House built by Ilijnai family in 1933, architect Arnas Funkas. (Photo: Vaidas Petrulis, 2017)
Figure 4 – More than 200 wooden front doors of individual design have been preserved in Kaunas; example from Žemuogių str. (Photo: Vaidas Petrulis, 2017)

The interwar period is remembered and valued not only because of its historical significance but also because of its distinctive aesthetics. Hence, when trying to define the characteristic stylistic features, one has to deal with a wide field of inspiration. In the first years of independent Lithuania, the idea of a new architecture was “cheap, accurate, hygienic and fireproof dwellings” (Circular of the Lithuanian Reconstruction Commissariat 1923). These functional keywords of modernism in the 1930s transformed into world-renowned modernist aesthetics: the consonance of ribbon windows, flat roofs, geometric volumes and planes. Graduates of European architecture schools were returning to Lithuania from Italy, Germany, France and other countries; they introduced new ideas and country-specific solutions. Thus, although Kaunas was built with a hope of restoring the historic capital of Vilnius, the optimistic residents created a contemporary, modern and stylistically diverse city with high-quality, durable buildings.

One of the elements of the local spirit is the importance of tradition and the expectation of longevity. Although new buildings often used innovative technologies, such as reinforced concrete or glass (figure 5), the modernist principles of existential minimalism and standardisation were not adopted in the architecture of Kaunas. The city is dominated by a temperate adaptation of foreign experiences, which is influenced by traditional values; the primary goals of this type of architecture are quality and representative character. Therefore, the aspirations for modernisation are overwhelmed by conservative thoughts, and classical architecture was not forgotten even when advanced technologies were used. For example, Landsbergis-Žemkalnis, who designed the Palace of Physical Education (figure 6), wrote in 1932 that he sought ‘to combine two things and two forms into one building: the classics, the first great pioneer of physical culture (Greece),
with our times’ (Landsbergis 1931: 113). Such a monumental classical rhythm of modern forms describes many buildings of Kaunas built in the 1930s.

Figure 5 – The fragment of an orangery in an Officer’s club, built in 1937, architects Stasys Kudokas and others. (Photo: Vaidas Petrulis, 2013)

Figure 6 – Palace of Physical Education, built in 1932, architect Vytautas Landsbergis-Žemkalnis. (Photo: Juozas Stanišauskas, 1935, Collection of Kaunas County Public Library)

Moreover, Kaunas is also interesting because the optimistic pursuit of a dynamic, modern world did not prevent the search for national identity. To “educate a good and solid soul of Lithuanian”
(Kelermileris 1923:4), the guidelines of the so-called ‘national style’ were created. The dispute between conservative and modern architecture, which characterises the first half of the 20th century in Lithuania, were often complemented by rhetorics resembling folk traditions. Although the attempts to search for the Lithuanian spirit in professional masonry construction are not a dominant phenomenon, various decorations (not only in the national-style) that can now be linked to Art Deco, remain an important piece of Kaunas’ architecture during the entire period of independence (figure 7). Even in the late 1930s, the new generation architect, Feliksas Bielinskis, was convinced that ‘the ornament must, in its form, interpret the meaning and designation of the entire building. Its thumbnail needs to express what is the function of the building in the whole picture’ (Bielinskis 1937:62).

The abundance of surviving elements of the historic space is not the only thing that gave the city its own identity: nature also played a significant role. The Old Town developed on a relatively flat plain at the confluence of the Nemunas and Neris rivers, but at the beginning of the 20th century, Kaunas also projected out on sloping terraces, thus incorporating the vertical dimension into the urban composition (figure 8). It is equally important that the city be surrounded by greenery; this was deliberately perceived and fostered as a significant element of the environment. In urbanistic terms, this reflects the discussions about the ‘garden city’, which was often featured by officials in the interwar press as a model for modern development and a qualitatively new step away from the disarray prevailing in the cities of the Tsarist empire.

The co-existence of the new architecture and the Tsarist heritage of the 19th century can be identified as a distinctive feature when characterising the spatial development of Kaunas city between the two World Wars. When the capital of Lithuania was abruptly relocated from Vilnius to Kaunas, the need to form a new adapted environment emerged. Despite the huge construction boom, a large proportion of the city’s institutions and residents remained in Tsarist buildings. Subsequently, these buildings were reconstructed, expanded and raised. However, the essential principle has survived: the life was buzzing in the streets of the constantly changing and modernising Tsarist city. Although a plan for urban development was drawn up in 1923 by Danish architect Peter Marius Fandsen and Lithuanian Antanas Jokimas, most of the construction was carried out not in separate, newly-designed quarters, but the buildings were embedded in the already existing structures. Even the newly-designed Žaliakalnis district was only partially built in the 1930s and acquired its unified character in the early Soviet times. In this way, the modernisation of the environment was characterised not by strict functional zones or dramatic urban redevelopment, but by the consistent urban development with a diverse building, where the aesthetics of the 1930s remain the most characteristic layer and the source of inspiration. Here the interwar architecture dominates not only physically, but also as the most important vector of urban development and the essential part of identity.
Figure 7 – Interior of Kaunas central post office built in 1931. (Photo: from personal collection of Antanas Burkus)

Figure 8 – Christ's Resurrection Church as an example of "Stadtkrone", construction started in 1933, architect Karolis Reisonas. (Photo: from personal collection of Antanas Burkus)
Heritage as a political decision

David Lowenthal, one of the prominent heritage researchers, claims that “the past is a foreign country reshaped by today, its strangeness domesticated by our own modes of caring for its vestiges” (Lowenthal 2015:4). So, what is the difference between the whole past and the one that acquires significance for one or another community and becomes a heritage? How do we distinguish the insignificant artefacts of our history from the monuments? One of the most important issues whilst trying to answer these questions is the dialogue between the perceptions on value prescribed as a political decision and value as understood and interpreted by local, smaller heritage communities. In this way, Kaunas’ modernism will be briefly presented as a reflection of the expectations of the state.

The process of acceptance of this legacy as a cultural heritage has a surprisingly long history. Some buildings were recognised as architectural monuments of local significance as early as 1972 (List of the cultural monuments of the Lithuanian SSR 1973: 364-367). Out of the total number of 69 protected monuments of the national and local significance, 15 were interwar buildings. This represents more than 20% of the recognised architectural values in Kaunas at that time. Even if the selection did not have clear criteria or complexity, official recognition proves that the residents of Kaunas evaluated this architecture not only as a silent source of political resistance against the Soviet rule but also as an official part of cultural memory. Complicated conditions under the Soviet regime, when the so-called ‘bourgeois period’ was associated with negative connotations, did not interfere with the process of recognition. Moreover, the list included not only the monuments of exceptional architectural quality, such as the previously mentioned Vytautas, the Great War Museum or the Central Post Office, but also domestic buildings. Out of the 15 buildings, four were residential (figure 9). Such recognition reflects the unique significance of interwar architecture and its local character, not only for Kaunas but also for Lithuania.

It is important to note that in Soviet times the legacy of the interwar period also served as a source of inspiration for the development of the new architecture. Even the most difficult of the times of the Stalin regime and ideology of ‘Socialist realism’ was not able to completely transform the architectural tradition of Kaunas. For more than a decade, individual residential construction followed the modern forms of pre-war architecture. On some streets of the city, copies of interwar buildings were created, maintaining the urban fabric in the spirit of the 1930s (figure 10). When tendencies of mid-century modernism arrived in the Soviet Union and Lithuania in the 1960s and 1970s, the interwar period legacy continued to keep the status as an inspiration point for the new developments. The most illustrative example is probably the student campus of Kaunas technological university, where the modernist design of the research laboratory was built as late as the end of the 1970s.

After the reestablishment of independence in 1990, the architectural layer of the Kaunas interwar period became increasingly recognised. In public spaces, the process of the popularisation of Kaunas modernism by all possible means began – online digital archives (for example www.autc.lt), local and international exhibitions, social media and so forth. In recent years, the phenomenon has begun to be more widely reflected in the international context. In 2015, ‘Kaunas of 1919-1940’ was awarded the European Heritage Label and included on the list of UNESCO Creative Cities for design. In 2017, Kaunas’ modernist architecture was included in the tentative list for designation as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. Finally, Kaunas’ interwar legacy and the ‘Modernism for the Future’ programme will play a vital role in 2022 as the city assumes the title of European Capital of Culture for the year. Today, the modernist heritage is being adopted as one of the key features of Kaunas’ identity – a testament to the modern Europe of the first half of the 20th century and an emerging and sustainable part of the city’s identity, building a bridge from Kaunas’ past to its future.
**Figure 9** – House built by Chaimsunai family in 1931, architect Vytautas Landsbergis-Žemkalnis. (Photo: from collection of VMU Lithuanian Emigration Institute)

**Figure 10** – Building on the left is a 1950s copy of the neighbouring building, which was built in 1930s. (Photo: Vaidas Petruulis, 2017)
Value and heritage community

In a conference debating the role of value from the perspective of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM), Simonetta Valtieri quoted Andre Chastel’s writings from 1951: “ancient monuments cannot be preserved by a decree: are the owners of each single house that preserve or damage their houses” (Valtieri 2007:244). Since then, the discourse on the role of the owner, on the role of the community continues to be one of the major problematic issues in the preservation field. Moreover, even if most of us can agree that heritage “is about people, collectivity and individuals, about their sense of inheritance” (Robertson 2012:1), value assignment continues to be an institutional practice where professionals play a vital role. The preconditions for conflict are greatly enhanced when discussing the large urban areas whose character was formed in the 20th century.

Even historical urban landscapes of the pre-industrial period often become a potential zone of conflict between community and government. However, communication between professionals and the community becomes even more problematic when discussing the issues of recent heritage. In many cases, these buildings lack an aesthetic appeal and, in public opinion, “look, at best, dreary, and, at worst, like the headquarters of some kind of post-apocalyptic totalitarian dictatorship” (Rennix; Robinson 2017). Lack of appreciation was one of the most important problems when the listing of the architecture of the 20th century became more widely discussed. “A considerable gulf has certainly developed between the specialist's appraisal of modern architecture and that of the average citizen, who takes an uncomprehending attitude to contemporary art as a whole but develops an individual and often rejecting opinion regarding modern architecture with which he is confronted daily” (Lehne 1989, 11). After more than 30 years, the situation is now gradually changing, but the opinion of society remains an important factor. Therefore, preservation of 20th century still "challenge[s] traditional conservation approaches and raise[s] new methodological and philosophical issues" (Normandin, Macdonald 2013:1).

Summing up the contemporary discourse, we can say that the word heritage is increasingly associated with such keywords as heritage community, sustainable development, innovative business models and similar, which include the dynamic momentum of the present. The Faro Convention describes the paradigm shift as an expanded and interdisciplinary perception of heritage, “recognising the need to put people and human values at the centre of an enlarged and cross-disciplinary concept of cultural heritage” (Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society 2005). In this way, the core of heritage preservation is the development of society and the quality of life. How does it affect such traditional principles of heritage protection as setting the value?

Each case gives us some specific tasks and lessons to learn. Kaunas as a historic urban landscape from early 20th century reflects an extensive range of problems. These problems start from the perception of modern movement as a heritage, continue with debates of the role of such international instruments as European Heritage Label and end with the opportunity to take an active part in the value definition process in local legislation. On the other hand, the fact that Kaunas is on the European Heritage List and European Capital of Culture 2022 intensifies overall debates on cultural heritage, which is an essential element of integrating the community into heritage conservation processes. Therefore, Kaunas gives an opportunity to discuss and evaluate the role of these European instruments.

The first lesson

The first lesson we can learn from the experience of Kaunas is a clear perception that preservation of the historic character of 20th century urban landscape will inevitably involve large heritage community. As was revealed earlier, the character of Kaunas does not show itself as a collection of unique buildings, but as a general spirit of the city. The key issue in this context is this that everyday architecture where these people live has, in most cases, not been previously
perceived as of aesthetic or historical value. Therefore, the definition of values is the continuous process where the community has to be actively involved. Public institutions and instruments have to think more about the role of moderator, or creative contributor to the discussion. For example, the programme ‘Modernism for the Future’ in the framework of ECOC Kaunas2022 takes the part of community builder starting the activities with an open platform (see. http://modernizmasateiciai.lt/EN). This is treated as a meeting space where representatives of various fields: building owners, the heritage community and representatives of cultural initiatives, meet together to engage in discussion, conduct idea workshops, debate art and culture, and establish a strategy for the conservation, interpretation and promotion of modernist heritage.

The second lesson
The second lesson is a manifest necessity to look for innovative models of inheritance process when developing a preservation strategy for urban areas of recent heritage. Due to the abundance and functional diversity, the architectural heritage of the 20th century has to be treated not only as a single historical and informational layer but also as a specific area of heritage protection where its uniqueness calls for unconventional solutions. All traditional aspects of the cultural heritage protection system, starting with an understanding of authenticity or value and ending with strategies of interpretation, must respond to the great variety of the heritage community involved. Such specific challenges as an abrupt change of owners during Soviet times, and the consequent loss of natural narrative and memory must be considered as serious a task as the preservation of material authenticity.

The third lesson
Finally, the third lesson, which evolves from the first two, is the necessity to encourage the diversity of narratives. Even if the significance of the historical building of urban areas has been established by official insignias, such as the European Heritage Label or the European Capital of Culture, the diversity of the urban fabric first and foremost encourages us to develop a multifaceted narrative of the place. Therefore, the next necessary step after establishing the official role of national or European significance is the rejection of a single narrative and an active attempt to develop multiple interpretations where personal definitions of value play an integral part of the whole picture. Furthermore, efforts to create new emotional associations are equally important as historical ones. This is especially true when we talk about places where the core community has been replaced because of political reasons.

Conclusion
Consideration of the coexistence of new and old conservative heritage protection and the expectation of more intensive urbanisation are facing each other. Learning from the historical experience of examples such as Kaunas, one can raise the premise that the goal of this process should be the ability to combine the progress of the time and the local tradition, perceiving the legacy of modernity as a creative inspiration for the future. In such a manner, the layer of historical artefacts of the everyday environment would survive another transformation whilst maintaining the cornerstone of consciousness and, at the same time, the intuitive and spontaneous connection of the identity of the city with the legacy of modernist.

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An interactive museum ‘Theatre Quest’ about regional identity for the Historical Museum of the Sarre

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Abstract
For centuries, life in the Sarre region meant constant upheaval. Three wars and two referenda brought about numerous border shifts, so that a person born there around 1900 would, in the course of their life, possess five different passports without having moved once! Faced with constant change on a national scale, the inhabitants of the Sarre stuck together and focused on their own, smaller world of ‘us’ versus ‘them’. Even within Germany, the Sarre are considered a special tribe. But once you take a closer look at what their regional identity actually is (or has been, since it has been evolving since medieval times), things are far more diverse and diffuse.

The obvious ‘markers’ of the vernacular, cuisine, religion and customs do vary: Are we more French, German, or neither? In the Museum Theatre Quest format for adult audiences, five actors tell stories encompassing six centuries, to explore these questions: not with ready answers, but with food for thought.

Keywords
live interpretation, museum theatre, exhibition

A museum challenge about ‘identity’- Theoretical underpinning
Looking at the concept of ‘identity’ from a psychological point of view, it is either seen as:
- an immutable core that remains the same through the passage of time, or
- constituting itself in a never-ending process, forever adapting.

So, it is an argument of ‘substance’ vs ‘process’. Regional clichés usually represent the idea of substance. It was my aim to develop a programme that leaves room for the notion of process. In this article, I talk about a very small federal state in the South-West of Germany called "Saarland" / the Sarre (after the river that runs through it) as a region and a people, or I refer to the people by the German term ‘Saarländer’. The Historical Museum of the Sarre, where I work, is abbreviated to HMS.

Not unlike other places where regional identity is perceived as strong, how the Sarre people see themselves, or are seen by others, contains various dimensions:

a) Savoir-vivre (folkways and traditions, humour, festivities…)
b) Mentality and people (the dialect and its variations, values, such as modesty, down-to-earthness, strong family ties, religion…)
c) Culinary heritage (beer/wine/tobacco are produced here; food and drink are rated very highly: the Sarre see themselves as a nation of epicures…)
d) Scenery and sights (industrial heritage, nature, churches and monasteries…)
e) ‘Figureheads’ (celebrities, success stories, famous products…)
f) Symbols (visual symbols, such as coats of arms and flags, anthems…)

The examples mentioned in brackets are, of course, changing throughout history. These ‘identity markers’ are the themes I returned to during the composition of the script. They’re handy
categories because timeless topics, such as foodways or religion, form a part of people’s lives in any timeframe. Anyone can relate to this, much like familiar narrative archetypes.

The museum theatre programme should direct visitors’ attention to the fact that their regional identity is not the product of intellectual discourse or conscious choice, but of pragmatism, and that it has been evolving over time.

This starts with ancestry: the forbears of the current, ‘homogenous’ population were largely immigrants, as the country was vastly destroyed several times and had to be repopulated (an influx of Swiss, Palatinate and other neighbours filled the population gaps left behind by devastating wars). Also, the Sarre federal state today is strongly associated with Catholicism.

However, the ratio of religions kept changing over time: sometimes the Catholics would outnumber the Protestants, then it would change again. These shifts were the result of repopulation programmes, heavy work migration, as well as shifting borders that would include, or exclude, certain religious communities.

The Saarländer is generally caught in an odd limbo between a hopeless overestimation of their region’s merits, and a grueling inferiority complex. The latter is caused by a deep-rooted feeling of powerlessness, seemingly ‘forever’ caught up between two hostile nations: France in the West, and Germany in the East. In this particular geography, the Sarre has once too often ended up as a battlefield, divided, forever changing hands between masters. In the end, the self-image of pride and fierce patriotism of the Saarländer today is a relatively recent phenomenon: but to the people living there today, it ‘feels’ steeped in history.

So, what do ‘They’ stand for?
Many people in Germany would say:
- These people are pious and very Catholic,
- Have a strong mining and industrial culture,
- Are full of fierce local patriotism,
- Enthusiasts for clubs and societies,
- Inhabitants of a small world, where everyone knows everyone else (Saarländer when outside of their own region will immediately detect, and pair up with, other Saarländer),
- A poor region, understated, and modest,
- Populated by people who like their food (“A good meal is the remedy for everything”),
- There are rivalries with immediate neighbours, such as the Palatines on the German side,
- Within their own group, an unfailing solidarity,
- They see themselves as forever subject to higher powers, foreign rule, torn politically;
- Due to very real experiences of suppression, they have developed certain character traits like submissiveness (“Keep your head down and stay out of trouble”),
- Sarre people themselves will add that they now stand for cosmopolitanism and a relaxed lifestyle, by being so close to France.

Intended learning outcomes
Bearing that in mind, I wanted my museum theatre script to imply the following:
- Even within such a strong group, there is dissent over allegedly clear national symbols. ‘We’ are not as homogenous a people as we think, and derive from a wide ethnic mix.
- How Saarländer saw themselves is in itself a product of their lifetimes, and has been subject to change. Previous generations suffered a lot of upheaval, and had to cope with constant, disruptive change. The human suffering and discomfort involved in this, and the respect it deserves, must be borne in mind.
- The geographic location, caught between Germany and France, has always been a challenge. The Sarre was the breaking point in a brittle Europe: the stage on which a never-ending chain of attack / counterattack between arch rivals was enacted. Their fate is also a
call, and has a unique authority, to promote the idea of a pacifist Europe with the utmost credibility.

Programme structure
The Theatre Quest is a team challenge format, suitable for a German speaking audience, in which teams of up to ten participants compete with each other. They move through the permanent collection of the HMS and encounter live interpreters. The interpreters represent different timeframes that are visible in the collections.

As there are great ‘gaps’ in the object history, there is a massive time jump in the theatrical narrative. The times represented are: 1460, 1815, 1875, 1923 and 1955. The Renaissance and Baroque periods are missing entirely. Usually, museum theatre can be a great gap-filler for periods that are poorly represented by artefacts, but within the HMS there are no spaces that allow any visual association with the missing periods. Therefore, it would be odd if an interpreter performed about the Thirty Years’ War in front of 19th century objects.

The individual stops are a scripted so-called ‘first person’ interaction, each of about ten minutes. First person means that the interpreter is dressed in historical costume and enacts being the person from the past, not just talks about the person. They use ‘second person’ interaction with the audience, meaning they give the audience a certain function or role in the game.

Enroute from one timeframe to the next, the participants are given further tasks to find information about the museum objects to help them score. This serves several purposes:
- The quest would be very short if the visitors just rushed from one actor to the next.
- If the collection were not included in the hunt, the museum would be reduced to mere backdrop for the drama, which it shouldn’t be.
- The actor can only talk about one view of a specific topic – that of their specific character. But of course, questions of history or identity are never told sufficiently from just one perspective. However, the actor can’t give a balanced view about everything in just ten minutes. It would confuse the guest to be told too many different aspects by one person. As all the stops contain just one actor, this character’s view cannot be challenged by a second character. Therefore, alternative views or further aspects must be found by exploring the exhibits. Dialogues between two or more interpreters would have been more desirable, but this would have required more actors, which was simply not possible within the budget.

The sequence of events

Arrival of the guests
- The audience is greeted by a short video. This very briefly introduces some of the above-mentioned themes connected with regional identity, such as landscape, food, dialect, industrial culture, and the remarkable level of local pride.
- The images and voiceover often form a humorous contrast to establish a light-hearted, fun tone.
- The welcome message also explains the rules of the game: the group is to be divided into small units of up to ten people, and to follow a preordained route. The video explains how the scores are to be counted, so there will be a winning team at the end. Each group starts with a different actor, and they all move on clockwise to the next. The stops in temporal sequence are:

Stop 1 - Medieval timeframe
- The furthest ‘back in time’ is 1460. This is simply down to the fact that the medieval castle ruins, accessible underneath the museum, are the oldest category of exhibit. Of course, the Sarre area was inhabited long before that time. There are plenty of known Roman remains, as well as artefacts of Celtic origin, though not on display in the museum.
- The story: the character is Duke Johann III of Saarbrucken. He is addressing the citizens of the city (the audience - this is their ‘second person’ involvement). The castle is about to be laid siege to by the rival neighbours, the Palatines. The citizens will therefore be armed and instructed on how to defend the city. During the monologue, the recurring rivalry with adjacent duchies will be introduced, and we want to create an awareness that the medieval Sarre territory had nothing of the marginal, as is people’s perception later in history. Instead, it was centrally located for the time, closer to French Burgundian influence than their neighbours in the East, and their Sarre nobility second to none in the Holy Roman Empire.

- How to score: the challenge for the audience is allocating the (medieval) coats of arms correctly to the current federal flag. Most guests will be unaware that the coat of arms they see every day (on letters from the tax office, or on school reports) is a combination of the four most influential houses that determined regional politics in medieval times.

- Once a group has solved the task, they get a token. We chose to provide a replica of the money of the respective timeframe, in this case a silver Penny, before the Duke sends the group on to the next stop.

Stop 2 - Early 19th century
- We now skip to 1815. This is a very dramatic jump, down to the specific situation of the museum, which does not host any objects dating from the Renaissance or Baroque periods. The year 1815 is crucial for another aspect of Sarre history – borders.

- After French occupation and Napoleonic reign, the Congress of Vienna re-ordered mainland Europe. The Sarre was partly given to Prussia, partly to Bavaria: so one foreign rule went out the door, several new overlords walked in.

- The character is a civil servant commissioned to train new civil servants so they can help enforce and administrate the new borders.

- The region that today makes a fairly young federal state was then a wild mix of medium-sized, small, and tiny territorial units. Neither the Prussians, nor the Bavarians, who had got most of it, had any territorial or cultural link to the Sarre, but were of course happy to exploit the rich mines and levy taxes that were higher than in their own countries. Due to the division between different large forces, villages that lay next to each other could – from one day to the next – be ‘abroad’, and require complex paperwork to travel there. A system of tolls would make trade routes difficult. The new civil servant would have to bear all that red tape in mind.

- How to score: the challenge for the audience is to correctly assemble a puzzle. We reproduced the map of 1815 onto large, durable pieces that can be laid down on the museum floor. Under the instruction of the actor, who stays in character, visitors have to put it together correctly and name the respective rule (Prussian, German, Brunswick, French). They get their reproductive Prussian money for reward and are sent on.

Stop 3 - Industrialisation
- The next stop is 1876. The 1870s mark the belated, but all the more fast-paced, arrival of Industrialisation in the region. Coal, steel, glass and ceramics already had their place in the manufacturing business, but factories only took off during that decade. Thousands of workers, especially miners, endured long commutes, as the poor and disinherited would flock to the expanding industries.

- The character that the group meets is the wife of a miner. She addresses the group as co-dwellers in the already overpopulated village, and as fellow Catholics.

- The story: the woman welcomes the newcomers and tells about the working conditions, the high level of interference of the Captains of Industry with the private lives of their workforce.

- She goes on to elaborate about the conflict between the largely Protestant upper classes and nobility, and the Catholic influx of cheap labour from the vicinity. Catholicism was then considered a threat to Bismarck’s nation-building endeavours (after all, the recent Franco-German war of 1871 had only newly forged modern Germany). The Prussian
rulers were worried that the religious populace would look to Rome, not Berlin. Our character goes on to explain about a local pilgrimage in 1876 to Saint Mary of Marpingen which got out of hand and culminated in severe riots.

- How to score: the challenge here is to calculate the amount of timber a miner would – semi-legally – take from the mines in the course of his career. Surely, a few bits and bobs won’t hurt the Prussian mining élite! Let’s do the maths… and earn a Reichsmark.

**Stop 4 - The Roaring Twenties**

- The next timeframe is 1923. Since the last stop of the 1870s, much has changed. Above all, how could the Sarre borders be different? The First World War saw Germany’s demise, and the Sarre was once again ’sandwiched’ between victorious France and defeated Germany. It was redefined as a neutral zone, belonging to neither, and put under what was virtually French administration. The Sarre Statute, coming into effect in January 1920, marked a fifteen-year period of neutrality, at the end of which a referendum was to decide where the Sarre would end up.

- The story: the group meets a young woman who is waiting outside a hat factory. The milliner’s steaming shop is one of the exhibits, and presents a natural stage. She is queueing, waiting for the shop to open, as they have advertised for staff. The group are treated as fellow-applicants, and she starts off rather rudely as she fears their competition for the job.

- The theme of the scene is the specific situation of the Sarre after the Great War. Whilst great inflation is undermining the adjacent German Reich in 1923, the Sarre – part of a different monetary system – remains relatively unscathed. She also talks about the city of Saarbrücken being a centre of liberalism and culture, and about the new lifestyles for women.

- How to score: the challenge here is to join in a popular song of 1923 whose tune is still known today. She rewards the group with a Franc and sends them on.

**Stop 5 - The Referendum of 1955**

- We jump forward to post-war times, to the second Sarre referendum. The first referendum was in 1935, where the above-mentioned neutrality under French rule was abandoned in favour of a unification with Nazi Germany. Then followed the Second World War, and another German defeat.

- Once again, the Sarre was occupied by the French, and discussions around neutrality, and the region becoming a bridge between the ancient enemy nations, started again.

- The story: the visitors encounter a tobacconist in her shop. This is an exhibition unit that is also very stage-like. The shopkeeper is about to close up and greets the guests as late customers. During the scene, the contemporary discourse about the pending referendum of 1955 is being unpacked: which options people could vote for; which parties stood for election; how aggressively they advertised or bad-mouthed the opponent and what each decision would entail.

- We also hear about the failed attempt to kill the head of Sarre government, Hoffmann, by means of a letter bomb, as tempers reached fever pitch in the fierce propaganda around the Referendum.

- How to score: the challenge here is to fill in a ballot (replica of the original voting paper), onto which another, blank, field has been added. This is to enable guests to include their own comments and wishes for the future of the Sarre. There are no right or wrong answers. At the end, the submitted, anonymous ballots are displayed in the entrance area, where the scores are counted.

**The en-route experience**

On the way from one stop to the next, guests have more questions to answer which encourage them to look closely at exhibits. This is not theatre-based, but aims to direct their attention to small, unobtrusive objects which, however, tell a story reflecting upon identity. Such tasks include:
Find a small, framed technical drawing of the typical miners' dwelling. Such houses were raised cheaply in great quantity and all looked the same. Many inhabitants of the Sarre still have one of these as their family home, but may not be aware of its origin.

Find the national flag of the Sarre before the Referendum of 1955, when, for a brief period, it was a separate country, and was represented as such at the Helsinki Olympics. The theme of heraldry, flags and symbols is a recurring one.

**Will the format do the trick?**

I am still developing the team challenge format and have not had a chance to try it out and fine-tune (which will be necessary!). The question whether our troupe of actors will succeed in raising an awareness of the shifting identities, and to explain why people are the way they (think they) are, is still open. In the end, the audience will decide, so I intend to collect written feedback questionnaires after the first few performances.

It was my aim to tell stories that are serious alongside the humorous, but the tone of the entire programme is to be light-hearted and fun. Therefore, whole sections of the exhibit were left out (i.e. the unit about the Trenches in WWI, or about WWII). Due to budgetary constraints, we could only afford five stops, and chose to focus on the ones that people would find easier to relate to (or have more fun with). However, I would have wished to include some scenes that were quieter, less robust, that focus more on the exhibits within view, and their often poetic quality.

We want to undermine clichés and question 'universal truths' about the Sarre mentality, but in a non-confrontational way. If a guest is not prepared to reconsider their view, nothing an interpreter can do will force them. The HMS simply wants to convey history in an entertaining, easily accessible manner, but to raise relevant questions about identity at the same time.

The permanent collection of the museum as our venue is problematic. The space has very tricky acoustics, and is also full of different interpretive layers that contradict each other (noisy audio tracks that cannot be switched off; currently, a Star Wars family exhibit in the castle ruins). The Theatre Quest was meant to premiere in March 2018 but has been delayed to the summer due to the availability of the actors.

I hope we will manage to create an awareness that museums are storehouses of objects related to regional identity that speak to us, once contextualised. We as interpreters are here to raise relevant questions, not to tell people how they ought to feel.
How to translate the concept of ‘heritage’ - The social effect of museum exhibitions

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Abstract
The paper analyses how cultural institutions, such as museums, are able to influence and shape the understanding of theoretical concepts among their visitors. Museum institutions are using three-dimensional spaces with a broad range of theatrical means, filled with objects from their collections, in order to translate the theoretical concepts into socially active exhibitions. The basis of the paper is the field research conducted by the author in 2017 among the visitors of the exhibition #heritage in the National Museum in Krakow, Poland. The research showed how the exhibition has changed people’s understanding of the concept of ‘Polish national heritage’ and what effect it had on their beliefs.

Keywords
museum, interpretation, heritage, social negotiation, visitor studies

Introduction
Michel de Certeau, French anthropologist and historian, contrasts two perspectives in his book, L’Invention du quotidien: perspective of theory and of everyday life. The first perspective is symbolised by the figure of a man standing on top of a skyscraper and looking down on the city (Certeau in the text from 1980 chooses the World Trade Centre in New York). In front of the spectator there stretches the whole city; streets, buildings, cars and trains like children’s toys, passers-by walking down the streets from point to point. This is a delightful map presenting the city with clarity and certainty, giving self-confidence to the subject – Certeau claims that this is the perspective of theory: of history, sociology, anthropology and other cultural studies that give the impression of certainty that is nothing more than a fiction: ‘The 1370 foot high tower that serves as a prow for Manhattan […] makes the complexity of the city readable, and immobilises its opaque mobility in a transparent text’ (Certeau 1984: 92).

Certeau contrasts this perspective with the other one, belonging to an ordinary passer-by moving through the streets of the city, having his/her own individual goals and subjective paths of movement, unknown for the observer looking from a height. The passer-by is not able to look at the whole city – he/she does not know where other people are going, does not know the routes of cars, neither what lurks around the corner, but he/she experiences the bodily, dynamic everyday life, which is lacking for a static observer-theorist. According to Certeau, the precondition for creating a panoptical, general theory of culture is the omission of the practices of everyday life and dealing with ‘cadavers’:

“The panorama-city is a ‘theoretical’ (that is, visual) simulacrum, in short a picture, whose condition of possibility is an oblivion and a misunderstanding of practices. The voyeur-god created by this fiction, who, like Schreber’s God, knows only cadavers, must disentangle himself from the murky intertwining daily behaviors and make himself alien to them” (Certeau 1984: 92).
A similar situation, in my opinion, often takes place on the ground of heritage studies. Smooth sounding theories and schematically outlined mechanisms of functioning of cultural or natural heritage institutions do not take into account the practices of their recipients who often understand the strategies of heritage professionals in a completely different way. However, when the institution itself tries to change the practices and beliefs of its recipients, there is a clash of two languages: the language of theoretical and institutional understanding of the concept of ‘the heritage’ and the language of common knowledge and everyday practices of the nonprofessional public.

My paper will analyse the process of such a clash using the example of the exhibition #heritage in the National Museum in Krakow, Poland. I will show how this metaexhibition, which ran from June 2017 to January 2018, tried to translate the theoretical concept of ‘the heritage’ into spatial forms of the museum display and what use the public made of it. I will use the analysis of both the poetics and politics of the exhibition, as well as my own ethnographic research carried out among the visitors and educators of this exhibition.

I will argue that the multiple translations that happened in this exhibition - between the theory of the heritage to the spatial form of the museum display, and again from the display to the experiences and identities of the visitors - were deprived of one subject having control of the process. Even though the museum itself felt like a ‘host’ of cultural translation, it did not have full control of its visitors’ tactics.

Translation (I): from theory to display
How has the concept of ‘heritage’ translated into the spatial form of the exhibition?
The exhibition #heritage in the National Museum in Krakow, Poland, presented objects exclusively from the collection of this museum. They were chosen by the curator, Andrzej Szczerski, from the vast magazines of this institution, which has 140 years of history, during which purchases were made to a small extent only, and the collection policy was based on donations and inheritance. In this way, the collection of the National Museum in Krakow shaped over the years is also a picture of the changing canons of what Poles (donors and employees of the museum) considered Polish heritage: they considered it worthy to be included in the collection of this particular, specific institution, firstly in a museum institution, secondly in the collection of a national institution, and thirdly in the collection of the institution located in Krakow, a city symbolic to the Polish collective imagination, treated as a treasury of Polishness, a city-monument in which a multitude of historical souvenirs and monuments preserved to the contemporary times gave an incredibly high rank to everything that was in it.

This understanding was active especially in the 19th century, when the National Museum in Krakow was established, and since the Polish state did not exist on maps, the task of museums was to store and take care of souvenirs of the Polish past and the achievements of eminent Poles, so that the collective Polish memory in those difficult times of lacking the independent state would not lose them.
It was in the spirit emphasising the existence of continuity between the 19th century optics and the contemporary view that the curator of the exhibition, Andrzej Szczerski, saw the mission of the National Museum in Krakow:

“Striving for independence as well as the ethos of freedom are an essential part of Polish identity and, regardless of the turning points of the history of the 20th century, they are continually the key elements of our heritage, all the more noticeable confronted with the dramatic events which during the last century did not let Poland develop peacefully and last in stability. One of the proofs that, in spite of the disasters and transformations of the 20th century, the cultural continuity was preserved is the activity of institutions such as national museums, including the National Museum in Krakow. Although the Krakow institution also went through various vicissitudes of fate, which had an influence on its collecting policies, the collection is a fascinating record of struggle to preserve the national character of the exhibits and appreciate the greatest achievements of Polish culture despite countless adversities” (Szczerski 2017: 26).

It is important to assume in this approach the existence of certain fixed, specific values (such as ‘striving for independence’) prior to a given collection of art and historic souvenirs, which is shaped and changed over time and is deposited in a museum (in this case, the National Museum in Krakow). Only after recognising these values can one choose the elements that are the heritage that surround people and could be included in the exhibition entitled in a similar way.

Objects are thus auxiliary, they serve as an exemplification of a certain theory, access to which is based on the philosophical insight, ‘experience of indisputable obviousness and a reference to what is undisguised and unconcealed’, that is aletheia (Szczerski 2017: 29).

The objects in the exhibition were grouped around five main categories, to which the curator gave the titles ‘heritage’, ‘geography’, ‘language’, ‘citizens’ and ‘custom’. They could be seen on the
walls in the form of large hashtags, and selected objects and their groups were given smaller, more detailed hashtags, constituting the second level categories. In fact, all the work of categorising objects and interpreting the title ‘heritage’ took place at the level of these minor hashtags, because they provided much more detailed guidance on how to understand the basic idea of the exhibition. Among them, there was a call ‘For our freedom and yours’, reminiscent of the solidarity of nations fighting for independence in the 19th century; ‘Country without stakes’, from the times of the comparative religious freedom in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 17th century, and ‘Power of taste’, a quote from a poem by the Polish poet, Zbigniew Herbert, calling this way the ability to distinguish between good and evil.

The exhibition was divided into three floors. The first and most extensive had the structure of a labyrinth in which the objects were not distinguished from each other, but formed picturesque, densely overlapping groups. Selected objects received short descriptions on the walls, but none of them were signed, and they were given numbers only, so that if a visitor wanted to know what kind of object it was, he/she had to check in the brochure they had been given at the beginning of the tour. The visitor had free choice to create their own path between these groups and, as there were over 500 objects in the whole exhibition, visitors quickly realised that it was not possible to view every object in the exhibition. Therefore, the important role of the guide was fulfilled by the already described hashtags – the only guide suggesting any order in this great accumulation of objects (the curator deliberately used the aesthetics of the 19th museum display to refer to the former social role of museums - see Szczerski 2017: 29).

![Figure 2](image1.jpg)

**Figure 2** – First level of the exhibition #heritage in the National Museum in Krakow - labyrinth of the display. 2017 (Photo: F. Skowron)

The second floor of the exhibition had a different construction. It was much less extensive and contained only a few dozen objects, each in a separate display case or in a spot on the wall and equipped with an extensive description. The selected objects had two descriptions: the first by one of the museum professionals who take care of the collections, and the other created as a
result of participatory workshops with underprivileged people, who were asked whether they felt this object was a part of their own heritage.

The third floor had the character of an appendix to the exhibition, because there was an artistic installation consisting of rotatable cubes with selected important pictures or texts from Polish culture. Visitors could rotate the cubes so that the images provoking the most personal connection were chosen, creating a wall of ‘perfect Polish heritage’. It was displayed in a playful and disobliging form, as it was at the very end of this extraordinarily extensive exhibition. Thus, the structure of the exhibition #heritage itself assumed a certain kind of enumeration of the title concept. As mentioned, the objects in it were examples from certain categories, so they could be substituted for if other objects could just as well symbolise the particular category (on the principle of pars pro toto; see Bal 2008). Due to the number of objects selected from the museum’s collection and placing them next to each other in a way that did not suggest the uniqueness of any of them in relation to the others, the exhibition suggested that the concept of ‘heritage’ has an encyclopedic character, in which each entry must be included: language, territory, religions, individual social groups and representatives of classes, military conquests and figures of prominent leaders, etc. ‘An element of heritage can be a given phenomenon from the sphere of art, architecture, music, literature, religion, material culture, rituals or other fields of human activity, provided that it becomes commonly acknowledged as deserving this term’ (Szczerski 2017: 25).

Therefore, the concept of ‘heritage’ was understood in this way in a manner close to the old definitions of the concept of culture, such as the one proposed by Edward Tylor in 1871: ‘complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society’ (Tylor 1871: 1).

The described poetics of the display of this exhibition has been confronted with its reception by the audience. Its creators used several different languages to translate the theoretical concept of the heritage into spatial forms: both with a verbal language (in the form of hashtags and arrays with descriptions of individual objects or their groups) as well as with a scenographic language (with a labyrinthine, democratic structure of groups of objects and spaces between them).

Translation (II): from display to experience

In this chapter I will show not the poetics of the exhibition display, but its politics, or how visitors have been translating the display into their own language and what consequences it had for their own understanding of the term ‘heritage’.

I carried out ethnographic research among the visitors during the exhibition from July 2017 to January 2018, using the methods of shadowing, observations and dual interviews that have been consistent with the rule of the ‘ecology’ of the techniques chosen, so that they resemble, as closely as possible, the normal experience of the visitors. After the exhibition finished I conducted interviews with the educators that had had almost everyday contact with the visitors. As the exhibition only closed two months prior to this paper being presented, the gathered material is still being processed, so my remarks will have a general character and summarise the threads that appeared in the conversations and those motifs that I noticed during observations.

The visitors did not expect the exhibition #heritage in the National Museum in Krakow to be any different from the previous large, popular temporary exhibitions in this institution. Because previous exhibitions have focussed mainly on historical and artistic issues, it was in this context that most of them initially placed this exhibition also. Therefore, it is not surprising that many visitors expected a chronological lecture on a selected aspect of the history of art and pointing to the most important objects in the exhibition space.

Visitors quickly realised that these expectations were not being met and that they had to build a new approach among the objects and start using a new cognitive schema that would enable them to understand the language used by the exhibition. In this process, both verbal guidelines, such
as the hashtags present on the walls, and the more subconsciously felt language of spatial organisation of the exhibition were used.

An example visit to the exhibition was as follows.

The visitor entered the exhibition and received a brochure with all the objects they would encounter along the way numbered and described. A curatorial introduction provided the basic facts about the exhibition and the curator's approach to the concept of heritage were explained. Then, the visitor began their tour around the exhibition. After the initial display cases, where they could see, among others, the founding act of the National Museum in Krakow, the visitor headed to the first major part of the exhibition, gathering maps and other images related to various places in the world where Poles had made their presence. However, the object which drew the greatest attention was the map embroidered with human hair. Although today it is difficult not to associate this object with Auschwitz, it was actually a 19th-century souvenir, having the character of a sentimental reminiscence of Poland, which had disappeared from the map of Europe at the end of the 18th century (using her own hair was an expression of reverence for the map creator’s homeland). The visitors initially paid attention to the error in identification and, after familiarising themselves with the extraordinary story that lay behind the object, they started to look more closely at it and to comment on its bizarreness and playfulness.

After seeing other objects related to geography, the visitors then moved to the part with one of the main hashtags, ‘language’. Here, their attention was initially drawn by books lying in the display cases, then - following the hashtag ‘citizens’ – it was focused on portraits of various social groups inhabiting the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the past. The first powerful group of portraits hung on the wall from the floor to the ceiling focused visitors’ attention. It acted visually in its size and color, but at the same time visitors felt obliged to check subsequent names of portrayed persons in a brochure with object numbers.

**Figure 3** – Checking the details in the booklet in front of the picturesque group of portraits in the exhibition #heritage in the National Museum in Krakow. 2017 (Photo: F. Skowron)
After passing through a narrow corridor of portraits, the visitor went out into the open space described by the hashtags 'poland', 'commonwealth', 'custom', 'religion' and some others. It was a highly unstructured space in which everyone had to find their own walking path. Visitors often felt confused, trying to follow the successive numbers of objects, which, however, were not displayed in this way - this was not what the creators of the exhibition expected. Disorientation was also caused by the splendor and diversity of the objects in this room: from large-format oil paintings, posters from World War II and images of Asia and Africa, to medieval books (with Nicholas Copernicus's *De revolutionibus*) and examples of Polish handicrafts (such as porcelain from Ćmielów and folk furniture).

Later on, visitors moved through the last part of the first floor, stopped in front of the hussar armor and the giant Turkish carpet and then moved to the second floor.

![Figure 4 – The #heritage exhibition in the National Museum in Krakow. 2017 (Photo: F. Skowron)](image)

Although the creators of the exhibition invited visitors to watch other visitors - thanks to a system of glass and small windows in several walls - the public did not feel it was interesting nor had it anything to do with the topic of their visit. This rejection of looking at another people doing the same activity in the same highly symbolic space could be explained by the fact that visitors felt that what constitutes the heritage are objects, not people who do not have a direct, clear connection to the topic of heritage and objects of heritage. Also, the activity of panoptic looking at other people during the visit in the museum is attached mostly to the side of professionals, such as guards, not to the side of the public (Foucault 1973).

One of the educators noted several times that people whom he had been guiding neglected any personal stories connected by the educator to the objects. They explained to him that the 'serious' space of the #heritage exhibition level one was not a place for disobliging chats, even though from the guide’s point of view he was trying to engage them in the heritage stories.
The situation changed on the second floor. Here there were fewer objects, but each of them was distinguished by its own glass case or special place on the wall. Because of the length of the visit, visitors mostly did not look at all objects at this moment. They did not check the names in the booklets, neither did they read the double descriptions attached to the objects. The power of the curator over the public ceased to exist because of such a tiny, unexpected motif: fatigue. Instead of behaving as the curator intended, the visitors were searching for their own personal stories and paths: they were looking very closely at the giant 18th-century map of the whole of Poland, trying to find their own town or village, they were looking through the window or laughing at some pictures gathered in the last part of the second level (that part included works of contemporary Polish artists). This moment was crucial to the visit: finally, the personal history and ‘small heritage’ could be made active in the exhibition. But very quickly, this process was shut down by the patriotic and national attitude of all the commentaries found in the booklet and on the walls of the exhibition. However, visitor fatigue and problems with maintaining attention on the exhibition display helped visitors to dodge the totalitarian impulses of the exhibition (for the connection between stimulating the attention and modern symbolic power see: Crary 2000). They could easily talk between each other about some personal associations that the objects created in their minds, sneaking small parts of their own lives into the experience of the exhibition visit.

One example of the ‘shy heritage’ that appeared during the visit of one lady is that she pointed at one of the paintings from the exhibition, Andrzej Sadowski’s Piotrkowska Street (III) (1977), showing the street in Lodz, a very industrial city in central Poland in the 1970s, and said: “For a young person, this painting is just a work of art, and the cars in it – items of industrial heritage, just like the same-looking clothes the people are wearing’. ‘My associations are completely unlike those: signs MHD and Tkaniny (Fabrics) were completely unnecessary there because the distribution of all goods was handled by the state-operated enterprise Miejski Handel Detaliczny (Municipal Retailers). A Syrena car – something we dreamed of and coveted in our youth, as we did of the majority of ‘luxury’

Figure 5 – Visitors of the exhibition #heritage looking for their own family heritage on the map of 18th century Poland. 2017 (Photo: F. Skowron)
products available only for tickets and only to the privileged – or smart – ones; a Star truck – commonly used by all “forces”: the police, the fire service, etc. Both the Syrena and the Start had the advantage of being reparable by any mechanic or just an experienced driver.”

“I have been to Łódź many a time. Each time I found a new face of it. The one that sent most tingles down my spine was soon after martial law was declared, when I saw a long queue of women in front of a butcher’s waiting for goods to be ‘tossed in’. That was exactly around Piotrkowska Street” (material reference in process).

Figure 6 – The artistic installation in the exhibition #heritage. 2017 (Photo: F. Skowron)

The last part of the visit took part on the third floor of the building, where the artistic installation was encountered. Visitors had an opportunity not only to discover their own personal heritage from the possibilities offered to them (pictures and texts, from the most famous paintings from the history of Polish art or fragments of literary works to the heroes of Polish cartoons and computer games), but also to actively choose and independently decide which sides of the cubes would be on the front of the ‘wall’ and which would be hidden for the time being. It was an anarchic space, deprived of hierarchy but, due to its location at the very end of the visit, it was not treated as a full part of it. Also, it was in a sharp contrast to the attitude of previous parts of the exhibition.

‘Museum heritage’ and ‘people’s heritage’
The definition of the heritage provided by the curator of the exhibition #heritage in the National Museum in Krakow was translated in the language of spatial forms of categorising and arranging physical objects from the museum collections. The nature of this process resulted in the concept of heritage being based mostly on physical elements with sharp, political values. Another understanding of this concept, such as treating the heritage as a process, a ‘discursive construction’ of how people are using the past (Smith 2006), were neglected by the exhibition.

It was intriguing to talk with people after they visited this exhibition and ask them questions about the heritage because, no matter what their opinion on the exhibition – and they varied very
much: from affection to refusal – people were talking about the title concept using the categories provided by the exhibition. When I asked them about their most precious or important images, collective memories, souvenirs, traditions or any other aspects that scholars would include into heritage (with natural and intangible heritage as well), people would give me many fantastic, personal stories and examples. But, once I used the term ‘heritage’, another set of associations was given by them: Polish political history, important historical facts and events, national heroes and famous artists, etc. Two languages being used by the same group of people to describe two completely different, sometimes contradictory range of meanings.

Even though people during their visit were opposed to some assumptions and objectives of the exhibition itself by lacking interest, choosing their own paths, laughing and looking for personal heritage in the moments where the national one was being expected by the curator, it seemed as if the term ‘heritage’ was being treated as a foreign word by them – they did not connect their own, personal and subjectively important examples of heritage to this term, because the exhibition prompted them not to do so.

All the rare moments when the exhibition allowed them to speak for themselves and to express their own heritage were used by them to do it – and that made them feel proud of the interconnection between serious, ‘museum heritage’ and their own, small and timid examples of heritage sneaked to the exhibition.

Conclusion and tips for the future: Playing with heritage
Museums are understood as places where the past and the present, objects from collections and subjects of the public, heritage and heirs, come into contact. James Clifford has coined the metaphor of a museum as a ‘contact zone’ (Clifford 1999). It has the key role of mediating, connecting and strengthening social ties and educating the sense of responsibility for heritage, which has been given to us from the past.

The position that museum institutions usually take was commonly understood as: providing content of social and scientific importance, the possibility of making authoritative decisions about what is important from the point of view of cultural transmission and continuity, and what can be rejected. This has been revealed primarily through collecting policies (making representations of a given area of cultural heritage from the objects selected by museum professionals), through research policies (locating specific objects from collections in specific contexts, also related to professional code, such as history, art history, history of clothing, of industry, etc.), and finally through outreach/educational policies that use undisclosed preconceptions about social norms, political beliefs, customs, social structure, etc., implicitly privileging the behaviours, beliefs and attitudes desired by the heritage industry.

However, the important implication of understanding the museums and other heritage institutions with a metaphor of a contact zone is the loss of the central place they occupied so far: ‘Centres become borders crossed by objects and makers. Such crossings are never “free” and indeed are routinely blocked by budgets and curatorial control, by restrictive definitions of art and culture, by community hostility and miscomprehension’ (Clifford 1999: 446). Museums must now look for their social authority elsewhere, because of the smaller and smaller social influence they now have.

The key to their authority and credibility is the social responsibility of these institutions and the consistent disclosure of the politics of certain obvious and self-explanatory choices related to the three areas of museum policies mentioned above: collecting policy, research policy and education policy. It may also take the form of the social participation that Schwartz drew attention to: ‘In order to achieve a position in the popular mind the public stories of the nation need, at least to a degree, to work from the experiences of individual histories . . . Critical to this process are
museums, for they function as the key repositories and interpreters of the history of the people’ (Schwartz 1996: 9).

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1 The exhibition #heritage, National Museum in Krakow, Poland, was open: 23.06.2017–14.01.2018. Curator: Andrzej Szczerski. Design: Piotr Hojda, Grzegorz Matusik, Piotr Michura (Jan Matejko Academy of Fine Arts in Krakow).
Ancient heritage in a modern town – The role of the Iseum Savariense in the life of Szombathely

Ottó Sosztarits and Borbála Mohácsi (Hungary)

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Abstract
In 1955, a unique archaeological site was discovered in Szombathely: a temple of the Egyptian Goddess Isis. After the excavations, the remains have been partially restored. As its condition deteriorated, the site was closed down in the 1990s. Research resumed in 2001, and the Council of Szombathely started the reconstruction project of the Iseum in 2008 with financial support from the EU. The temple, restored in its former glory, reopened in 2011. The Iseum has become an important cultural spot in the area: it has given place to conferences, workshops, and presentations for international and national scientific communities, as well as the general public. Its permanent exhibition puts the religious life of ancient Roman people on display in a 21st century setting. Temporary displays, educational activities for children, and various cultural programmes also await the visitors, and the Iseum was awarded the ‘Museum of the Year’ prize in 2014.

Keywords
Roman Empire, Savaria / Szombathely, continuity, museology, local identity, European cultural identity

Introduction
The Iseum Savariense, both a museum and an architectural reconstruction of a Roman temple, lies on top of an archaeological site not far from Kőszeg, Hungary. This site is one of the most important ancient Roman remains of Szombathely, Hungary: originally a sanctuary of the Egyptian goddess Isis, later adapted by Graeco-Roman religion. As the only reconstructed Roman temple in the former Empire that is also an archaeological museum, it is essential to be aware of its local role, of its connection to the local identity, and of its place within the greater network of sites from Graeco-Roman Antiquity that form a base of European cultural identity.

There are numerous significant questions concerning these aspects, for which we will attempt to provide an answer. One of the most important questions, which surfaced during the establishment and opening of the Iseum as an institution, is, what else does a reconstructed ancient monument stand for – beside the status of cultural heritage? Also, what kind of role could it take on in the cultural life of a Hungarian town? What kind of effect does it have now on the identity of locals? Does it present an opportunity for them to be and actually feel like they are part of a bigger scheme?
Today’s Szombathely is a medium-sized town of approximately 80,000 inhabitants, situated in the Western part of the country, close to the Austrian border. It was once one of the more significant settlements of the Roman province Pannonia under the name Savaria. Although Emperor Claudius founded the colony around 50AD (Kiss et al. 1998, 14-15) for his veteran legionary soldiers, the town remained primarily civilian during its four centuries of Roman rule: apart from a short period in the 4th century AD, there were no troops stationed within its walls. It had 4-6,000 inhabitants at most during its peak, so it was neither its population, nor its size that made Savaria stand out among other colonies in Pannonia. Besides having been founded along the Amber Road – a trade route between the Adriatic and the Baltic seas used from the Neolithic – and thus having a role in commerce, the town was also an important religious centre. It was the centre of the Imperial Cult, the seat of the Provincial Assembly, and also home to several sanctuaries of various Roman and Oriental gods: even the magnitude and design of the Iseum reflects the town’s function as a cult centre (Sosztarits 2008, 132-133). From the 4th century onwards, the town’s Christian community was significant and growing (Savaria was the birthplace Saint Martin, the legendary bishop of Tours), eventually winning over spaces occupied by pagan temples.

1. The beginnings (1955-2001)

Excavations by Tihamér Szentléleky (1955-63) and the first reconstruction

In the autumn of 1955, during the preparations for some construction, workers found the remains of a Roman temple (Balázs & Sosztarits 2016, 165). It was obvious that the findings were important, since in the last two centuries some significant inscriptions had been found in the area: scholars of the time assumed that there must have been a sanctuary either of the goddess Isis or her male counterpart, Serapis78, somewhere outside the city walls.

Figure 1 – Finding one of the marble reliefs of the sanctuary building in 1955

77 For the history of Savaria, see: Kiss et al. 1998, especially the chapter about the Roman era by Endre Tóth: p7-67.
78 The Roman version of Osiris.
Since there was no archaeologist working in Szombathely at the time, the excavations were led by Tihamér Szentléleky, the then director of the Veszprém Museum. The magnitude of the site became obvious after a few months of fieldwork, and a sanctuary of the goddess Isis was identified (Szentléleky 1960, 2). The archaeological excavations were extended, thus it became a large project, which ended in the season of 1961. By 1963, the first architectural reconstruction of the Iseum was also finished (Hajnóczi & Szentléleky 1959-1960, 129pp).78

We should not forget to mention the time in which the research was carried out: it was in the middle of the darkest Stalinist era in the Eastern Block, around the 1956 revolution. Thus, it was not the most prosperous time for studies in history and archaeology of religion; this type of research mostly belonged in the ‘tolerated’ category.80 It is of particular significance that the excavation of the site and then the reconstruction was supported by the establishment (Sosztarits & Balázs 2016, 169).

During the seven seasons of fieldwork, around two thirds of the former sacred area was excavated and, in the meantime, restoration works were started on the ruins. Szentléleky and his colleagues did an exceptional job, according to the archaeological and heritage protection standards of the time. With a ground-breaking move, the Hungarian preservation paradigm was changed: they abandoned the strict rule of ‘ankle-height ruins’ (that the walls found during excavation were preserved at a level of a few centimetres) and for the first time the façade of an ancient building was reconstructed (Hajnóczi & Szentléleky 1959-196, 129 and Szentléleky 1961, 61). The plan introduced the third dimension (of height) to the visualisation of the monument (Mezős 2002). Both national and international experts greeted the solution with enthusiasm, so much so that the method was referenced in the Venice Charter in 1964. The finished reconstruction brought about major changes in the modern surroundings: the originally planned iron storage was never built, and three additional buildings were demolished in order to form the ruin garden (Sosztarits & Balázs 2016, 171). Besides the façade of the sanctuary, several rooms on the north side were reconstructed in an indicative way, made of concrete. Until 1999, a simple archaeological exhibition of a few artefacts was installed in them. Around the buildings, a park and ruin garden were created.

Although the grand opening of 1963 was put off due to the weather81, a performance of Mozart’s *The Magic Flute* was put together later, which became a tradition. It also indicated that the Iseum was not only intended to serve as a monument, but as a versatile phenomenon in the town’s cultural life.

Opening the ruin garden did not mean the end of archaeological research in the area. In the coming decades, Szentléleky and his colleagues did fieldwork south and east from the Iseum, on the other side of the Amber Road, discovering other temples of Oriental deities, such as Iuppiter Dolichenus (Sosztarits & Balázs 2016, 171). The ruin garden was also enlarged.

From the mid-1960s onwards, the Iseum became more and more a symbol of Szombathely’s antique past, insomuch as it was included on its coat of arms in 197282 – the only ancient monument in the country to achieve such recognition.

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78 The planning was done by Tibor Vákár, architect of the Budapest City Planning Institute until 1959, then it was taken over by Gyula Hajnóczi, professor of the Budapest University of Technology.
80 Hungarian cultural policy of the Communist regime either ‘favoured’, ‘tolerated’ or ‘prohibited’ certain fields or projects from pop music to science. This phenomenon was the so-called ‘3T’ (as in Hungarian all three words start with the letter T).
81 Due to the pouring rain, the concert was held in the Culture and Sports Centre, but later *The Magic Flute* played each year with great success, alongside other, mostly antique-themed, musical performances.
82 The City Council of Szombathely officialised the coat of arms designed by graphic artist Tibor Piros in the decree 4/1972 (XII.14). It contained the stylised version of the Iseum and the Liberation Monument. As far as we are aware, the Iseum is the only Roman building that was included in a town’s coat of arms in Hungary. We owe our gratitude for this data for György Felszt, ret. chief archivist.
Unfortunately, the reconstruction was not without some major flaws: they erected a ferro-concrete replica of what they thought the façade of the temple looked like and moulded the concrete around the original marble elements of the building. This made them potentially vulnerable to environmental damage, such as extreme weather conditions.

In the 1980s, partly due to the deficiency in maintenance work, partly due to the damage caused by acid rain and air pollution, the original marble parts began to decay (Balázs & Sosztarits 2016, 170). Although the problems were recognised, action failed to follow; therefore, in the 1990s - due to complete neglect - the deterioration in the marbles became almost irreparable. In the meantime, certain criticism arose concerning the authenticity of the reconstruction, and the absence of the full publication of the excavations (Tóth 1998, pp329). Also, as 30 years had passed, the monument became not only physically, but also theoretically, outdated, due to a paradigm shift in heritage protection.

A small circle of experts, including the excavation leader - the then retired Tihamér Szentléleky, watched the more and more alarming level of decay with worry. They started to work out a possible solution to preserve and present the ruins in a new way. However, the authorities were particularly unmoved by their effort: they considered Hajnóczi’s reconstruction to be of paradigmatic significance, worthy of preserving in itself, and an important achievement of Hungarian historical heritage protection. Thus, they aimed to restore the old construction, no matter how poor its condition was, or how outdated the design and conception became with time.⁸³

Figure 2 – Inserting the original marble reliefs into the ferro-concrete reconstruction, 1963

⁸³ Even the reconstruction permit issued by the authorities for the Council in 2001 to replace the stonework ordered the restoration of Hajnóczi’s ferro-concrete complex.
2. The process of rethinking (2001-2007)
Second archaeological excavation project and reconstruction

Breakthrough was achieved in 2001. By then, the marble reliefs implemented in the concrete pseudo-façade were in catastrophic condition (Sosztarits – Balázs 2016, Abb. 58/a-b). The restarted archaeological fieldwork seemed the perfect opportunity to save them. Fieldwork started on 17 July 2001, with the hacking of the pickaxe by the then octogenarian, Tihamér Szentléleky. Shortly after, in September 2001, the reliefs were finally taken down. Experts realised that the original architectural elements should not have been placed within the reconstruction, replicas were needed to replace them.

Fieldwork in the area of the former Isis sanctuary went on during the seasons of 2001-2003, and then from 2006-2010, led by archaeologist Ottó Sosztarits (Sosztarits 2003, 51). The excavations revealed a Roman temple complex of an area of circa 3,000sqm\(^4\), while the emphasis of the previous reconstruction was the building of the sanctuary itself in the centre of the whole structure. As fieldwork progressed, it became evident that the visualisation of the whole building complex would have been much preferable.

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\(^4\) The ground-plan based on archaeological evidence discovered during the new excavations was first published in Sosztarits 2008, pp130.
In 2007, while fieldwork resumed in the Iseum, the Council of the Town of Szombathely prepared an application for an EU regional operative programme to be able to carry out the reconstruction of the whole temple complex and put it to use. By then, the idea to utilise the renewed buildings as a museum had already been shared by experts working on the excavation and in the town’s Savaria Museum as well. The most important part of the application was the feasibility study completed in 2008 that addressed all the key elements of the project. It is important to acknowledge that the programme was much more than a heritage protection project, since it covered the following areas of interest: architectural reconstruction; long-term sustainable use; effect on tourism development and enhancing the cultural appeal of the town; stable employment programme in the institution; urban planning for the immediate surroundings of the Iseum. Of all these topics, we will discuss the first two in detail, and summarise the rest.

Architectural reconstruction and heritage protection in a strict sense
The fact that Tihamér Szentléleky did not complete the excavation of the entire area proved to be crucial in the interest of heritage protection. We owe it to him that we could carry out substantive fieldwork from 2001-2010. Without this forethought, we would know significantly less of the sanctuary and its periods, given that archaeological fieldwork methods (especially recording on site) have evolved dramatically since the mid-20th century.

As the new reconstruction started, it redefined the principles of restoring and visualising the remains based on archaeological evidence provided by the ongoing excavations. The essence was that a visible distinction had to be made between the parts which are reconstructed based on sufficient information (i.e. their remains have been found, identified and properly documented during fieldwork): these had to be restored to resemble the original building or parts, but with modern materials and technology. On the other hand, the parts which are based on hypothesis (since the area is not fully excavated, they are based on architectural parallels, other similar temple complexes of the era) could only be reconstructed in a stylised form, displaying the scale and form of the building, but in a distinctly modern way.

Following these guidelines, the central sanctuary was built in the form a Roman podium temple, while the porticos surrounding the courtyard were given a modern look, with concrete and glass (Mezős 2005, 111, and Sosztarits & Balázs 2016. Abb. 62/C, 63-64). The rest of the temple complex, like the entrance hall, was visualised in a more traditional way: with unfinished masonwork on the foundations to indicate the original layout.

Since the first and second excavation projects covered approximately two thirds of the site, we had another, rather important task: to make sure that the unexplored areas remain intact by the modern construction. Thus, the architectural reconstruction was built half a metre higher than the remains, and as such it ‘locks them in a box’, making sure of their safety and genuineness. This makes the modern reconstruction and interpretation the protector of the nearly 2,000-year-old ruins. Provision like this makes sure that both the excavated and unexcavated territories would still be available for future research by archaeologists with presumably more advanced technology and methods than those of today. We strongly believe that this is the condition of the authenticity of the reconstruction, and the resulting authoritativeness.

Sustainable use
To establish a long-term institution with the possibility to be a part of - and also shape the life of - the town, the Iseum’s function, role and mission had to be laid down. In the light of previous experience, it became clear that the Iseum could only serve its purpose if there was a self-sufficient, independent institution behind it. To this end, the City Council established the Iseum Savariense Centre of Research and Archaeological Collection from the collaborators of the

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85 Full title: Development of the Historical-Archaeological Precinct in Szombathely, Phase II: Reconstruction of the Iseum (NYDOP-2.1.1/B-2008-0002; = West-Transdanubia Operative Programme). The total sum acquired was 1.49 Bn HUF.
informal Iseum Team on 1 September 2010 (which we will discuss further in the section about the operation of the institution).

**Tourism development**

Just as the old reconstruction had been a representative sight in the town of Szombathely, the new one became even more so. It is rightfully expected that the new institution – as it also opened an exhibition – to generate tourism for the town.

Although the Iseum as a brand became unique and characteristic, the prognosis of the impact study was proven true: in itself, without pertaining to a comprehensive marketing plan for the whole town, the Iseum is unable to accomplish a growth in tourism (although that was expected).

**Urban development of the surrounding area**

Besides the complete reconstruction of the sacred precinct (as described above), the entire street section in front of it also required complete renovation. Two roundabouts were created at the two ends of the street for traffic management, the pedestrian pavements on both sides received decorative paving stones, and modern outdoor seats were added. In addition, the whole system of public utilities was renewed in the area.

**Employment**

The personnel of the institution created in 2010 have formerly been working on the excavations under the informal name IseumTeam. The impact assessment stated that a staff of 13 people would be needed for the Iseum to be fully functional. This element, due to its significance, became a key indicator and compulsory part of the project (this meant it could be subject to further inspection). Today we operate with a staff of 12 full-time and one part-time employees – 80% of whom hold a degree, an outstandingly large number – and we are a division of the Savaria Museum, which also serves also as an umbrella institute for Szombathely’s museums, such as the Town Gallery (modern art collection), the Smidt Museum (the collection of Dr Lajos Smidt MD, hospital director and art collector in the mid-20th century, now closed due to renovation), the Skanzen of Vas County and Village Museum (ethnographic collection and reconstructions of rural life), the István Járðánya Paulovics Ruin Garden (on the site of the former Roman Governor’s Palace, now closed due to renovation), the Savaria Museum itself (the history, archaeology, and environment of Szombathely and its surroundings), and the Iseum Savariense.

![Organisational structure of the Savaria Museum](image-url)

**Figure 5 – Organisational structure of the Savaria Museum**
Re-defining the role of the Iseum
The Iseum as a museum
Determining the function and objective of the Iseum and creating the operative institute behind it proved to be the most important task of all. No wonder: if there is a clear mission and a well-built structure, we can be a much more in control of what type of role we want to play in the town, and in the broader European network of cultural institutions.

Since the excavations unearthed a vast amount of artefacts that held important information about the history and life of the temple, it was self-evident that the reconstructed building should give place to a permanent exhibition of these findings (Sosztarits et al. 2013, Balázs et al. 2013). We were also aiming to display a bigger picture as well: the religious life of the era, which seemed fitting given the sacred function of the site in Roman times. (Let’s not forget the origin of the word museum: it comes from Greek Μουσεῖον, mouseion – temple of the Muses.)

To visually display Roman religion in an exhibit without overwhelming the visitor with too much and too tedious iconographic and historical explanation (which most people would not care to read about or listen to), is a complex and difficult task. We were lucky that, during the excavations, we acquired a mass of findings with which we were able to show the everyday life of the sanctuary and, through that, perhaps we can bring the visitors closer to the rituals and Roman religious thought as well.

Displaying the artefacts in their place of finding also carries a particular message. On the one hand, objects have a deeper, more complex meaning when they are seen together with the space in which they were actually used: in this context, they are not simply displayed in a museum as artefacts, but as remains of the rich and interesting life in the sanctuary some 2,000 years ago. On the other hand, these objects enhance the authenticity of the reconstruction a great deal. In our case, the objects were not transferred to a museum from the site, rather a museum was built for the site and the objects. The validity of this principle was verified not long after the opening: in 2014, the Iseum won the ‘Museum of the Year’ award.

Figure 6 – Guided tour in the permanent exhibition
The Iseum as a research centre
All the findings and documentation from the Iseum excavations (both the first and second projects) are free and available for research. National and international experts are welcome to search our databases and receive every help from our staff. Since the opening in 2012, we have held four international and several national conferences and workshops. Our colleagues are also partaking in such events in Hungary and worldwide, and one of our aims is to give them a solid background and help them in their scientific progress and research.

The Iseum as a centre of education
The Iseum had performed educational tasks and organised such activities even before its institutionalisation: in 2007, students of archaeology of the local university (then NYME, University of West Hungary) were able to work on the excavations in a field school. Then, from 2014-2016, three more seasons of field school were held in the immediate surroundings of the temple. Four theses (BA and MA) have been written about the findings in the Iseum and one graduate student is currently working on another aspect.

Even more important is the Iseum’s role in primary and secondary education: it gives place to daily educational activities organised by museum educators, as well as museum lessons included in the curriculum, field trips and study clubs. Since the summer of 2011, our ‘Lived Past’ summer camp awaits children from ages 8-14, who can learn about and understand Roman and local history among authentic objects and ruins.

Figure 8 – Lesson in the museum

Figure 9 – Activities for children: ‘excavations’ in the garden
The Iseum as a cultural venue
Since its first opening in 1964, the Iseum has been an important point in the cultural life of Szombathely. Opera performances held within the walls of the first reconstruction are now legendary. Nowadays, renowned musical shows (concerts, musicals and opera alike) have been held in the courtyard each summer during the Iseum Open-Air Festival since the re-opening in 2012. The venue is not only an interesting part of the stage design here, but a significant part of the performance: imagine the “Oh Isis, Oh Osiris” air from Mozart’s *The Magic Flute* from Sarastro stepping out the door of an actual Isis sanctuary.

The Iseum has also held an important spot in the annual *Savaria Historical Carnival* since its beginning. During this three-day event, locals and tourists, historical re-enactment groups and enthusiastic amateurs can relive and re-imagine the history of Savaria from Roman times to the 20th century. In the temple (among other cultural programmes), we offer reconstructed versions of rituals based on written sources and archaeological material.

![Opera performance during the Iseum Open-air Festival](image)

**Figure 10** – Opera performance during the Iseum Open-air Festival
Figure 11 – Historical re-enactors after performing a reconstructed ritual

3. The realisation of the Iseum Project (2008-2010/2012) and its achievements
There are several milestones of the realisation of the project, which mark the stages that led from application for government and EU funds to being able to open our museum.

In November 2007, the government considered the application handed in by the Council about the reconstruction and establishment of the Iseum as a new institution. Then in August the following year, the financial basis was founded by signing a subsidy contract; although actual construction work did not start until September 2009. From then on, events accelerated: just about a year later, on 10 December 2010, technical conveyance of the building occurred and, in the meantime, as a key stage, the operating institute Iseum Savariense Centre of Research and Archaeological Collection was established on 1 September 2010. Due to the magnitude of the bureaucracy and the countless details concerning the interior, the first temporary exhibit opened to the public on 12 August 2012. Then, the permanent exhibit, The Home of Isis in Savaria, was finished, and the opening ceremony took place on 5 March 2013, on the day of the most important Isiac festival of the Roman times: the Navigium Isidis.87

Our two main objectives concerning the content and structure of the exhibit was scientific accuracy and intelligibility at the same time. The latter is greatly supported by the venue itself; the fact that the exhibit is situated inside the sacred cult building. There is a large amount of visual and written material helping the visitor, such as brief written explanations for each room and cabinet in three languages (Hungarian, English and German), short films, visual displays (scale-models of buildings, 3D map of the Roman town, reconstruction of the flooring and the sewer system, etc.), and guided tours by the staff. All of these make up a unique experience, a vibe that might not be instantly apprehensible by the non-professional viewer, but definitely helps the impact of the sight and message of the exhibition. The intellectual substance of the message makes it an identity-forming force: we could never offer a sense of bonding, of belonging to the visitor if we only displayed shards of pottery arranged in display cases.

87 This holiday is of Egyptian origin, as it meant the flooding of the Nile. The Romans also celebrated it throughout the Empire, and the day also marked the beginning of the naval season on the Mediterranean. See: Apuleius, The Golden Ass, Book XI.
4. Iseum and identity

As it might be clear in the foregoing, the mission and effect of the Iseum in the life of Szombathely are fairly complex. It may not be an overstatement to suggest that its significance probably exceeds the town’s limits. It is possibly due to the fact that the second reconstruction kept a lot of valuable elements from the first, that would prove that its message is deeply rooted in the mind of locals. This can most easily be observed in the prevalence of the goddess’ and her temple’s names in all sorts of institutions, such as the Isis Hotel – now Isis Department Store, right next to the museum, as well as medical institutions (apothecary, optician, dentist), a jazz band (Isis Big Band), a car race (Iseum Rally), a railway line (Iseum InterCity), etc.

However, the Iseum did not have to carve its way to shape locals’ ‘Roman’ identity. A large number of excavations had been taking place in town since the treasure-hunting era of the 18th and 19th centuries, making sure inhabitants were aware of its ancient past. There is also an example of displaying ruins within a modern setting that soon precedes the reconstruction of the Iseum. After the excavation of a Roman intersection and part of the sewage system on the main square between 1991-1998 (Sosztarits 1994), they were displayed in a building of a bank, under a glass floor. This display, although it receives professionally guided tours, is not for tourists. It is to make an everyday presentation of their own Roman history to locals going about their business in the bank. The glass floor is a window to the past, through which people can see part of the history of Savaria.

Even during the almost two decades between the mid-90s and 2012, when the Iseum was not physically present (since then they had to start taking down the old reconstruction due to deterioration, and shortly after, excavations began), a survey about tourism found it still to be one of the most well-known landmarks of the town as voted by locals and tourists alike.

During the almost six years of operation since the opening of the Iseum Savariense, our aim was to strengthen and deepen that sentiment. The identity-shaping effect of the Iseum has two dimensions. For the locals, it broadcasts a sort of pride and dignity apropos of the preserved values and, in the meantime, it goes beyond that: it inspires the idea that the town’s ancient predecessor, Savaria, once belonged to a grand cultural and political unit, the Roman Empire.
The history of the realm that included the Danube region as well as Egypt, and spread from Gibraltar to the Levant, still connects far-off places with diverse cultures.

Before entering the modern reception building, visitors approach the Iseum through a large map of the Roman Empire: this is the visualisation of the powerful message that the local values, local history is part of a bigger system, a broad network of connections that stems from the universality of the Roman era. The existence and pursuit of the Iseum sends a message of this unity through culture and history, and gives a feeling of belonging to both a local community and a larger scheme for the town’s inhabitants and tourists alike.

**Figure 13** – Map of the Roman Empire in front of the Iseum
Figure 14 – Remembering the victims of the terrorist attack on the Charlie Hebdo editorial office in January 2015, on the map of the Roman Empire – a symbolic gesture of unity

5. Lessons for the future
As visitor statistics show, locals are receptive of the exhibitions (both permanent and temporary ones), our programmes (educational activities, lectures, book launches, etc.), and events (National Day of Archaeology, Savaria Historical Carnival, European Day of Cultural Heritage and many more). We can easily see from the data shown in figure 15 that the visitor numbers in 2016 stand out: the increase of almost 1.5 times the average number (between 5,100-5,400, and 7,003 in 2016) of museum-goers show that our temporary exhibit, *Saint Martin and Pannonia*, drew a significant crowd. Then, in 2017, when for various reasons we could not curate a temporary exhibit, visitor numbers dropped to under 5,000.

![Visitors](chart.png)

Figure 15 – Number of visitors to the Iseum from 2013-2017
This is important feedback for us: first, it shows that as hard as we try, we might not be able to reach everyone we would like to. In a town of 80,000 inhabitants, our museum has an outstanding number of visitors, but we would like the locals to not only think of the Iseum as a sight or a landmark, but as an important source of their own culture, and history of their own community.

We can safely say that we will need more exhibits like the Saint Martin from 2016. Its success is deeply rooted in the sense of belonging to a bigger system that we have mentioned a few times above: the exhibit put into the spotlight Saint Martin, the bishop of Tours, his life, his cult, and his era. It connected the historical figure with the image of the Christian saint still worshipped today, placing his hometown, Savaria, in both space, on the map of the still enormous Late Roman Empire, and in time, on the timeline of the 2,000-year-old history of Christianity. This must have given the visitors a new perspective about their relationship with these dimensions. Besides that, the exhibit was made possible by collaboration with numerous national and foreign institutions, which created the cooperation and unity that we, as a museum that represents the complex culture of Greco-Roman antiquity, and as a European institute, stand for.

**Figure 16** – Interior of the Saint Martin exhibition (2016)

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The role of religion in traditional and modern rural society of the Banat

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Abstract
The relationship between the ruling class, society and religion plays an important role in the functioning of the state system. The history of Banat is specific, since its historical development has created a multi-ethnic society. This makes it a complex, but also rich community. Despite the religious tolerance that has existed in Banat, from the 18th century until today, the state religion has always been defined. This was, of course, reflected in the church buildings, their sizes and styles. Church buildings represented the most valuable heritage in the village. Moreover, churches were the only landmarks of Banat villages until the mid-20th century. Whilst religion played a major role in past rural society, determining the customs and norms of behaviour, the changed value system after World War II caused religion to lose every social function, even becoming undesirable and neglected.

Keywords
Banat villages, religious tolerance, church styles, 18th-21st century

Introduction
Religion has had different roles throughout the centuries on the territory of today’s Banat (an ethnically mixed historical region in Central Europe, currently divided between parts of Romania, Serbia and Hungary). For centuries it was a crucial force, although the current government made an effort to destroy it almost completely, even as recently as a few decades ago. Nevertheless, everything is cyclical and today religion is once again accessible, although not as much as before World War II.

Studying religion is important not only in order to understand the way that society and social relations function, but also in order to understand the role of religion throughout different time periods, since it affected the shape, style and size of the churches of different denominations in Banatian villages.

This paper, by means of historical method, analyses the period from the 18th to the 21st century and identifies the role of religion, as well as the different power that the Catholic and Orthodox Churches have had in Banat in particular epochs. It is also necessary to analyse particular churches built using various financial means, in different styles and at different times.

The aim of this paper is to provide a small but clear image of Banatian villages in terms of religion, and also to point out the diversity of religions and church structures in this area.
The role and place of religion and church buildings in society and rural structure between the mid-18th century and the 21st century

Religion had a specific role in a traditional Banatian village, determining standards of behaviour, customs, dress code and, to a certain extent, even the inhabitants' family life (Balassa 1979:95). The church influenced intellectual life above all, since almost all the schools were owned by the church and everything was taught in accordance with the religious moral, insisting on their view of the world.

Notwithstanding, the institution of the church, especially the Catholic church, had significant secular power, owned enormous properties, used peasants to work without being paid, demanded money for their services - such as weddings, christenings, funerals - and, therefore, its capital amounted to a fortune comparable to the feudal lords' power.

The stabilisation of the economic and political situation in the Habsburg monarchy at the beginning of the 18th century and, at the same time, the fear of a repeated attack by the enemies in the south of the country, created opportunities for establishing settlements in Banat and for initiating building activities, first of all on residential buildings, and later on church and other public structures.

A diversity of nationalities, as well as religions, can be seen in the Banatian society. After the Turks had been banished, this territory was populated by various nationalities, above all Germans, Serbs, Hungarians, Romanians and Slovaks. Every village represented an ethnological unity in itself - with its own customs, language and way of dressing - owing to the fact that the inhabitants of each settlement had come from different parts of the monarchy. Nevertheless, it is possible to divide all rural settlements into three large groups, based on what religion the villages belonged to. The two largest groups consisted of the members of the Catholic and Orthodox religions, whilst the third group was Protestants. There was a negligible Jewish population in villages; they lived mostly in larger cities.

Apart from the influence that religion had on intellectual life, the church building itself had a great influence on forming the central part of a settlement. The church always taking the central dominant position in a village. Maria Theresa already defines the architectural frame of a main square in settlements in the book, ‘Impopulations Hauptinstructions für das Banat’ (which translates as, ‘Main instructions on impopulation’): A church, a parish, a school and an inn should be located in the centre of a village. This determined that the place of the church was in the main square. The empress goes on to give instructions on building church structures in the newly established Banatian settlements, in order to enable the start of a normal life in these villages as soon as possible. Thus, the churches from the end of the 18th century were built at the monarchy's expense. As it was ordered, the structures were to be magnificent and larger than they were needed for the population at that time, in order to fulfil the village’s needs in case its population grew (Ministerium des Handels 1849: 115).

The function of the architectural form results from social relations. The function of the appearance of the church was to provoke amazement in its congregation, to symbolise the greatness and faultless power of religion over society, and the population completely understood this message the church building conveyed.

Until the middle of the 20th century, the dimensions of religious buildings were gigantic when compared to the proportions of village houses. The villagers’ structures were modest, built by the owners themselves or the village craftsmen, whereas the churches were built by famous architects of the time and were not much different from the city church structures in terms of size. While family houses were built of friable materials, mostly rammed earth up until the 20th century, churches were built of solid materials, mostly brick, from as early as the end of 18th century.
Up until the beginning of the 20th century, the styles of village churches were connected to the Western European tendencies, regardless of religious affiliation. Baroque and Classicist styles were more favoured, which has been preserved in most Banatian settlements up to now. The Baroque influence on Serbian art became more prominent around the mid-18th century in the Habsburg monarchy territory, although the Serbian population had a certain aspiration to remain connected with the tradition of the southern parts of Serbia. All village churches in Banat in the 18th and 19th centuries were built in the Baroque and Classicist style, or represented a combination of the two styles for practical reasons – so that at every moment there was the possibility to transform buildings of different denominations into Catholic churches. As far as the examples of churches with both styles are concerned, usually the tower and the cap were markedly Baroque, while the portal and the decoration of the church were mainly Classicist.

The structures have a longitudinal plan, a single nave with a dominant west façade and bell tower, which can be within the naos (inner chamber) or on one side leaning to the church’s main nave. The temple’s width is equal to the vault’s height, and the length coincides with the height of the bell tower. Those are the common proportions of church buildings, where the width of the nave usually amounts to one third of the length.

Towards the end of the 19th century, various romanticist and neo styles appear, predominating in Catholic churches. Neo-Gothic was the most common one, whose origin is found in England, France and Germany, and not in the national tradition of the people living in Banat.

A new shape of the most dominant structure, the church, appears in the settlements originating from the 1920s. Baroque and Classicist churches represented symbols of the Habsburg monarchy, a sort of obligation the people endeavoured to free themselves from. The new style of churches relied on Serbian medieval tradition and used the principles of Rascian, Byzantine and Morava school. ‘That architecture could, at least seemingly, emphasise the differences compared to the neighbouring architectural expressions, and also indirectly express the national entity’ (Škalamera 1969: 194). Instead of the hitherto longitudinal plan, the churches mainly had central a plan, and the domination of the bell tower was replaced with the domination of the dome, being a Byzantine element.

The period discussed above is undoubtedly characterised by an absolute domination of religion in the everyday life of the rural population, and also by the dominant position and dimensions of the church structure itself in the village settlements of Banat. This ‘idyllic’ condition gradually disappeared in the first half of the 20th century and, after World War II, the previous way of life was abandoned.

Donors of churches and their role in rural society
The area of today’s Banat, from the year 1716 when the Turks left until 1779, was under the administration of Court Chamber in Vienna. In this period, it was called the Banat of Temeswar. This area was not suitable to sustain life and had been abandoned, which is why the monarchy instigated big waves of populating the area and provided favourable conditions for new inhabitants. Renewed activation of the area contributed to making the southern borders safe from enemy attacks and, at the same time, enlarged the number of German inhabitants in this part of the Monarchy.

The biggest part of the Banat area was sold to the feudal lords at auctions in 1781 and 1782. The area of Banat that did not form the part of the Military frontier and the District of Velika Kikinda, was sold at these auctions. Count Niczky divided the territory that was supposed to be sold. ‘The buyers of Banatian properties were great lessees of Banatian heaths and cattle traders of Armenian and Tzintzarian origin who, by means of purchasing estates, got noble titles and became the part of Hungarian nobility. The feudal lords had their residence mostly marked by a castle, and the property that included a few villages. These noble families provided land and work for the inhabitants of the settlements they administrated.'
The nobility also had an important role in building mostly public buildings in Banatian villages. They most often erected churches, schools and municipal houses, and in the proximity of the settlements they founded homesteads. In this way, they influenced a lot of settlements getting richer; what is more, by building different structures they influenced the appearance of the villages in a positive way, since the architects of public village structures were famous project engineers of the Habsburg Monarchy.

Building churches was considered a sort of obligation for the nobility, who used it to show their economic power, gain a higher reputation in society and compete among themselves to determine who would build a bigger or more beautiful church.

The reputation of the feudal lords grew with the fact that they brought architects from well-known centres, such as Budapest, Timisoara, Arad and Szeged, to build the churches. Bearing these facts in mind, it is not difficult to explain why the styles of the churches relied on western tradition and styles.

The church satisfied the needs of the country society, but this was only its secondary role. Often, when a religious building was built in a settlement outside of those where a count had his castle, i.e. when the church was only used by ‘ordinary’ believers, they had to work without pay until they had paid for the church with their own work. Of course, officially, it was recorded that the feudal lord gave the church to the village as a present. Nevertheless, the aristocracy felt a kind of responsibility towards the inhabitants of their estates that is to say to their workers. In the 19th and the first half of the 20th century, all the feudal lords in Banat were Catholics. Due to this religious confession, they could survive and progress. That is why the nobility were donors mainly to Catholic churches.

Statistically, according to the book, ‘General schematism of the Catholic church in Yugoslavia’, and based on 64 Catholic parishes in Banat, only 13 structures were built by feudal lords, and the largest percentage of churches - 36 buildings - were built thanks to voluntary contributions of believers. Local district financed the building of only five structures mentioned in the book, while the state authorities erected ten religious buildings, mostly in city communities (Draganović 1939: 395-403). Another book, which was published in the 1990s and deals with 99 Banatian Catholic parishes, states that feudal lords donated 28 religious structures (Erős 1993: 191-476).

The statements of these two authors are difficult to compare and they often have different attitudes, most probably due to different archive sources. Nevertheless, it can be concluded that, up until World War II, a quarter or a fifth out of the total number of Catholic churches was built by the feudal lords on their estates.

**Diminishing importance of religion after World War II**

Radical changes occurred in the social, political and economic areas of life after World War II. Socialist state power called into question every tradition of the previous centuries, valued different principles, which they themselves had created. The system of traditional values collapsed. What was most important was to break away from the past in every way and destroy everything that reminded people of it.

The church and the state grew to be completely separate; the church no longer represented the state’s support, and the socialist regime even prevented its freedom to act. People who continued to live according to the old religious principles were considered undesirable and suspicious in the new state.

‘Socialist power introduced innovations in the hierarchy of public structures as well, which were manifested through banishing religion out of the everyday life, not using or even worse pulling down churches, destroying objects which reminded of the past, and building modern, featureless municipal buildings, schools and other public structures’ (Cwinałw 2010: 271).
After World War II, church structures were pulled down in many Banatian villages, due to the new ideological views. In Banat, 20 Catholic churches were pulled down in the second half of the 1940s and ‘50s, predominantly in previously German settlements (Rauški 2001: 39). More than anything else, those acts represented destroying the material remains of the monarchy and the kingdom. The village squares without churches became empty and useless. The empty plot of the former church was used for building new structures serving the communist party, i.e. the people, and these structures represented the symbols of an ideology in much the same way as the churches in their time. Due to this, the villages’ main squares, as well as the settlements themselves, lost their basic feature.

Fire stations appear as a new part of the village square from the mid-20th century and, until today, have remained one of the constant aspects of a public area. After World War II, these buildings take on a new shape, emphasised verticality, which is juxtaposed to the church tower, since until then it had been the only vertical benchmark of the village. Different styles of the spatial verticals emphasise their contrast even further.

Ideology is a system of relations and values that are confirmed by certain rules. Religion can also be considered an ideology, which was replaced by another one in the 20th century. Nevertheless, people reacted differently to the new principles of life that disrupted the former system completely and were different from it, the system that had existed in the area for centuries. The new ‘religion’ was in no way stricter or represented a heavier burden than the former religion did to the people; it was abandoning the customs and the previous life that made it so difficult for the inhabitants to accept socialism.

‘Violent’ return of religion and church buildings in modern villages
In the 1990s, a solid ideological system that had been built in the earlier decades came to a downfall and disappeared. The crisis in Yugoslavia instigated a large number of people, who had been raised as atheists and opposing any kind of tradition, to turn to religion. Today, the Banatian village is once again being Christianised and religion is ‘fashionable’ once again.

People have always had the need to belong to a group, to be members of a community. Reinstitution of religion is one of the ways a society seeks a new identity, and also new (old) lost values. Nowadays, religion seems to represent hope and a solution to everyday problems. The relation between the state and the acknowledged religions has improved compared to earlier decades, but it is more formal than anything else, since the church no longer has any role whatsoever in the politics of Banat.

The new religiosity is reflected in building activities as well. There was a new wave of building churches in the Serbian medieval style in the settlements with an Orthodox population. The central plan was used again; churches were built of brick and most often not rendered on the outside. Some of the churches were built in the place of the church that had been pulled down, but those plots were most often already used, so that the church, which had been dominant in the main area for centuries, was repositioned from the village square to the settlement periphery. ‘It happens that the churches are built in those settlements as well, where the old religious structure was not pulled down. At any rate, these buildings change the character of the main square and shift all prior regulations’ (Siladi 2010: 272).

Imbalances of power between the Catholic and Orthodox religion from the 18th to the mid-20th century
In the Balkans area, from the time when the Turks left, there were two dominant religions - Catholic and Orthodox - which constantly fought for the leading role in the area. Both churches had a long history in Banat, and their significance depended solely on the state in power and its tradition.
In the past, the church territories were different from the territories of secular power, i.e. the county. The Temeswar and Vršac eparchy were in charge of the spiritual life of Orthodox Christians in Banat, whilst, on the other hand, the territory today known as Banat belonged to the Csanad Catholic diocese until the end of World War I.

The Catholic Church was always privileged in the Habsburg monarchy; the priesthood gave the main support to the elite in power, supported their laws and helped in enforcing those laws, and, in return, the state gave the church a great independence. ‘Only after the Edict of religious tolerance issued by Joseph II in 1781, the religious tolerance towards the Protestants and the Eastern Orthodox Christians, as well as to the Jews was enabled’ (www.tolerancija4.bos.rs). At the same time, the ‘Toleration patent’ seriously endangered the privileged position of the Catholic Church in the monarchy. After the emperor’s death, these Christian religions were still tolerated, but the Catholic Church regained its prior strength. Nevertheless, it is noted that the two most powerful religions, Eastern and Western, became closer in the 19th century (Jovanović 2000: 11). Basically, everything depended upon the financial situation. If the Orthodox population in a village had money, they influenced the development of the settlement and helped the state with their money, and, therefore, their religion was appreciated.

‘[The] Austrian empire provided Serbs with numerous church-folk and church-scholastic privileges, as compensation for their important role in guarding the empire’s borders against Turkish invasions. At the same time, it endeavoured to prevent the Eastern Orthodox religion from spreading in Vojvodina and encouraged the pressure of the Catholic Church on Serbs to convert to Catholicism’ (Lazić 2000: 14). The empire had always paid particular attention to separate the spiritual and secular power of the Serbs, to ensure that the priests were not also the secular leaders of the people, so as not to instigate uprisings. Regardless of the restrictions, numerous permissions granted by the Habsburg monarchy enabled the Serbs to preserve their traditions and their national and cultural identity.

After the end of World War I and the constitution of the new state, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, the situation - as far as religion is concerned - changed in Banat. The Eastern Orthodox Church became the state religion, thus gaining all the privileges the Catholic Church had had up until then. The number of Orthodox believers increased by founding settlements on estates dispossessed of feudal lords and by populating those villages with Yugoslavians. The Catholic Church preserved its strength to the greatest extent possible, which was provided by the kingdom’s concordat with the Vatican (Lazić 2000: 15). Shortly afterwards, the Orthodox and Catholic Church became equal, for the first time in the history of Banat (Pavković 1998: 253).

In the second half of the 20th century, socialism significantly decreased the power of all religious communities, and yet the difference between the Catholic and the Orthodox Church was still felt. Although a lot of Catholic churches had been pulled down in former German settlements, the diocese fought for its survival in a hostile environment. The Catholic Church retained support, thanks to its centralised organisation, and the Vatican was unavoidable in every issue concerning its church in Yugoslavia. The Serbian Orthodox church had no international organisation it could count on, since it had always relied on the state and the leading class of Orthodox believers, who disappeared after World War II. Due to this, its position and operation were made even more difficult.

Because of these differences lasting for decades in the second half of the 20th century, an aggressive return of religion into the everyday life of the Orthodox population is perceived from the 1990s, whereas such ‘hysteria’ is not seen with the Catholics. They continued their traditions, which managed to survive the strict rules of socialism.

One religion’s domination at a certain time is easily observed on the basis of the number, size and style of church structures in the period, and what can be noticed simultaneously is the aspiration of people belonging to another religion to show they are equally valuable. This was the
reason why the Orthodox churches of the 19th century often surpass the Catholic religious buildings in every way, although Catholicism was the state religion at the time.

Towards the end of the 20th century, churches relying on Serbian medieval tradition began to be built again, although that construction style was not visible in the settlements in Banat from the 18th century. In the villages of the Catholic population, which succeeded in preserving their tradition in spite of the new socialist ideology, there was no new building activity, since the decrease in the number of Catholic inhabitants meant there was no need for new buildings.

Religious pluralism and variety of church buildings in the Banat villages – a case study
The following case studies illustrate the diversity of the Banatian area concerning every aspect of life, including religion. They consider churches built in different periods and styles, which had different destinies. Every class in power, every current population in a settlement aspired for their tradition, their customs to stand out, and that was reflected in the church structures, regardless of the period from which they came. The territory analysed is relatively small, covering a part of the former Count Čekonjić’s estate.

1. Two churches in Srpska Crnja
Srpska Crnja is a settlement which has existed since the middle ages (14th century). After the reign of the Turks, the village was populated with Serbian borderers; after that, in the mid-18th century, a number of Serbian families came from present-day Romania; finally, at the end of the 18th century, a German population was settled from the neighbouring town of Žombolj. Towards the end of the 18th century, Count Čekonjić bought the largest part of Srpska Crnja district, and he was the feudal lord of the settlement until World War I. After that, the village expanded and World War I volunteers settled in it.
(http://www.sonovacrnja.org.rs/srpska%20crnja.html)

An Orthodox church structure was built in the Serbian part of the settlement in 1775, in a style transiting from Baroque and Classicism, and dedicated to Saint Martyr Procopius. The single nave structure is extremely long and ends with a semi-circular apse on the east side. The exterior of the church is simple, the only ornament being a portal and a bell tower on the western façade of the church. The church represents a cultural monument of great importance.
A Catholic church was built at Count Čekonjić’s expense in the part of the settlement where Germans lived in 1808, while another structure was built at the same place in 1868. The donor of the second church was the count as well, along with the Csanad bishop. The single nave structure was built with neo-Gothic details and had a relatively short west bell tower. It is still working today, although slowly decaying due to the lack of regular church goers.

2. **An Orthodox church in Vojvoda Stepa**
The settlement originated after World War I, when the first agrarian reform divested part of the estate belonging to Andrija Čekonjić. The village was established on the territory of what was previously Leon homestead. The settlers were Yugoslav, mostly from Lika. The settlement got its new name after the Commander-in-Chief, Vojvoda Stepa.

The single nave Orthodox church with two domes was consecrated in 1939, dedicated to Saint Basil of Ostrog, at the settlement inhabitants’ expense (Lazić 2000: 134). The church was built in compliance with the demands of the class in power, i.e. in so-called Serbian-Byzantine style, as a combination of Rascian, Byzantine and Morava school.

![Figure 4 – An Orthodox church, Vojvoda Stepa](image1)

![Figure 5 – An Orthodox church, Vojvoda Stepa](image2)

3. **A Catholic church in Nova Crnja**
Count Janoš Čekonjić built a church for his employees in the settlement he founded in 1798. In 1843 he brought in an architect from Arad, who designed a longitudinal building in an eclectic style, using Baroque and Classicist elements. The building was consecrated in 1844 to Saint Agota, after the name of the feudal lord’s daughter. The church is a single nave structure; its dimensions are quite large compared to the other structures in the village and also to the size of the congregation. The exterior decoration was concentrated on the area around the windows and on the front façade. Although all the documents stated the count gave the church to the believers as a gift, in reality they were obliged to pay off what he invested in the new structure to the feudal lord by working for him.
The church was dominant until the mid-20th century - until the fire station with its modern tower was built in the 1960s, and it represented a contrast to the church tower. The building is not a building asset and, therefore, numerous inexpert interventions were performed on it, destroying its original appearance.

4. An Orthodox church in Banatsko Karađorđevo

The settlement of Banatsko Karađorđevo developed by populating the estate belonging to the feudal lord, Ćekonjić, Pal homestead, by veterans of World War I in 1920. The place of worship, dedicated to the Holy Martyr, Lazar, Prince of Serbia, was erected in 1925 on a part of Count Ćekonjić’s building. Religious service was held in that room until 1996, when, due to the awakening of national consciousness, a new church with a central plan in the Serbian-Byzantine style was built in the settlement centre, financed by voluntary contribution (Popović 2001: 69). There was an aspiration to show the true image of the churches from the past, as if they wanted to return to a time that had passed.
5. Former Catholic and new Orthodox church in Čestereg

Čestereg is a settlement where the Catholic religion had a medieval tradition. At the time of the Turkish rule, everything was destroyed, and only at the end of the 18th century was the village once again populated with Hungarians. Thanks to Count Čekonjić, a church was built. The Hungarians were moved to the neighbouring settlement, Nova Črnja, in the first half of the 19th century, and Čestereg became populated by Germans. In the year 1881, the feudal lord gave them a new single nave church (Erős 1993: 225-26), built combining the Classicist and neo-Gothic styles. The temple was of enormous dimension, especially in height, which was characteristic of the neo-Gothic style. The Germans were driven out of their homes after World War II and their church was pulled down after 1948.

![Old Catholic church, Čestereg](image1)

![New Orthodox temple, Čestereg](image2)

The nationality of the population underwent changes once again, since an influx of Bosnians did not have either the need or the possibilities for a religious life for half a century. A monument to the victims of the two World Wars was erected in place of the church. A few months ago, construction of an Orthodox temple began on the same site, financed by voluntary contribution in accordance with Serbian medieval tradition.

This is a typical example of the fate that has befallen Banatian settlements and religion in these villages. The case of Čestereg shows that everything depends on the society's current necessity and on the orders coming from the government system. Therefore, it should not be a surprise that there is a church behind a monument to the communist greats.

Conclusion

‘People of different nation[s], different religions and languages have lived in this area for a long time’ (Rauški 2001: 5). All the nations and religions have not been equally valued throughout history, which can be followed through numerous tragedies on the territory of Banat. It is quite sufficient to observe the way the Germans, from their privileged position in the 18th and 19th centuries, became unwelcome and, finally, by the mid-20th century had completely disappeared from Banat.

Globalisation increases tolerance, where everyone respects values and traditions, and the religions of other peoples. This shows great progress but, at the same time, there is a great
tendency to unite the values of different nations and create an enormous, common culture of global values.
In our case, it is essential to preserve what we have in common as well as the individual values; what the tradition of this area is; what brought us together and separated us for centuries; and what makes us unique in the world.

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Cultural Diversity – Converging Point of Heritage and Security Theories

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Abstract
Security and heritage theories share a central common objective – to protect the entity/identity. In doing this, security seems to employ more strategic & technical tools, while heritage appears to be more grounded in daily tactical and emotional aspects. Furthermore, it seems that the security and heritage concepts are defined in the same space of constructed emotions and complement each other, to articulate together a feeling of in/security. Resilient cultures can devise responses to the novel ‘otherness’. This resilience seems to the intrinsic to cultures, central to their convergence, and underlying the construction of the emotion of in/security.

Contemporary human security and national security, despite significant development in recent decades, seem to elude approaching security as an emotion, and predominantly continue to approach it through the conventional material or more recently cultural paradigms, which despite providing a powerful tactical tool, still offers modest arsenal for the transformation of insecurity. This paper considers the cultural diversity in terms of heritage studies and security studies, applying a constructionist approach in explaining the emotion of in/security, and providing a brief overview and relation of contexts where ideas of in/security and culture meet.

Keywords
cultural diversity, security, culture, emotions, resilience

Introduction
Security studies and heritage studies share a central common trait – the protection of entity/identity convergence. In doing this, security seems to employ more strategic & technical tools, while heritage appears to be more grounded in daily tactical and emotional aspects. Nevertheless, they are both devised for the protection of the (‘same’?) people. But, what if the people become ‘diverse’ or ‘different’, i.e. due to a development from within, or by an influx from outside? How to differentiate then between the situation of ‘security’ and the situation of ‘threat’, and how the entity of ‘culture’ changes?

The contemporary propensity of promoting cultural diversity is, on the one hand, praised as one of the leading engines of economic and social progress, but on the other, is considered by some to be a latent or outright security threat, and this dichotomy of opinion itself may generate a potent divergence.

Furthermore, identity defined (in part) by belonging to a given cultural entity may provide to an individual both tools and freedoms for self-invention and social cooperation, but it was also seen to come with many constraints on singular identities and with prescribed relationships towards the relative otherness.

It could be that the best litmus paper to test cultural resilience, and cultural perception of threats, are the situations of cultural diversity – or to rephrase – diversity spectrum of cultural identities,
which requires adapting to the unknown, and often to what is originally considered – the ‘unacceptable’.

‘Resilience’ and ‘threat’ are primary security concepts. However, their consistent significance plunges greater depths once translated into a cultural context, as otherwise popular primary associations of existential (life/death) security considerations sequel later.

The objective of this paper is articulated dually: first, primarily from the perspective of security studies, and second, predominantly from the perspective of heritage studies. The two are in either case amalgamated by the theory of (culturally/socially) constructed emotions. From the perspective of security studies, this paper will challenge the conventional notion of cultural-security complex and related disciplinary divisions. In that, it will consider the hypothesis that all the colours of ‘culture’ best uncloak under the security lens in diverse environments, or more precisely – that culture is an intrinsic component of the emotion of (in)security, and consequently of the security-seeking mechanism that such emotions trigger.

From the perspective of heritage studies, this paper proposes that there is a predefined chart (i.e. culture) of emotional responses to external and internal events/triggers, which are interpreted by that chart to be a threat. Or, more precisely, cultural diversity is an environment or circumstance which induces a culture-specific emotion of insecurity and triggers a culture-specific mechanism aimed at restoring the emotion of security.

Security framework definitions
The discipline of security seeks to provide practical tools for explaining and predicting conflict-related causalities, convergence and hotspots. In that, it relies on and employs both interdisciplinary academic and empirical approaches to interpret and anticipate dynamics of future challenges. These security products are also specifically human in nature, as they address the struggle of personal, and communal emotions of fear, anger or sadness (reflecting their reality) and desire (aiming at altering their reality). This is the level of understanding shared both by the agents of security, and their interpreters.

Individual and communal fears and desires may stream from two human sources: the individual one – which is interpreted through the concept of human security and the communal one – whose mechanics are powered by the (scalable) idea of national security. The two concepts will be further described later.

In this paper, the following definitions are used:

- **Security** is defined as an absence of challenges/threats, as conceptualised and perceived by an individual or a community. Security is an emotion.
- **Threat** is defined as a challenge to security, or in other words, a trigger for the emotion of insecurity. Threats may be real, imagined, ignored or unperceived, but in any case, they are an integral part of the specific concept, underlying the idea of security.
- **Resilience** is defined as the ability to return to the state of security. Resilience and threats are a mutually independent set of variables, as resilience is an intrinsic property of an observed entity, while threats are the external triggers.

Convergence is a (not necessarily linear) communal development with an identifiable horizon (foreseeable future). Divergent cultures (e.g. cultural heritage or discontinued tradition) are discontinued or discontinuing cultures, as their material and immaterial remains are scattered, recycled and/or forgotten. Heritage studies consequently consider the interaction of converging and divergent/diverging cultures, study historical, cultural diversity, and thus represent a potentially active mechanism of cultural resilience.

To illustrate the definitions previously outlined, one may consider that climate change effects may be an ignored threat, nuclear war may be an imagined threat, and governmental corruption may
be an unperceived threat. Ocean-related mythology stories may be an element of communal preparedness for tsunamis, decentralisation of management may be an element of effective response and recovery, while open society may be an element of cultural resourcefulness, all building the resilience of a community.

The resilience of complex systems may be broken down into the three components: structural resilience, integrative resilience, and transformative resilience. This breakdown may be applied to both physical and organisational systems, and can be further subdivided into nine specific lenses of resilience: redundancy, modularity, requisite diversity, multi-scale interactions, thresholds, social cohesion, distributed or polycentric governance, foresight, and experimentation and innovation (Kupers 2018). Alternatively, sometimes the breakdown of resilience can be simplified, to consider a total of five composite components: robustness, redundancy, resourcefulness (or adaptability), response (or ability to react) and recovery (or ability to recuperate) (Mihaljević & Toth 2008).

**Culture framework definitions**

For the purpose of this paper, culture will be defined as a shared concept of converging transitive communal behaviour. From this definition it follows that ‘culture’ and (ongoing) ‘tradition’ are synonyms. A culture converges towards some foreseeable reality horizon(s), which may just as well be the self-destruction. The horizon is an imaginary or anticipated idea or condition, but it may also not be entirely or clearly defined from the positions of the present moment, and this circumstance mirrors the human linear/temporal existence, imagination, and desire.

Cultural intelligence encompasses (cultural) resilience – the ability to return to the state of security despite (for all purposes) randomly occurring threats. Chance may play a role in the delivery of manageable intensity of challenges, and ultimately, the continuity of a culture. However, cultural intelligence is more than just a sum of the components of resilience – it is also a language, pool and medium of shared ideas and identity, self-awareness, and a sense of purpose.

Cultural diversity requires that two or more cultures (temporarily) coexist and meet in the same space of ideas. If they coexist permanently, and interact, they form a composite culture, which would, all things being equal, again ultimately converge towards a (partially) shared horizon or diverge (as a composite). One could also note that composite cultures may also form divergent binary, tertiary or manifold cultural systems, locked in positive (competitive-cooperative) or negative (competitive-closed) mutually interdependent relationships; however, further consideration of this thread would depart from the focus of this paper.

In this respect, examples of a composite culture may be the metropolitan areas of Amsterdam and Buenos Aires, where different cultures coexist in the same space (physical space and administrative context). Some of the international relationships in Western Europe, India, former Yugoslavia, the Far East, as well as in the Middle East, may be described as either positive or negative divergent binary/manifold cultural systems. The long-gone Roman Empire is an example of a divergent culture, and areas of Canada and Australia could be examples of converging cultures.

**Socially constructed emotions of in/security**

Previously, security was defined as an emotion, but there is more to the emotion of security than perception. Emotions which relate to (perceived/desired level of) security are considered to be constructed (and possibly designed or engineered), and they converge with the culture (Vojvodić 1999). This is elaborated by the constructionist theory, and more specifically by the concept of socially constructed emotions of security and insecurity.

Vojvodić (1999:5) proposes that “emotion is defined by the content of beliefs, judgements, desires, which are not innate but are conditioned by the system of cultural beliefs, values and
moral values of a certain group/society. Capacity for shame and guilt also includes cultural knowledge and rules of thinking.”

Vojvodić’s proposition mirrors the introductory definitions of security and culture, which are also congruent with a more specific Conceptual Act Model proposed by Feldman Barrett (2011). In this model she notes three psychological primitives, and argues that (for two of them) the “core affect ["neurobiological states that can be described as pleasant or unpleasant with some degree of arousal"] and conceptual knowledge about emotion [culture] …produce a highly flexible system that can account for the full richness of range of experiences that characterises human emotional life”. Additionally, the third psychological primitive, the controlled attention network, “resolves conflict between competing representations or inhibiting pre-potent responses when necessary”.

In bringing the above model closer to the focus of this paper, it is worth noting that one of the most significant components of human emotional life, also commonly tapping onto the most primitive of human instincts, refers to the human emotion of in/security, often producing charged individual and mass responses.

Feldman Barrett (2011:367) further notes that “many cultures may share similar emotion concepts (basic in a Roschian sense) because these concepts are optimal tools for negotiating in the kind of social environment that humans typically occupy (living in large groups with complicated relational rules).

The above concept introduced by Feldman Barret may be complemented by the consideration of Vojvodić (1999), who describes four modes of social differentiation of construction of emotion of security, as permutations of in/security and in/dependency. These four modes specifically describe a spectrum and properties of emotions of security, and consequently imply the ecology of dependence and (emotions of) security, explaining to a certain extent the internal dynamics of a culture in relation to threats.

Vojvodić (1999:17-24) proposes that one of the abovementioned permutations, the secure-dependent emotional construct, is dependent on the emotional constructs of other persons, and achieves its state of security through communication with others, and their support. The secure-independent emotional construct is the most stable, as it is organised within itself, and is continually developing, largely independent of the social environment. It perceives its social-emotional reality autonomously, without the need for the emotional interpretation of others. The loss of stability may occur in circumstances of lacking quality/adaptability in devising its emotional reality. The insecure-dependent emotional construct is in an entirely passive position in relation to the social environment and social reality, as it may experience social-emotional reality via securely organised emotional construct. The individual experiences or delivers emotional strength to the secure-dependent constructs. The insecure-independent emotional construct is the least stable construct, and emotional strength is within the person, but it cannot experience the constructed reality because it is independent of it. In a stable position, such an individual’s constructed emotional reality and social reality will be experienced as insecure and will be virtually incomplete. Since individuals’ emotional constructs are daily in constant interaction, depending on the context of particular emotional and social meanings/concepts, individuals may be described by more than one emotional construct.

Vojvodić (1999:10-15) further explains that emotional constructs are forms of communication within a society. In that sense, constructed emotional reality is the overall emotional product of a community, which is manifested in a particular time, and lasts a specified period. Constructed emotional reality ensures stability as well as useful communication among the members of a community. “Individuals desire to stabilise their emotional construct because in this position they may experience social reality as objective and align their own construct with it. Constructed emotional reality and social reality exist in parallel and are intertwined in the experience of an individual.”
It is further proposed that social emotional constructs desire to encompass and design social reality, yet they merely create constructed emotional reality. On the individual level, a person may experience that she or he envelops social reality, thus feeling secure. However, a person may also not envelop social reality through her or his emotional construct and, in that case, the person will experience the emotion of insecurity. "Constructed reality is subordinated to the social reality" (Vojvodić 1999:10-15).

Vojvodić (1999:10-15) continues to propose that if the constructed emotional reality gains social status, it becomes a recognised, rational reality and it may grow stronger and ultimately resist the control, and maintain dominant position. "Social reality is then composed of constructed emotional reality and the rational remainder, and it is experienced as a complete social reality. Constructed emotional reality in that case dominated the entire order."

From the above, it follows that the emotional reality which does not integrate elements of resilience (producing sustainable responses to diversity/threats) may fail in restoring the emotions of security for its dependent, emotional constructs of security. This circumstance may in turn yield culture’s primitive or regressive responses to the encountered diversity/threats.

The abovementioned four constructs of the security-dependence domain explain the cohesive and dynamic properties of culture. Emotion is one of the fundamental needs which may ultimately take over the cultural/social organism and serve as a dominant organiser of behaviour, and under these circumstances, an organism may be described as a security-seeking mechanism (Maslow 1982:95).

Returning to the point of cultural diversity, from the above it follows that if a culture does not maintain intrinsic mechanisms to deal with the ‘otherness’, it would thereby consider the ‘otherness’ a threat. This circumstance would further induce and fuel the security-seeking mechanisms among at least some members of the population, who do not employ secure-independent emotional constructs. These, if becoming dominant, may render a culture inclusive (e.g. assimilative, coexisting, tolerant, ignoring), or exclusive (ignoring, closed, aggressive/deadly, expansive/assimilative).

Resilient cultures are adaptable to new and complex diversity contexts which were previously possibly nonexistent, at the intensity too low to be recognised as a threat, repressed or unrecognised, or occurring at the new intensity level of a threat, without having any prescribed set of responses to these.

Examples of such diversity contexts may include cultural exposures (shocks) to the relatively new ethics, morals, emerging new identities, gender identities, sexual preferences, lifestyles, religious practices, ethnicities, diets, technology, social, economic and organisational models. “When there is incomplete meaningful content of constructed emotional reality and relevant status of some emotions in not recognised by the objective, rational and legitimate reality, it may become that the entire worlds of emotional production and meaning remain in the unrecognised underworld of daily life” (Vojvodić 1999:12).

In any such circumstances of a surfacing or approaching diversity context, a culture may respond inclusively or exclusively towards such singular or manifold diversity threat (‘otherness’). This response is a result of the accumulative communal emotion of in/security, which is induced by the core effect, conceptual knowledge about emotion (culture), and controlled attention, as proposed by the Feldman Barrett’s Conceptual Act Model.

From the anthropological perspective, Hylland Eriksen describes the non-diverse environments as secure sociality. "In a field of secure sociality, everyone is predictable to each other, and if they are not, there are ways of demarcating displeasure which is immediately understood by others. A relaxed intimacy engulfs secure sociality" (Hylland Eriksen 2010:11).
On the other hand, a culturally diverse setting, or “[i]nsecure sociality is, to a much greater extent, characterised by improvisation and negotiations over situational definitions. People who encounter one another in this kind of field are much less secure as to whom they are dealing with and, as a result, they are less sure as to whom they are looking at in the mirror. The opportunities are more varied and more open to a person in a state of insecure sociality than to someone who rests contended in a condition of predictable routines of secure sociality, but the risks are also much greater” (Hylland Eriksen 2010:11).

Giddens (1991:44-55) proposes that “[t]o be ontologically secure is to possess, on the level of the unconscious and practical consciousness, ‘answers’ to fundamental existential questions which all human life in some way addresses. [...] In pre-modern contexts, tradition [or culture] has a key role in articulating action and ontological frameworks; tradition offers an organising medium of social life specifically geared to ontological precepts. In the first place, tradition orders time in a manner which restricts the openness of counterfactual futures. [...] The world is as it is because it is as it should be.”

This perspective by Giddens is congruent to the secure-independent emotional construct, as proposed above, while the given context of tradition corresponds to the initially proposed definition of culture and is in line with the conceptual knowledge about emotion from the Feldman Barrett’s Conceptual Act Model.

Giddens (1991:51) also considers insecurity embedded in a conceptual knowledge about emotion of a given culture, and triggered by diversity or ‘otherness’, and proposes that “[t]he ‘problem of the other’ is not a question of how the individual makes the shift from the certainty of her or his own inner experiences to the unknowable other person [a carrier and embodiment of the other culture/traditions]. Rather it concerns the inherent connections which exist between learning the characteristics of the other person and the other major axes of ontological security. Trust in others, in the early life of the infant and, in chronic fashion, in the activities of the adult, is at the origin of the experience of a stable external world and a coherent sense of self-identity. It is a ‘faith’ in the reliability and integrity of others which is at stake here.”

It would follow that the mechanisms that promote interpersonal faith in reliability and integrity within a culture are primary agents of the emotion of security. These mechanisms may deteriorate e.g. acutely by terrorism, or chronically – by lacking raising or wider cultural knowledge of how to achieve and maintain faith in reliability and integrity of others among the members of a culture. If this happens it may further result in reduced resilience of a culture to face the challenge of ‘otherness’ from within (via own development), and from the outside (via expansion or intrusion/on).

The individual is not entirely defined by their culture, as she or he maintains self-identity, which is “not something that is just given, as a result of the continuities of the individual’s action-system, but something that has to be routinely created and sustained in the reflexive activities of the individual. [...] Self-identity is not a distinctive trait, or even a collection of traits, possessed by an individual. It is the self as reflexively understood by the person in the terms of her or his biography. Identity here still presumes continuity across time and space: but self-identity is such continuity as interpreted reflexively by the agent” (Giddens 1991:52).

The quality of reflexive activities of an individual depends heavily on the properties of nurture and education of an individual, throughout their life, and this may create experiences which would affirm or modulate the individual, and aggregately cultural, mechanisms of establishing trust and reliability, and the strategies of culture towards the ‘otherness’. Thus, security is a constructed emotion which flows from the nurture and education of individuals and is embedded in the cultural mechanisms (if such exist) which recognise and seek to establish interpersonal faith and reliability (support) with its (intrinsically diverse) social environment.
Interplay of human security and national security concepts

The above considerations of Conceptual Act Model, constructed emotions, and later considerations of individual or aggregate faith in reliability and integrity, self-identity and reflexive activities, produce the agents of human security and national security alike.

Disciplinary divisions between heritage and security studies become evident once human and national security come into play, as concepts central to security studies. Human and national security primarily consider the external and material causalities of insecurity, even when integrating some anthropological considerations.

“Proponents of human security assert that security can be ensured only where people have a basic income, access to food, clean water, healthcare, minimum protection from disease (such as HIV/AIDS), and a decent environment, as well as protection from physical harm. … Human security draws attention to the mundane sources of insecurity suffered by people in their everyday lives … [and it] also highlights the ways in which pursuit of state security can trample human rights and impede humanitarian action, not least in conflict situations, emergency situations, and in the name of combating terrorism” (Zedner 2009:41).

On the other hand, traditional national security theory relies on the (defensive and offensive) structural realism (neorealism), which employs the security dilemma as its central concept. Bourbeau et al. (2015:119-120) further explain that the security dilemma is powered by the “idea that the actions chosen by a state to increase its security, in fact, decrease the security of others, thereby provoking a spiral model in which interactions between states fuel competition and insecurity.” In 1996 Peter Katzenstein edited a volume The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics which challenged the material-based neorealist theory of national security, and introduced ideational factors, thereby employing constructionist approach to security, with culture, identity and norms at the centre of theory (Bourbeau et al. 2015:121-122).

Both human security and national security provide explanations of the past and predict future instances of insecurity, which are nevertheless exotic to (the immaterial concept of) emotion. In the terminology of Conceptual Act Model, human security and national security seem to focus on core affect, while considerably neglecting (the depths and mechanics of) the conceptual knowledge about emotion (culture), as well as the relevance of heritage (divergent culture) in perpetuating the core affects.

The two seem to be a powerful political (military) tool in predicting future confrontations and conflicts over various physical resources, yet they have a consistent record of very limited success in transforming insecurity into security in a recent century. This lack of success may be because both human and national security are still heavily (but not dominantly) rooted in the physical reality, governed by political decisions (of the ruling elites in the nation-states), and fuelled dominantly by material interests. Neither of the two security approaches significantly considers conceptualisation in constructing the (emotion of) security or directing social/cultural convergence.

One may argue that the security dilemma (rooted in the physical notions of security) also translates into the Conceptual Act Model. Moreover, it seems it does, not as a dogma or observation, but as an element of the conceptual knowledge about emotion (the culture). Therefore, one may propose that if a group/culture chooses to replace its ‘security dilemma premise’ deposited in its conceptual knowledge about emotion (its culture) with some other premise which induces ‘faith in reliability and integrity of others’ view of the (national, cultural, individual) ‘otherness’, this might contribute to transformation of its conflict-perpetuating-propensity.
Difficult heritage

Good examples of both positive and negative security engineering (be it deliberate or spontaneous) are instances of ‘difficult heritage’, also sometimes referred to as ‘sites of consciousness’ or ‘heritage of pain and shame’.

‘Difficult heritage’ consists of the physical remains, or new constructions, which remember, commemorate or conserve past tragedy and violence, by sanctification, designation, rectification and obliteration (Logan & Reeves, 2009).

The term ‘heritage’ is within quotation marks to indicate that it is not always, or entirely, the original heritage, as in divergent cultures. However, it is actually a living – also possibly newly constructed, contemporary and active - ingredient of a given culture. ‘Heritage’ in fact calls onto some reference from the past to deliver a certain idea or fact, so the word ‘heritage’ unjustly, although conveniently, downplays or romanticises, and ultimately ignores, its very active (be it positive or negative) role in a current culture.

The ‘heritage’ of pain and shame is commonly constructed by means of (positive or negative) political motivation, supported by public policies and budgets, contested in various social domains, etc. It is realised and presented commonly by one or some of the groups or individuals which were consumed by the commemorated incidence of tragedy or violence, and it may serve to cement one view or interpretation of the past event, for better or worse.

As it communicates its emotions of fear, anger or sadness, the difficult ‘heritage’ simultaneously attempts to warn the potential future victims of the same sort of tragedy and violence, and in that it calls upon the conceptual knowledge about emotion (culture) to and from which the message is transmitted. Such ‘heritage’ builds on the strong emotion of insecurity and thereby serves as a physical emitter, which may either disturb or encourage the formation of resilience, including the settling of ‘faith in reliability and integrity of others’, as a security-transformative potential.

This property of difficult ‘heritage’, in addition to the accompanying, represented and emitted charged emotions, makes it a very stable core affect, which integrates actively into the conceptual system (culture). With the content of other emotions (fear, anger or sadness) it may bias the controlled attention network, which “continually shapes processing” (Feldman Barrett 2011:367). Being fed by such induced social dynamics, it is likely to influence the pace and direction of cultural convergence. In that sense, Bourne & Shweder (1991:155) note that what “is not yet fully appreciated is that the relationship between what one thinks about (for example, other people) and how one thinks (for example, contexts and cases) may be mediated by the world premise to which one is committed (for example, holism) and by the metaphors by which one lives”.

Conclusions

Security and heritage concepts are defined in the same space of constructed emotions and complement each other. Heritage concepts consider the idea of convergent and divergent cultures (space of conceptualisation and controlled attention), while security concepts consider the otherness (space of core affects). Together they produce an emotion of in/security.

Cultural resilience assumes the ability of a culture to produce adequate responses in contexts of diversity/otherness. This consideration unveils a return loop, as the mechanisms that promote interpersonal faith in reliability and integrity within a culture are primary agents of the emotion of security, while such faith in facing the otherness is constructed by reflexive activities of an individual. The quality and results of such individual reflexive activities in return heavily depend upon the initial culture. Thus, the resilience of a culture is an intrinsic property of that culture.

National security and human security approaches provide potent tools for explaining and managing diversity and mitigating the emotion of insecurity but seem to show a modest
propensity for the transformation of insecurity by means of increasing the intrinsic resilience of cultures.

The universal and authentic human capacity to experience aspects of in/security is the lowest common denominator recognised across cultures, which, if allowed to be expressed individually, may speak across the divide to the ‘otherness’, to induce resilience by creative reflexive activities of the individuals not bound entirely by their culture, with the aim to build faith in reliability and integrity, which is fundamental to the feeling of security for all.

References


Heritage without heirs? Reconnecting church and community through adaptive reuse

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Abstract
Churches have historically been part of the collective identity of local communities in Europe. Current developments, like secularisation and immigration, can be seen as eroding processes, leading to depopulation of churches and undermining this sense of identity. Adaptive reuse in this context often disregards the complex spiritual and social potential of religious heritage. Churches risk becoming heritage without heirs.

In our (design) research we show how adaptive reuse of churches can be based on intangible heritage values. To appeal to a broader group, including future generations and migrant communities, we want to transform the use and meaning of the church from within. Rather than replacing a sense of spirituality or community, we seek to reactivate and strengthen it by adding new layers.

We focus on two urban cases in Belgium and show how they can reclaim a collective identity: Transformation of the protected church of St-Jozef into a community centre in the socially charged neighbourhood of Rabot in Ghent. Adaptation of the modernist church of St-Alena to a migrant church and other functions for the neighbourhood of St-Gillis in Brussels.

We aim to prove that adaptive reuse of church architecture can seize the opportunity to gather and (re)integrate diverse communities in the spirit of its former use. We want to interpret adaptive reuse beyond a spatial or functional transformation as a renewal of (religious) identity. We aim to open up historic sites and buildings initially intended for a local community by inviting new inhabitants. This work implies a changing understanding of heritage not only as a witness of history but also as a source for the future, able to adapt to a changing society and incorporate new social values.

Keywords
religious heritage, adaptive reuse, design research, immigration, community, social values

Introduction

Context
In Flanders, there are more than 1,800 Roman Catholic parish churches, about the same number of presbyteries and a range of chapels. In 2012, 8% of the churches were no longer in service, only 60% hosted religious ceremonies once or twice every week (Aerts ea. 2014), and these
numbers have been rapidly increasing since. Nearly half of the churches only open during hours of service. The situation in Flanders illustrates the process of secularisation in Europe and North-America (Halman & Draulans 2006; Voas 2009), where many regions face the question of what to do with underused and obsolete religious buildings (Deathridge 2012; De Bleeckere & De Ridder 2014; Morisset et al. 2005).

The reasons for the decline in church visits and attendance at mass is due to a process of secularisation of the indigenous community on the one hand, and society is becoming increasingly multi-cultural and multi-religious on the other hand due to immigration. In many cities, villages and neighbourhoods, parish churches nonetheless give shape to the physical centre and are part of the local collective identity. Besides having a historical and architectural value, they form an essential part of the landscape and represent emotional value. As such, churches are an important aspect of our tangible and intangible cultural heritage: the building and interior as immovable heritage, its art relicts and religious objects as movable heritage, and the rituals and (local) traditions as intangible heritage (Plevoets & Prina 2017). However, as the local community – its younger generations and migrant communities – often has no relationship with the church building and its religious use, churches risk becoming heritage without heirs.

The substantial decline in participants in the Catholic service means that the use, management and maintenance of these built relics are ever more difficult. The integration of a new, secular use is often proposed as a solution to the problem of obsolete church buildings. This integration can be through shared use, which means that the church is still used for religious services with a secular function available through a spatial division in the church interior, or by planning activities at different times. There can also be an adaptive reuse of the church for an entirely new programme. In this case, ‘deconsecration’ (official removal of its religious function) and a change of ownership is considered as a logical consequence. However, radical transformations often disregard the complex spiritual and social role that church buildings play in local communities and city centres. Although their historical and architectural values may be safeguarded, drastic reorientation of the programme may cause their cultural meaning and broader relevance within contemporary society to disappear.

An example of a more spontaneous and informal reuse, which stays close to the meanings and values represented by the initial religious function of the church, is the Heilige Familie Church, or Tafelkirche as it was re-named in 2008, in the a more impoverished part of Oberhausen. The church, designed by Rudolf Schwarz, is not used for religious service anymore but has not been deconsecrated. Instead, the church is used as a social restaurant and a place for distribution of food packages for people in need and refugees. The church has not been redesigned or actively adapted. Instead, the necessary furniture and equipment, such as a kitchen and cold storage, have been added pragmatically. Notably, the social reuse falls in line with the religious function of the church – ‘gathering people around the table of life’ (Diepmans & Eisenmenger 2018) – and is considered by the local (Catholic) clergy as an acceptable alternative for the celebration of mass.

Methodology
In this paper, we will present a specific approach to adaptive reuse of churches, inspired by the transformation of the Tafelkirche and based on a social interpretation of the different heritage aspects of the building. To appeal to a broader group, including future generations and migrant communities, we want to transform the use and meaning of the church from within, regardless of the need for deconsecration. Rather than replacing a sense of spirituality or community, we seek to reactivate and strengthen it by adding new layers. We focus on two urban cases in Belgium and show how they can reclaim a collective identity. The first is the transformation of the protected church of St-Jozef into a community centre in the socially charged neighbourhood of Rabot in Ghent. The second is the adaptation of the modernist church of St. -Alena to a migrant parish church and other functions for the neighbourhood of St. Gillis in Brussels.
The methodology for the case study analysis is ‘research by design’ (Van de Weijer, Van Cleemput & Heynen 2014), in which the potential for adaptive reuse is studied by designing and visualising different spatial and programmatic scenarios. As stated in the European Association for Architectural Education (EAAE) Charter on Architectural Research: ‘In research by design, the architectural design process forms the pathway through which new insights, knowledge, practices or products come into being. It generates critical inquiry through design work. Therefore, research results are obtained by, and consistent with experience in practice’ (EAAE 2012:1). The research by design conducted for the St. Jozef church is part of a research programme launched by various organisations in Flanders to encourage the adaptive reuse of these buildings. The programme is supervised by the Flemish government architect and supports feasibility studies for the transformation of parish churches into a new use.88 The study was executed by tv TRACE, a collaboration between different architectural offices89 and the research group with the same name at the Faculty of Architecture & Arts of Hasselt University, Belgium, during 2016-2017 (Vande Keere et al. 2017). The research for the St. Alena church took place in the context of a design studio of the International Master of Interior Architecture on Adaptive Reuse at the same university.

St. Jozef: from church to community centre

History

The church of St. Jozef was constructed in 1880 as part of a newly developed neighbourhood called Rabot in the city of Ghent, Belgium, for the workers of the textile industry and their families. The urbanist plan for Rabot was very ambitious as a new extension to the north of the city with axial lines and rows of small private houses with individual gardens located just outside the historic centre. In this plan, the church is clearly conceived as the heart of the new neighbourhood, both in spatial and social terms. The placement of the church fits within the context of the Ultramontanism, a clerical political movement within the Catholic Church that places a strong emphasis on the prerogatives and powers of the pope and attributes a central role to religion in society. As such, the church of St. Jozef formed the centre of the plan for the Rabot and was, therefore, instrumental in establishing a pious and stable society among the textile workers and their families.90

Figure 1 – St. Jozef – Aerial view of the church in the neighbourhood of Rabot, Ghent

88 More information on this programme is available on www.herbestemmingkerken.be, accessed 14 February 2018.
89 Three offices, Broekx-Schiepers Architecten, Saidja Heynickx Architect, and UR Architects, have collaborated with the research group TRACE of Hasselt University. For each of the offices, one of the directors is also professor at the Faculty of Architecture and Arts of Hasselt University.
90 An earlier study by students at the Raymond Lemaire International Centre for Conservation (KULeuven) made a thorough historical analysis of the case (Bouwen et al 2016).
The church, designed by the architect, Auguste Van Assche (1826-1907), is a classic example of the Gothic Revival style. It features a succession of vestibule, nave and choir representing the layered spiritual structure of the suffering, struggling and triumphing church. The choir and main altar have an easterly orientation reflecting the sunrise and resurrection of Christ. The (unfinished) tower is positioned precisely in the centre of the church and refers to heaven and the plan is the form of a cross and references the body of Christ and the crucifixion. The plan was changed several times before construction began – mainly to enlarge the interior to make room for a larger community, but the concept remained the same throughout the design process. The exterior of the church is based on Scheldegotiek, an early Gothic style used in Flanders in the 13th and 14th centuries and reused by the artistic St. Lucas arts and crafts school in the 19th century. The interior is strongly influenced by the English Victorian style and is heavily decorated with polychromatic ornamentation. The church has been protected as a monument since 2003 for its socio-cultural, artistic, historical and folkloristic value; the protection order also stresses the extraordinary quality of preservation of the Gothic Revival interior.

**Current Context**
Ever since its emergence, Rabot has been a socially charged neighbourhood, with the church fabric as an important mediator between communities. The district today has a high density, many migrant communities, large families, a considerable number of young people with a low-level of education and a quick succession of tenants for shops and dwellings. The urban redevelopment project, 'Bridges to Rabot', aims to improve the living conditions in the area through a better connection with the centre of Ghent, improvement of public functions, (green) public spaces, and (family) housing and through different social projects involving the inhabitants.

The church is still owned by the church fabric of St. Jozef but is no longer used for religious services since the popular and socially active priest, Koen Bieck, passed away in 2015. The city of Ghent stepped in to gain insight into the possibilities for reuse of the church for a social programme that would serve the needs of the local community, in consideration of buying the church. It ordered a feasibility study to set up and compare various scenarios for adaptation and reuse taking into account its architectural, historical, social and cultural values and its protection as a monument.

**Research by design**
Although the designers started from an analysis of the listed possible functions for the church, the study was not limited to the design of the concrete needs for a set of specific users or functions. Instead, the research focused on spatial questions, such as how to increase the useful area, the accessibility and circulation, and the relationship between the interior and exterior of the church building and its surroundings. Though it was planned that the church would be officially
deconsecrated, the sanctuary or central choir of the church was designated as a ‘silent space’ for repose, contemplation or prayer.

Figure 3 – St. Jozef – Typological analysis of different scenarios with additional floors

Based on the results of the typological analysis (to increase the capacity and increase floor area) and circulation analysis (to improve accessibility between the inside and outside and within the church space itself), a spatial strategy for adaptive reuse was defined. In this strategy, the vaulted basement becomes part of the functional space. Additional floors in the side aisles of the nave and choir provide extra floor space while preserving the spatial experience of the church by respecting the open central axes of the nave and transept. Given the unique condition of the Gothic Revival interior, the newly added floors are aligned with the decorative layers of the interior walls and pillars of the church. Two additional entrances are necessary to allow the increased capacity and will be integrated at the crossing of the nave and transept. The primary intervention involves the basement of the church. By partly excavating the direct surrounding of the church and opening up the façade, the closed character of the church can be countered. This intervention allows the access of daylight and may solve existing humidity problems, but above all improves the relationship between the building and its surrounding.

Figure 4 – St. Jozef – Transverse section of the nave and the excavation around the basement
St. Alena: from parish to migrant church

History
The first plan for the St. Alena church dates back to 1913. It was designed in an eclectic style by the architect Louis Pepermans as the parish church for the neighbourhood of St. Gillis in the south of Brussels, Belgium. Of this, only the crypt and all adjacent buildings, like the presbytery, were built. The plans to build a church were taken up again in the 1930s with a design competition won by the young architect, Roger Bastin (1913-1986). For the interior of the church, the side chapel and the façade, he collaborated with Jacques Dupuis (1914-1984). The construction started in 1940 but suffered a delay because of World War II and a lack of funding. The main body of the church was finished in 1951, while the street façade was only finally completed in 1972.

Throughout the whole process, several adaptations were made to the design. This evolution reflects the transition the church made from pre- to post-Vatican II. The modern church was built on top of the older basement. The floor plan of the church remains somewhat traditional, although the architect formed a subtle asymmetric layout by shifting the central axis and creating a narrow and low side chapel to the east. The positions of the altar and ambo have been adapted to the liturgical reform requirements. The interior architecture has a modern finish as well as the geometrical decoration and iconography, referring to motifs fashionable in the context of the mentioned reform. Although the building is a very fine example of modern church architecture, including qualitative craftsmanship, including stained-glass windows and reliefs and sculptures commissioned from local artists, and is included in the official inventory of built heritage in Brussels, it is not officially protected as a monument (Lanotte 2001).

Figure 5 - St. Alena – Roger Bastin, interior view towards nave and side chapel (Photo: Christine Bastin)

Current context
St. Alena’s church has not been used as a traditional parish church for local inhabitants for some time. It was used until recently by the (older) Italian migrant population, but, since September 2017, the Brazilian community of the Brussels region have taken it up for their weekly mass and
social gatherings afterwards. The church itself is rather well preserved, although some restoration works might be necessary in the near future. The plot which is owned by the church also includes a large garden to the west, a presbytery to the east and the adjacent buildings to the back of the church (a large part of the latter formerly used by the Scouts Association). The crypt is currently employed as a community space but has poor spatial conditions with limited daylight. The presbytery and adjacent buildings, being older, could benefit from renovation. Although there are no plans for the adaptive reuse or additional shared use of the church, the Brazilian community has interest in upgrading some of the spaces surrounding the church and using them more extensively. The available space, however, exceeds their requirements. At the same time, they lack the funds to invest in a larger plan without involvement from other parties.

Research by design
The assignment for the design studio for the St. Alena church was to respect the current use of the building by the Brazilian community. The focus of the studio was intended to reflect on possible additional functions for the surrounding spaces to give a spatial upgrade and to link the church and its new community to the larger environment and the local inhabitants of St. Gillis. These links would include transforming the programmatic conditions with the introduction of social or cultural activities, rather than strictly commercial or private functions. Spatial conditions, such as a better link with the street, the inner gardens and also the church space itself, were also included. The project has the potential to embed the building and its activities in the surroundings and, at the same time, become a new home for the migrant community. In what follows, we elaborate on the results of two student projects.

3.3.1 “A quand Taizé à St. Gilles?”

Tijl Beelen’s project was inspired by a particular postcard found in the archives of the parish. The card was sent in 1967 from a youth retreat in Taizé by some Catholic Sisters to the priest of the St. Alena church. It describes the particular atmosphere the Sisters had experienced during their pilgrimage to Taizé and is clearly coloured by the exciting and genuine spirit of reform felt at the time. They conclude with the above sentence translated as “When Taizé at St. Gillis?” This inspired Tijl to propose the transformation of the church and adjacent buildings into a youth hostel and retreat centre for pilgrims. This idea was strengthened by the fact that the church is located

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91 The design studio was part of a joint master class that took place in the autumn of 2017 as a collaboration between two schools: the International Master in Interiors on Adaptive Reuse of Hasselt University, Belgium, and the Master in Architecture of the University of Wuppertal, Germany. The students from Wuppertal worked on the adaptive reuse of two cases in Germany – the mentioned Heilige Familie church in Oberhausen and St. Mariä Himmelfahrt in Wesel, both designed by Rudolf Schwarz (1905-1994), while the students from Hasselt worked on the St. Alena church. During two short intensive workshops organised in both faculties the students exchanged insights and ideas on how to deal with modern churches.
on one of the extended pilgrim routes to Santiago De Compostela. Moreover, this function could co-exist with the current use by the Brazilian community.

Figure 7 - St. Alena – Tijl Beelen’s design for the new front façade and longitudinal section

The most significant architectural intervention was the transformation of the façade and entrance to the building. Currently, the entrance gives access to the level of the church which is several steps higher than street level, while the crypt is only accessible through a side entrance. Together with the closed character of the front façade, the difference in level between inside and outside creates a barrier between the street and the interior of the church. Therefore, the design proposes an in-between space inside the church but at the level of the street to be visible from the outside by making a part of the front façade transparent. This entrance portal has a more inviting character and refers to a narthex, a preparatory or transitional space allowing for assembly and silence before entering the sacred space of the church. Tijl referred to the courtyard of the Basilica di San Clemente in Rome, but adapted the concept to the St. Alena church. The new narthex was created by extending the level of the street to the first two bays of the interior. New stairs and elevators in the narthex provide maximum accessibility to the levels of the church and the crypt, hence creating a more suitable access to the lower level housing a reception area and the multifunctional and communal space of the youth hostel. On the same level below the sanctuary, a chapel or silent space has been created, accessible from and extendible towards the shared space.

3.3.2 Modernist gesamtkunstwerk
Emilie Raquet started her project with a thorough analysis of the architectural qualities of the St. Alena church through careful observation, the study of archival documents and comparison of this church with other modernist (religious) buildings. In her presentation, she described the experience of moving through or accessing the buildings, referring to the so-called ‘corridor of silence’ which used to be the main entrance to the crypt space before the modern part of St. Alena was built. Inspired by the contrast of modern materials, like concrete versus figure glass and precious metal elements, she investigated the other work of the architects and their contemporaries and went back to their main source of inspiration at the time: the convent of Sainte Marie de la Tourette by Le Corbusier. To define a programme for the building, she built further on the characteristics of St. Gillis as a creative and cultural neighbourhood in Brussels. She proposed to insert an art centre with gallery, atelier space and accommodation for artists in residence.
Emilie removed the adjacent buildings behind the church and added a new volume, of which the larger spaces in the back function as apartments for artists. The design of this new building is inspired by monastic architecture in the way a new corridor of silence or ‘claustrum’ connects all the different spaces, including the church, from front to back. Besides its role as direct circulation from the street to the spaces in the back, it is also defined as the main exhibition space. Its structure of concrete ribs filled in with figure glass, as in la Tourette, allows for a direct and continuous relationship with the garden and receives evening sunlight.

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**Figure 8** – Sainte Marie de la Tourette – Le Corbusier, façade detail, 1960 (Photo: Fernando Schapochnik)

**Figure 9** - St. Alena – Emilie Raquet, a model of new volume and ‘corridor of silence’ (Photo: Liesbeth Driessen)
Emilie made limited changes to the interior of the church but proposed a suggestive dual use of the church without creating a fixed or physical separation between the different functions. The religious purpose of the church remains in the choir and the front part of the nave, while the rear of the nave could be used as an informal art gallery. The crypt has been designed for artists’ studios and shared kitchen and dining spaces below the choir for artists as well as the Brazilian community.

Figure 10 – St. Alena – Emilie Raquet, routing exhibition versus church space

Re-activating history – re-defining identity
The new programme for the Tafelkirche in Oberhausen is not perceived by the Catholic faith as a break with its former use or the tradition of celebration of mass. Instead, it can be considered as a reinterpretation of the communal activity to adapt to contemporary and local needs. In the same way, the two case studies with a (seemingly) very different background reveal a rich potential for adaptive reuse if, beyond their material appearance, we reinterpret the historical narratives and intangible values of their heritage. By thoroughly studying the layered context of the buildings or sites, we can identify and select specific traces – defined as bridges between past and present – as anchors for the design process.

Re-reading the Gothic Revival style of the St. Jozef church led us to investigate the movement and its ideological background beyond the stylistic features. The architect Auguste Van Assche (1826-1907) and his contemporaries were very much in touch with the leading advocate of the Gothic Revival in the United Kingdom during the Victorian era, Augustus Welby Pugin (1812-1852). Pugin published various books on the matter, revealing himself as a strong opponent of the rapid industrialisation of Britain. The book, ‘Contrasts’, published in 1836, reads as a moralistic ‘manifesto’ for the Gothic Revival. It is developed as a comparison between the negative aspects of the 19th century modern society and the so-called positive and more humane

\[\text{Van Assche has been introduced to the Gothic Revival style of the Victorian era by his colleague and mentor architect, Jean-Baptiste de Béthune (1829-1894), who was a pioneer for the Gothic Revival in Belgium. De Béthune’s approach to architecture was strongly shaped by an encounter with Welby Pugin in the United Kingdom. His approach to the Gothic Revival is characterised by a strong religious and social idealism (Van Cleven et al 1997).}\]
model of medieval society. Pugin illustrates the contrast between factory work and manual labour, the institutionalisation of hospitals and prisons, the alienation of the sick and poor, the unhygienic and cramped circumstances of urban life, etc. It is not a coincidence that some images in the book are emblematic to the situation of Rabot as a new neighbourhood outside of the historic city boundaries.

Beyond their moralism, the illustrations reveal an idyllic and almost utopian aspect. Craftsmanship, family life and the Catholic faith were the basis of an idealised society, uncorrupted by modernisation. The church building was to play a social role in it as a catalyst for a more harmonious public life and, ultimately, to define a conscience for the new community back then. Translating these ideas to the situation today could inform and, to some extent, legitimise the reuse of the church as a neighbourhood centre. The original inhabitants of relatively poor descent lured to the city by employment could today be replaced by a young migrant community looking for good fortune but adrift in the globalised society. This legitimisation is confirmed by the continuous social role of the church fabric until recently. The position of the church building in the centre of the area could allow it once again to become a meaningful focal point of encounter and support between the various inhabitants of the neighbourhood.

Similarly, the St. Alena church was built at a crucial time in the history of the Catholic church. As a result of experiments by the 'liturgical movement' before World War II and the urge for modernisation after, different reforms were established by Vaticanum II (1962-65). Besides a theological reinterpretation, these reforms defined the basis for a profound transformation of the liturgical space. The stronger involvement of the faithful as a consequence of the democratisation of the liturgy had a significant impact on the interior lay-out and typology of church buildings, both existing and new. Also, the renewed interest in the (layered) history of the liturgy and iconography lead to a form of re-sourcing, for example to early Christian tradition, that in its turn inspired a fundamental change of the spatial concept of church buildings in the post-war era. Called by

Figure 11(a) & (b) – Contrasts – Augustus Welby Pugin, comparison between a 19th century and a medieval town, 1836
Pope John XXIII the *aggiornamento*, loosely translated as ‘awakening’ or ‘actualisation’, it reveals a thorough transformation of an institute often perceived as conservative.

It opened up the way for architects and artists to apply a new formal language and created the freedom to approach spirituality on a more experimental and contemporary level. In the case of St. Alena, the students were encouraged to respect and even develop further the spirit of the *aggiornamento*. The first project took the re-sourcing at heart by referring to the early Christian Basilica di San Clemente. The design improved the connection of the different functions with the street to allow pilgrims to enter and dwell in the buildings and gardens, without restricting their function to Christian worship. The second project built further on the modernistic architectural properties of the original design and deliberately looked for additional sources in monastic architecture of the same era.

The reuse proposals for both St. Jozef and St. Alena, although very different, both assimilate historical (re-)sources as the starting point for their adaptive reuse. The selected traces for both cases reveal the potential of a personal and emphatic reading of the site and its cultural context. The designs apply these sources for a much-needed transformation in a careful and balanced way and emphasise continuity where at first radical change seemed inevitable. The goal is to reach a soft transformation from within, able to affirm and secure a place in the future while at the same time keeping in touch with history. This goal has a hope that new communities will adopt the church building and its new use in such a way for it to play, once again, a crucial role in society and aims eventually to lend these communities the identity they deserve.

References


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93 The terms translatio, imitatio and aemulatio were frequently used in pre-modern times to characterise this assimilation as part of the design process. We consider this practice as relevant again in the context of adaptive reuse as it embeds a transformation in a historical context, while at the same time allowing it to improve or surpass the original value of the building to create innovative architecture (see, among others: Mayernick 2016; Plevoets & Van Cleemput 2014; Plevoets & Heynickx 2016)


Pugin, W. (1836) *Contrasts; or a parallel between the noble edifices of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and similar buildings of the present day; shewing the present decay of taste*. London: Welby Pugin.


Abstracts of other presentations

Perception of altered colonial heritage in Casablanca

Nezha Alaoui (Morocco), Bruno Fayard (France, Morocco)

Most of the former colonised countries in the world are currently dealing with the cultural process of space appropriation. Taking ownership of recent heritage affects the perceptions, valuations and uses of a colonial legacy. Casablanca was a blank page on which urban planners and architects could experiment with numerous concepts of dwelling. The inhabitants modified these unique forms of architecture to suit their needs better. Three emblematic projects illustrate perfectly this phenomenon: the District of 'The Habous' (1918-1955) and two mass-housing building: Semiramis (1953) and Nid d’habeille (1953).

The transformations are a part of the processes of postcolonial identity construction because they have moderately dimmed the remaining colonial presence. These unofficial perceptions and uses of heritage by occupants is an opportunity for a worldwide community to reconsider the perception of a controversial yet universal heritage.

Nezha Alaoui is a registered architect in Morocco and a PhD student in architecture. She has been involved in various aspects of heritage conservation regarding colonial sites in Morocco and wrote articles on that matter. In 2015, she co-founded “Rabat Salé Mémoire”, an independent non-governmental organisation that aims at protecting the heritage of Rabat-Salé region.

Bruno Fayard is French architect based in Morocco. He took part in university publications on the historical context of architectural typology, urban morphology and diversity, compared to building regulation codes. He experienced historic monument conservation at O.Naviglio ACMH in Lyon France.

Intangible heritage as a vehicle for expressing identity

Nada Andonovska (Republic of Macedonia)

Cultural heritage is by its nature heterogeneous, reflecting cultural and linguistic diversity. This is more so true for intangible heritage, which plays an outstanding role in promoting national, regional, local and individual identity. Intangible cultural manifestations and expressions relate every person with the community they belong to, inspiring a sense of shared experience, a feeling of common identity. Even the fact that one of the most commonly quoted reasons for protection of heritage in general is the preservation of cultural identity shows the importance of this aspect of heritage. Considering other rationales for heritage preservation, including the discovery of someone’s values and social practices, the enhancement of tourism, social inclusion, education, the immanent link with the identity prevails over all. For this reason, heritage is understood as a vehicle for promoting identity. In that sense, proper interpretation of intangible heritage is of utmost importance.

Nada Andonovska has worked at the Museum of Macedonia since 1987, at first as a guide and since 1992 as Public Relations Officer. In 1997 she organised the Interactive Museum Education Seminar in Skopje. Since 2000 she has been the National Coordinator of the EHD for the Republic of Macedonia. In 2012 she co-ran the workshop “Heritage Strengthening Communities” within the 5th European Heritage Forum in Nicosia, Cyprus.
Contested space: Dissonant identity

Marie Avellino Stewart, Noel Buttigieg, George Cassar and Dane Munro (Malta)

Malta’s geographical position places it at the crossroads of the Mediterranean region. While not forming part of mainland Europe, Africa or Asia, it has, however, been a recipient of migrants for over 7,000 years. This reality has shaped its culture and formed its identity, a process that continues to this day. After gaining political independence in 1964, the Maltese islands had to deal with a post-colonial identity crisis, which was later compounded by a national debate on whether or not to join the EU. In 2004 Malta became a member of the European Union, yet, to some extent, the debate continues. Over the last decades other debates have arisen, prompted by the numerous migrants from all over Europe as well as refugees from further afield. The paper aims to discuss interpretation in a multi-cultural and dynamic environment where identity is both shared and dissonant. The contested space known as Strait Street, a former ‘red-light’ zone in the capital city, will be used as a case study.

Dr Marie Avellino Stewart is the Director of the Institute for Tourism, Travel and Culture, at the University of Malta. Prior to entering academia a decade ago, she had amassed over 30 years of tourism, training and management experience. She is an anthropologist with a special interest in tourism, memory, identity and the circuit of culture, together with cross-cultural management experience.

Comm. Prof. George Cassar is Associate Professor at the Institute for Tourism, Travel and Culture, University of Malta. He is author / editor of numerous publications in the areas of History, Education, Social Studies, Sociology, Tourism, Heritage and Culture, and is editor-in-chief of the journals Sacra Militia, Arkivju, and The Educator. Prof. Cassar has extensive experience in the management of EU projects. He holds the awards ‘Ġieħ il-Mosta’ (Mosta Local Council), ‘Grazzi Badge’ (The Scouts Association of Malta), and ‘Commendatore pro Merito Melitensi’ (Sovereign Military Order of Malta). Recent books include: What they ate: food and foodways in Mdina and beyond – From Roman times to the Middle Ages and Lent and the Holy Week in Mosta.

Dr Noel Buttigieg is a lecturer at the Institute for Tourism, Travel and Culture, University of Malta. He has published several articles about food culture, heritage interpretation and co-authored the books L-Istorja tal-Kultura tal-Ikel f’Malta (2004) and Tisjir mill-Qalb (2016). Recently, he has been focusing on the culture of bread, especially in areas related to power, body and identity. He is currently engaged in developing a narrative for the kitchen complex of the former Inquisitors’ Palace for Heritage Malta. Dr Buttigieg is the Hon. Secretary of the Malta Historical Society, a member of the Sacra Militia Council, and Convivium Leader of Slow Food Malta.

Dr Dane Munro is a Neo-Latinist, historian and cultural interpreter. He is an independent researcher and lectures at the Institute for Tourism, Travel and Culture, University of Malta. He has recently concluded research on past and present faith-based travel to Malta, including the origins of pilgrimage and theorising of religions past. Dr Munro is the author of Memento Mori, a companion to the most beautiful floor in the world (2005).

Is there a Danube-identity? - The Danube’s heritage as part of the identity of riverside communities

Dániel Balizs, Bálint Kádár (Hungary)

The DANUrB project team undertook on-site research in three different regions to discover how locals and tourists use their Danube-related heritage. In the Wachau Region, a rich heritage leads to bottom-up cooperation and real caring about local identity. In the Danube Bent, the cultural heritage is similar historically, but many of the old buildings and uses seem abandoned.
People lack an identity tied to the Danube. The municipalities do not cooperate, there is a constant feeling that tourism is about a staged authenticity with no living traditions. The Iron Gate area has layers of natural and cultural heritage, but the separate communities cannot take advantage of their heritage; therefore, not much connection to their historic identity can be traced. The conclusion is that there is an opportunity to learn from more developed regions to use better the heritage for building identity but every stretch of the Danube is different and the stories should first of all be interpreted in a local-regional context. This research is co-funded by European Union funds (ERDF and IPA).

Dániel Balizs PhD works as Research Fellow in the Department for Urban Planning and Design at the Budapest University of Technology and Economics (BME). Besides lecturing and the professional research work he is participating in the DANUrB project, he is responsible for creating and managing the research platform of this major EU-funded INTERREG project. Previously, Mr. Balizs worked as a junior research fellow in Geographical Institute at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. He holds a PhD in Ethnic Geography from the University of Szeged.

Bálint Kádár PhD, architect, urban scholar, he got an MSc in Architecture degree in 2003 with diploma price and a PhD degree in 2015 at Budapest University of Technology and Economics. He is teaching and doing research at the department of Urban Planning and Design at BME, where he defended his PhD dissertation entitled: Pedestrian space usage of tourist-historic cities – comparing the tourist space systems of Vienna and Prague to Budapest”. He is activist in architectural NGOs since 2000, organising conferences, workshops and social events. He also runs his architecture studio, involved in works from building design to tourism development concepts, participating in exhibitions and competitions.

Geo-identity of the cross-border Karavanke UNESCO Global Geopark

Mojca Bedjanič, Lenka Stermecki, Gerald Hartmann and Darja Komar (Slovenia)

Since 2013, the area of five Slovenian and nine Austrian municipalities has been working under the European and Global Geoparks Network, and since 2015 under the title of UNESCO Geopark. The foundation of the cross-border Geopark is its outstanding geological history and structure, which is followed by common mining, cultural identity and language. The building of the common identity and cooperation has been stopped for quite a long time, when the border between these two countries was set. With the removal of the internal borders in the EU, the cooperation between Austria and Slovenia started again and needed a new push. This push was found in the cross-border Geopark. The new basis for stronger bilateral cooperation and identity is the area’s geo-heritage. In this connection a wide range of common activities are being carried out: interpretation of natural and cultural heritage, educational activities, geo-tourism, sport and cultural events, as well as endeavours for joint management.

Mojca Bedjanič has experience in interpretation of geological and other natural heritage, interpretation points, info centres, educational trails, animation plans, touch screens, children’s books, leaflets, school programmes, project ideas, carrying out interpretative workshops, workshops for educators, for touristic guides. She has studied via: nature interpretation conferences, workshops, interpretative guide course

Lenka Stermecki has experience in interpretation of natural heritage, interpretation points, centres, trails, plans, children’s books, handbooks, leaflets, school programmes, project ideas, carrying out interpretative workshops for different profiles. She has studied via: nature interpretation conferences, workshops, Interpretative Agent and guide course
Gerald Hartmann has experience in: Organisation of guided hikes, lectures and workshops for children, author and co-author of several professional and popular articles, children books, leaflets, brochures, new project ideas, project management, animations like geo-games, educational trails, infocenter, info points …
He has studied via: workshops

Darja Komar has experience in: Lectures, workshops for children, author and co-author of several professional and popular articles, leaflets, brochures, guiding in infocentres …
She has studied via: workshops

The search for ancestors: Genealogy, identity and cultural heritage in the Netherlands

John Boeren (Netherlands)

Genealogy is growing in popularity. For most people it is a nice way to get in touch with their family history. Some of them are only looking for facts and figures: Who was the father of my great-great-grandfather? Did one of my forefathers spend time in prison or was my family member a war hero? Others use family history to explore places and countries: Where did my grandfather grow up? Can I still find our ancestral homestead? In what church did my great-grandmother get married and does her grave still exist? Once these people get on the road, they become genealogy tourists.

The growing group of roots tourists has a great interest in cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible. Roots tourists visit parks and houses, museums and churches. They see traditional costumes, listen to folk music and eat homemade dishes. Genealogy has introduced them to a specific part of cultural heritage, a part that is connected with their own identity and is, therefore, extra meaningful.

John Boeren is a genealogist, researcher and writer from Tilburg, the Netherlands. In 2015 he started his own genealogy business, called 'Antecedentia'. He carries out genealogical research, organises heritage trips, helps with DNA tests and advises anybody with an interest in family history. He has a strong interest in the relationship between genealogy, cultural heritage and identity.

Creating interpretive apps enhances students' regional identity

Anna Chatel (Germany)

We all have them and they are omnipresent in our everyday lives: smartphones and a wide range of apps. Apart from communication and information, these powerful devices provide enormous resources for learning about our local environment. Integrating GPS tools, they even link interpretation with spatial patterns and allow us to understand relations and locations in the context of spaces and places. Based on best practice examples developed at Freiburg University of Education, we have initiated some empirical research projects to learn about how effective the implementation of smartphone apps is in the teaching and learning process and how it can contribute to the regional identity. Students and pupils have developed innovative outdoor interpretation apps for the general public. Evaluations showed us clearly that exploring und interpreting your environment and communicating the findings to other target groups can contribute to a stronger regional identity.

Anna Chatel holds a PhD in Biogeography. She had two scholarships for her thesis 'Heritage Interpretation for nature tourism in the Black Forest' and won the Instructional Development
Award (€ 70,000) an innovative teaching prize for her course 'Heritage interpretation mobil'. She is a lecturer for Heritage Interpretation at the University of Education and the University Freiburg.

Musical heritage and cultural identity: A perspective from art worlds theory on cultural production

Sijin Chen (Germany)

This research studies the relationship between musical heritage, cultural identity and social network in modern China. It focuses on how the interactionist network functions in the making of musical heritage and, accordingly, cultural identity formation of ethnic minority in socialist China. In this qualitative research, the empirical data is from the case of Uyghur muqam music in Xinjiang of China. A social constructionist theory of “art worlds”, posited by sociologist Howard Becker (1982), is used to analyse the mechanisms of the cultural production. He argues that all artistic work is a collective effort with sub-organisations’ actions to achieve the final goal. A collective effort enables the once “endangered” muqam music to attain growing attention from the state and among the overall society. This research attempts to address the social function of musical heritage and its usage and interpretation in China.

As a PhD candidate of the Heritage Studies programme at Brandenburg University of Technology, Sijin Chen has been studying in the field of intangible cultural heritage, with a focus on musical heritage. Her research concerns the ways of understanding, using and interpreting musical heritage and its interrelationship with cultural identity formation.

The role of collective memory in reconfiguring identity

Annamária Csiszér, Csilla Szabó (Hungary), Florin Nechita, Cătălina-Ionela Rezeanu (Romania)

For almost half a century, the Iron Curtain symbolically divided Europe into two different ideological spaces, separating the totalitarian East from the democratic West. Cross-cultural studies still evidence value differences between Eastern and Western Europe measured at national level. There is still no definite answer about how to understand the social construction of these differences, to reconnect the two ways of configuring reality which would be crucial to understand who we are and where we belong. The aim of this paper is to illustrate how an international interdisciplinary educational project (“I was a citizen of a Stalin town”) can deepen the understanding of the influence of the Stalinist ideology on collective identity in five post-socialist cities. Our findings have implications for EU identity and cultural citizenship of the Central and Eastern European cities and citizens.

Annamaria Csiszer (University of Dunaújváros) - She was the scientific leader of the "I was citizen of Stalin town" joint EU project. Being an associate professor and researcher in the field of social, national, personal identity and their effect on social trust she is also author of several articles on European identity, intercultural studies and interpretive social sciences.

Florin Nechita (Transilvania University of Brasov) - Organizer of two international academic summer schools in 2014 and 2016 with Heritage Interpretation as one of the themes. The results were presented in two project books. Co-author of "Interpretation and promotion of the museums heritage" book. Member of 'Virtual reality - innovative solution for heritage promotion and conservation' and 'I was citizen of Stalin town' projects.

Csilla Szabó (University of Dunaújváros) - Associate professor and head of Teacher Training Center at the University of Dunaújváros. Co-leader of the "I was citizen of Stalin town" project.
She is project manager of several running university projects and researcher in the field of ageing society, intercultural management.

Cătălina-Ionela Rezeanu (Transilvania University of Brasov, Romania) has a PhD in Sociology, studying the social construction of living space from metropolitan areas. Her research interests are: urban development, sociology of space, cultural studies, post-socialist cities, quality of life, housing, material culture, domestic imaginaries, territoriality, virtual space, and augmented space.

**Stezky/Pathways: Mapping the cultural landscape of Czech-American settlements in Iowa, USA**

Sonya Darrow (Czech Republic).

My art practice is guided by being a product of two cultures: Czech-American & its ‘sense of place’ in Cedar Rapids, Iowa – the largest Czech settlement in the US. There were markers, which lead my cultural investigations from the personal to communal. I used my folk identity “(319)Czech” to engage heritage communities for Stezky/Pathways; a socially engaged project mapping the cultural landscape of Czech settlements through objects, sounds and folklore. The project investigates the current state of cognitive/material layers that define the cultural landscape through patterns of expression to explain the complex roles of the individual, community, and ‘sense of place’ along with the parallels that occur between homelands (Protivín/Protivín) & their cultural identities - from the limbo state of ‘being’ to the vestige of an era. The outputs of the project provided a foundation for new interpretations while re-establishing the connection between Iowa & the Czech Republic.

Sonya Darrow is a cultural practitioner/heirloom caretaker; engaging the fields of art & auto-ethnography. Her art practice has impacted spaces from landfills to the National Czech & Slovak Museum (USA) along with engaging rural areas of the Czech Republic. It is her lifelong journey to preserve Czech heritage between the two homelands. She is a student of cultural sociology at Masaryk University.

**Understanding heritage from the perspective of nature-culture linkages: Casestudy of Majuli River Island**

Sanjukta Das (India)

The presentation will begin with the focus on looking at heritage sites from the perspective of nature-culture linkages by taking the case of Majuli River Island. Firstly, giving an overview of India’s diverse cultural heritage linked with its natural landscapes, it will then concentrate on the cultural landscape site of Majuli Island. It will try to look at the present approaches for understanding the site, which is mostly focused on one dominant heritage factor and finally come up with various possible approaches to encourage people to reflect upon its heritage through a different lens. Finally, the presentation will conclude with an interactive discussion with various other presenters and come up with fruitful solutions for looking at our heritage and identity.

Sanjukta Das has a Master’s in Architecture (Urban Conservation) from K.R.V.I.A, Mumbai, India. She completed her Master’s thesis on the Cultural Landscape site of Majuli River Island, which was also selected for COA National Awards for Excellence in Post Graduate Thesis, 2017. She is currently working as Assistant Professor in Dr.DY Patil School of Architecture, Pune, India.
Museoeurope: The concept of no border museum - the path to common EU identity

Oskar Habjanič (Slovenia)

In 2012, when Maribor was the European Capital of Culture, Regional Museum Maribor began the project MUSEOEUROPE. The project is based on a number of European directives that promote migration, dialogue and the popularisation of cultural heritage among a wider public. The main goal of the project is the mobility of various museum objects which originate from different cultural and historical backgrounds, but sticking to a common basic idea or concept of common heritage. The project relates to individual collections of the Regional Museum Maribor or annual temporary exhibitions. As of 2017, Regional Museum Maribor has cooperated with some highly regarded museums, such as Universalmuseum Joanneum, The Pontifical Swiss Guard, The Bavarian National Museum, The Liszt Ferenz Memorial Museum and Research Centre from Budapest, The Regional Museum Burgenland, The Alimentarium from Switzerland and many others.

Oskar Habjanič has an MA in Philosophy and BA in History, and is currently the Senior Curator for photographs, postcards, numismatics and flags in Regional Museum Maribor. He is also the author of several exhibitions, including: The Puff’s Century, The Treasures of the Holy Trinity (co-author), Franz Liszt, on the small European tour (co-author), and The Golden Fifties.

Fertő-Neusiedler See, a heritage site that combines diverse identities and heritage interpretations

Melinda Harlov-Csorţán (Hungary)

The Fertő-Neusiedler See region of Hungary was successfully nominated to become a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2001. It incorporates a single natural park straddling the border, a European Heritage Site since 2015 and numerous archaeological sites, religious, noble and vernacular monuments. The territory has been a multinational region giving home not just to Austrians and Hungarians but also to Croatians, as well as to Jewish and Roma communities. The territory has lived through a very vivid history in the last century turning from a central area to a border region. Reminiscences about this complex past generate different responses and heritage interpretations by diverse segments of society. The presentation introduces the territory through the existing heritage interpretations and identities between 1989, when open cooperation could start between the Austrian and Hungarian part of the area and 2015 when the European Heritage label was nominated for the Pan European Picnic Memorial site.

Melinda Harlov-Csorţán studied (among many other subjects) communications, nationalism and cultural heritage management in both Hungarian and English-speaking educational institutions. She is writing her PhD dissertation on how international norms (of UNESCO World Heritage Committee) and national requirements can be adopted to local and regional circumstances.

Multiple identities – A chance or a threat? The rebirth of Bánffy castle, Bontida, Transylvania

Csilla Hegedűs (Romania)

The issue of multiple identities is common in central and south-eastern Europe, and it will be presented through a case study, involving the Transylvanian Versailles, the Bánffy castle, from Bontida, Romania. The castle belongs to the Bánffy family, is situated in a multi-ethnic village in Transylvania, where Romanian, Hungarian and Roma live together. Whose heritage is it? Who is responsible for it? And who will benefit from it?
The castle, due to the lack of care and interest, was merely a ruin at the end of the 1990s. Today, it is managed by the Transylvania Trust, being an open laboratory for all from all over Europe, where students are learning how to restore historic buildings, artists are re-designing the 500-year-old spaces, and over 100,000 young people are becoming addicted to heritage through the “Electric castle” festival each year. Indeed, it is a fine European example of how multiple layers of identity can coexist and become a creative energy.

Csilla Hegedűs has been involved in the management of the built environment for over 20 years, working in the non-governmental sector, in central government as well as with different European institutions. She is an associate lecturer for heritage management at the Babes-Bolyai University of Cluj/Kolozsvar/Klausenburg.

Iron Curtain – That which separated us, today connects us

Tibor Koczka (Hungary)

Szombathely is applying for the title, European Capital of Culture 2023. The title of our bid is: '(Iron) Curtain call: Szombathely!' And, although the document is supposed to be an application, it has become our long-term strategy. We are convinced that culture is one of the breakthroughs for Szombathely and its region. When the Iron Curtain fell in 1990, everybody here, along the Hungarian-Austrian border, expected to abolish the huge social, economic and cultural differences in a very short period of time. After 27 years, we see that the biggest gap resulting from developmental differences in the European Union can be found between the eastern part of Austria and the western part of Hungary. The sad, sobering up, after the feeling of euphoria when the Iron Curtain fell, and the Transition into Democracy which brought inaction. Therefore, in our bid we were trying to find the answer the question of how culture can contribute to boost the economy and the development of the city.

Tibor Koczka was a journalist from 1984-2014 and then became the Deputy Mayor of the County-Rank, City of Szombathely, in charge of culture, education, sport, health care and tourism. He is the manager of the working team in charge of the application for Szombathely as the European Capital of Culture 2023.

New methods for heritage identity in the Museum of Natural History (Ukraine)

Olesksii Kovalenko, Tetiana Karpiuk (Ukraine)

It is hard to imagine modern interesting museums’ programmes without the use of theoretical and practical principles of the interpretation of nature and cultural heritage. The National Museum of Natural Sciences of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (NNPM) is the first institution in Ukraine which tried to implement the methodology of interpretation in its programmes. One of the challenges it faced was to help people to identify the meaning of all collections in the museum. This problem has been solved with the widespread application of quest technology.

One of the successes of the Natural History Museum is the widespread attraction of quest technology. The development of intellectual-search tasks in the walls of the museum allows the participant to successfully achieve the main tasks of the interpreter. When each quest is implemented, the key principles of interpretation are used - theme, organisation, relevancy and entertainment.

Olesksii Kovalenko began studying interpretation in 2016 and has been a Certified Interpretive Guide (NAI, USA) since October 2016 and a member of Interpret Europe since autumn 2017. He is the author of the most visited interpretive programmes and interpretive quests in the National Museum of Natural History in Kyiv (Ukraine).
Tetiana participated in Interpret Europe’s Interpretive Guides course in Brno (Czech Republic) in 2016 and received her certificate last winter. She has also completed several interpretive programmes in Kyiv. She is also assisting Interpret Europe’s Country Coordinator for Ukraine in the promotion of heritage interpretation in Ukraine.

**World Heritage European Beech Forests as a mirror of and metaphor for a European identity**

Anna Kovarovics (Austria)

European identity is an elusive concept. Society has not yet fully overcome the mental barriers established by the former Iron Curtain. At present, the European self-conception is additionally challenged by migration, demographic change and a globalisation of institutions, culture and economy. It is widely accepted that historical and cultural heritage are an important basis for creating identity. The authors discuss the relevance of the natural heritage in the European context using the example of the serial World Heritage Site, “European Beech Forests”, a recently established network of 78 old-growth and primeval beech forests throughout the continent. These beech forests offer outstanding opportunities for incorporating European identification into nature interpretation, such as reflecting social and cultural traditions of livelihoods across Europe. The World Heritage Site aims to effectively use these possibilities and thus contribute to strengthening a European identity.

*Anna Kovarovics is landscape planner, specialized in nature education and leader of the team communication at E.C.O. Institute of Ecology in Klagenfurt, Carinthia.*

**Individual and collective identities in interpretation**

Patrick Lehnes (Germany)

“Man seeks to find his place in nature and among men”. That’s, according to Freeman Tilden, the ultimate reason for people’s interest in heritage and its interpretation. It touches questions such as: Where do I come from? Who am I?

The HIMIS project explored possible answers. People may define their identity – have it defined by others – through belonging or not belonging to a community, a socio-cultural or religious group, a region, a nation or Europe. But people can also gain their identity from their individual achievements and failures, their personal development and emancipation.

Interpreters need to be aware of how they frame a heritage site and historic characters. Through reinforcing simplified collective identities they might, inadvertently, foster stereotypes and divisiveness. On the other hand, careful interpretation can also highlight what makes a particular event or person special, demonstrating the human potential to develop beyond their socio-cultural conditioning.

*At Freiburg University Patrick Lehnes researches the philosophical foundations of heritage interpretation and how to apply them in interpretation practice. He also works as a freelance interpretive planner and author (www.lehnes.info). Patrick initiated the founding of Interpret Europe and served as its Executive Director from 2010 to 2015.*
It’s not just about the greenery! How nature affects our identity

Thorsten Ludwig (Germany), Carol Ritchie (UK), Valya Stergioti (Greece)

As part of celebrating the European Year of Cultural Heritage, EUROPARC Federation and Interpret Europe launched a series of three workshops to highlight the role of natural heritage in shaping people’s identity. Each workshop will be based on the conclusions of the previous, and a summary of the results will be presented to the European Commission by the end of the year. The workshop in Kőszeg will be the second of the series, following an earlier seminar organised by EUROPARC.

By discussing how interpretation could and should include aspects of both cultural and natural heritage, the workshop addresses the question of how encounters with natural heritage can shape the identity of people. It collects different perspectives about this from different European communities and finally concludes where this might influence interpretive attitudes in European protected areas.

Thorsten Ludwig has been Managing Director of Interpret Europe since 2015. He founded Bildungswerk interpretation, the first German company for heritage interpretation training and planning, in 1993.

Carol Ritchie is Executive Director of EUROPARC Federation. Born in the UK, she worked for almost 30 years as a teacher, ranger and park manager and today leads Europe’s protected area network.

Valya Stergioti is a freelance interpretive trainer and planner. Since 2016 she has been the Training Coordinator of Interpret Europe. She founded Alli Meria to promote heritage interpretation in Greece.

Interpreting Gloucester Cathedral - Bridging the gap between the religious and secular

David Masters (UK)

How does a cathedral respond to the challenge of interpreting its story to a wide audience of religious and secular visitors?

As a place of worship, a source of local pride and a site of rich history, Gloucester Cathedral means different things to different people. Built in 1089, it is exceptionally beautiful, a royal tomb, a coronation site, and Hogwarts in the Harry Potter films. It also receives 300,000 visitors a year.

This presentation will discuss how the cathedral’s interpretation responded to a complex brief. It will consider the role of the cathedral interpretation plan in developing authentic themes that connect the cathedral’s heritage with our common humanity, and in enabling visitors to explore different narratives and perspectives.

It will explore how audiences were involved in formative research from different religious and socio-economic backgrounds. It will also review design solutions including sculpture, signage, tours, digital media, immersive films and interactive exhibits.

David Masters is a senior interpretation practitioner with wide experience in the UK and internationally. He is a Fellow of the Association for Heritage Interpretation (AHI). He is also a Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) Mentor, and was principal author of the HLF’s guidelines on interpretation. David has presented at numerous events, and edited the Interpret Scotland journal and the AHI’s Interpretation Journal.
What has happened with our pre-war Europe? The question of restitution of cultural heritage

Anna Mazur (Poland)

This presentation focuses on the identity of pre-World War II Europe in combination with Europe from the 21st century. Before World War II, Europe was a place of many different cultures and their integration was inspirational. During World War II, Europe witnessed many terrible things. One of these was the plunder of goods. This presentation focuses on the example of Poland to show how the pre-war multicultural society creates problems today with the restitution of cultural heritage because many of those who now ask for the return of their materials were forced from their land. There is a lot of controversy about restitution - often it can be heard that what has stayed in our country, should stay here forever, rather than being returned to the original people of the land who now live elsewhere. This presentation presents the results of a survey about restitution, made with young people in Poland in three societies - the small pre-war shtetl, the small town and Cracow. The conclusions show what people think about the prior generations and in turn how that influences their idea of European identity.

Anna Mazur is studying for a PhD in Law at Jagiellonian University. In 2017, she received the Diamond Grant, which is a programme run by the Ministry of Science to foster the careers of young scientists. She started her research on restitution two years ago. She believes this is a very important question, to assist in remembering the Holocaust and horrors of war, and to not allow young people to forget.

When interpretation panels do not work

Michal Medek (Czech Republic)

Three years ago, we wanted to find out if visitors learn more from interpretation panels developed according to good practice in heritage interpretation. This part of the research collapsed as we found that, out of the hundreds who stopped at the panels, almost no-one was really reading them. The paper summarises three studies conducted from 2014 onwards on interpretation panels along different educational trails. It discusses research methods in this field, factors influencing attraction power of a panel and challenges the classical methods of measuring the holding power of an interpretation panel.

Michal Medek teaches Heritage Interpretation at the Masaryk University in Brno and he is pioneering the field in the Czech Republic. He is a director of the Czech Institute for Heritage Interpretation. Michal holds a Postgraduate Certificate in Interpretation: Management and Practice from the University of the Highlands and Islands, UK (2013).

Cultural heritage in the function of creating identity of a local community

Gordana Milanović (Serbia)

A special focus in this presentation is to examine the relationship between heritage and the process of building and preserving the identity of the local community, in a case study of the village Golubinci, which is located in Vojvodina province. Through the presentation, a few questions will be raised, such as: Can cultural heritage be the driving force for the creation of an integral identity of the local community? Can cultural heritage constitute an incentive for intercultural dialogue in a multicultural environment? Regardless of particular ethnic specificities, can different nationalities link together into the one local identity? In order to find answers, the presentation analyses tangible and intangible local heritage, and community relationships with
cultural memory. The possibility of a community museum as a model for managing local heritage, for creating comprehensive heritage interpretations and preserving local cultural identity will be discussed.

Gordana Milanović works in the field of heritage interpretation through participatory projects focused on local heritage and its relation with the community, trying to find different angles and perspectives. Using digital technologies, she tries to discover interactive ways for heritage interpretation in order to increase its attractiveness and the accessibility of cultural content to the broader public.

The Sounding City concept - The Kőszeg example

Zoltán Mizsei (Hungary)

Sounding City is the concept and cultural programme which develops and gives new musical forms and activities to the citizens and visitors of Kőszeg. Knowing local heritage makes a stronger identity. Stronger identity gives more courage and creativity. Since Kőszeg has always held a special geopolitical role due its location on the Austro-Hungarian border, it is fundamental today as well to use this force to gain a more powerful cultural and touristic life here. The ongoing research and cultural programme brings new reflection on the heritage sites of Kőszeg from the "Sound Point of View" or better "Point of Hearing". Site specific Music Festival involving local and international artists, and other media. Soundwalks, sound hunting projects, use and developed interactive sound apps based on local maps, historical and unconventional public spaces are the parts of the project held in the Music Lab (Collegium Sonorum) at the Institute of Advanced Studies Kőszeg (iASK). The presenter will also lead a sound walk.

Zoltan Mizsei is a fellow researcher at iASK, the leader of the Music Lab (Collegium Sonorum). Besides this he is a docent professor at the Liszt Academy of Music, Budapest, where he teaches mainly renaissance studies. At iASK he is developing his own concept, “Sounding City” where musical heritage and new site specific musical activities are to be combined for future development.

Valorising intangible cultural heritage through community-based tourism in Lăpuș Land, Transylvania

Florin Nechita, Adina Nicoleta Candrea (Romania), Annamária Csiszér (Hungary), Hiromasa Tanaka (Japan)

Community-based tourism has been promoted as a means of development whereby the social, environmental and economic needs of local communities are met through the offering of a tourism product. Local culture may be a community’s most valuable asset for tourism if planned and managed properly. Its intangible cultural heritage may provide a community with a competitive advantage and uniqueness, one that differentiates it from all other communities. However, with increasing commodification of tourism, many smaller rural communities face several challenges in developing community-based tourism. The present paper explores the concept of community-based tourism, as a basis for the valorization of intangible cultural heritage, with a special focus on a regional tourist destination in Romania. Aiming to identify tourists’ experience, research was conducted among Japanese visitors who discovered the intangible cultural heritage of the studied area during an academic summer camp.

Florin Nechita (Transylvania University of Brasov, Romania) was the organiser of two international academic summer schools in 2014 and 2016 with Heritage Interpretation as one of the themes. The results were presented in two project books. Co-author of 'Interpretation and promotion of the
museums heritage’ book. Member of ‘Virtual reality - innovative solution for heritage promotion and conservation’ and ‘I was citizen of Stalin town’ projects.

Adina Nicoleta Candrea (Transilvania University of Brasov, Romania) is currently an associated professor at the Faculty of Economics Science and Business Administration in Transilvania University of Brasov. Her research interests are oriented towards: Sustainable Development, Tourism Marketing, Cultural Heritage Interpretation and Destination Management.

Annamária Csiszér (University of Dunaújváros, Hungary) was the scientific leader of the “I was citizen of a Stalin town” joint EU project. She is a researcher in the field of social, national and personal identity and their effect on social trust. She is also the author of articles on European identity, intercultural studies and interpretive social sciences.

Hiro Tanaka (Meisei University Tokyo, Japan) is a professor at Meisei University Japan. He organized and participated in three destination marketing projects where multicultural participants met and worked together.

When history meets philosophy: An interpretation toolbox

Jenny Anghelikie Papasotiriou (Greece)

What is a fact, what is a border and should you know what you want before you get it? Heritage triggers questions and generates meaning. In this workshop, we will share tools from analytical philosophy, philosophy of mind, political philosophy and theory of knowledge to develop ways for making, claiming and activating history. We will work on our feet within the allocated space and beyond to activate each other’s responses to a number of questions, before sharing our ‘finds’, i.e. the rules, tools, enquiries and interventions that we will have made.

During this simple game, we could find ourselves moving along and beyond Aristotle’s categories, Spinoza’s views on democracy, Wittgenstein’s notion of game, Mary Douglas’s cultural theory of risk and the Sex Pistols’ attack on the collective ‘dream of a shopping scheme’.

Having worked as an educator for museums, galleries and heritage sites, my practice has incorporated contemporary art methodologies, philosophical enquiry and approaches that combine the museum and the street. Through my collaboration with artists, historians, youth workers and teachers, I create ways for audiences to interrogate historic sites and concepts.

Jenny Anghelikie Papasotiriou (education curator) has worked as an educator for museums, galleries and heritage sites, her practice has incorporated contemporary art methodologies, philosophical enquiry and approaches that combine the museum and the street. Through collaboration with artists, historians, youth workers and teachers, she creates ways for audiences to interrogate historic sites and concepts.

Interpreting castles of the victors in the land of the defeated

David Penberthy (UK)

Cadw (which means ‘keep’ or ‘protect’ in Welsh) is the Welsh Government’s historic environment service. It cares for 129 historic properties in Wales. Many of these are castles built by invading English kings and their lords following the Norman conquest in 1066. Today these ‘Welsh’ castles are some of the most iconic historic monuments in the UK, but how do you talk about a heritage of English castles in Wales? Two recent projects show how interpretation can successfully
entwine Welsh culture and legend into one castle and a second example shows how just four words can cause a project to be abandoned.

David Penberthy is Head of interpretation for Cadw, the Welsh Government’s historic environment service. With over 25 years’ experience working in interpretation, he has delivered interpretation at both natural and historic sites, including five World Heritage Sites, and for reclamation schemes in the former coalfields of industrial south Wales.

Architectural heritage interpretation in the Vilnius Region (1919-1939): Local or collective identities

Edita Povilaitytė-Leliugienė (Lithuania)

The Vilnius region (currently a bigger part of which belongs to Lithuania), was ascribable as a periphery during the annexation by Poland from 1919 to 1939. However, there was quite a strong discourse about local and collective heritage interpretation. The heritage research and management of this period is generally attributed to Polish researchers – even they were fascinated by Vilnius’ architectural and cultural identity as well as identifying themselves with it. While there has been considerable research on major problems of Polish laws for heritage protection, the analysis of the identity of interwar Lithuania’s heritage has so far been neglected. In the presentation I will argue that the consideration of the internal heritage management processes relates the heritage interpretation of the interwar Vilnius region to collective and indivisible Lithuanian heritage identity. This would lead to more complex comprehension of the historic values nowadays.

Edita Povilaitytė-Leliugienė is a scientific researcher at the Institute of Art Research as well as a PhD student at Vilnius Academy of Arts. Her research areas include architectural heritage interpretation from historical, critical methodological analysis and multidisciplinary perspectives. She examines conservation and restoration processes combined with different scientific data.

Novi dvori, Zaprešić
Local heritage, European context: Pledge for sustainable heritage management

Dragana Lucija Ratkovic Aydemir, Mirna Drazenovic, Ivana Jagic, Iva Klaric (Croatia)

Zaprešić is a small Croatian city situated 18km west of the capital, Zagreb. One of its priority goals is the revitalisation of the unique historical feudal estate called Novi Dvori for which we developed the master interpretive plan in 2017. The estate belonged to Josip Jelačić who was the Ban (ruler) of Croatia between 1848 and 1859. This was the European age of revolutions, fights for civil rights and national identities and the beginning of the society as we know it today in most of the Europe. At that time, Croatia was under the reign of the Habsburg (Austro-Hungarian) Monarchy. Ban Jelačić was a member of the House of Jelačić and a noted army general, remembered for his military campaigns during the Revolutions of 1848 and for his abolition of serfdom in Croatia. We will be sharing our experiences in developing the master interpretive plan for Novi dvori, the main platform for interpreting and preserving the memory of the Ban’s life and work at the estate within the Austro-Hungarian and European context.

Dragana Lucija Ratkovic Aydemir is the director in Muses Ltd, a Croatian company for heritage interpretation and management, and IE’s Country Coordinator for Croatia. Co-presenters: Mirna Drazenovic, Ivana Jagic and Iva Klaric, museologists who work in Muses Ltd on heritage interpretation projects.
All our stories: Heritage by everyone, heritage for everyone

Annie Reilly, Denise Foster (UK)

Heritage Open Days (HODs) is England’s largest festival of history and culture. Begun as a celebration of buildings, it has evolved into an inclusive and dynamic festival of people sharing their stories, their cultures, their places. Built on local curation and community creation, we do not define ‘heritage’; instead, we allow towns, cities and villages to celebrate and commemorate what makes their place unique. Actively engaging with marginalised and under-represented histories, we empower organisations and individuals across the country to share what matters in their community. HODs is a movement, working to create an equality of histories, greater tolerance and social cohesion.

Coordinated centrally by the National Trust, HODs is a powerful catalyst for civic engagement and a key tool for improving the places where people live. This session will explore why and how we’re becoming more relevant and powerful festival and the rewards of allowing everyone to share the story of their place.

Annie Reilly oversees national delivery of the HODs festival, setting the strategic direction for the annual cycle. Annie was Producer at Nuffield Theatre where she led an ambitious series of productions. Since joining HODs in 2017, the organisation has begun a programme of change to increase its relevance and inclusivity and she led its first foray into commissioning artists, Unsung Stories.

Denise Foster is National Visitor Experience Manager, National Trust (NT). From transforming the volunteer house-guide role to re-imagining how Christmas and natural play can be integrated at properties, this role is key to everything the National Trust does to ensure people enjoy their visits to NT places.

Meaning of 'likes' for nature conservation – Who are the supporters and how to involve them

Tomas Ruzicka (Czech Republic)

This workshop will discuss characteristics of various social groups that support nature conservation: who are these people, what is their experience with natural heritage, what are their values, why they prefer natural heritage over cultural one, etc. Some characteristics of nature conservation fans from the Czech Republic will be presented: who is following our FB page, who visits the web pages, who serves as a volunteer ranger, who joins our teamwork events etc. We will discuss how these people perceive nature as heritage. In the second part, involvement of public in nature conservation issues (theoretical and practical) will be discussed and some good practice examples will be presented. Together we will formulate recommendations on how to get other supporters of natural heritage and how to involve more public in nature conservation activities.

Tomas Ruzicka is director of the Department of External Relations at the Nature Conservation Agency of the Czech Republic, Lecturer in heritage interpretation, IEI Certified Interpretive Guide. National coordinator of the ranger service in the Czech Republic, expert on PR in protected landscape area management plans in the Czech Republic, IEI Certified Interpretive Guide, private interpreter in the ranger service.
From early modern Italian academies to European literary society

Lorenzo Sacchini (Italy)

My paper aims to demonstrate how 16th century Italian academies are able to provide a useful pattern for today’s Europe as regards the development of different and harmonious identities. Early modern Italian academies were the first European societies to serve as a forum for learned and scientific debate, showcasing an outstanding variety of areas of interests and subjects of investigation. They provided the archetype for learned institutions as well as social gatherings of a more informal nature (e.g. the French salons or British clubs) established across Europe in later years. In my paper, I will concentrate on the case study of the Accademia degli Insensati of Perugia (1561-1608), showing how literary and humanist values exerted a great influence in the shaping of the revitalised and ethical identities of its members. While a local institution by definition, this academy was able to create intimate links with the then contemporary international literary society.

Lorenzo Sacchini obtained his PhD in Italian Studies from Durham University (UK) in 2013. Afterwards, he taught Italian at the University of Mary Washington in Virginia (US) for two years. In October 2017, he was awarded a post-doctoral fellowship for the project ‘Petrarch Commentary and Exegesis in Renaissance Italy (c. 1350-c.1650)’. Lorenzo Sacchini’s research is focused on the assimilation and dissemination of early modern Italian literature. He focused in particular on the Renaissance period and on the development of different literary genres, such as lyrical poetry, academic lecture, letter writing, and so on. His first monograph Identità, lettere e virtù. Le lezioni accademiche degli Insensati di Perugia (1561-1608) (Bologna: I libri di Emil) was published in October 2016.

An introduction to the Certified Interpretive Planner (CIP) course

Peter Seccombe (UK), Michal Medek (Czech Republic)

Interpretive planning lies at the heart of the effective management of cultural and natural heritage sites. Creating an interpretive plan for a site or an area helps site managers to interpret their site successfully. The plan identifies the key features and stories of the site and the best ways of interpreting them to a range of audiences, including local residents and visitors.

Interpret Europe is developing a Certified Interpretive Planner (CIP) training course. The pilot course will take place in autumn 2018.

Peter Seccombe is Co-Director of the UK environmental consultancy, Red Kite Environment. Peter has worked for conservation organisations and local government managing nature reserves and protected landscapes. Since establishing Red Kite, he has prepared management, governance and interpretation plans for many organisations, environmental projects, national parks and other protected areas.

Michal Medek teaches Heritage Interpretation at the Masaryk University in Brno, CZ. He is a director of the Czech Institute for HI. Michal holds a Postgraduate Certificate in Interpretation: Management and Practice from the UHI, MA in Environmental Humanities and MSc in Geography, Biology & Geology.
I am my heritage – A workshop that will make you think about heritage and identity

Janja Sivec (Slovenia)

Who are we? Why do we identify ourselves as … somebody? The workshop, ‘I am my heritage’, will explore in what way we perceive our heritage, why we are who we say we are. Why do we need to identify ourselves in the first place? What is our identity? These are just some of the questions participants will explore and try to answer through a series of practical exercises and discussions. We will touch concepts that influence development of heritage interpretation in its basis. Universal concepts that touch us on different levels and help us to connect with heritage are some of the key triggering points in revealing different meaning. The workshop, ‘I am my heritage’, is a collection of tools on how to make people think about the correlation between their heritage and identity, using principles of youth work, creative thinking, learning by doing and some other fun methods that usually involve a lot of laughing and self-reflecting.

Janja Sivec is an ethnographer, trainer and president of NGO Legends. She has explored and worked in heritage interpretation since 2010. She is IE’s trainer and has successfully led several CIG training courses in Slovenia. She works as a guide and heritage interpretation consultant. One of her favourite activities is developing pedagogical programs and combining youth work and heritage interpretation.

Identity and heritage: The problematic politics of interpretation and memory

James Skelly (Ireland)

Drawing on examples from Austria, the Balkans, Ireland, the UK and the USA, this presentation will provide a cautionary perspective on heritage, the collective memories that it may institutionalise and the identities inspired by the often-implicit political perspective embedded in specific heritage initiatives. As some have noted, such institutionalisation can lead to ‘memory wars’, as has been the case most recently in the south of the USA and on a sustained basis in Northern Ireland. Although such ‘memory wars’ may contribute to violent conflicts, as has been manifest in Ireland, the Peace Process there of the last 20 years can provide examples of a heritage that no longer relies on hardened conflictual identities but instead strives to create inclusive heritage projects, such as those designed under the frame ‘Derry / Londonderry’ as UK City of Culture in 2013.

Dr. James Skelly is the author of the 2017 monograph, “The Sarcophagus of Identity: Tribalism, Nationalism, and the Transcendence of the Self”, which has direct relevance to the conference theme, as does his five years as a Professor at the University of Ulster in Northern Ireland, and his principal teaching for many years in the field of Peace Studies.

Ancient heritage in a modern town – The role of the Iseum Savariense in the life of Szombathely

Ottó Sosztarits, Borbála Mohácsi (Hungary)

In 1955, a unique archaeological site was discovered in Szombathely: a temple of the Egyptian Goddess Isis. Since the excavations, the remains have been partially restored. As its condition deteriorated, the site was closed down in the 1990s. Research resumed in 2001 and the Council of Szombathely started the reconstruction project of the Iseum in 2008 with financial support from the EU. The temple, restored to its former glory, reopened in 2011. The Iseum has become an important cultural location in the area: it has played host to conferences, workshops, and
presentations for the international and national scientific communities as well as the general public. Its permanent exhibition puts the religious life of ancient Roman people on display in a 21st century setting. Temporary displays, educational activities for children and various cultural programmes also await visitors, and the Iseum was awarded the ‘Museum of the Year’ prize in 2014.

Ottó Sosztarits is an archaeologist, specialist in heritage protection, and deputy director of the Iseum Savariense. He has carried out excavations in Szombathely since 1990 and has set up numerous exhibitions in Hungary, as well as in Vienna, Brno, Cremona and Graz. He has published a number of articles about the history and archaeology of both the Iseum and the Roman colony of Savaria.

Borbála Mohácsi is a graduate student of Roman Archaeology at ELTE University of Budapest. She started working at the Iseum Savariense in June 2017 as part of the archaeological research team. She is currently writing her master’s thesis on the Oriental Cults of Roman Pannonia.

Gyaros: Where Homer met Stalin

Valya Stergioti (Greece)

The story of Gyaros island is tied to its past as a ‘reformatory’ for political exiles, in the 20th century. Now deserted, it has become a thriving paradise for various animals, including some endangered species. Rich natural and cultural landscapes combine to make this island one of the most unusual and yet little-known, places in the Aegean Sea, whose identity remains a blur for most of us. Can heritage interpretation unlock the stories of those whose lives were deeply marked by this island? Can it help reinvent the identity of this place and who could do this? Finally, can interpretive media help promote Gyaros to its visitors in a sensitive way that respects both its history and its natural environment?

Valya Stergioti is a freelance interpretive trainer and planner. Since 2016 she has been the Training Coordinator of Interpret Europe. She founded Alli Meria, to promote heritage interpretation in Greece.

European First World War memorials: A fresh reflection

Emanuele Stochino (Italy)

Memorials dedicated to the Fallen of the First World War were erected to remember the country’s own dead and underline the concept of nationalism. Today, the historical significance of these monuments represents ‘an irreplaceable and immovable link of a chain of development (...) that everything that took place afterwards is conditioned by what has gone before’ (Riegl, 1903). For 40 years, the Festival della Fratellanza has been celebrated in the area near the Monument to the Fallen at the Tonale Pass in Northern Italy. Along with citizens of various nationalities, Italian and Austrian First World War military associations take part in the Festival. Over time, this Festival has assumed a symbolic value of unity and peace. Historical knowledge and the weakening of the original political message of such memorials mean that Tonale Pass and other similar sites can be regarded as places of artistic importance where people might reflect both on their own identity and on European heritage.

Emanuele Stochino, born in Padua in 1969, is a contract professor in Social Psychology at the Università degli Studi in Brescia, Italy. In 1999, he was awarded a degree in Psychology and subsequently, in 2006, a Master’s in Work and Organisational Psychology, at the Università degli
Studi in Padua. Over the last 15 years, he has dedicated himself to the Sociology of Art, publishing various papers.

‘Identity Maps’: Interactive identity landscapes and spatial planning tools for visualisation of non-material identities

Michael Strecker (Germany)

My main concern as a geographer/ regional planner is that maps do not only reflect ‘real’ geographical and topographical reliefs, but we also can apply these features and ‘expressions’ for sensations of places or people’s feelings of environments and surroundings or other representations or visualisations. This presentation will discuss existing approaches, but primarily possible ‘maps’ for increasing mutual understanding – of where we stand, where we would like to move onward to, or how we could imagine possible options or futures or visions - on real as well as for ‘virtual’ or immaterial, sensed or projected ‘realities’/ dimensions. The tools and instruments for such 2D or even 3D ‘landscapes’ (‘DL/TM’ = Digital Terrain/ Landscape Model) not only allows scenarios close to (possible) realities, but also ‘democratic’, decentral interactive ‘drawing’ or ‘composing’ of complex ‘synopses’, but also virtual moves and flights like discovering or ‘surveying’ of new terrain

Michael Strecker began as a seasonal US National Parks Service ‘Resource Assistant’ Interpretive Ranger in 1988 in Colorado’s Curecanti National Recreation Area (via Student Conservation Association, Charlestown, NH). He fell in love with this practical field of geography, resource management, education and public participation. After supporting the very early beginnings of IE and undertaking various qualifying courses in the UK and Germany, he has recently started as a freelance ‘ranger for special places’.

People and their Natural Heritage - reflection through documentary presentation with local people

Samo Šturm (Slovenia)

Škocjan Caves are World Heritage Site and a place of regional importance. Through the documentary we tried to present the natural and cultural heritage of the park, which is associated with appropriate use and attitude towards heritage. The priorities are the presentation of the life of the cave environment with the aim of preserving and protecting, and presenting the research of caves through history. We want to show the role of locals - farmers who were at the same time cave workers, cavers explorers and guides, and the tradition of caving, which is being dragged down to this day. At the same time, by constructing a proper attitude towards heritage, ensure the proper use of caves in connection with tourism. The film is largely aimed at presenting and educating young people and people in rural areas about the importance of natural and cultural heritage, as well as the preservation of this.

Samo Šturm is nature conservation consultant in Škocjan Caves Park, Slovenia. Public awareness and interpretation of nature and natural heritage are very important to the content of his work. Škocjan educational trail is one of the practical examples of his approach. He has been involved in numerous publications of the park, and the organization of events. He is interpretive guide and caver.
Analysis of representation and identity in a State Museum: Hagia Sophia, Istanbul

Hakan Tarhan (Italy)

This research aims to analyse the ways in which the identity of a symbolically charged monument was constructed during its conversion into a museum and the effects of the contemporary political discourses on its status. To this end, we focus on a case study of Hagia Sophia which was built as an Eastern Orthodox Church in 537 A.D., turned into a mosque by the Ottomans in 1453 and transformed into a museum by the Republic of Turkey in 1935. Nevertheless, the contemporary usage of Hagia Sophia has become a contested matter in the last 50 years with increasing public demands to use the monument as a mosque; this is backed by some politicians as well. In the analysis, interventions to the building during its musealisation will be investigated to understand the constructed identity; official discourses and political statements will be analysed using critical discourse analysis. The research aims to provide an understanding on how politics can affect the identity of a cultural monument.

Hakan Tarhan is a PhD candidate in Analysis and Management of Cultural Heritage, IMT School for Advanced Studies Lucca, with research on the public perceptions towards minority heritage in Greece and Turkey. He obtained his MA degree in Heritage Management (University of Kent & Athens University of Economics and Business) with a field study project on ‘Values Based Site Representation in the Ancient Agora of Athens’ and his BA in Tourism Management (Bogazici University).

Forming children’s identity using natural heritage sites as an everyday environment

Erika Szmoradné Tóth, Bernadett Virókné Fodor (Hungary)

Szögliget is a small village situated at the border of Hungary and Slovakia. This economically poor region is rich in natural values, having special flora, fauna, beautiful karstic landscapes, clean air and streams, some cultural monuments from medieval era and well preserved, living traditions. In our opinion, the most important task of environmental education in this region is to make children understand that the things surrounding them have great value indeed, that they are heirs to them and some of them will be managers of them. Most of the teachers in the local primary school try to build environmental consciousness into their lessons and the school also has partners like the Aggtelek National Park Directorates helping by giving special lectures or organising field trips.

Erika Szmoradné Tóth is teaching assistant (Department of Ecology, Attila József University, Szeged), biology teacher (Primary School, Öttömös), environmental education assistant (Aggtelek National Park Directorate) and editor of environmental education workbooks, interactive exhibitions.

Bernadett Virókné Fodor is zoo teacher (Söstó Zoo), tourinform assistant (Aggtelek National Park Directorate), ecotourism assistant (Aggtelek National Park Directorate), English teacher, eco-school programme coordinator (Primary School, Szögliget) and local self-employed interpreter.

Cultural heritage in practice? The Talking Houses Project

Henrietta Trádler, Mónika Mátay (Hungary)

Our research focuses on the topographical number and examines individuals behind it. More profoundly, we investigate the owners and other inhabitants of the buildings of downtown Kőszeg. We apply an interdisciplinary approach, involving social and cultural history, historical
anthropology and sociology. During our research an attempt is made to reconstruct the everyday routines of the inhabitants, their communication and in general, their lifestyle as precisely as the archival sources allow us to do that. The marked places on the maps contain only little information, as they just give answers to such questions as ‘where’ or ‘what is there?’. Walking through the town you see houses, and if one of them is a listed building, you can read the name of the architect, and the date of its foundation on its facade. Their facade hides the life stories of the house and flat owners, the inhabitants.

Henrietta Trádler is a PhD candidate, an iASK research fellow working on the Talking Houses project. Her research fields include the history of modern European social and cultural history. She works on the reconstruction of the history and life narratives of certain buildings and their residents while she also contributes to the Oral History collection.

Mónika Mátay is a permanent fellow at the Institute of Advanced Studies Kőszeg. She is the coordinator of the Hankiss Research Archives and Center and also teaches courses related to Central European cultural heritage, marginalized groups and identity. She is the leader of the Talking Houses project, Kőszeg. The goal of the project is to collect and interpret the cultural heritage - history, music, literature, and art - via interdisciplinary methods. She publishes about modern European history, Central European identity and collective memory.

Cultural mosaic of the Žumberak region as a part of the cultural heritage in Croatia

Marko Trupković, Mojca Bedjanič, Lenka Stermecki, Martina Zanjkovič (Croatia)

There is a strong historical and geographical basis for perceiving the Žumberak mountains as a cultural region. Intersected by trade routes since prehistoric times and transforming through history with strong demographic fluctuations, Žumberak has always been a place of diversity. Most specific cultural features of Žumberak originate from the role it had on the military frontier and the 16th century colonization of the (mostly) Orthodox Christian population of Uskoks (Croatian: Uskoci, pronounced [ǔsko̞t.si]). It left clear traces on population density and structure, landscape and economic development, customs and beliefs. Since the 19th century, Žumberak has experienced strong depopulation which could eventually result in the extinction of this Croatian sub-ethnic group. This paper notes the pronounced importance of not only one cultural identity but a cultural mosaic. This important part of Croatian culture is today in danger of being forgotten over time.

Marko Trupković has an MA in Sociology and Anthropology, and is the coordinator for the EU INTERREG project called “I enjoy the tradition on culinary transversal from Pannonia to the Adriatics”. Works in progress include theoretical and ethnographic approach to the study of the local population in Žumberak, works in the interpretation of cultural heritage, educational trails, critical and ‘difficult heritage’.

Mojca Bedjanič has experience in interpretation of geological and other natural heritage, interpretation points, info centres, educational trails, animation plans, touch screens, children’s books, leaflets, school programmes, project ideas, carrying out interpretative workshops, workshops for educators, for touristic guides. She has studied via nature interpretation conferences, workshops, interpretative guide course.

Lenka Stermecki has experience in interpretation of natural heritage: interpretation points, centres, trails, plans, children’s books, handbooks, leaflets, school programmes, project ideas, carrying out interpretative workshops for different profiles. She has studied via: nature interpretation conferences, workshops, Interpretative Agent and guide course.

Martina Zanjkovič: Interpretation of cultural heritage, School programmes, project ideas.
'European identity' reflected by culture and art history - From the perspective of teaching

Edit Újvári (Hungary)

When studying and teaching European culture, arts and science, one will find that cultural processes and innovations constantly reflect on one another in the countries of the continent. From the 11th century, many eras of Pan-European style came one after the other, significantly affecting all national cultures in Europe. The development of modern science has been driven forward by the connected research and the results of scientists from different European countries. The lecture focuses on these processes as well as on other factors that strengthen European identity in higher education. As a teacher at the Cultural Mediation Master studies at the University of Szeged and lecturer at the "National and European Cultural Identity" course, I consider that interpretations of cultural heritage that strengthen European identity have direct impact on the mindset of people.

Dr Edit Újvári is associate professor at the University of Szeged, Hungary, study programme of Cultural Mediation Master studies and Cultural Community Coordinator Bachelor studies. She teaches courses related to art history, cultural identity and cultural heritage. She is a coordinator of the local European Heritage Days in Szeged with her students.

Wind, water, waves…and fish: Preserving & sharing identities of traditional commercial fishermen

Gail Vander Stoep (USA)

For millennia, water has held strong attraction for humans – as 'life blood', for transportation, for food, and as aesthetic. Both salt and fresh water offer fish and other seafood for subsistence and commercial use. Traditionally the work is hard, risky, in remote areas, and done solo or in small groups. Such lifestyles engender fierce independence, creativity, ingenuity, careful observation of and strong connection with lakes, seas, wind, weather, and fish. In an age when most commercial fishing has become automated and factory ship-based, how do fishermen maintain their identities, and lifestyles they love? How do we conserve the stories, knowledge, activities, lifestyles, and pride of fishermen and their families? This session presents an overview of essential lifestyle elements, some of the challenges of maintaining small-scale commercial fishing in the U.S. Great Lakes, and how a voluntary alliance of stakeholders is working to preserve, interpret, and share this fishing heritage.

Gail Vander Stoep is an Assistant Professor at Michigan State University. She has taught interpretation at universities since the early 1980s. Her dissertation focused on interpretation as a resource management tool, and her work has expanded to diverse applications of interpretation: community development, tourism, and museum studies. Her NAI (National Association for Interpretation) roles include as president, certified trainer, and Fellow.

Heritage interpretation for sustainable cultural tourism policies: Interreg Europe CHRISTA project

Manos Vougioukas (Greece)

This presentation aims to highlight the contribution of heritage interpretation to sustainable cultural tourism development and promotion, as well as to identify the needs of tourist destination authorities in terms of interpretation facilities, towards promoting regional and local identity from the visitor’s perspective. It is based on intermediate results of the CHRISTA Interreg Europe project in nine destinations, supported by the European Cultural Tourism Network (ECTN) in the
The Interreg Europe project CHRISTA (Culture and Heritage for Responsible, Innovative and Sustainable Tourism Actions, 2016-2020) aims to protect and preserve natural and cultural heritage assets and deploy them for the development and promotion of innovative, sustainable and responsible tourism strategies, including intangible and industrial heritage, through interpretation and digitisation, with capitalisation of good practices, policy learning, policy implementation and capacity building.

One of four priorities in the CHRISTA project concerns heritage interpretation to facilitate sustainable cultural tourism development and promotion, in conjunction with Intangible heritage, industrial heritage, innovations and digitisation actions (4 I) in the partner regions.

Expected results are improved policy instruments in nine tourism destination regions with mainstreaming, advances in policy implementation, upgrading of cultural and natural assets and innovative applications for visitors.

Manos Vougioukas is the Secretary-General of the European Cultural Tourism Network (ECTN), the only pan-European Network that brings together the culture, heritage and tourism sectors to cooperate for sustainable cultural tourism development and promotion. He is the main author of the ‘Charter for Sustainable Cultural Tourism’ and the founder/coordinator of the CHRISTA Interreg Europe project.

Little Europe and post-colonial resistance, Italian pastiche and a new identity

Debbie Whelan (UK)

Buildings derived from Europe form the urban framework in contemporary South Africa. The Cape was originally settled by Portuguese and Dutch settlers four centuries ago, whilst other areas are more recent, dating to just under 200 years of settler history. This means that both pure and hybrid architectural histories of Dutch, British, Portuguese, French and German people, as well as a variety of people from across the eastern part of Europe, are positioned as an integral part of the South African built fabric.

In recent years an active protest against these extant built fabrics has questioned an appropriate ‘vernacular’, a truly South African architecture. Whilst protective legislation has literally been rendered toothless protecting colonial heritages, an emergent acolonial vernacular employs elements of neo-classicism and engages with new hybrid forms of architecture overtly demonstrating class, power and wealth. The European heritage is firmly entrenched in a continued architectural tradition.

Debbie Whelan is currently a Senior Lecturer in the School of Architecture and the Built Environment at the University of Lincoln. She holds a PhD in Social Anthropology from the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University (2011) as well as undergraduate degrees in architecture and anthropology. She has worked extensively in both the historic and contemporary built environments, largely in sub-Saharan Africa. She has also run an independent consultancy, Archaic Consulting (Pty.) Ltd. carrying out Heritage and Cultural Impact Assessments, and land claims investigations. This research has led to a number of publications in accredited journals, book chapters and encyclopaedic entries.
Where the Old World meets the New: Spanish shipwrecks within a borderless cultural heritage

Charlotte Williams (UK)

Colonial Spanish avarice for gold from the Americas has led to issues of differential preservation, in which unfathomable quantities of Pre-Columbian material was melted into Spanish ingots. Yet Spanish shipwrecks offer examples of preserved nodes within a complicated, entangled web of ownership and transfer. Due to modern ambiguities within international maritime law, different case studies have led to divergent outcomes of ownership over shipwreck contents from the private hands of white-collar salvagers to countries to which the objects were ‘repatriated’. The shipwrecks offer examples in which international institutions confer ownership rights on the objects, ranking whether identities of nationhood, materiality, or ‘moveable heritage’ determines the final resting place. This paper explores the possibilities of multiplicities of ownership of routes, particularly between Europe and the New World, unravelling and critiquing the implications of borderless heritage.

Charlotte Williams has held internships at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and most recently at the Cambridge University Museum of Anthropology and Archaeology. For the past two summers, she has worked in Peru with communities on cultural heritage projects and conducted research in Cusco for her Princeton University undergraduate thesis in 2017.

Experiencing evaluation - A concrete example conducted during one of the conference study visits

Lars Wohlers (Germany)

Evaluation is becoming more and more important in interpretation, not just measuring its success but also during the planning phase and for testing our offers. Basically it’s a constant process of checking and improving our visitor services which in the future will be more and more important regarding fundraising too.

During one of the study visits on Sunday we will have a short introduction to evaluation including a first interactive part in which participants will partly develop a quick tool for 30 to 45 minutes for evaluating the following study visit. The tool will then be applied to the study visit. Following the study visit there will another short meeting to evaluate the results of our common evaluation. This way participants have a chance to learn and directly apply a short evaluation, plus the site that we visited might be interested in the feedback too.

The exact schedule for the workshop and the study visit will be fixed in cooperation with the conference-organizers if the paper is accepted.

Lars Wohlers holds a master’s in Cultural Applied Science and a PhD in Environmental Interpretation. After 12 years of working as a research assistant at the Institute for Environmental Communication / University of Lueneburg he now, since 2006, runs his own company. Lars offers planning, training and evaluation services for protected areas, museums, zoos, botanical gardens and historic sites.
Heritagisation and Identities: Hungarian Art Nouveau Architecture in the Carpathian Basin

Lilla Zámbó (Hungary)

Art Nouveau architectural heritage has been one of the most colourful and complex parts of the European urban heritage. The new artistic initiative was based on the international innovations and local traditions and resulted in a special identity-building power, especially in the Carpathian Basin, where it became the so-called national style. The paper presents on-going PhD research which is a comparative analysis of the heritagisation process of the Hungarian Art Nouveau Architecture, diachronically and synchronically in Budapest (Hungary), Bratislava (Slovakia), Subotica (Serbia) and Tîrgu Mureş (Romania), and also its relation to the identity building politics of these countries. The main focus of the paper concerns the way Art Nouveau architecture was treated and heritagised by Hungarian, Slovak, Serbian, and Romanian society in the territorial area of the Habsburg Empire and within the new borders (after World War I) through the examination of four representative monuments.

Lilla Zámbó is the coordinator and alumna of the TEMA+ European Territories: Heritage and Development Erasmus Mundus Joint Master Degree, involving 5 universities in 5 countries. She is a PhD Candidate in a joint PhD programme in History with a special focus on Cultural Heritage at the University of Étôvős Loránd of Budapest and École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris. She is a scholarship holder of the New National Excellence Programme of Hungary and the former president of the International Students of History Association (ISHA) in 2016-2017.

Values and interpretation of living and built garden heritage

Vince Zsigmond, Katalin Takács, Mária Windisch (Hungary)

Many gardens with inherited values preserve both natural and built heritage as historic gardens and botanical or dendrological collections. Many of them are under dual – monument and nature – protection, so their conservation, improvement and interpretation require special tasks and a high level of expertise in multiple skills. This double value, one of which does not exist without the other, reinforce each other, increase the internal values of the site, and lead to a higher potential for cultural exploitation, tourist attraction and interpreting options.

As every heritage value is unique and complex, getting to know its background and being able to mediate it to the public is just as important as the understanding of the site is crucial to any interpretation process. We lose much of the experience if the underlying cultural, botanical, ecological or other information and contents are not transmitted. Professionals from many fields are needed to convey these heritage values.

Vince Zsigmond MSc. is a horticulturist, engineer-teacher, state registered nature conservation expert, green city advisor. He is the Curator of Botany, Sustainability & Heritage at Budapest Zoo & BG, and the Secretary General, Hungarian Association of Arboreta and Botanic Gardens. He has wide experience in diverse EU co-funded projects on national and international levels.

Katalin Takács PhD. MSc. is a landscape architect and heritage engineer and is a lecturer at the Faculty of Landscape Architecture and Urbanism of Szent István University in Budapest and also a heritage expert working as a freelancer in diverse enhancement projects related to garden heritage.

Maria Windisch PhD. MSc. is a horticultural engineer and is the head of landscape maintenance at Joseph Károlyi Foundation, Fehérvárcsurgó. She has experience of cultural and green heritage interpretation practices since 1998 as a tour- and botanical/horticultural guide in Hungarian (green) heritage sites.