



# Conference Proceedings



Kőszeg 2018

To cite this document:  
Interpret Europe (2019)  
*Conference 2018 Heritage and identity – Proceedings (2nd edition)*  
Witzenhausen: Interpret Europe  
ISBN: 978-3-947745-03-6

Interpret Europe's Conference 2018, **Heritage and identity**, 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	Istvan Kollai
Ilyas Aytar	Katalin Nagy
Shraddha Bhatawadekar	Sheila Palomares Alarcón
Vera Boneva	Vaidas Petrusis
Britta Burkhardt	Angela Pfenniger
György Csepeli	Filip Skowron
Luiz Antônio Bolcato Custódio	Ottó Sosztarits
Jasna Fakin Bajec	Mária Szilágyi
Stuart Frost	Saša Tkalec
Oskar Habjanič	Marko Trupković
Aniko Illes	Nikolaas Vande Keere
Bálint Kádár	

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.

All images are copyright of the individual authors unless otherwise specified.  
Cover images with thanks to Árpád Bóczán.

Copy editing and proofreading: Marie Banks  
with assistance from: Michael Glen, Abby McSherry, Sarah Sargent  
Cover design: Bettina Lehnes

## Contents

### Welcome address

Thorsten Ludwig, IE Managing Director .....	5
---	---

### Opening address

Tibor Návracsics, European Commissioner for Education, Youth, Sports and Culture .....	6
--	---

### Keynote: European heritage re-visited – The House of European History in Brussels

Constanze Itzel .....	8
-----------------------	---

### Keynote: History and heritage in the age of identity

Kenin Malik .....	23
-------------------	----

### Keynote: European (inter)cultural heritage in the age of fluid identities

Ferenc Miszlivetz .....	33
-------------------------	----

### Keynote: Affective experiences – the embodied performances of heritage making

Laurajane Smith .....	41
-----------------------	----

### The identity concept for Muslim Hungarians and Muslim immigrants in Hungary

Esra Aytar (Hungary) .....	51
----------------------------	----

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

Ilyas Aytar (Hungary) .....	57
-----------------------------	----

### Railway heritage and identity: Interpreting railways as ‘third places’- a case of the railways of Mumbai

Shraddha Bhatawadekar (Germany) and Tejaswini Adhikari (India) .....	61
--	----

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

Vera Boneva (Bulgaria) .....	69
------------------------------	----

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

Britta Burkhardt (Romania) .....	76
----------------------------------	----

### The making of the European identity

György Csepeli (Hungary) .....	89
--------------------------------	----

### Heritage and identity: The Jesuit-Guarani Missions interpretation experience

Luiz Antônio Bolcato Custódio (Brazil) .....	97
--	----

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

Jasna Fakin Bajec (Slovenia) .....	107
------------------------------------	-----

### Desire, love, identity: Interpreting LGBTQ histories

Stuart Frost (UK) .....	118
-------------------------	-----

### Museoeurope: The concept of no border museum – the path to common EU identity

Oskar Habjanič (Slovenia) .....	128
---------------------------------	-----

### Cultural heritage and the meaning of museums for young Hungarians

Aniko Illes and Peter Bodor (Hungary) .....	141
---	-----

### Is there a Danube-identity? – The Danube’s heritage as part of the identity of riverside communities

Bálint Kádár and Dániel Balízs (Hungary) .....	153
--	-----

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

István Kollai (Hungary) .....	170
-------------------------------	-----

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

Katalin Nagy (Hungary) .....	175
------------------------------	-----

### Ten visions of cultural heritage in Évora, Portugal

Sheila Palomares Alarcón, Armando Quintas and Pietro Visconti (Portugal) .....	188
--	-----

### Historic urban landscapes of modernity: Conflicts of value perception

Vaidas Petruulis (Lithuania) .....	202
------------------------------------	-----

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

Angela Pfenninger (Germany) ..... 215

**How to translate the concept of ‘heritage’ - The social effect of museum exhibitions**

Filip Skowron (Poland) ..... 221

**Ancient heritage in a modern town – The role of the Iseum Savarensis in the life of Szombathely**

Ottó Sosztarits and Borbála Mohácsi (Hungary) ..... 232

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

Mária Szilágyi and Anica Draganić (Serbia) ..... 251

**Cultural Diversity – Converging Point of Heritage and Security Theories**

Saša Tkalec (Croatia) ..... 263

**Cultural mosaic of Žumberak region as a part of cultural heritage in Croatia**

Marko Trupković (Croatia) ..... 272

**Heritage without heirs? Reconnecting church and community through adaptive reuse**

Nikolaas Vande Keere and Bie Plevoets (Belgium) ..... 288

**Abstracts of other presentations** ..... 301

## Welcome address

Thorsten Ludwig, IE Managing Director

Dear Commissioner Návracsics, dear Mr Báschti,  
dear partners, attendees and friends from more than 30 countries,

It is an honour and a pleasure to welcome you in the name of Interpret Europe to our conference 'Heritage and Identity'.

We have now entered the European Year of Cultural Heritage and these are exciting times for heritage interpretation. When Commissioner Návracsics opened the Year in December in Milan, Antonio Tajani, President of the European Parliament said: "Awareness of our own identity is the foundation for a strong and open Europe", and he continued later: "Even more than our economy, culture is the glue which holds Europe together". Many of us felt electrified by these statements. While for some time the question was basically how much income heritage could help to generate, heritage is now seen at the very heart of the European project.

Indeed, heritage is shaping identity and to reflect upon European heritage means to reflect upon European identity. To encourage and to enable citizens to do so is our profession as heritage interpreters – and heritage provides us with an incredible treasure for doing so. It is not so much about the remains of the past but about the ideas behind these remains: the ideas behind such a castle or behind an old piece of music as we enjoyed it just a few minutes ago. Yesterday, at our pre-conference tour, we looked through a window to the past right in the centre of Vienna, where one could see Roman, medieval and Renaissance walls overlaying each other. We all tried to figure out how these remains were connected but we also felt that this visible heritage is not just a treasure in itself. It is also a treasure of metaphors making things meaningful. We get a sense of what the Roman, medieval or Renaissance ideas meant for the development of Europe. Revealing these larger truths behind heritage is the realm of heritage interpretation and this is why heritage interpretation can play such a strong role for the European project.

However, encouraging citizens to reflect upon the meaning of heritage requires that we ourselves think sufficiently about the connection between heritage and identity:

Do we consider how to bring local, regional, national or European identities together?  
Are we ready to discuss identity with people who arrived in Europe from a different environment?  
Are we able to inspire those who actually feel they are too tired to reflect upon anything?

At this conference you will meet people who deal with communication around heritage at all different levels, natural and cultural, tangible and intangible, site-based and collection-based, academic and practical: use the opportunity to think about these questions.

Besides our four keynote speeches, you will be able to select from more than 70 workshops and presentations. You will be inspired and get into an exchange during one dozen study visits or during our Market of Ideas.

Let Interpret Europe invite you on this journey at the beginning of the European Year of Cultural Heritage.

Before the conference will be officially opened by Commissioner Navracsics, a great and very warm thank you to Árpád Bőczén and his team who have organised this event and have worked hard to make it happen.

## Opening address

Tibor Návracsics, European Commissioner for Education, Youth, Sports and Culture

Ladies and gentlemen,

Thank you very much for the invitation to speak at your conference. I am very pleased that this important event is taking place during the European Year of Cultural Heritage that we are celebrating in 2018 across the continent. This Year is our chance to rekindle a sense of belonging to our shared European space and open up opportunities for people from all backgrounds to experience what it feels like to be European.

This means that we need to reach people, especially young people, where they are, in their communities: small villages, towns, cities and capitals. The European Year is as much about Kőszeg, about the people who live here, as it is about Veszprém, the city I come from, and the many other big and small communities around Europe.

The Year allows us to delve into our traditions, the memories and monuments of our past. From these memories, we can learn a lot about what is important for the future. We can raise awareness of the many cultural influences that have shaped our identities. We can reconnect with our roots as Europeans. And we can promote innovation while respecting the historical value of heritage.

And Interpret Europe can have a big impact on how people interact with cultural heritage. Sometimes learning about heritage can be more effective if it takes place outside the classroom – right where events happen and people live. This can be experienced through guided walks in towns, exhibitions in galleries or visits to natural beauty spots. To a great extent, this experience of hands-on heritage interpretation is the link between education and cultural heritage.

It also fits very well with one of my priorities for the Year: to focus on children and young people. Cultural heritage is a bridge from the past to the future, and who better to build this bridge than young people?

When we kicked off the European Year of Cultural Heritage, we gave young people the opportunity to interpret heritage themselves via the social media platform Instagram. We launched a competition for photos showing a tradition and explaining what it meant to the young people involved. The winning photo was of a beautifully lit bridge at Florence's annual light festival. This competition showed very clearly that young Europeans are not only interpreting heritage very creatively, but that they identify themselves with the very idea of a common cultural heritage.

Doing this, they make a very powerful point: that a European identity, far from threatening our other identities, actually enriches them. Many young people seem to feel intuitively that embracing a European identity complements and strengthens our local, regional, and national identities. That in this way we become part of a community of millions who have such rich

histories and interwoven cultures. By adopting a European identity we can share all of this and contribute to the evolution of Europe's shared cultural heritage.

I developed my own European identity under very different circumstances than today's young generation. It was 1980, and I was on a family holiday to East Berlin. I was incredibly excited to go! And of course, this being the dark days of the Cold War, we could not access West Berlin. We did not have the 'right' passports. All I could do was look over to the West from the top of the TV tower in the Eastern part of the city. I could not reach out to people less than five kilometres away.

When the communist regimes collapsed some years later, I remember the joy of seeing Hungarian men, women and children, and people from other countries, finally reuniting with our fellow citizens in the West. Finally, we were free and able to express ourselves politically, culturally and artistically without fear of reprisal or arrest. For me, this freedom, this possibility of broadening our horizons and connecting with each other is at the heart of what it means to be European.

I am fortunate enough to have had this transformative experience, as I suppose many of you have. But it is not a given. Not everyone is willing to embrace their multiple identities – or even aware of how to take the best from this.

What can we do to help foster a European sense of identity and create a more social cohesive society? How can the European Year of Cultural Heritage support this?

Well, I believe that by celebrating, exploring and cherishing our tangible and intangible European cultural heritage, we will show more people that there is more that unites us than divides us. This unity is derived from our shared heritage, our common historical experiences and our common European values which we should take extra effort to promote: respect for human dignity, democracy, equality, the rule of law and the respect for human rights – to name but a few. This unity takes nothing away from our diverse personal, national and cultural experiences.

With the Year truly underway, there are many possibilities to become involved. We are soon going to select the winners that will receive funding from a call for projects under the Creative Europe programme, focusing specifically on cultural heritage. I look forward to the many ideas that will come from this work, and that will hopefully inspire many of you to keep bringing European cultural heritage to the forefront.

Finally, I am confident that the European Year of Cultural Heritage will help us have an honest debate about the shared values that connect us and that make us stronger.

Thank you.

## Keynote: European heritage re-visited – The House of European History in Brussels

Constanze Itzel

Dr. Constanze Itzel built up the House of European History in Brussels from its very beginnings in 2009, as advisor and as curator. She has been leading the museum team since June 2017.

Preserving, promoting, questioning and explaining heritage, history and memory is at the heart of the House of European History's activities. However, in contrast to other museums, its perspective is a different one: The House of European History looks at all these concepts from a transnational, European perspective. It is the first ever attempt to grasp the complexity of Europe in a historical museum.

This presentation explains this new museum's offer in four parts: Following an introduction into its mission, history and offers, the concepts of European history and heritage in the permanent exhibition are explored. Finally, the way heritage is shaped according to the first temporary exhibition is explained. For the purpose of this presentation, the conference theme, Interpreting European heritage, is therefore interpreted in two different ways: 1) How does the museum interpret what is part of European historical heritage and how it was shaped; and 2) How does the museum interpret history for its various audiences.

### The history of an unusual museum

The House of European History was suggested by the then President of the European Parliament, Hans-Gert Pöttering, in his inaugural speech in February 2007<sup>1</sup>. A first concept was approved by the Bureau of the European Parliament at the end of 2008.<sup>2</sup> Some years were necessary to establish this idea as a project within the European Parliament, by taking the political decisions, finding the budgetary means, identifying and leasing a building, and launching an architectural competition. Bringing together a team of historians and museum professionals in Brussels through a Europe-wide call for applications also needed some preparation time.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, the work of developing the concept and the content of this immensely complex new museum effectively happened between 2011 and 2017, when the museum opened its doors to the public.

The museum offers a new outlook on history. There are books about European history, there are national, regional and local museums, but there had not previously been any museum on European history.<sup>4</sup> Its aim is to complement all the other perspectives on history offered in all these other museums by a new, thought-provoking one.

Sometimes this new museum is perceived as a place of official history-writing, in which the European Union defines its vision of history. However, although financed by the European Parliament, this museum does not describe a political vision of history defined by a European institution, but a musealised historical narrative developed by a team of historians and museum professionals from across Europe. At the time of writing, this team is composed of colleagues of 18 different nationalities.

<sup>1</sup> <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+CRE+20070213+ITEM-003+DOC+XML+V0//EN&query=INTERV&detail=2-007>.

<sup>2</sup> Committee of Experts, House of European History: Conceptual Basis for a House of European History, Brussels 2008.

<sup>3</sup> For an account of this process see Constanze Itzel, Creating a European museum under the auspices of the European Parliament: A unique venture in an unusual environment, in: Mork, Christodoulou (2018), p. 47-54.

<sup>4</sup> For a summary of previous museum projects visualising Europe, see Kaiser, Krankenhagen, Poehls (2012).



**Figure 1 – The House of European History (Photo: European Union 2018 - Source: EP)**

Agreeing on a joint exhibition narrative was not an easy task: working in English, finding historical literature with a transnational and European approach or combining the reading of several regional or national histories<sup>5</sup>, rising above the national histories engrained in school and university education, leaving behind well-known curatorial traditions, identifying objects and documents Europe-wide, deciding on the weight to be given to the history of European integration within wider European history; these are only some of the challenges encountered by the team on its way to achieving a European exhibition narrative together.

### A European discovery

The result of these six years of work is a chrono-thematic permanent exhibition with a strong focus on the 20th century. A small section on the 19th century explains all concepts which are important to understand 20th century history. A prologue reflects on the origins, concept, geographical borders, and historical heritage of Europe. Within the section post-1945, a thread narrates European integration history within its wider context. It needs to be stressed that the House tells the history of the whole continent: it is a house of *European* history, not a house of the history of the European Union. Countries lying at the margins of Europe are included into the exhibition narrative when their role in history makes them relevant for the choices made in the exhibition.

The permanent exhibition is available to visitors in 24 languages. This huge effort to make the content available in the mother tongue of most Europeans has as a consequence that the texts are not written on the wall, as in other museums, but are available on a tablet, which provides room, display and object texts as well as voice-overs for films and audio stations in the respective language.

A first temporary exhibition invites playful discovery. Learning offers for different target groups, including schools, and a family discovery path running through the exhibition make the content accessible for diverse audiences. Events, such as history debates, bring together people from

<sup>5</sup> Although historiography has been becoming more transnational, many titles turned out to limit themselves to Western Europe or to only comparing big countries.

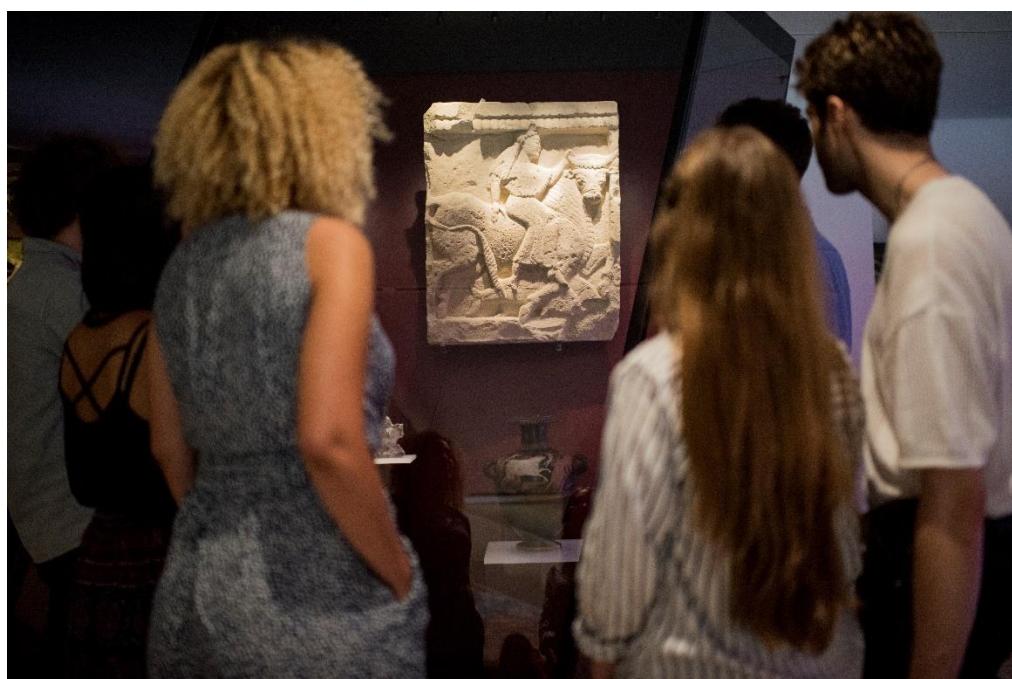
different parts of Europe. All learning offers and the cultural programming accentuate a European dimension and build a bridge to questions relevant for today's Europe.<sup>6</sup>

The House of European History intends to be a forum for learning, reflection, and debate, open to audiences from all generations and backgrounds. Our primary mission is to enhance understanding of European history in all its complexity, to encourage the exchange of ideas and to question assumptions. Therefore, a self-reflective, critical approach was chosen for this exhibition, and is visible from the very start of the visitors' journey through the permanent exhibition. The notion of interpretation lies at the core of the museum's concept, as will be shown in the following chapters.

### Interpreting Europe

Europe is a very complex topic, which is not easy to grasp. The House of European History's curatorial team decided to address this complexity through a questioning approach, rather than presenting certitudes. Hence the exhibition starts by confronting visitors with seemingly simple, but in reality very complicated questions, such as: What is Europe? Can it be geographically defined? Where does its name come from? What belongs to European history? What is European heritage? By suggesting answers in the form of questions, visitors are invited to reflect and form their own opinion.

The very beginning of the exhibition is introduced by a quote of Herodotus about the presumed origin of the continent's name. The Phoenician princess Europa, abducted by Zeus according to an ancient myth, has presumably, following ancient authors, given the continent its name. This story has been re-interpreted, like history itself, from various points of view over time, and the image of Europe and the bull was used to represent people's views on Europe and its history through the centuries: These artworks comprise a varied iconography, ranging from the first representations from Greek Antiquity to Christian interpretations of Zeus and Europe as Christ and the Soul, representations showing Europe as a queen to illustrate a perceived European superiority in the 17th and 18th centuries, or a painting illustrating total destruction after World War II.<sup>7</sup>



**Figure 2 – Myth of Europa showcase (Photo: European Union 2018 - Source: EP)**

<sup>6</sup> For the learning offer see: <https://historia-europa.ep.eu/en/discover>.

<sup>7</sup> See Salzmann (1988), and Passerini (2003) for iconographical analyses of this myth.

The diversity of these representations introduce visitors to the changing views on Europe, evolving alongside historical developments and depending on the geographical standpoint of those who made them. It then becomes apparent that the perception of Europe is always a product of its time, as are the exhibitions in the House of European History.

Similarly, the exhibition points to the fact that the cartographic representation of Europe has changed over time. In contrast to other continents, Europe does not have clear natural borders on all sides, and therefore it cannot be clearly defined geographically. The exhibition gives an overview of the development of cartographical representations of Europe, influenced by the increasing knowledge about the geography of the world and by debates about the definition of Europe's borders. Chinese and Australian maps visualise the fact that Europe is perceived very differently from the perspective of other continents, which do not use Eurocentric maps. From their point of view, Europe just appears as a small appendix of the Asian continent. Hence, just as the political image, the cartographic image of Europe changes with the time period and with the perspective of the beholder. It follows from this that Europe is a separate continent only in the perception of people, its borders are culturally defined.

The development of this cultural concept of Europe is presented in the first big film used in the exhibition. It highlights historical phenomena which have shaped the European continent in many different ways, such as migration, the multiplicity of power centres, the long-term influence of Greek and Roman antiquity, the dominance of Christianity, the changing borders and many others.



**Figure 3 – Overview of level 2 of the House of European History (Photo: European Union 2017 - Source: EP)**

### Interpreting European history

As the House of European History was not intended to be a juxtaposition of national histories, the curatorial team had the difficult task of describing a European historical narrative in its permanent exhibition. At the start of the reflections were questions such as: What distinguishes Europe from other continents? Can we say that we have a shared European past? Can we find a common ground when we look at history from a transnational perspective? The team aimed at creating a plausible European perspective based on a critical reading of historical literature from many

different countries. The narrative shown in the permanent exhibition is the result of six years of very thorough work and intense discussions between an international curatorial team and a designers' team.<sup>8</sup>

However, the narrative would certainly be different had it been created by another team at another period in time. Therefore, the choice was made to explicitly point, in the exhibition, at the fact that all history-writing is a construct. The notion of interpretation is visualised very prominently through a 25m tall sculpture, a whirlwind of letters made from metal, vertically connecting the five different floors of the permanent exhibition. Its branches, spreading out into the exhibition spaces, bear quotations of contemporary witnesses, philosophers, politicians or historians, who comment on the respective historical period. The earliest quotation dates back to Herodotus who reflected on the origins of the continent's name. The most recent quotation comes from the Ukrainian writer Yurii Andrukhovych, with a reflection on the sense of history. Together, the quotations result in a polyphony of endless possibilities of interpreting history.

The interpretation of European history chosen by the curatorial team for the exhibition narrative relies on a thoroughly thought-through methodology. After intense discussions, the decision was taken to select the content according to three criteria: The exhibition presents historical phenomena which a) originated in Europe; b) have spread all over Europe; and c) are considered relevant up until now. These three criteria were applied to determine which topics would be presented from 19th and 20th century history. It follows from this that the permanent exhibition does not present a complete history of Europe, but a selection of themes - necessary due to space constraints - according to these three criteria.

The selected themes are presented in a transnational way, from a European perspective. From the selection made according to the criteria mentioned above, it became clear that the main processes which have been formative to the continent were transnational, although they were perceived very differently and are also remembered very differently. The transnational perspective does not exclude international, national or even regional viewpoints, as will be explained below, as they are all embedded as part of a complex picture that can be viewed from many different perspectives.

How does the House of European History address the issue of the enormous complexity of European history and of its various perceptions? The narrative is a compromise between a simplified chrono-thematic overview for those visitors who do not have any prior knowledge - which is the case of most visitors, as prior surveys had shown - and the complexity of different historical situations and viewpoints.

The exhibition offers many different layers which allow for a more succinct visit as well as for a deeper discovery of certain sections. For those visitors who have more time, a more profound interest, or a specific interest in certain topics, second and third layer content allows for differentiation between the diverse realities. Visitors can also discover certain themes running through the exhibition as red threads, such as migration, the history of communism, the history of European integration, the history of democracy, international law, human rights, and other themes. Objects, images and audiovisual material selected from 37 countries provide multiple perspectives. In some parts of the exhibition, different perceptions and interpretations of the same event are explicitly addressed, e.g. when Euro-sceptic viewpoints are explained.

A theoretical framework which allows addressing multiple perspectives was developed on the basis of the concept of shared memory. Introduced in four different parts of the permanent exhibition, this concept addresses issues such as the impact of history on the present, the diversity of memories related to one and the same historical process, memory competition and

---

<sup>8</sup> For a detailed overview of the process of creating the historical narrative, and of the reasoning behind, see Andrea Mork: *The narrative*, in Mork, Christodoulou 2018, p. 129-221.

memory conflicts. It serves for explaining various ways of dealing with difficult pasts, between late recognition, silence, and distortion of facts, long-time repression, or even punishment of those who want to remember.



**Figure 4** – In the section on post-war Europe, case studies present the ways six countries dealt with the memory of the Shoah (Photo: European Union 2018 - Source: EP)

The concept of memory is, therefore, a tool for reflection. Reflection about the diverse perceptions of the past. At the same time, the exhibition strives to set out the dialectics of memory and oblivion. Different examples related to historical events illustrate how both are subjective, how they can change with the context, and how they can be manipulated. The exhibition also displays examples of how memory, used in political contexts, can lead to motivate revenge but also reconciliation,<sup>9</sup> as in the photo of reconciliation on the battlefield of Verdun between Francois Mitterrand and Helmut Kohl.

Memory can be manipulated to erase and undermine. The 'airbrushing' from history of certain people has been the hallmark of totalitarian regimes. Having fallen foul of Joseph Stalin after 1929, Leon Trotzky and Lev Kamenev were removed from one particular iconic photograph of Lenin giving a speech. (The original photo was taken in 1920 and they were removed after 1929).

The memory concept was chosen as a critical framework. This choice has meant that the notion of 'identity', which had been first brought forward when the creation of the museum was suggested, has moved to the background. The reason for this choice was that a widely accepted definition of what European identity might mean does not exist, and the concept bears the risk of being considered a fixed and exclusive concept.<sup>10</sup> Hence, the concept was judged too reductionist given the complexity of Europe, while memory was considered a suitable framework for a critical debate about different perceptions of the past. As is shown on the fifth floor of the House, the question of memory became more virulent after the fall of the Iron Curtain.

<sup>9</sup> This framework was built on the reflections on memory by authors such as Maurice Halbwachs, Pierre Nora, Jan and Aleida Assmann, and Adolph Muschg, see Andrea Mork: *The narrative*, in Mork, Christodoulou 2018, p. 130.

<sup>10</sup> For a recent summary of diverging definitions, see Prutsch 2017.



**Figure 5 – Shared and divided memory gallery (Photo: European Union 2019 - Source: EP)**

While Western Europeans had defined the memory of the Shoah as a common negative reference point, countries which had lived under communist regimes sought and eventually gained recognition of their sufferings, while also the memory of the Shoah in those countries regained more attention. Also, countries having lived under Southern dictatorships fight for the recognition of their fate. Much has been said about the fact that Europe seems divided along memory lines. Memory conflicts persist also often at very local levels. An ongoing competition of memories becomes apparent even in the comments on the exhibition in the House of European History.

The House of European History can serve as a place for raising awareness of these differing memories. As laid down in its mission statement, it is meant as a place for debate – raising awareness of different perceptions of shared historical events. Like this it can hopefully contribute, probably not to unifying a common European memory, which would be utopian, but to facilitate finding a common European approach, a common methodology on how to come to grips with the past.<sup>11</sup>

### **Re-interpreting heritage**

The House of European History questions what European heritage is and how it has developed, both through its permanent and first temporary exhibitions.

Heritage has been defined as "a cultural process or performance that is concerned with the production and negotiation of cultural identity, individual and collective memory, and social and cultural values"<sup>12</sup> thus as something which is constructed by a community; it is defined in the

<sup>11</sup> Markus Prutsch has suggested working towards a European culture of remembering and a European reflexive discourse on the past, addressing also the uncomfortable parts of the past and "creating an open sphere of discussion that assists the overall objective of mutual understanding and reconciliation both within and between European nations". See Prutsch 2015, p. 37-39.

<sup>12</sup> Smith 2007, p. 2.

present to determine the relationship with the past. Although this definition is helpful for pointing out the process of heritage construction, it makes the distinction of process and result difficult.

Therefore, for the purpose of the present article, this process will be called 'heritagisation',<sup>13</sup> while the term heritage will be used to describe the results of this process.

Notably, during the European Year of Cultural Heritage, the question is: Is there a heritage that all Europeans recognise as such? Looking at cultural heritage, it is likely that the built heritage<sup>14</sup> stemming from Europe-wide art currents of Gothic, Baroque or Art Nouveau style, to name but a few, would appeal to most Europeans as part of a distinctly European heritage.

Certain intellectual and philosophical currents might also be easily recognised as such. But what about the legacy of history, the political heritage? Is there any such thing as European historical heritage? If so, can Europeans agree on which parts of it to preserve, to change, or to contest? Research on European heritage has resulted in different opinions on the question: While some authors have seen Europe merely as the sum of its distinct parts, and while some have refuted the idea of the existence of a common understanding, others have attempted to prove a unique political or cultural tradition. Some have stressed the importance of extra-European influence, while others have subsumed Europe under a broader category of a Western civilization.<sup>15</sup>

The House of European History explores this issue by suggesting, in a showcase dedicated to European heritage, 14 concepts.<sup>16</sup> The ensemble is presented in chronological order and creates a juxtaposition of different historical periods. Each concept is represented by an object of symbolic value.

These points are: philosophy, democracy, Roman law, Christianity, humanism, colonial expansion, slave trade, the Enlightenment, revolutions, State terror, the Nation-State, Marxism, Capitalism, and the genocide.<sup>17</sup> The points were selected according to the three criteria mentioned above, meaning that the respective historical processes started in Europe, spread across the whole continent and have a relevance for today.

---

<sup>13</sup> Harrison 2013, p. 69.

<sup>14</sup> About the different categories of heritage, as for example defined by the UNESCO in 2002, and on the evolving nature of the concept itself see Harrison 2013, p. 6-7; 14.

<sup>15</sup> For a recent summary of research positions, see Delanty 2017, p. 6-10, and Smith 2011, p. 10-22.

<sup>16</sup> The definition of heritage used here is a broad one, including political and intellectual heritage.

<sup>17</sup> Mork, Christodoulou 2018, p. 138-40.



**Figure 6** – The world's first democracy began in ancient Greece. To keep potential tyrants in check, eligible citizens could vote for someone to be sent to exile. In the ballot, the names were written on 'ostraka', small pieces of pottery.



**Figure 7** – Although slavery is not unique to Europe, this barbaric trading system is an undeniable aspect of European heritage.

Each object is accompanied by a contemporary photograph hinting at today's relevance of the topic. The accompanying tablet texts invite the visitor to reflect on the concepts. The questions are, for example, as follows: Does philosophy have any relevance in today's Europe? Can we truly say that we have ended slavery? Is revolution an acceptable means of political change today? Are our national differences based on actual, unique characteristics or are they just invented stereotypes?

By presenting this selection of key elements of European history, the exhibition proposes reference points for all Europeans. Visitors are asked whether they believe these reference points can be considered part of a distinctly European Heritage.

In more theoretical terms, the museum therefore suggests transnationalising heritage<sup>18</sup>. It also suggests a heritagisation process including the more negative developments of European history. In the eyes of the curatorial team, it is not possible to speak about Europe without also considering its negative heritage. While generally speaking, heritage is rather associated with positive things<sup>19</sup>, the museum pleads for the responsibility to acknowledge, and to preserve, the difficult parts of European history<sup>20</sup>.

Also, it is important to note that the inclusion of slavery and colonialism hints, as many other parts in the House of European History's exhibitions, at the interconnectedness of Europe with the rest of the world. Rather than presenting a mere Eurocentric approach, the exhibition shows, from the outset - when indicating that Europe's name most probably came from extra-European territories as narrated in the myth of Europa - that the history of Europe and therefore its heritage, is intertwined with world history. Relations between Europe and the world are addressed in topics as different as emigration, 19th century colonial expansion, the World Wars, the Cold War, NATO, the role of the superpowers in allowing German reunification, and immigration waves of the second half of the 20th century. The exhibition ends with a display on Europe and the world, entirely curated with objects from extra-European museums, who were asked for objects showing Europe(ans) seen from abroad. In terms of heritage, this means acknowledging a responsibility to address and preserve the heritage of Europe's relations with the rest of the world, be they positive or painful.

### **Re-contextualising heritage**

If curatorial practice has been perceived as a heritagisation practice<sup>21</sup>, then it is interesting to dedicate some thinking to the collection which the curatorial team has brought together in Brussels from across Europe.

No prior collection was available. This has meant that all objects which are on display in the House of European History had to be borrowed, bought or acquired as a donation. Different from museums with big pre-existing collections, the objects were researched after the historical narrative had been defined. However, even with the museum being a narrative one, the aim was not simply to find the right objects to illustrate the messages of this narrative, but also to bring together a collection of European significance. As not all museum collections are digitised and available online, with huge differences across Europe, this was a very cumbersome task. Travelling to museums was necessary, as well as the help of researchers on site and of curators of potential lenders.

As set out already in the initial Conceptual Basis, the House of European History's collection is not supposed to duplicate any national collection. Instead, the House collects those items that no other museum or archive collects, for example on the history of the European integration process and of the European Union. During the first years of the museum's development, the collection was targeted towards the exhibitions, but contemporary collecting actions were also carried out, for example when the European Union received the Nobel Peace Prize in 2012.

As a result, more than 1,000 objects from over 300 lenders in 37 countries were brought together in Brussels for the permanent and first temporary exhibitions. On one and the same topic, for example on national and democratic movements in the 19th century, objects from Portugal,

<sup>18</sup> See Chalcraft, Delanty 2015 on transnationalising heritage.

<sup>19</sup> Harrison 2013, p. 230.

<sup>20</sup> About the necessity for European countries to recognise the dark pasts they share, such as the numerous colonial massacres, see Chalcraft, Delanty 2015, p. 8.

<sup>21</sup> Smith 2011, p. 9.

Ireland, Poland and Hungary are displayed together in one showcase. As many objects have to be returned to the respective lenders, this European mix keeps evolving over time.



**Figure 8 – 19th century showcase featuring National Movements (Photo: European Union 2018 - Source: EP)**

This new contextualisation leads to an interesting change in meaning<sup>22</sup>: An object which might previously have been symbolic for a particular national history is now embedded into a European context; hence it has become representative for transnational historical phenomena. It is also, very often, confronted with similar objects from other countries, and is therefore turned into an object that tells a story about similarities, connections and mutual influence rather than representing a fixed, bounded entity.

Therefore, the newly contextualised objects take on a new meaning – could one speak of a ‘Europeanisation’ of their meaning?

The biggest potential of the House of European History lies probably not in a renegotiation of cultural heritage with the aim of creating a unified European identity, which would be utopian, but in visualising the diversity of meanings that its content has for different communities.

The museum has engaged in a series of public events in which artists and historians of different origin are invited to interpret the permanent exhibition from their personal perspective. With Bozar from Brussels and many cultural centres, the museum organised an event during which guided tours in the permanent exhibition were given by 13 historians, journalists, writers and filmmakers, with a focus on the topic of the birth of nine new states (Austria, Hungary, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Finland) in the aftermath of the First World War.<sup>23</sup> Another event, the European Story series, brought poets to the exhibitions which guided the public through a very personal journey through European History.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> On changes of meaning of objects integrated into a collection, see e.g. Van Mensch 2011, p. 18.

<sup>23</sup> In cooperation with Bozar and under their programme '1918, European Dreams of Modernity - 100 years on'; see <https://historia-europa.ep.eu/en/agenda/daydreaming-nations-tours>

<sup>24</sup> <https://historia-europa.ep.eu/en/agenda/european-story-series-1>

These interpretations not only revealed the multiplicity of potential perspectives on history, but also on the objects, documents and films selected by the curators. About one single topic - the emergence of new nation states in 1918 - 13 totally different stories were told, based on very different selections of objects and exhibition rooms. There was also extreme variety in the way the stories were conveyed, from a lecture-style to engaging the audiences in dialogue. The perspectives the authors took were very interesting: In an exhibition with a European dimension, some found objects to tell very personal stories, for example about their family history; others narrated the national history of their country; while others stressed the European perspective.

By opening up its exhibitions to this wide range of interpretations, the museum strives to fulfil its mission to engage with multiperspectivity and to enhance debate about what in European history is shared and what divides. The diversity of choices therefore hinted also at the process of construction of significance<sup>25</sup> by the museum's users and ultimately at the process of heritagisation.

### **Entangled heritage**

The House of European History's first temporary exhibition, Interactions, delved into the ways in which Europe's rich heritage has been shaped<sup>26</sup>. It explored cultural heritage of different forms, material and immaterial, but also natural heritage. The exhibition started from the conclusion that heritage has been shaped by a long history of entanglement and mutual influence.

Throughout history, Europe was characterised by many different territories on a relatively small continent, even more so for example in times of the Holy Roman Empire than with today's 47 countries. The relative proximity of different languages, religions, and ethnic groups, has created frequent occasion for cross-cultural contact. This contact has often taken the form of conflict, turning Europe's history into a long history of wars. On the other hand, the proximity has also created opportunities and the necessity for cooperation. It appears that the specificity of Europe lies in the frequent interactions of people from different political, religious, ethnic or linguistic origins, and in the mutual influence between the different cultures, which have evolved in constant contact and competition with each other. Hence, Europe has been called "a networked space"<sup>27</sup>.

The networks, patterns and hubs of these connections have changed over time, and have intensified and weakened. European history can be characterised as interplay between war and negotiation, integration and exclusion, withdrawal and exchange. In its first section, the temporary exhibition explored four types of interactions: Trading, Fighting, Negotiating and Learning throughout time, illustrating how these interactions changed over time – in most areas, from rather sporadic contact of a few to more frequent encounters or even systematic cooperation.

All this contact had a visible impact – not only on the direct outcome of negotiations or of battles, but also on our daily lives. Europe's rich cultural heritage is the outcome of transfer and exchange that occurred when people met, whether violently or peacefully, to the extent that transfer has been called the “operating system of European culture”<sup>28</sup>. Heritage even migrates itself with people that carry it or care for it<sup>29</sup>. What we experience as specific to one culture or country is often the product of encounter and exchange, of interactions across time and space. Hence, European cultures can be described as being always intercultural in character<sup>30</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> "Significance is a way of telling stories about items or collections, explaining why they are important.", see Russell, Winkworth 2009, p. 1.

<sup>26</sup> See Dupont, Itzel 2017.

<sup>27</sup> Delanty 2017, p. 12.

<sup>28</sup> Wolfgang Schmale, Cultural Transfer as the Operating System of European Culture, in: Dupont, Itzel 2017, p. 137. On the mechanisms of cultural transfer, see Schmale 2012.

<sup>29</sup> Chalcraft, Delanty 2015, p. 7.

<sup>30</sup> Schmale 2012, para. 9.

In no part of daily life does this become more obvious than in our diet. The first temporary exhibition's second floor explored cultural transfer by delving into the history of food recipes and ingredients, such as pizza, the croissant, the sugar cube, different sorts of dumplings, the history of plants, spices and animals, the history of sports, of ideas, of art forms, of words, of fairytales, and many more ingredients of things that surround us in our daily life. All these ideas and products have a complex history of influence, thereby demonstrating the transnational character of heritage<sup>31</sup>.

This transnational character was visualised in the exhibition by questioning some national stereotypes, for example linked to tulips, the croissant, or pizza. Today, pizza is synonymous with Italy. But the ingredients of pizza only arrived in Italy over the course of history: tomatoes come from South America, wheat flour from the Middle East, mozzarella is made from the milk of Asiatic water buffalo and basil is native to India. So, it appears that only olive oil and oregano were already Mediterranean ingredients in pre-Roman times. Pizza is therefore a globalised food, particularly today when it is made with a huge variety of other toppings according to preference<sup>32</sup>. Seen in this light, national myths surrounding national dishes or celebrating national inventions often appear as being a construction, as their origins are in reality much more complicated.

And in the same way, the life journeys and mental maps of Europeans overlap. This is illustrated by the results of an interactive mapping tool which was created for the first temporary exhibition - it can be used in the exhibition and online on a website<sup>33</sup>. The content is entirely user-generated and consists of answers to simple questions of birth place, place where people live, family background, food, music, and travelling they like. The lights representing specific places become bigger when they are clicked several times. The upper image shows the aggregated data of some thousands of replies.

It appears from this map that Europeans' lives and predilections are totally intertwined and intermingled, in total contrast to the usual maps of Europe with their little national boxes. When the results are further explored, combining two questions, it becomes obvious, unsurprisingly, that most Brussels visitors are migrants as they have their origin somewhere else in the world. However, on the second lower screen, it is visible that are very similar when it comes to the food they like: Italian food is very popular, probably a result of the history of Italian guest workers in the North and globalisation. It is also possible to see that sadly, many lines go West and few lines go to Russia, so the Iron Curtain appears implicitly – all this shows that our mental representation of the European space is very much shaped by history.

### **European heritage in the making**

To conclude, it seems that the House of European History's transnational curatorial practice, its way of presenting history and of contextualising objects leads to three different functions related to heritage:

- 1) It can raise awareness of the fact that what we consider our heritage today was shaped by centuries of interactions and contact, and has therefore a much more transnational character than is generally assumed.
- 2) It can stimulate reflection about whether there is a truly European heritage that all Europeans can consider as shared.
- 3) It remains to be seen whether the House of European History can contribute as an actor to the process of heritagisation<sup>34</sup>, resulting in the transformation of heritage into a more transnational, European heritage.

<sup>31</sup> See also Gerard Delanty, *The European Heritage. A Critical Re-Interpretation*, London, New York 2018, p. 29ff.

<sup>32</sup> Gunther Hirschfelder: Flavours: Products, Dishes and Eating Habits as the Result of Exchange, in Dupont, Itzel 2017, p. 151; see also Scholliers, Campanini, Williot 2011.

<sup>33</sup> [www.myinteractions.eu](http://www.myinteractions.eu)

<sup>34</sup> About museums' role as makers of heritage, see Smith 2011, p. 25.

## References

- Chalcraft, Delanty 2015: Jasper Chalcraft and Gerard Delanty, Can Heritage be Transnationalised? The Implications of Transnationalism for Memory and Heritage in Europe and Beyond. Cultural Base. Social Platform on Cultural Heritage and European Identities.  
<https://culturalbase.eu/documents/1.%20CHALCRAFT%20&%20DELANTY.%20Can%20Heritage%20be%20Transnationalised.pdf>
- Committee of Experts, House of European History: Conceptual Basis for a House of European History, Brussels 2008,  
[http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2004\\_2009/documents/dv/745/745721/745721\\_en.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2004_2009/documents/dv/745/745721/745721_en.pdf)
- Davies 1997: Norman Davies, Europe. A History. London: Random House  
Delanty 2018: Gerard Delanty, The European Heritage. A Critical Re-Interpretation. London, New York: Routledge
- den Boer, Duchhardt, Kreis, Schmale 2012: Pim den Boer, Heinz Duchhardt, Georg Kreis, Wolfgang Schmale (eds.): Europäische Erinnerungsorte. München: Oldenbourg Verlag  
Dingel, Paulmann: Irene Dingel, Johannes Paulmann: European History Online. <http://ieg-ego.eu/>
- François, Kończal, Traba, Troebst 2013: Geschichtspolitik in Europa seit 1989. Deutschland, Frankreich und Polen im internationalen Vergleich. Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag
- Harrison 2013: Rodney Harrison: Heritage. Critical Approaches. Oxon, New York: Routledge
- Hoerder 2002: Dirk Hoerder: Cultures in Contact: World Migrations and the Third Millennium. Durham, London: Duke University Press
- Judt 2005: Tony Judt, Postwar. A History of Europe since 1945. London: Vintage Books  
Kaiser, Krankenhagen, Poehls 2014: Wolfram Kaiser, Stefan Krankenhagen, Kerstin Poehls (eds.): Exhibiting Europe in Museums. Transnational Networks, Collections, Narratives, and Representations. New York, Oxford: Berghahn
- Leggewie 2011: Der Kampf um die europäische Erinnerung. Ein Schlachtfeld wird besichtigt. München: C.H. Beck
- Mork, Christodoulou 2018: Andrea Mork, Perikles Christodoulou (eds.): Creating the House of European History. Luxembourg: Office of Publications of the European Union
- Passerini 2003: Luisa Passerini (ed.): Figures d'Europe. Images and Myths of Europe. Brüssel 2003 (Multiple Europes. 22)
- Prutsch 2015: Markus Prutsch: European Historical Memory: Policies, Challenges and Perspectives. European Parliament, Policy Department for Structural and Cohesion Policies, Brussels, European Union
- Prutsch 2017: European Identity, European Parliament, Policy Department for Structural and Cohesion Policies, Brussels, European Union
- Salzmann 1988: Siegfried Salzmann (ed.): Mythos Europa. Europa und der Stier im Zeitalter der industriellen Zivilisation. Hamburg 1988
- Significance 2.0 : a guide to assessing the significance of collections / Roslyn Russell and Kylie Winkworth. Roslyn. <https://www.arts.gov.au/sites/g/files/net1761/f/significance-2.0.pdf>
- Schmale 2010: Wolfgang Schmale, A Transcultural History of Europe - Perspectives from the History of Migration, European History Online (EGO), ed. Leibniz Institute of European History

(IEG), Mainz 2010-12-03; URL: <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/schmalew-2010a-en>; URN: urn:nbn:de:0159-20101011119

Schmale 2012: Wolfgang Schmale, Cultural Transfer, European History Online (EGO), ed. Leibniz Institute of European History (IEG), Mainz 2012-12-05, URL: <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/schmalew-2012-en>; URN: urn:nbn:de:0159-2012120501

Scholliers, Campanini, Williot 2011: Peter Scholliers, Antonella Campanini, Jean-Pierre Williot (eds.): Manger en Europe. Patrimoines, échanges, identités. Bruxelles et al., Peter Lang  
Smith 2007: Laurajane Smith, Cultural Heritage. Critical Concepts in Media and Cultural Studies, London: Routledge

Smith 2011: All Heritage is Intangible: Critical Heritage Studies and Museums. Text of the Reinwardt Memorial Lecture May 26, 2011. URL: [https://www.ahk.nl/fileadmin/download/reinwardt/lectoraat/All\\_heritage\\_is\\_intangible.pdf](https://www.ahk.nl/fileadmin/download/reinwardt/lectoraat/All_heritage_is_intangible.pdf)

Snyder 2010: Timothy Snyder, Bloodlands, Europa zwischen Hitler und Stalin. München: C.H. Beck

Van Mensch 2011: Peter Van Mensch, Leontine Meijer-van Mensch: New Trends in Museology. Celje 2011

## Keynote: History and heritage in the age of identity

Kenin Malik

Kenan Malik is a writer, lecturer and broadcaster, and a columnist for the Observer and the New York Times. His main areas of interest are the history of ideas, history and philosophy of religion, political and moral philosophy, and the history and sociology of race and immigration.

The skeleton was discovered in 1903 at Gough's Cave in Cheddar Gorge, Somerset, in south-west England. He became known as Cheddar Man, and is the oldest almost complete skeleton of *Homo sapiens* ever found in Britain. In the 1970s, radiocarbon dating suggested that he lived around 10,000 years ago, shortly after the first settlers crossed from continental Europe to Britain at the end of the last ice age. And in the last few years, scientists have been able to extract DNA from his skull and, from his genome, reconstruct what he looked like.

That reconstruction was published recently and suggested that Cheddar Man had dark, almost black skin. The finding is consistent with a number of other Mesolithic human remains discovered throughout Europe. But it caused a sensation in Britain. A figure that few outside of academic circles had previously known about now became central to a national conversation. "The first Britons were black", ran the headlines. For many liberals, Cheddar Man demolished the link between Britishness and whiteness, as one commentator put it.

Steven Clarke, the director of a TV documentary about Cheddar Man, even linked him to current debates about Brexit. "You go back quite far and discover that everything's in flux, everything changes. That's the message of the film. There is a national debate, and a debate about our relationship with Europe. All those things are still in the mix. It speaks to us now."

For racists, on the other hand, Cheddar Man was not a real Briton, and the reconstruction was simply science having been taken over by political correctness.

In reality, of course, Cheddar Man does not 'speak to us now' in the way that many would like him to. He has no bearing on contemporary debates on race or genetics or identity, still less on Brexit. He may have possessed dark skin, but he is not 'black' in any meaningful sense. Humans who lived 10,000 years ago are distinct from all humans today, whatever their colour.

What the debate over Cheddar Man does show is how the past is ever-present in the present. The past is a resource with which to buttress the present. The debate over Cheddar Man is one expression of the way heritage – whether genetic or artistic or literary or architectural – is increasingly politicised, a means of presenting the past in a way that helps define the present from a particular political or moral perspective.

There is nothing new, of course, in mining the past to find the resources through which to reinforce a particular vision of the present. What is different today is the social context in which we define our relationship to the past. We live in an age in which identity has become a central feature of our lives.

But if identity, and identity politics, have become one of the defining issues of the age and a key faultline in contemporary politics, they are also deeply confusing issues. For some, all politics is identity politics. For others, it is an essential component in the defence of the rights of minority groups. For yet others, it is a divisive approach, which has created a more fragmented society, and helped fuel the rise of populism.

Identities are, of course, of great significance. They give each of us a sense of ourselves, of our grounding in the world and of our relationships to others. But the relationship between identity and politics is a complex one. One's identity, or identities, helps shape one's political views, and one's political views give form to one's identity. But politics is also, or *should* also be, a means of taking us beyond the identities given by the specific circumstances of our lives.

As a teenager, I was drawn to politics because of my experience of racism. But if it was racism that drew me to politics, it was politics that made me see beyond the narrow confines of racism. I came to learn that there was more to social justice than challenging the injustices done to me, and that a person's skin colour, ethnicity or culture provides no guide to the validity of his or her political beliefs.

Through politics, I was introduced to the ideas of the Enlightenment, and to the concepts of a common humanity and universal rights. Through politics, too, I discovered the writings of Marx and Mill, Baldwin and Arendt, James and Fanon. Most of all, I discovered that I could often find more solidarity and commonality with those whose ethnicity or culture was different to mine, but who shared my values, than with many with whom I shared a common ethnicity or culture but not the same political vision.

Politics, in other words, did not reinforce my identity, but helped me reach beyond it. In recent years, though, identities have become much narrower and more parochial, moulded less by the possibilities of a transformative future than by an often mythical past. And politics, far from taking us beyond our narrow identities, has become defined by them. One's beliefs and interests seem determined by membership of particular biological, cultural or faith identity groups. Today, we make sense of the world less as 'liberals', 'conservatives' or 'socialists' than as 'Muslim', 'American' or 'white'.

What has all this to do with heritage and policy? The changing relationship between politics and identity expresses also a changing relationship to the past. It expresses also a transformation in the place of culture in social discourse.

Over the past few decades, the centrality of 'class' has eroded in European politics, both as a political category and as a marker of social identity. At the same time, 'culture' has become increasingly important as the medium through which people perceive social differences.

The shift from 'class' to 'culture' is part of a much wider set of changes. The broad ideological divides that had characterised politics for much of the past 200 years have been all but erased. The old distinction between 'left' and 'right' has become less meaningful. Old forms of collective life – usually based around class – have weakened. In politics, universalist visions have waned, while particularist perspectives gained strength. Meanwhile, the market has expanded into almost every nook and cranny of social life. And institutions that traditionally helped socialise individuals – from trade unions to the Church – have faded. We live today in much more fragmented, atomised societies.

One of the consequences of these shifts is that people have begun to view themselves and their social affiliations in a different way. They have come to possess narrower visions of what it means to 'belong', and to anchor belonging more starkly in terms of ethnicity, culture or faith. The question many people ask themselves is not so much, In what kind of society do I want to live? as Who are we?. The two questions are, of course, intimately related, and any sense of social identity must embed an answer to both. But as the political sphere has narrowed, and as mechanisms for political change have eroded, so the answer to the question, In what kind of society do I want to live?, has become shaped less by the kinds of values or institutions people want to struggle to establish, than by the kind of people that they imagine they are; and the answer to, Who are we?, has become defined less by the kind of society they want to create than by the history and heritage to which supposedly they belong.

It is against this background that the issue of heritage has become so much more important. As we define ourselves increasingly by our relationship to the past, so how we understand that past has become more important. The past has also become more contested as we struggle more fiercely to shape the past to suit our present. We imbue every historical object, every historical event, with greater meaning and turn each into a myth, a symbol, to help articulate a particular narrative of how we are and of how we should be. And in so doing, we also diminish and devalue the lived experience of history, heritage, belongingness and identity.

Consider, for instance, two debates in two cities at either end of Europe: Córdoba and Istanbul. Córdoba's Mosque-Cathedral is one of the most glorious buildings, not just in Spain, but in Europe. I was last there some 20 years ago. But the memory is still vividly etched in my mind. I remember walking through the courtyard of orange trees, the trees are arranged in rows, the deep green of their foliage splashing colour upon the dusty monochrome of the walls and the ground. And then, almost if they had changed form, the rows of orange trees give way to a forest of columns of red-and-white arches that signal the mosque. The transition is stunning, as is the mosque, whose beauty, spacious and peaceful, is almost impossible to convey in words rather than in the experience. And then, as you walk through, there comes another transition – to a Renaissance cathedral that squats like a familiar stranger within. It would be difficult to call the cathedral beautiful. But there is something quite remarkable about it.

The mosque-cathedral is an architectural expression of the complex, intricate story of Europe. And, for some, that is the problem. In recent years the Cathedral Chapter of Córdoba, the branch of the Catholic Church that administers the site, has slowly wiped away the word 'mosque' from the monument's title and from the publications about the site, officially calling it simply the 'Cathedral of Córdoba'. According to the official brochure, the site is really Christian, and that Córdoba's Muslim period was but a footnote to the city's Christian history.

The story is, of course, far more complex and far more fascinating. The first Muslim armies came to Iberia in the first decade of the 7th century. Córdoba, the capital of al-Andalus, or Muslim Spain, had become, by the 10th century, perhaps the most important city in Europe. The heart of the city was the mosque, or Mezquita. The Caliph Abd al-Rahman purchased the Church of St Vincent to be able to erect upon the site a new mosque, in return for which, Christians were granted permission to rebuild another one.

The original mosque was a remarkable architectural hybrid, fusing the artistic values of East and West, adopting Roman and Visigoth techniques, and including elements previously unknown in Islamic religious architecture, such as the use of double arches to support the roof, and the blending of stone with brick. It was not just a religious house; it was also Córdoba's university, and one of the great centres of learning in the world.

The Mezquita was held in such esteem even by Christians that when the king of Castille, Ferdinand III, reconquered Córdoba in 1236, his army did not, as it normally would have done, destroy it. It became a place of Christian worship, but for three centuries the main structure of the Mezquita was left untouched.

In the 16th century, King Carlos V gave permission to the Church authorities to rip out the centre of the Mezquita to construct a cathedral. When Carlos V visited the completed cathedral in 1526, he was said to have been shocked by the damage wrought on the mosque, exclaiming, "You have built here what you or anyone might have built anywhere else, but you have destroyed what was unique in the world."

3,000 kilometres away at the other edge of Europe stands Istanbul. And at the heart of Istanbul is the glorious Hagia Sophia, one of the great cathedrals of the world.

Istanbul once occupied the same role in eastern Christendom as Córdoba played in the western Islamic Empire. And Hagia Sophia was to Istanbul as the Mezquita was to Córdoba. And in Istanbul today a similar debate is taking place over its fate, a debate that is the mirror image of that in Córdoba.

The current church that we know as Hagia Sophia is built on the ruins of two previous churches on the same site. It was commissioned by the Emperor Justinian, the last Latin-speaking ruler of what was then the Eastern Roman Empire, and completed in 537. It was built with extraordinary speed. Yet it is a most remarkable building, at once the culminating architectural achievement of late antiquity and the first masterpiece of Byzantine architecture, casting an enduring shadow upon the Eastern Orthodox, Catholic, and Muslim worlds, influencing the development of both architecture and forms of worship.

Hagia Sofia became the seat of the Orthodox patriarch of Constantinople and the spiritual heart of the Byzantine empire. In 1453, the city was captured by the Ottomans. Constantinople was renamed Istanbul, and the name Aya Sofya was Islamicised. The cathedral itself was turned into Istanbul's first imperial mosque, coming eventually to boast four minarets.

After the fall of the Ottoman Empire in 1922, and the abolition of the Caliphate two years later, and the establishment of the secular republic of Turkey under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the church mosque became a museum, in which worship was forbidden.

Now, however, there is a campaign to turn Hagia Sofia back into a mosque, a campaign backed by President Erdogan, and the ruling AKP. For many Christians, that would be sacrilege. Greece, which sees the monument as part of its own historical heritage, has condemned it as "an insult to the religious sensibilities of millions of Christians".

Two cities at opposite ends of Europe, two buildings symbolic of the continent's complex history, two debates that expose the fractious character of contemporary debates about culture and identity. Two debates that reveal attempts to rewrite the past to create symbols upon which to buttress a particular view of the present. And in the process, just as with Cheddar Man, paring down the complexity of history is pared down to a simple narrative to fit the needs of the present. In the one case, the Catholic Church attempting to establish the idea of Europe as a Christian continent, on the other the AKP attempting to reinforce a sense of the Muslim foundations of modern Turkey.

Many in Europe fear that the continent's identity is being eroded from migration, especially Muslim migration. Europe, the late Cardinal Miloslav Vlk, the Archbishop of Prague until 2010, argued, "has denied its Christian roots from which it has risen and which could give it the strength to fend off the danger that it will be conquered by Muslims, which is actually happening gradually":

"At the end of the Middle Ages and in the early modern age, Islam failed to conquer Europe with arms. The Christians beat them then. Today, when the fighting is done with spiritual weapons which Europe lacks while Muslims are perfectly armed, the fall of Europe is looming."

Perhaps nowhere have such fears been felt more than here in Hungary. "We should not forget", insisted prime minister Viktor Orbán, as Hungary put up new border fences, "that the people who are coming here grew up in a different religion and represent a completely different culture. Most are not Christian, but Muslim." "Is it not worrying", he asked, "that Europe's Christian culture is already barely able to maintain its own set of Christian values?"

While many in Europe worry about the erosion of the values of Christendom, many Muslims fear the same of Islam. The terrible destruction by the Taliban of the Buddhas of Bamiyan, by the Islamic State of the churches of Mosul and the ancient city of Palmyra, of Malian Islamists of the library of Timbuktu, which held an astonishing archive of early Islamic and Christian history,

speaks to the desire to erase a past deemed unacceptable, to create an Islam of myth rather than of history.

In his book, *The Fear of Barbarians*, the philosopher Tzvetan Todorov observes that the world today is structured not so much by ideology as by emotion, and in particular the emotions of fear and resentment. In the West, he argues, public attitudes and political policy have been shaped by fear of terrorism, of immigration and of the ‘Other’, and resentment about the loss of power and prestige abroad, and of the supposed erosion of ‘Western’ culture at home. Among Muslims, there exists a sense of what Todorov calls ‘humiliation, real or imaginary’ which has bred resentment towards Europe and the United States, which are “held responsible for private misery and public powerlessness”.

Todorov makes a similar point to mine: that identity rather than ideology has become the key shaper of social consciousness. And in this process, he observes, people are increasingly drawn to imagining a world torn apart by a ‘clash of civilisations’.

First coined by the historian Bernard Lewis, the idea of ‘clash of civilisations’ was popularised in the 1990s by the American political scientist Samuel Huntington. The conflicts that had convulsed Europe over the past centuries, Huntington wrote, from the wars of religion between Protestants and Catholics to the Cold War, were all “conflicts within Western civilisation”. The “battle lines of the future”, on the other hand, would be *between* civilisations. Such struggles would be “far more fundamental” than any war unleashed by “differences among political ideologies and political regimes”.

Huntingdon identified a number of distinct civilisations, including Confucian, Japanese, Buddhist, Hindu, Orthodox, Latin American and African. The primary struggle would, he thought, be between the Christian West and the Islamic East. Coming into vogue in the decade before 9/11, it has, for many, come to define the decade after. It has become a means through which to express the sense of fear and resentment of which Todorov writes, a way of understanding notions of belongingness and enmity in emotional rather than ideological terms.

Civilisations are not, however, self-enclosed entities. What we call ‘civilisations’ are complex constructions. They are ‘civilisations’ precisely because they are porous, fluid, open to wider influences. They borrow, steal and remake each other’s jewels. The more frenetic the borrowing, the more fertile the ground for innovation. The great civilisations developed primarily in those areas where different a variety of different peoples, cultures, faiths could meet. One reason that the Eastern Mediterranean was such a forge for civilisations – Phoenicia, Israel, Babylon, Egypt, Persia, Greece, Byzantium and many others – was that it was also a furnace for intellectual and cultural melding.

Not only are civilisations culturally and conceptually diverse, but ideas and concepts are historically malleable. Those who talk of a Christian bedrock of Europe imagine that there is a lineage that runs from contemporary European values back through history to the origins of Christianity and beyond that to Greece and to Judaism.

There is no such thread. There are many threads that link the present to the past; many breaks in these threads; and many new threads created through history. And nothing expresses that more than the relationship between Christian Europe and Islam. The two may be seen as conflicting civilisations, and, for much of the past 1,400 years confronted each other. But, in reality, they are also deeply intertwined. Islam draws heavily upon Christian and Jewish stories and concepts, and what is called Christian Europe is deeply indebted to Islam.

Take the idea of Greece as the fountainhead of European civilisation. Greek religion and philosophy were, in fact, very different from Christian religion and philosophy, so much so that in the first millennium of Christianity, Church leaders were ambiguous about the merits of pagan

knowledge. “What is there in common between Athens and Jerusalem?”, asked Tertullian, the first significant theologian to write in Latin. It was only in the wake of Thomas Aquinas and, even more so, of the Renaissance, that the idea of European culture’s rootedness in Ancient Greece became firmly established in public consciousness.

A millennium before the Renaissance, as the Roman Empire crumbled, and Christendom cleaved in two, torn between the Eastern and Western Churches, Greek thought, especially that of Aristotle, almost disappeared from the Western tradition. Christian Western Europe rediscovered the Greek heritage, and in particular Aristotle, in the 13th century, a rediscovery that helped transform European intellectual culture. It did so primarily through the Islamic Empire.

Between the 8th and 13th centuries CE, the centre of learning was not in Athens or Florence, but Baghdad and Cordoba. Arab philosophy and science played a critical role not just in preserving the gains of the Greeks but in genuinely expanding the boundaries of knowledge, both in philosophy and in science, much of which flowed into Western Europe, helping create the frame for the Renaissance and the Enlightenment.

The Rationalist tradition in Islamic thought, culminating in the work of Ibn Sina and Ibn Rushd, is these days barely remembered in the West. Yet its importance and influence, not least on the ‘Judeo-Christian’ tradition, is difficult to overstate. Ibn Rushd especially, the greatest Muslim interpreter of Aristotle, came to wield far more influence within Judaism and Christianity than within Islam, his commentaries shaping the thinking of a galaxy of thinkers from Aquinas to Maimonides.

We talk much these days of ‘Western values’ and many contrast them with Islamic values. What are often described as ‘Western’ values, however – equal rights, for instance, or secularism – would leave many of the key figures of Christianity, such as Augustine or Aquinas, bewildered. Such figures would, on the other hand, have understood the Islamic values of Muslim philosophers such Ibn Sina or Ibn Rushd, and certainly better than they would those of philosophers who have shaped contemporary thinking such as, say, Bentham or Mill, Nietzsche or Sartre, Heidegger or Moore.

There is, in other words, no single set of European values that transcends history in opposition to Islamic values. Nor is there a single set of Islamic values that transcend history. It is this complexity that is so often stripped away in contemporary discussions of European heritage.

The contrast to the clash of civilisations approach is often taken to be multiculturalism: the idea that societies comprise many cultures, each of which help shape the cultural texture of that society. It is an outlook that those who seek to defend European heritage from Islam fear and detest. Multiculturalism, they argue, is rotting the roots of European heritage, opening it up to be taken over by alien traditions.

The irony, however, is that both the clash of civilisations and the multicultural approaches draw upon similar views of culture and identity. In particular, both are rooted in a Romantic vision of culture and of cultural differences.

To understand this better, we need to recognise that the idea of ‘multiculturalism’ possesses two meanings that are all too rarely distinguished. The first is that of the lived experience of diversity. The second that of multiculturalism as a political process, the aim of which is to manage that diversity. The term ‘multiculturalism’ embodies, in other words, both a *description* of a diverse society and a *prescription* for dealing with that diversity. In conflating these two notions, diversity is turned into a problem that must be solved, multicultural policies into the solution to that problem.

The experience of living in a society that is less insular, more vibrant and more cosmopolitan is something to welcome and celebrate. It is a case for cultural diversity, open borders and open minds. As a political process, however, multiculturalism means something very different. It describes a set of policies, the aim of which is to manage diversity by putting people into ethnic boxes, defining individual needs and rights by virtue of the boxes into which people are put, and using those boxes to shape public policy. It is a case, not for open borders and minds, but for the policing of borders, whether physical, cultural or imaginative.

One of the ironies of multiculturalism is that, as a set of political policies it undermines much of what is valuable about diversity as lived experience. When we talk about diversity, what we mean is that the world is a messy place, full of clashes and conflicts. That is all for the good, for such clashes and conflicts are the stuff of political and cultural engagement.

Diversity is important, not in and of itself, but because it allows us to expand our horizons, to compare and contrast different values, beliefs and lifestyles, make judgments upon them, and decide which may be better and which may be worse. It is important, in other words, because it allows us to engage in political dialogue and debate that can help create a more universal language of citizenship.

But in placing minorities into ethnic and cultural boxes, what multicultural policies do is make more difficult such dialogue and debate. The very thing that is valuable about diversity – the contestations that it brings about – is what many politicians and policymakers most fear.

That fear can take two forms. On the one hand there is the nativist sentiment: the belief immigration is undermining social cohesion, eroding our sense of national identity, turning our cities into little Lahores or mini-Kingstons. And on the other there is the multicultural argument, that respect for others requires us to accept their ways of being, and not criticise or challenge their values or practices, but instead to police the boundaries between groups to minimise the clashes and conflicts and frictions that diversity brings in its wake.

The one approach encourages fear, the other indifference. The one approach views migrants as the Other, whose otherness poses a threat to European societies. The other approach views the otherness of migrants as an issue that society must simply respect and live with.

A second irony is that while multicultural policies are rooted in the notion of a diverse society, they are at the same time often blind to the diversity of minority communities. On the multicultural map, diversity magically ends at the edges of minority communities.

Multiculturalists tend to treat minority communities as if each was a distinct, singular, homogenous, authentic whole, each composed of people all speaking with a single voice, each defined primarily by a singular view of culture and faith. In so doing, they all too often ignore conflicts within those communities. All the dissent and diversity gets washed out. As a result, the most progressive voices often get silenced as not being truly of that community or truly authentic, while the most conservative voices get celebrated as the authentic voices of minority groups.

The greatest irony, however, as I have already suggested, is that the clash of civilisations and multiculturalism both draw upon a Romantic view of culture. Romanticism is one of those concepts that cultural historians find invaluable but which is almost impossible to define. It took many political forms – it lies at the roots both of modern conservatism and of many strands of radicalism – and appeared in different national versions.

Romanticism was not a specific political or cultural view but rather described a cluster of attitudes and preferences: for the concrete over the abstract; the unique over the universal; nature over culture; the organic over the mechanical; emotion over reason; intuition over intellect; particular communities over abstract humanity.

These attitudes came to the fore towards the end of the 18th century, largely in reaction to the predominant views of the Enlightenment. Much has been written about the varieties of beliefs and arguments within the 18th century and it is no longer fashionable to talk about *the Enlightenment*. Nevertheless, beneath the differences there were a number of beliefs that most of the *philosophes* held in common and which distinguished Enlightenment thinkers from those of both the 17th and the 19th centuries. There was a broad consensus that humans possessed a common nature; that the same institutions and forms of governance would promote human flourishing in all societies; that reason allowed humans to discover these institutions; and that through the development of such institutions social inequalities and hierarchies could be minimised and even erased.

The Romantic counter-Enlightenment challenged all these beliefs. Whereas Enlightenment *philosophes* saw progress as civilisation overcoming the resistance of traditional cultures with their peculiar superstitions, irrational prejudices and outmoded institutions, for the Romantics the steamroller of progress and modernity was precisely what they feared. Enlightenment *philosophes* tended to see civilisation in the singular. Romantics saw a plurality of cultures, each rooted in a particular people's history and myth.

Culture was an expression of differences, not of universals; and of a putative past, rather than of a potential future. Distinct cultures were not aberrant forms to be destroyed but a precious inheritance to be cherished and protected.

I am, of course, greatly oversimplifying. The story is much more complicated than a simple binary distinction between Romanticism and the Enlightenment suggests. In reality, we always need to view culture from both perspectives. Culture expresses a universal human ability, but is always expressed within a particular form. But for the purposes of this discussion, the Romantic/Enlightenment distinction is a useful frame within which to look at issue.

The philosopher who perhaps best articulated the Romantic notion of culture was Johann Gottfried Herder. Herder rejected the Enlightenment idea that reality was ordered in terms of universal, timeless, objective, unalterable laws that rational investigation could discover. He maintained, rather, that every activity, situation, historical period or civilisation possessed a unique character of its own. What made each people or nation – or *völk* – unique was its *Kultur*, its particular language, literature, history and modes of living. The unique nature of each *völk* was expressed through its *volksgeist* – the unchanging spirit of a people refined through history. Every culture was authentic in its own terms, each adapted to its local environment.

Herder occupies an ambiguous role in modern political thought. In the 18th century, Herder saw himself as part of the Enlightenment tradition – he was a great champion of equality and bitterly opposed both slavery and European colonial treatment of non-Europeans – but also as someone forced to challenge some of the basic precepts of the *philosophes*, such as their stress on universal law and on the universal validity of reason.

In the 19th century, Herder's concept of the *volksgeist* encouraged, albeit unwittingly, the development of racial science. *Volksgeist* became transformed into racial make-up, an unchanging substance, the foundation of all physical appearance and mental potential and the basis for division and difference within humankind.

By the late 19th century, Herder's cultural pluralism came, paradoxically, also to give succour to the new anthropological notion of culture championed by critics of racial science. Franz Boas, the German American who played a key role in the development of cultural anthropology, sought, in the words of historian George Stocking, to define the Romantic notion of 'the genius of the people' in terms other than those of racial heredity. His answer ultimately was the anthropological notion of culture, the notion that underlies modern multicultural ideas. In the 20th century, Herder's relativism and particularism came to shape much of anti-racist thinking. The roots of

barbarism, many came to believe, lay in Western arrogance and the roots of Western arrogance lay in an unquestioning belief in the superiority of Enlightenment rationalism and universalism.

If the Romantic vision of culture buttresses the arguments of both multiculturalists and of nativists, it also shapes much of the discussion on heritage. The UN, for instance, has long advocated that indigenous communities should “retain permanent control over all elements of its own heritage”, heritage being defined as “all of those things which international law regards as the creative production of human thought and craftsmanship, such as songs, stories, scientific knowledge and artworks”.

The 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage broadened this approach to envision the creation of state folklore protection boards that would “register works and authorise their use” and could intervene if native art was used in “culturally inappropriate contexts”. UNESCO is particularly worried by “the inability of states, in a globalised world, to control the cross-border flow of ideas, images and resources that affect cultural development”.

The World Intellectual Property Organisation is developing a protocol for groups, particularly indigenous groups, to own property rights to traditional knowledge and cultural expressions, if that knowledge or those expressions “have some linkage with a community’s cultural and social identity and cultural heritage” and are ‘authentically’ of that community. The aim is to prevent, without the “free, prior and informed consent” of the “relevant community”, the “misappropriation” of such heritage.

Expressed in all these reports, conventions and protocols is the classic Romantic view of culture and knowledge. The notions of a ‘relevant community’, of ‘authentic’ belonging, and of ‘culturally inappropriate contexts’ are both illusory and dangerous.

A ‘relevant community’ can be constituted only through a circular argument. Some Muslims, for instance, regard the depiction of the Prophet Muhammad as blasphemous, and hence to be forbidden. To depict the Prophet should, in their eyes, be seen as ‘culturally inappropriate’. Other Muslims see no problem in such depictions (there is, in fact, a long Muslim tradition of creating images of Muhammad). But only the former are seen as ‘authentic’ Muslims, while the latter are seen as too liberal or ‘Westernised’ to belong to the ‘relevant community’. This is Herder’s vision of the *volksgeist* remade into the language of the 21st century.

When we talk today of identity and of identity politics, what we mean is the entrenchment of a Romantic view of culture and cultural differences. It is from this perspective that our relationship to the past is being reshaped.

Culture is our entry ticket into the world, a means of opening it up, of allowing us to engage with it and expand our horizons. But too much policymaking, both at national and international level, turns culture into barrier, a means of protecting people from the world. The consequence has to create cultural enclaves and intellectual Bantustans.

That is why, in my view, we need to reject both the nativist, or clash of civilisations, and the multicultural approaches to heritage. In many ways we are each of us like the Cordoba Cathedral-Mosque and Istanbul’s Aya Sofya. We are each of us complex constructions, each with many identities, influences, and sources of heritage.

But, too often, the way in which we are often regarded by policy makers – and, indeed, the way we often regard ourselves – is like the way the Catholic Church view the Cathedral-Mosque or the Turkish authorities view Aya Sofya – as singular, with all the complexity washed out, and as symbolic of a myth we want to present about our roots.

Unlike the two buildings, however, human beings have agency. We are not simply constructed, but construct ourselves. Our sense of who we are, where we come from, where we belong, what our values are. And we construct ourselves through debate dialogue, contestation.

What heritage policy-making should be about is not having that debate for us, or defining how we should think about these issues, but about using the past to provide the tools and the space that allow us to have that debate in the present.

## Keynote: European (inter)cultural heritage in the age of fluid identities

Ferenc Miszlivetz

Professor Ferenc Miszlivetz is founder and director general of the Institute of Advanced Studies Kőszeg (IASz) where he holds a UNESCO Chair in Cultural Heritage and Sustainability. Since 2012 he has served as the president of the Social Sciences unit of the Hungarian UNESCO Committee.

I am Ferenc Miszlivetz, I am originally an economist and a historian but slowly I developed my career as a sociologist and in what we call European Studies. In the last decade I became, thanks to this wonderful city where we are at the moment, a kind of 'cultural heritage manager' because I fell in love with this city called Kőszeg in Hungarian, Güns in German and Kiseg in Croatian. I am originally from Budapest, from the Pest side, Theresienstadt, and I still have a strong Budapest identity, meanwhile my Kőszeg or rather West Pannonian identity has grown strong as well. I do not have any family roots, any relatives here in 'Western Pannonia'. I will not give a theoretical keynote speech today. I will start to interpret what we have around ourselves, what we used to have around ourselves in the early 20th century.

Culture is basically a fluid concept that exists in co-creation. With every step in our life, this conference including, we are recreating our cultural identity. Understanding and reinterpreting heritage is a very important exercise, both for scholars, academics and practitioners in cultural heritage management, museum directors and interpreters, and for lay people.

About a decade ago, we started here in the Kőszeg-Szombathely micro-region a research project called KRAFT. KRAFT is an abbreviation, a little play on words. It comes from the title, Creative Cities and Sustainable Region, so actually it should be CREFT. As a sociologist working here in Szombathely and Kőszeg, I discovered, talking to investors, state firms and multinational companies, that they believe, small cities do not count. In the belief that this is not only an outrageous but also a dangerous idea, I started to think more accurately about the importance of small cities, and their cultural heritage in a larger historical context.

We are in a time of a renaissance of small cities in the 21st century. If you think about cities going back to the ancient times, there were always important factors which were put together by history. In Central Europe we have a lot of small and medium size cities and a lot of potential 'city assemblies'. This is especially the case here in West Pannonia. For a multinational company, it is very easy to say that Kőszeg – with its 12,000 inhabitants – does not count. "It is a village." One can understand it from the point of view of profitmaking or economy of scale. It is seen as a nice place with atmospheric renaissance and baroque buildings but in its scope, it is a larger village.

The idea we developed, to connect cities with each other, like, for example, the Kőszeg-Szombathely city assembly, might help to overcome this shortcoming to create a larger space for investment. But just to create a larger space for investment is not enough. The main question is: How to make these small and medium size cities more dynamic, how to turn them into attractive places, primarily for their inhabitants who are living and were born there and also for people who come to visit them and might be looking for alternative places to live. It is a well-known tendency in Central and Eastern Europe, that people – mainly the young generations – are leaving to the West in hopes of a better life, and others from the East are coming here to Hungary mainly for a transit zone. Thus, the process of internal migration clearly exists here in Europe.

As far as city-assemblies are concerned, let us take the example of Italian cities in the region of Emilia-Romagna. The University of Bologna decided, when it celebrated its imagined 'thousandth anniversary', not to build another huge concrete campus within the overburdened city of Bologna, but rather to establish campuses within the surrounding region. They created a network, and Rimini, Ravenna, Cesena, Forlì became a chain of cities connected not only by historical and cultural ties but also by the oldest university of the world. *Mutatis mutandis*, the situation can be paralleled with what we have in Western Pannonia. The University of Pannonia has developed a larger regional city assembly including Nagykanizsa, Zalaegerszeg, Keszthely, Veszprém and most recently Kőszeg. Being aware of its potential, the mayors of these cities, together with the rector of the university, most recently established the Alliance of Pannon Cities.

In academia, in teaching in higher education, we have an important responsibility to deal with the fact that our knowledge-creation and the knowledge-distribution is very much outdated. We live in ivory towers. There are wonderful universities everywhere in the world, but most of the higher education units have lost or never developed their connection with their own neighbourhoods. They don't have much direct impact on social or institutional innovation. They operate as isolated places, which do not correspond with the challenges of our times.

If we look at the historic examples of Athens, Bologna, Florence, Paris, Oxford, Prague, Heidelberg, etc., we can see, that there was always a certain co-existence and interdependence of important elements, such as power, citizenry, economy, wealth, world-view (which, in our case, I think should be a *new world-view*), knowledge, knowledge-creation, arts and belief. If these elements can act together, they might have a great impact, in each case in a different configuration. Then there is a chance for a city or a city assembly to become influential within its own region and to become a new centre for knowledge creation, inspiration, imagination and creative and socially useful innovation in the terrain of life.

Now, what is intercultural heritage in the age of fluid identities? Let's take two examples: First, I will talk about *fin-de-siècle* Budapest and approach the topic of intercultural heritage through stories of the capital city and the nation. Second, I will enter the topic from a localised vantage point: the local heritage and liminal identity of a small border town in Western Hungary.

This year (2018) marks the centennial of the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In Hungary the collapse and the Paris Peace Treaties following the First World War have become sensitive topics. Hungarians refer to it as 'Trianon' as it was the palace of Trianon in Versailles where the victorious great powers announced their decisions about the fate of the losers of the Great War, as a result of which Hungary lost two-thirds of its territory. Hungary was a second player in the then world-power Habsburg Empire which, after the 1867 Compromise, became the Austro-Hungarian Empire ('The Monarchy'), and which had a great period we often call The Golden Age.<sup>35</sup>

In the Austro-Hungarian dual Monarchy there were many different ethnic groups, different cultures, and different languages. Besides Hungarians, there were Germans, Romanians, Italians, Serbians, Croats, Slovaks, Czechs, Ruthenians, etc. – it was a colourful cultural map. The Hungarians had a strong tendency to believe that they were actually ruling the empire on equal footing with the Austrians, being the first among all of these ethnic-cultural-linguistic groupings. On the other hand, this multi-ethnic empire had a huge potential, which we tend to forget, even upon the end of its existence. After the War broke out, it soon turned out that there was little hope to hold together the Empire and, retrospectively, it seems that it was doomed to fail thanks to its internal weaknesses and tensions. On the other hand, as a new generation of historians most recently emphasise, the dual monarchy had a great, largely neglected potential of combining national endeavours, aspirations of different ethnic groups to express their identities

<sup>35</sup> For a more detailed analysis see Agárdi-Mislivetz, *The Empire of a Golden Age. Messages from a Creative Era.* (Kőszeg, FTI, 2018).

*within* the boundaries of the Empire. To become an empire of nations, where nationalism is tamed and national aspirations can be reconciled with the idea and existence of a larger political-economic unit. So, it's not at all true that nationalisms in their milder forms are necessarily destructive vis-à-vis a larger framework, such as an empire. Neither is it necessarily exclusive today within the larger framework of the European Union.

Now, why do we call this age between the Austro-Hungarian Compromise (1867) and the Breakout of the Great War (1914) 'The Golden Age'? The Habsburgs had to change their attitude towards the world, towards first of all vis-à-vis a rapidly industrialising Germany and also vis-à-vis an already successfully industrialised England and other colonial European powers. After the crackdown on the Hungarian Freedom Fight in 1848 and the significant weakening of the military might of the Habsburgs, the Compromise yielded space for both economic and cultural take-off.

The best example of the miraculous achievements of the Golden Age is Budapest. Budapest did not exist as we know it today before 1873. There was a small, flat city called Pest, and there was another one, Buda, called Ofen in German, with a lot of cultural heritage from the overwhelmingly German Bürgertum, which consisted mostly of vein makers, handicraft people and the old German patricius aristocracy. There was some kind of cooperation between these two cities but nevertheless they were two separate cities. There were no bridges to connect them. In the new situation, the compromise between the Hungarian political class, the aristocracy and the Habsburgs collided with the fact that Budapest became a booming city. Pest-Buda, by its first name, was united in 1873 and it started to flourish. The unification gave space for an unexpected explosion of creativity: intellectual life and culture (arts, poetry, music) were thriving, café culture was flourishing. Budapest, in a few decades, became a global city equalling its rate of growth with New York, Chicago and Berlin.

It was possible because of the amalgamation of different cultures, of different ways of thinking and a combination of a new urban centre with a global aspiration as the second capital of still one of the most influential powers of the world. The geographically vast and still expanding Habsburg Empire needed a second centre, to balance out the Western location of Vienna. The city was built in a couple of decades out of nothing, which was almost like a miracle.

Now, how was this possible? There was a strong tendency for autonomy and independence among the Hungarian ruling class, the nobility and aristocracy to become. It was their definite aspiration to become the rulers of the eastern and southern part of the ethnically and culturally diverse, geographically and politically rather amorphous empire. The Hungarians had a strong tendency to believe that they were a kind of dominating power with historically developed and justified capability of state formation, but they were also aware that, compared to the other nationalities of the Empire, they were in a minority. At the time, the territory saw a heavy migration flow of Jewish population, most of them coming from the East, some of them from the North, from the region of Moravia. These communities were ready to become Hungarian. Thus, with the growing Jewish population soon-to-become an integral part of the Hungarian nation, it was possible to achieve majority status vis-à-vis the Serbs, the Romanians, the Slovaks, and the other ethnicities of the Empire.

The decades between 1870 and 1910 brought about a cultural explosion. Many of the great authors, poets, journalists, writers came from the countryside and all of a sudden, they became Budapest authors. Most of them actually never left Budapest. Those were the decades when Budapest was created architecturally overwhelmingly by the Jewish financial capital, culturally by a special mixture of Hungarian artists and writers, journalists and of course a lot of Germans still living in Buda and Pest. That kind of cultural mixture became, I think, the most important attractive element of the city which, in a couple of years, became a popular tourist destination and cultural centre of Europe.

So, before 1873 it did not exist, there was no Budapest, tourists did not come to visit these places. On one side there was the Buda Castle, the centre, dominated by the Ottoman Empire for 150 years, and dominated by the Habsburgs for many, many decades, and on the other side there was Pest, a small city with very little importance. And suddenly it became a global city, its growth, its development could be compared with Chicago and New York of that time, and maybe Berlin in terms of knowledge-creation.

By the end of the century, Hungarians understood the importance of higher education and research. Before that, most of the Hungarian, German, and Jewish youngsters went to Vienna and Berlin to study, and in the moment when the universities were built in Budapest, in Debrecen and in other big cities such as Kolozsvár/Klausenburg in Transylvania, the situation completely changed. Budapest became an architecturally unique and attractive new centre of culture, music, gastronomy, tourism, and knowledge-creation.

Budapest, although a young city, was a cultural and intellectual capital of a vast space with all the bright future prospects of the age. To become the second capital of a big world power meant a lot for its residents: it provided great prospects (and opportunities) for poets, for artists, for people with political aspirations, for all kinds of professionals, such as engineers, teachers and physicians. During these 40 years it was not just Budapest that experienced a rapid boom, but other cities in Western Pannonia as well. In the 1870-80s and 1910s, important towns like Szombathely, Nagykanizsa or Keszthely were built in a similar way, and with similar speed.

This is a process that we call rapid and belated *embourgeoisement*, i.e. the creation of a new middle class. It was very fast development and its essential fuel was heritage and remembrance. People who were running the city of Budapest understood this, so they started to invent the past. They wanted to show the world how important and unique the Hungarians were. The belief that Hungarians are unique, thanks to their language, their history, and their culture, and due to the strong belief and deeply ingrained image of being the last bastion of the West, gained a strong emphasis at the time, and became a building block of a changing national identity. These elements of Hungarian identity can be found in text books, history books, and today it forms a considerable part of the official political rhetoric.

At the time of the late 19<sup>th</sup>/ early 20th century the competition between old and new powers for world domination gained momentum. As a consequence, the mission of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the great nations was questioned. Western Europe believed (still believes) itself to be a kind of civiliser of the outside world. Although the Habsburg Empire was somewhat relatively underdeveloped in an economic sense, it tried to identify its new civilising mission towards the grey zone of the Eastern part of the continent. Having understood the strong civilising mission of the West, the ruling elites were aware of their limited impact on the Western part of the world. The Empire, thus, turned its own civilising mission towards the East (Galicia, and the Balkan Peninsula) in a form of internal colonisation of the ethnic minorities there. The Hungarian elites were on board to be the second dominating class of this process.

Budapest was built accordingly. The Heroes Square mirrors these magnificent ambitions of establishing greatness and uniqueness very well, interpreting the first Hungarian kings as heroes. Right next to the Heroes Square, the Kunsthalle was built, and it was supposed to show the world the fantastic Hungarian art works.

The aspiration behind this interpretation of Hungarian history was certainly overproportioned. However, an important and interesting moment is that instead of just following the path of Viennese art nouveau, the Secession, Hungarian artists and architects discovered very fast that they could build their artistic style upon Hungary's own cultural and historical heritage. There was a three-directional development path: 1) modernisation; 2) a tendency to turn to the East, and discover and integrate stylised Indian and Iranian motifs; and 3) getting inspiration from the historic (folk) traditions coming from the distant rural areas of the country. The former two were

characteristics of Secession in general, however, in comparison to its Austrian variants, Hungarian Secessionist art seems to have been fundamentally influenced by its own cultural influences and inspirations from rural cultural traditions, which made it distinctly ‘Hungarian’. Ödön Lechner, a German-Hungarian architect, was heavily influenced by both folk and Far-Eastern motifs and built fantastic buildings in Budapest. They became targets of much debate and discussion because conservative political forces found them to be too provocative and too ugly. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Head of the Academy, Baron Wlassich, condescendingly referred to them as “some kind of Jewish stuff”. Modern anti-Semitism and a nationalism based on exclusionary thinking started to flourish at this time. Although Hungary welcomed Jewish migrants during the mid-19th century, by the beginning 20th century there was already growing jealousy, competition and exclusion – despite official ideals of liberalism.

In the following I would like to tell two illustrative stories about attempts for intercultural dialogue, or intercultural solution.

Ferenc Békássy was a young man, a very talented young poet, born in Zsennye, a couple of kilometres from Szombathely. He went to school in Kőszeg and later he was sent by his mother to England, where he studied and learned English and went to Cambridge where he befriended Virginia Woolf, John Maynard Keynes, one of the most influential economists of the 20th century, and many others.

He considered his mission to be interpretation and cultural mediation. He was determined to translate the most important Hungarian poems into English. He translated Hungarian poems and dramas from the 19th century, so, despite his young age, he actually became a very effective, efficient cultural interpreter and mediator. He was also a pacifist. He cultivated a Platonic love for the cousin of Laurence Olivier. He was a very successful student at Cambridge. When World War I broke out, he believed that as a good patriot he had to fight for his homeland. He did not have money to come back to the country, so he turned to Keynes who helped him financially. The day after the war was declared against the Habsburg Empire, he voluntarily went to war and was killed almost instantly. Right before his death he was going to meet with one of the biggest personas in Hungarian poetry, Mihály Babits, who actually knew that Békássy was translating his poems and propagating his poetry in Cambridge, and at the end of the day Babits didn't show up. Békássy died before even having a congratulatory handshake from one of the most influential poets of Hungary. After his death, Keynes managed to put his name in King's College Chapel as one of the heroes of World War I.

Békássy was, by my interpretation, partly successful in his effort for cultural mediation. That at least he had the sensitivity to understand the danger of isolation. When a small group of people isolates themselves by language, customs, traditions, and politics, it is a dangerous move. It is dangerous because in the name of the ‘imagined community’, politics is often interested in creating conflicts and sending people to war, while constructing and solidifying specific notions of pure identity for the members of that imagined community.

I do not believe that our identities are fluid, distinct entities. I think they are rather quantum types of entities. You might believe at a certain point in your life that you are only Hungarian, nothing but Hungarian. But there is nothing like ‘purely Hungarian’ in our history. We are all mixed, we are all hybrid identities. And that is a huge challenge for cultural heritage interpreters, historians, anthropologists, architects to find out what our ‘real’ intercultural heritage is – if there is such a thing.

I briefly mention the example of Endre Ady, one of the greatest poets of that time. At the very end of his life, in a short and powerful essay, *Korrobóri* (1917), he came to the conclusion that there is no way for Hungarians, or for Jews, to survive, but to merge. He understood the dangers of anti-Semitism, he also understood the dangers of the collapse of the Habsburg Empire, and Hungary becoming a small, isolated, and ethnically homogenous. *Corroboree* is a love dance coming from

Australia, from the Australian aborigines, where the women play the music and men dance, sometimes dancing themselves to death. In his 1917 essay, Ady uses this metaphor that the Jews play the music, the Hungarians are dancing; it is a love and hate affair but we should overcome this and unite our forces because the different world-view and attitudes that the Jewish community represents would help Hungarians come out of the little niche of self-isolation. Of course, it is needless to say, that this remained without much resonance or effort.

Having talked about imperial and national cultural continuities, let me return to the topic of local heritage in Kőszeg, and the renaissance of small cities that can be observed today in Central Europe and perhaps in Southern Europe as well. Here also, let me resort to stories, which always dwell between myth and reality, truth and fiction. They, however, tell us a lot about how the past lives with their community and how it shapes social ties and local culture even today. Kőszeg played an important role during the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance, as it was probably the most important fortification before Vienna when the Ottoman invasions came. The town started to lose its significance when the Habsburgs decided that they needed a bigger place for transportation and logistics - Szombathely. As a matter of fact, Kőszeg was always a very small place, now it has 12,000 residents, not counting its surrounding neighbourhoods. In Medieval and Modern times, Kőszeg had no more than 5-7,000 people, but it had a particular type of creativity due to the amalgamation of German, Croatian, Hungarian and Jewish communities and cultures and because of existing in the shade of the *ambiente* of Vienna. These factors combined to spark creativity in Kőszeg in the 17th and 18th centuries. Since then it has been a peculiar place with many secrets to this day. Kőszeg became the city of schools, and by the end of 19<sup>th</sup>/ early 20<sup>th</sup> century there were nine or ten schools in this small city. Each congregation had their own schools: Catholic, Protestant and Jewish. There were schools for women, pedagogues and teachers, and there was a rather famous military school, coming up in many literary works, most famously in Géza Ottlik's *School at the Border*.<sup>36</sup>

And now let's go back a little bit to the Middle Ages. Why Kőszeg had so many secrets, it's hard to say. In 1532 there was a siege, a military campaign. The Ottoman Empire was a military empire and they had to practice their military capacity. Interestingly there was no real purpose at the time, of course, the general purpose was to conquer Vienna, one of the bastions of the Western world. But that year Suleiman the Magnificent was not so sure in this purpose, but nevertheless, the campaign started and about 200,000 people including 90,000 janissaries arrived at Kőszeg in 1532. The castle was defended by a Croatian nobleman named Nikola Jurišić, who didn't even speak Hungarian (he served the Emperor in Vienna). At a certain moment he decided not to stay with the Christian army, which was very slowly gathering around Vienna. Jurišić had 38 German soldiers, and between Kőszeg and Vienna he sent a letter to the Emperor saying: "My Dear Lord, I changed my mind, I go back to Kőszeg, I see all these peasants running everywhere, I want to teach them how to shoot and how to fight. We are trying to stop the Ottoman invasion so that you have enough time to gather your military capacity to defend Vienna." Today this sounds completely crazy. He gathered less than 1,000 people against 90,000 very well-trained janissaries. Allah was not with the Ottomans, it was raining for months, they lost half of their ammunition, the cannons were left in Anatolia, they could not carry heavy things. But even so the siege started, and it took almost an entire month.

At the end of the month almost everyone died except for Jurišić, a few captives, some women and children. He went out to negotiate with Grand Vizier Ibrahim, who told him that, "If you surrender, put the Turkish flags everywhere, and go to the Sultan, who is watching this whole game and kiss his hands." And Jurišić, who was half-dead already, said, "No, I cannot do that, I am a Christian, I cannot kiss the hands of the Sultan." Then they agreed to kiss his caftan. "If you do so, at that moment – I am the Grand Vizier – I am donating Kőszeg to you. I do not let janissaries enter the city." And so it happened.

<sup>36</sup> The title has a double meaning: the school was physically at the border, but it also marks the liminal situation the town was in after World War I and the Peace Treaties. When the Hungarians continued the military education in Kőszeg, the school was called '*Die Zögerl*'.

This is how these two men, Jurišić and Ibrahim Pasha saved the city. That is one of the greatest secrets of the town. It was discovered only recently – and it still needs historical research – that they met in Istanbul years before, and Pasha Ibrahim was of Christian origin because he was the son of a slave, having had Macedonian or Greek parents. So, what does it mean? The city was defended by German soldiers, they were professional soldiers, a Croatian nobleman was the captain, there were Hungarian peasants, who did not know how to fight, so it was completely hopeless. But miraculously there was a dialogue between these two people, and they decided not to destroy a wonderful settlement like Kőszeg.

My last story is about Philipp Schey and the Synagogue (Fig. 3). Phillip Schey was the son of a poor Jewish family in Kőszeg, but he was ambitious and talented, and made it to become a rich merchant and a later a catholicised nobleman. He got his entitlement from the Habsburgs sometime in the 1860s, and he lived in Vienna. But, thanks to his roots in Kőszeg, he spent several weeks every year as the head of the local bank and was actually donating money for social and religious purposes. He built the Kőszeg synagogue, the Jewish cemetery, and also supported non-Jewish projects, such as Catholic church building and the kindergarten of the town.

The story of the synagogue is really fascinating. We now have a project which has set out to restore and put to use ten important buildings in Kőszeg. The Synagogue is one of them. The building will be reconstructed next year, and it is going to be a place of pilgrimage: a space where people can contemplate the past and the future. We very much believe this is going to be a space for intercultural dialogue, and hopefully inviting not only rabbis and Catholic bishops but also imams to talk about the possible *rapprochement* between world religions.

The rabbi-house is going to serve as a research place, where historians interested in understanding the importance of the Jewish community across the region, will work. Kőszeg had a small but influential Jewish minority which has never exceeded 200 people. Today it is a black hole in cultural memory and collective dialogue. There were some attempts to understand how people act, and there were some dramatic moments. There was a young person who was 15 years old when the Hungarian Nazis came from Budapest and forced them to create a small camp for the Jewish population. He was given a rifle, and he was nominated as a 'Jewish guard'. When the Red Army was approaching, Hungarian arrow cross troops with their captives and prisoners were trying to escape towards the West. There was a small temporary concentration camp in Kőszeg and also around the nearby settlement of Rohonc/Rechnitz, which they evacuated at the last minute. He remembered that there was a beautiful young Jewish lady in the group who made him understand that she would be very thankful to him if he could save her life whilst crossing the border. And this old man told us in tears, that he was afraid that he was going to be killed by the Nazis if he did so and that he would never forgive himself for his lack of courage.

Most of these stories are still untold. There are also countless stories about the years of communism, i.e. the Iron Curtain era. I think this is our job, as historians, social scientists, cultural anthropologists, generally speaking as interpreters, to reinterpret these traumatic episodes, as well as the rich, powerful and successful episodes of our recent past. There is an interesting interplay between continuity and discontinuity, which surface through the destiny of people. One of the conclusions is that in cases of cultural density and historic depth, like in the case of Kőszeg, the size and scope does not matter, nor does it matter how many people live here. The intertwined roots of different cultures are so strong that you cannot eradicate just by force, just by killing some of the peoples, or just by sealing the border with an Iron Curtain and not letting anyone come here.

When the time comes, and it came in 1990, the strong cultural roots surface and they are bearing fruits again. There is yet again a renewed sense of a strong identity that defines the community on local and microregional levels, a sense of belonging that defines residents as well as visitors

who come here. Kőszeg is the city of schools, of learned middle classes, of several communities, religious and ethnic, and it is a meeting place of East and West, as we have been calling it since the Europe House was established in 1994, a 'Meeting place Central Europe'. It is a city where people remember that there was a Pasha Ibrahim, the strongest man of the superpower of that time, who decided *not* to destroy the town. As the examples illustrate, there is always that chance, and that chance is given by culture and the reinterpretation of cultural heritage to opt for the better and to interpret our history rather as intercultural heritage.

## **Keynote: Affective experiences – the embodied performances of heritage making**

Laurajane Smith

Professor Laurajane Smith is Director of the Centre for Heritage and Museum Studies at the Australian National University, Canberra. Her work focuses on the political and social consequences of the uses of heritage.

Why do people visit museums and heritage sites? This is on the surface a relatively simple question, and is addressed in academic discussion, policy and practice as such. Responses have traditionally been framed by two core assumptions: people come to either learn and/or to recreate as tourists. Both assumptions tend to define visitors as passive consumers of curatorial or interpretative messages, and tend to foreclose the possibility that other things may be occurring during individual and collective visits to such places. Work that I have been doing since 2004 has aimed to question these assumptions and explore what the visit not only means to visitors, but to identify the wider cultural, political and social work that visiting does. My aim today is to summarise the overall findings of interview work I have been doing with visitors to museums, exhibitions and heritage sites in Australia, England and the United States. This is very much work in progress; while the fieldwork is completed and the analysis largely so, I am attempting to write up the project and I am looking for feedback not only on my interpretations of the results, but also the ways of communicating the complexity of the material.

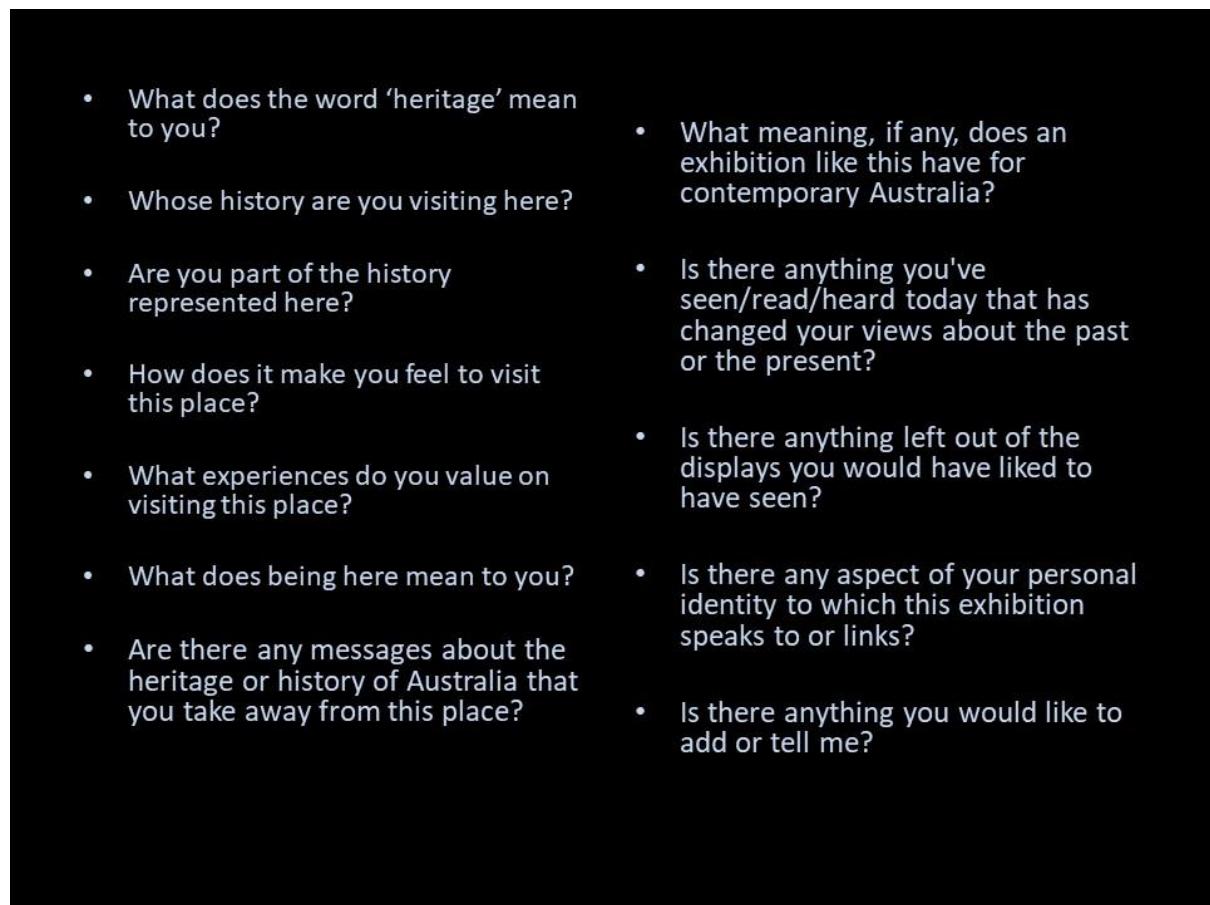
I work with the idea that heritage primarily involves discourse, performance and an embodied affective practice rather than the naturalistic veneration of material objects, sites and places. Heritage as a practice frames how individuals, families, communities of various scales, nations and societies engage to negotiate not only the meaning of the past, but the ways in which the past is used to legitimise or to remake contemporary cultural and political values and narratives. Museum collections or heritage sites are not in and of themselves heritage, but rather cultural tools that are utilised in an active embodied performance of heritage creation in which remembering and memory-making occurs. These performances occur at or around the practices of management and curation, decisions on what to collect, list or define as heritage, what to save and what to destroy and so on. These performances also occur individually and collectively through a range of activities, one of which is the visitation of particular places or sites. This definition also rejects the boundary often drawn between museums and heritage sites, and argues that both are theatres of memory and arenas of social and political justification, as well as sites of historical consciousness and heritage making. What, if any, are the heritage performances and practices that visitors engage in when they go to different heritage places, and what affective and emotional aspects do they enact?

### **Methodology**

Several phases of data collection were undertaken. From 2010 to 2013, I interviewed visitors at sites in Australia and the USA. This built on several similar projects that were conducted in 2004 and 2007 in England. The combined database I'm working with consists of 4,500 visitor interviews. Without being able to go into detail about the method, overall I used a structured interview schedule with 12 core open-ended questions asked across all sites in the study (Figure 1). Visitors were convenience sampled on exit and interviews were recorded, transcribed and coded.

Sites for interview were chosen because either they offered a consensus narrative of national history (such as exhibitions on war, the star spangled banner or were represented by presidential and other stately house museums or museums about frontier expansion) and sites that offered

dissonant and contested histories – and depending on the country, these were represented by sites representing enslavement legacies, immigration, labour and working class history and culture, indigenous history and culture.



**Figure 1** – Open-ended questions used in the interviews

## Findings

One of the key issues emerging from the data is that heritage sites and museums are places where people go to feel, to be emotional:

"I don't go to museums for education, I can read material on the internet and in books, I come for emotional reasons. Coming for education makes no sense."  
(NCRM61: male, 55-64, retired health care, African American)

Understanding the emotional nature of visiting has not only revealed that the learning/recreational paradigms of understanding visiting is far too limited, but has also shown that museums and heritage sites are used in many different ways and for many different purposes by visitors. Understanding the emotional content of the visit reveals the complex ways in which visitors react to curatorial messages. Part of my goal is to attempt to untangle the affective and emotional responses and to explore how they impede or facilitate visitor engagement, and the role they play in the framing the moments of heritage and meaning-making in which visitors engage.

One of the ways I am doing that is through the idea of registers of engagement. It is a prosaic observation that individuals will engage differently with a particular aspect of history and that

different sites may engender varying levels of engagement. However, measuring different levels of engagement reveals the limitations of much of the heritage and museum interpretation literature, which draws on educational studies that argue deep engagement is more significant than shallow engagement.

Some visitor engagement can be quite shallow, banal even, but nonetheless such engagement does important cultural and political work, while some deep engagement can generate a lot of emotional feeling but does not necessarily go far in developing critical insight for the visitor. For example, one visitor (female, student, age 18-24) was so deeply engaged with an exhibition about the Star Spangled Banner at the Smithsonian National History Museum that, when faced with the question, Does an exhibition like this have meaning for contemporary America?, she replied, “I think so. I think it creates a link to the reason we became a country” before becoming so emotional she had to excuse herself and disappear, sobbing. This deep emotional engagement can, as much as banal or shallow engagement, rehearse what Gramsci defines as ‘common sense’ narratives and readings of the past and present. Deep and shallow visitor engagement can also be either conservative/ reactionary or liberal/ progressive; however, understanding registers of engagement is important for understanding both the emotional, imaginative and intellectual investments that visitors may make in their visits, the ways emotions and critical insight interact, and the meanings that are subsequently rehearsed or rejected and reconstructed during visits.

The second key issue is the emergence of a range of different types of heritage performances:

1. Reinforcement of existing understanding, beliefs, opinions, knowledge, historical narratives, etc.
2. Inter-generational communication
  - Passing on family memories and values
  - Asserting, negotiation or making connections to familial history
3. Remembering and affirmation of social or political values
4. Offering recognition and respect/ or continuing misrecognition
5. Educational resource

That of ‘reinforcement’ is by far the most dominant – and supports work done by researchers at the Smithsonian Museum who have found that visitors tend to leave exhibitions with their entrance narratives intact. The terms ‘reinforcement’, ‘confirmation’ or other synonyms are not used in the interview schedule. However, these terms commonly occur when people talk about the meaning of the visit or the messages they take away from their visit or how the site made them feel. For the vast majority of those interviewed, across all genre of site types and all three countries, it was noted that the visit is about reinforcing not only what they already know, but more importantly, what they already feel and believe:

“Each time we come to a place like this it just reinforces what I’ve seen and just makes me feel good to be an Australian. [...] I don’t think I’ll take anything new um [away]...at all, but it’s [my knowledge and views have] been reinforced. Reinforcement is really what I take away.” (LR9 Stockman’s Hall of Fame, Australia 2010)

“No not really, my knowledge and experiences were relatively similar to this before [I visited] so I think it’s just reinforced my ideas on it already.” (NMA33 First Australians exhibition, National Museum of Australia, 2010)

“It reinforces, it makes me appreciate and feel proud of my country.” (EI81 Ellis Island, America, 2012)

“For a short time feeling part of history, even recent history ... It just brings things home – it reinforces how you feel about the past.” (OAM85, Beamish Museum, England 2004)

What was reinforced can be quite progressive, but it could also be quite worrying. One of the things emerging from the study is that different performances and registers of engagement tend to dominate at particular sites. For example, at immigration and labour sites, the performances are often focused on inter-generational communication and can be quite critically and emotionally engaged on the registers of engagement. At national sites, the registers of engagement (and this is a relative measure across the 4,500 interviews) could be relatively banal or, in many ways, can be characterised as comfortable. What is emerging is that visitors from dominant ethnic affiliations visiting sites in their own country, and in particular sites of national narratives, tend to be emotionally investing, but generally relatively cognitively uncritical and reinforcing. Overseas tourists less invested in national narratives will be a little more critically engaged. Those from non-dominant ethnic backgrounds, and those from dominant ethnic backgrounds but with low educational attainment will, in general, be doing, on the relative register of engagement, even more emotionally and intellectually critical heritage work which could be either progressive or conservative in political or social content. In effect, there are performances of privilege, which sometimes are conscious and self-critical, but on the whole not; and performances undertaken in the context of marginalisation and misrecognition, which are innately more critical and self-conscious.

The idea that such visits should be a learning or educational experience was often identified by visitors as a reason for their visit. But when pushed to explain, the educational value really tended to be largely discussed in relation to children or in relation to groups of people other than that to which the speaker belonged, or as something that they felt they should be doing, even if they acknowledged that actually they were not, as this visitor to Vaucluse House records:

"I don't know, I should say something that, you know, education, learning on a place like this, but to be honest the experience that I'm valuing on this is just the beauty of the place and enjoying the gardens, and having a lovely lunch, things like that; having a nice day out." (VH33: female, 25-34, graphic designer, Australian)

This is not to say learning was not important for some visitors, but it was not on the whole what people saw themselves doing, rather they were affirming.

In response to the question, Is there anything you have seen or read here today that has changed your views about either the past or present?, 20% of visitors said yes across the whole sample. This frequency could drop to 9% at national sites such as presidential houses. Of those who said yes, most were simply nominating they had gained more information, rather than really changing what they thought or felt.

I want to look at some of the types and ranges of performances that visitors engage in. To do this, I want to explore one quite complex visitor response to the question, Are there any messages about the heritage or history of America that you take away from this museum? The speaker is a woman visiting the Civil Rights Museum, in Memphis, with her 12-year-old son; she is a postal worker, from Chicago, and described herself as Black American:

"It really is, just the history of it is so, to know – you know, [...]. And me being a union president and things, it puts me on focus. And being a parent, a parent of young kids, and a young parent, it just puts me on focus as to my kids. When I first brought my youngest son here, he'll be 13 next month, and we walked through what the Klu Klux Klan clothes were, I think he may have been about four. And when we came through my first thought was, What are white people doing in their head because they know what they did to us? I mean, just honestly. And I'm looking around 'cos I'm astonished at that, and then, when my son walked upon the Klu Klux Klan he said, out loud, as kids do, "Momma, who pyjamas are those?" and everybody turned and looked at me, and I was like, "Those aren't pyjamas". I said, "I'll tell you about them", and you know they're waiting for my answer, so we keep going and I'm like reading this stuff to him, saying, "And this is what they did to black people and this is what..." and he burst out again, "Who's black, mama?"

And I said, "Oh my God", and I looked at him, and you know I saw this guy watching and I'm like [pause] "You're black". And he was like, "No I'm not. I'm not black. I'm yellow." And I said, "Okay", and I remember what my pastor said: "You don't know you're poor until you're told you're poor. You don't know you're black until you're told you're black." He never knew he was black. So, you know, I'm like, Wow. So, when I bring him here he learns more, and we come every year 'cos I have family down here."

This speaker touches on a range of issues also raised by other speakers. Firstly, she is using the museum to remember and commemorate her own experiences in the civil rights movement, and with this remembering comes a reinforcement of her political and social values – this is a form of progressive self-conscious reinforcement which was particularly strong at museums of labour, immigration and civil rights. At sites or exhibitions that were seen to represent consensus national narratives, what was remembered was often less personal, but no less strongly held emotional commitments to master narratives of nation and citizenship. These narratives were frequently maintained and reinforced even in contexts where the curatorial message aimed at destabilising and challenging these narratives. A point I will come back to.

To go back to the speaker: This is her and her younger son's fourth visit to the museum, and she is using this and previous visits to pass on familial history and political values to her son. The ways in which museums were used as arenas for socialisation was another significant finding. Museums and heritage sites were used as cultural tools in the passing on of familial memory, knowledge and values. In some instances, the performance of visiting and where you visited was also something parents taught their children – for instance, visiting presidential houses or stately homes in all three countries was something people from a particular ethnic and socio-economic background did and were engaged in passing on to their children. The visit itself was seen as a statement of belonging to a particular ethnic and class group. National museums and heritage sites were also used by recent immigrants to all three countries to acculturate themselves into their new national identity. For example, this Australian visitor was doing that at a house museum in Sydney, but this was also something that was done at Ellis Island:

Q: What does being here mean to you?

A: "It's partly a civic duty of knowing what Australian roots are all about."

Q: Are there any messages about the heritage or history of Australia that you take away from this place?

A: "It's probably about, you know, being a migrant and knowing how to survive. I mean, for them [people in the past] especially knowing that there were no amenities or anything or technological advances during the time, but they were able to actually try...it's more than just a message, I can relate [to this history]."

(RH18: female, 45-54, business trainer, Philippian-Australian)

In certain genres of museum or site in all three countries there was often a reiteration that people liked to visit places where they would see people like themselves. In most cases this was often expressed by politically dominant groups such as Anglo Australians, white British or Caucasian Americans – being in places with people like yourself was a statement or performance of identity. Going back to the Civil Rights Museum example, the speaker expressed discomfort at the presence of white visitors. However, the reasons the speaker expressed distress at the presence of people unlike herself is more complex and tied to the politics of recognition. I draw on Nancy Fraser and Iris Young to define the politics of recognition as part of pragmatic negotiations over not just social and cultural identity but the distribution of resources. Heritage, moreover, is implicated in the way claims for recognition are made and legitimised or delegitimised. There are a range of heritage performances that occur across all genres of museum or heritage site that are linked to either recognition or misrecognition. Some visitors talk explicitly about their visit to

heritage sites that are not their own as a statement or act of recognition. Other visitors assert self-respect and see their visit to sites of their own heritage as an assertion or claim for recognition. Sometimes visitors from hegemonic groups engage explicitly in recognition of themselves as the inheritors of privilege (this was particularly done at indigenous sites), and in varying ways use their visit to certain sites to negotiate what that may mean both for themselves and other members of their society. Others use museum displays as a social barometer to assess the extent to which wider society is offering recognition or misrecognition of themselves.

Our speaker here, however, is engaged in a form of self-recognition. To understand her discomfort, we need to appreciate that she is passing on social and familial memories of not just discrimination, but of the civil rights movement's continuing struggles to overcome prejudice to her son, and thus creating self-recognition of his place in US society. As Judith Butler notes, one of the problematic aspects of recognition is that it can "inscribe injury into identity and makes that a presupposition of political self-representation" and, as she goes on to warn, injury cannot then "be recast as an oppression to be overcome" (Butler 2013: 87). The mother speaking here is reacting against this possibility; she is uncomfortable about the presence of whites in the museum because of the opportunity of misrecognition of self that their presence presents for her son. She does not want established ideas of recognition of African Americans to prevail; she does not want injury to be part of his self-recognition. As she noted earlier in the interview, being at the museum made her "feel good to know that there was a history for us to move forward" from (NCRM53). In effect, she is using this museum to offer self-recognition as a point from which to continue struggles for equity. However, the more public arena of the museum opens up, for her at least, greater risks of misrecognition. One of the enduring ideas about museums is that they are safe places to explore complex topics. For some, as this speaker illustrates, museums are simply not safe.

They can also be unsafe places for people who are confronted with a curatorial message that they find cognitively dissonant, that challenges their treasured entrance narrative. What this research also illustrates is the way such visitors can use emotional responses to render an unsafe or challenging museum or heritage site safe and unchallenging. There are a number of strategies that visitors use to disengage the emotional impact of cognitive dissonance that range from the passive to very active open rejection on the register of engagement.

The most passive form of indifference is expressed by visitors who simply did not see or notice those aspects of an exhibition or site that challenged their received narrative. For example, exhibitions on slavery or workers' experiences at house museums were simply not noticed by people – even when they had to physically walk through such an exhibit or past massive banners on the subject to get to view the gold-leaf covered furnishings of the house. These responses maintained that the visit was just a nice day out, and often asserted they felt 'nothing' when asked how the site made them feel.

A less passive indifference was expressed through thought terminating clichés such as:

"That's why history tends to repeat itself, so if we don't learn from the past..."  
(H97: male, 18-24, unemployed, Slovenian-Hungarian American)

"That society's moved on basically...a lot! [laughs]"  
(OMG37: male, 45-54, privacy manger, White British)

"I think so, it's good to know what the past is like to move on."  
(OMG13: female, 18-24, sales, Australian)

"It's our history, you always learn by your history."  
(OMG: Male, over 65, manger wildlife sanctuary)

A particular response when asked how the exhibition made people feel or the experiences they valued was to note that the site was interesting or educational. These examples come from the First Australians Gallery at the NMA:

"Well I like looking at the artwork and I quite like the dreamtime histories. I don't know a lot about it but it's quite interesting to see what it is."  
(NMA1: female, 18-24, graduate student, White British)

"I think it's good for the general public to see the exhibition and appreciate their history. I mean it's a very young country with a very young history but it's a very interesting history."  
(NMA40: female, over 65, house furnisher, Scottish-Australian)

"Um, [pause] Feel. Ok, that's a hard one. Um, ah interested, ahm inquisitive."  
(NMA92: male, 35-44, public servant, Australian)

The banality and context of these responses reveals indifference. I feel interested or educated was sometimes a legitimate response, curiosity had been enlivened for some, but often it was code for 'yeah whatever', 'it's a response I'm going to give you because I should and it neatly hides the fact I don't really care'.

Active indifference also occurred. These examples come from Harewood House in England and a temporary exhibition on enslavement:

"Irrelevant to this, completely irrelevant, completely irrelevant, we haven't come to see this.." (HHE27(45), Female, 55-64, retired manager, White English)

"As I said, I didn't really come to visit it, so you know, eh."  
(HHE33(51), Female, over 65, retired office worker, Church of England, White British)

"It doesn't mean something to me personally but if it does for others, fine."  
(HHA11b(14), Male, 45-54, civil servant, White British)

Another form of active indifference, which forcefully denied empathy or compassion, was the deployment of certain self-sufficient arguments. These are slightly stronger than platitudes. In relation to histories that deal with racial inequality these tended to take the form of 'you cannot turn back the hands of time', 'you can't judge the past from the present':

"Well I didn't do anything wrong, it was the people of the past and we should just move forward." (LRE022: male, 45-54, farmer, Australian)

"You cannot be responsible for the past" (LA47(81): male, 25-34, teacher, White British )

"...its just what they did at the times moral values have changed..."  
(BA99(99): male, 35-44, accountant, English)

Other self-sufficient arguments included the idea of the good master of the enslaved person or of the domestic worker at grand houses, or the blaming of groups perceived to have caused their own suffering:

"No, what we did was quite horrendous, but Aborigines weren't guilt free either. Inequality exists because of government handouts. **We should be equal and treated equal.**"  
(NMA068: female, 45-54, grazier, Italian-Australian)

However, the research is also identifying the strategies that some visitors use to embrace the unsafe and work with the challenges museum staff may offer to reassess their sense of self and the narratives they held. People really engaging with a site as an educational resource, and people changing their views, occurred when strong imaginative empathy was engaged and visitors had a strong emotional intelligence (EQ). Empathy was engaged sometimes in response to particular curatorial strategies, but not always – it was sometimes engaged by the interplay of visitors with each other, or invoked by the juxtaposition of other visitors, for example in white visitors by the presence of black visitors.

### **Conclusion**

Registers of engagement can map the variation in the ways people respond and/or disengage in the heritage making process. However, one final point that needs to be stressed is that while visitor responses to particular sites can range from the banal to the deeply complex, this range of responses can also occur in single visits. The ways emotions are managed and regulated by visitors can be both unconscious and quite self-consciously knowing.

To illustrate this complex, here is an interview I did at James Madison's Montpelier, in Tennessee, USA. Almost all of the visitors I interviewed at this site engaged in reinforcing performances that rehearsed patriotism and pride. The interview I draw to your attention to is with a white, middle aged southern woman who, like many others, talked of how touring the inside of the house made her feel patriotic:

"Humbled, totally in awe of his [Madison's] great mind and how he compiled everything to come up with the words 'we the people'. Dolly, I mean, he was so very shy and all and they were such a great blend and such a beautiful marriage because they brought so much to each other. It's just a really a great, wondrous, humbling thing to see."

Q: What does being here mean to you?

A: "It's my life: it's who I am of course, as an American. As I said, you must be here to know who you are, because the document [constitution] established who we are and therefore we must build on that every day that we live."

She talks about the affective response she had sitting, with members of her tour group, in the room where Madison worked on the constitution.

Although particularly fond of Madison and his wife Dolly, she also took time out of the normal tour route to visit the plantation's railway station (Figure 2).

This middle-aged white woman, herself a southerner, informed me she had deliberately walked through the 'colored' door so she could both remember, and experience prosthetically, what her black childhood school friend had experienced as a child growing up in the south. She outlined, through her tears, how her experience walking through that door was intense and affective, and she used this to reflect on the racism in her family that had prevented her from bringing her friend home after school, and what limitations being white, from a racist family, placed on her friendship. That affective moment, a moment she actively sought, also reaffirmed her resolve to continue to question her own racism.



**Figure 2** – James Madison's Montpelier plantation railway station, showing separate doors for 'Whites' and 'Coloreds' (Laurajane Smith)

JMM85: "I'm a southerner [sighs]. We rebelled against our own nation to preserve state's rights. Slavery was a big part of my family's heritage and to see it abolished is a great joy. But to learn how it was conducted, you see very little of that in any other tour you get. This shows you the degrees of slavery and the Jim Crow Museum down there at the train station [sighs] I go through the coloured door. I lived that. My dearest friend in high school was a black girl and my mother wouldn't let her come to my house [sobs]."

LS: "Sorry. I'm so sorry."

JMM85: "Well, but she does now."

LS: "She does now?"

JMM85: "[yes] [...] This isn't [unclear, crying], you'd die to get rid of these feelings to people. I've got my family, some of them they still won't ... Civil War isn't ... I'm only third generation on my mother's side from the war and believe me we were raised to know that we were different; and [I] fight that, coming here helps you do that..."  
(JMM85: female, 55-64, retired teacher, Caucasian American)

In this interview the visitor, who was always deeply engaged with the site, moved between investing in normative narratives of American nationhood, to explicit familial and self-examination of racism. What this example stresses for me is that people exercise *choice*. They choose to visit certain sites and not others, and once at a site people make choices to both feel and *not feel*. Feeling is believing – how we engage our emotions has consequences for the way we engage in social debates and cultural practices.

Thus, understanding the agency of individuals and the emotional aspects and choices people make in their interactions with heritage is crucial in understanding the ways in which the past informs and energises social memory, historical consciousness, claims for recognition, the perpetuation of misrecognition, and simple affirmations of self and belonging.

## The identity concept for Muslim Hungarians and Muslim immigrants in Hungary

Esra Aytar (Hungary)

### Author

Esra Aytar holds a Master's Degree in Anthropology and History in the Contemporary World from the University of Modena and Reggio Emilia, Italy, and is currently a PhD student in the Department of Sociology at the Eötvos Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary.

Contact: [esraaytar88@gmail.com](mailto:esraaytar88@gmail.com)

### 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'homme*<sup>37</sup> (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 the 19th century when ethnography made its rise as a study of culture and ethnicities, and nationality movements all

<sup>37</sup> Society of Observers of Man, founded in Paris by Louis Francois Jauffret, a young professor of natural sciences. See: Fabietti, Ugo. Storia dell'Antropologia. Zanicchelli, Bologna. 2011.

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 Hungary<sup>38</sup>. 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 Hungary<sup>39</sup>. 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 Center<sup>40</sup>. 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.

<sup>38</sup> <http://www.pewforum.org/2017/11/29/europe-s-growing-muslim-population/> <https://dailynewshungary.com/islam-rapidly-expanding-in-hungary/>, last accessed 10/2/2018

<sup>39</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/26/hungarian-prime-minister-viktor-orban-praises-donald-trump>, last accessed 10/2/2018

<sup>40</sup> <http://www.pewglobal.org/2016/07/11/negative-views-of-minorities-refugees-common-in-eu/>, last accessed 10/2/2018

## 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".<sup>41</sup>

'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.'<sup>42</sup>

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).<sup>43</sup>

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

<sup>41</sup> Weber, Max. (1994): *Sociological Writings*. Ed. Wolf Heydebrand. Continuum.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> Charmaz, Katy Smith, J. A., Harré, R. and van Langenhove L. (1995): "Rethinking methods in psychology". Sage, London.

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"<sup>44</sup>. 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). <sup>45</sup>

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

<sup>44</sup> Anderson, B. (1983) : *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso.

<sup>45</sup> Mernissi, Fatima.(1987): *Beyond the Veil, male-female dynamics in modern Muslim society*. Bloomington : Indiana University Press.

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*<sup>46</sup> 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.

<sup>46</sup> 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>

## 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.

## References

- Anderson, B. (1983): *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso.
- Mernissi, Fatima (1987): *Beyond the Veil, male-female dynamics in modern Muslim society*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Charmaz, Katy, Smith, J. A., Harré, R. and van Langenhove L. ( 1995): "Rethinking methods in psychology". Sage, London.
- Fabietti, Ugo. (2011): *Storia dell'Antropologia*., Bologna: Zanicchelli.
- PEW Research Center, <http://www.pewglobal.org/2016/07/11/negative-views-of-minorities-refugees-common-in-eu/>, last accessed 10/2/2018
- <http://www.pewforum.org/2017/11/29/europe-s-growing-muslim-population/>, last accessed 10/2/2018
- Weber, Max. (1994): *Sociological Writings*. Ed. Wolf Heydebrand. Continuum.
- <https://www.thekitchn.com/good-question-what-is-halal-me-60979>, last accessed 10/2/2018
- <https://dailynewshungary.com/islam-rapidly-expanding-in-hungary/>, last accessed 10/2/2018
- <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/26/hungarian-prime-minister-viktor-orban-praises-donald-trump>, last accessed 10/2/2018

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

Ilyas Aytar (Hungary)

### Author

Ilyas Aytar holds a Master's degree in Anthropology and Contemporary History from the Modena and Reggio Emilio University, Italy. He has been teaching English in Budapest since 2015 and is currently a PhD student in Sociology at Eötvos Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary.  
Contact: [iaytar07@hotmail.com](mailto:iaytar07@hotmail.com)

### 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](http://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, instable 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 modals, 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 data<sup>47</sup> there are 232,751 people who have minority identity and 137,724 of them speak their own language, not Hungarian.

<sup>47</sup> <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".<sup>48</sup>

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

<sup>48</sup> <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.

### **References**

- <http://www.mfa.gov.hu/> last accessed 13/02/2018
- <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

Shraddha Bhatawadekar (Germany) and Tejaswini Adhikari (India)

### Authors

Shraddha Bhatawadekar is currently a PhD student studying heritage conservation, with a particular interest in railway heritage, at Brandenburg University of Technology, Cottbus-Senftenberg, Germany.

Contact: [shraddha.6886@gmail.com](mailto:shraddha.6886@gmail.com)

Tejaswini Adhikari is the Chief Insights Officer at Future Group, Mumbai, India.

Contact: [tejaswini.adhikari@futuregroup.in](mailto:tejaswini.adhikari@futuregroup.in)

### 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.<sup>49</sup>

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 Bombay<sup>50</sup> 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.

<sup>49</sup>Map of the Mumbai Suburban Rail Network: [http://www.wr.indianrailways.gov.in/view\\_section.jsp?lang=0&id=0,6](http://www.wr.indianrailways.gov.in/view_section.jsp?lang=0&id=0,6)

<sup>50</sup>The 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<sup>51</sup>. 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.<sup>52</sup>

### 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 Laurajane 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 '*authorized 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'*

<sup>51</sup>[http://www.wr.indianrailways.gov.in/view\\_section.jsp?lang=0&id=0,1](http://www.wr.indianrailways.gov.in/view_section.jsp?lang=0&id=0,1)

<sup>52</sup>Map of the Mumbai Metropolitan Region showing railway lines: <https://mmrhcs.org.in/index.php/heritage-information-system/overview>

(Polletta & Jasper 2001: 285). 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.

## References

- Aklekar, R. (2011) 'Railway think tank rules out Metro-like seats in locals', *DNA*, 7 December. Available at: <http://www.dnaindia.com/mumbai/report-railway-think-tank-rules-out-metro-like-seats-in-locals-1622391>.
- Awasthi, A. (1994) *History and Development of Railways in India*. New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications.
- Bhide, A., Kundu, R. and Tiwari, P. (2016) *Engendering Mumbai's Suburban Railway System*. Mumbai. Available at: <http://www.mrvc.indianrailways.gov.in/works/uploads/File/Gender Study Report by TISS.pdf>.
- Johnston, J., Cairns, K. and Baumann, S. (2017) *Introducing Sociology Using the Stuff of Everyday Life*. New York and London: Routledge. Available at: [https://books.google.de/books?id=LjAIDwAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs\\_ge\\_summary\\_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.de/books?id=LjAIDwAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false).
- Melucci, A. (1995) 'The Process of Collective Identity', in Johnston, H. and Klandermans, B. (eds) *Social Movements and Culture Volume 4*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, pp. 41–63. Available at: <http://voidnetwork.gr/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Social-Movements-and-Culture-edited-by-Hank-Johnston-and-Bert-Klandermans.pdf>.
- Monti, D. J. (2017) *Urban People and Places: The Sociology of Cities, Suburbs, and Towns Just the Facts 101: Textbook Key Facts*. 1st edn. Content Technologies Inc. Available at: <https://books.google.co.in/books?id=ICOMAwAAQBAJ&pg=PT56&dq=concept+of+Third+place+in+sociology&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjNp9-Pmp7ZAhVLPI8KHRzbACIQ6AEISDAF#v=onepage&q=concept+of+Third+place+in+sociology&f=false>.
- Nyden, P., Hossfeld, L. and Nyden, G. (2012) *Public Sociology: Research, Action and Change*. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications. Available at: <https://books.google.co.in/books?id=MZ1mCPVzz-cC&pg=PT312&dq=concept+of+Third+place+in+sociology&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjE6Mv2mZ7ZAhUlVY8KHRdBDTwQ6AEIOjAD#v=onepage&q=concept+of+Third+place+in+sociology&f=false>.
- Oldenburg, R. (1997) *The Great Good Place: Cafes, Coffee Shops, Bookstores, Bars, Hair Salons, and Other Hangouts at the Heart of the Community*. New York: Marlowe & Co.
- Polletta, F. and Jasper, J. M. (2001) 'Collective Identity and Social Movements', *Annual Review of Sociology*, (27), pp. 283–305. Available at: <http://faculty.sites.uci.edu/polletta/files/2011/03/2001-Polletta-and-Jasper-Collective-Identity.pdf>.

Rao, S. (2017) 'It's Not Getting Any Better! Despite Metro And Monorail, Mumbai Local Trains Getting More Overcrowded', *Mid-day*, 12 April. Available at: <https://www.mid-day.com/articles/its-not-getting-any-better-despite-metro-and-monorail-mumbai-local-trains-getting-more-overcrowded/18155192>.

Smith, L. (2006) *Uses of heritage*. London and New York: Routledge.

Mumbai Metropolitan Region- Heritage Conservation Society Website:  
<https://mmrhcs.org.in/index.php/heritage-information-system/overview>

Western Railway Website: [http://www.wr.indianrailways.gov.in/view\\_section.jsp?lang=0&id=0,1](http://www.wr.indianrailways.gov.in/view_section.jsp?lang=0&id=0,1)

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

Vera Boneva (Bulgaria)

### Author

Vera Boneva is a professor at the University of Library Studies and Information Technologies, Sofia, Bulgaria.

Contact: [v.boneva@unibit.bg](mailto:v.boneva@unibit.bg)

### Abstract<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>. 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 (Gágó, 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).

<sup>53</sup> 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 от 14th December 2016.

<sup>54</sup> 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 Kossuth. 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 Lojos 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 commemoration 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

- Andreev, Teodor (2017). *Лайош Кошут – унгарският приятел на България*. [online] Българска история. // *Lajos Kossuth – Hungarian friend of Bulgaria*. [online] Bulgarian history. Available at: <https://bulgarianhistory.org> [Accessed 11 February. 2018].
- Andreeva, Milena (2016). Възрожденският Шумен. Съставител Милена Андреева. Велико Търново: Издателство “Фабер”. // Shumen in the Revival epoch. Editor Milena Andreeva. Veliko Tarnovo: Faber Publishing House.
- Arato, Djord (1999). 1848-1850: *Студии за унгарската война за независимост и нейния български контекст*. Редактор Дърдь Арато. София: Издателска къща „Огледало“ & Унгарски културен институт. // *Studies about the Hungarian War of Independence and its Bulgarian Context*. Editor Djord Arato. Sofia: Ogledalo Publishing House & Hungarian Cultural Institute.
- Arato, Djord (2002). *От Карпатите до Балкана: Дневници и мемоари за България от унгарските емигранти 1849-1850*. София: Огледало & Унгарски културен институт. Редактор Дърдь Арато. (In Bulgarian). // *From the Carpathians to the Balkan: Diaries and memoirs about Bulgaria of Hungarian emigrants 1849-1850*. Ed. Arato, Djord. Sofia: Ogledalo Publishing House & Hungarian Cultural Institute.
- Boneva, Vera (2002). Вера Бонева. Българското възраждане в Шумен и Шуменско: Църковно-национални борби и постижения. Велико Търново: Издателска къща „Фабер“. // Vera Boneva. Bulgarian Revival in Shumen and in Shumen area: National Church Struggles and Achievements. Faber Publishing House.

Chilingirov, Stiliyan. (1943). Стилиян Чилингиров. *Маджари и поляци в Шумен. Принос към историята на българската цивилизация*. Шумен. Второ издание 1999. // Stilian Chilingirov. *Magyars and Poles in Shumen. A contribution into the History of the Bulgarian Civilization*. Shumen. Second edition 1999.

Deák, István. (2001): *Lawful Revolution: Louis Kossuth and the Hungarians 1848-1849*. Phoenix.

Dowe, D. (2000): Dowe, Dieter., Haupt, Heinz-Gerhard, Dieter Langewieshe & Jonath Sperber. *Europe in 1848: Revolution and Reform*. New York, Oxford: Berghahn books.

Gángó, Gábor (2001). "1848-1849 in Hungary", Hungarian Studies, 15 (1), 39-47.

Herman, Robert (2006): *Роберт Херман. Лайош Кошут: Живот и дело*. София: Издателска къща „Огледало“. (In Bulgarian). // Robert Herman. *Lajos Kossuth: Life and Work*. Sofia: Ogledalo Publishing House.

Ilchev, Ivan (2005). *The rose of the Balkans: a short history of Bulgaria*. Sofia: Colibri Publishing House.

Lajos Kossuth (1999). *Лайош Кошут и къщата музей в Шумен: Съпроводник*. // Kossuth Lajos és a Sumeni Kossuth-Múzeum: Kalauz // Lajos Kossuth and the Museum house in Shumen: Guide. (In Bulgarian, Hungarian and English). София: Издателска къща „Огледало“ & Унгарски културен институт. // Sofia: Ogledalo Publishing House & Hungarian Cultural Institute.

Markova, Indra (2014). Унгаристични изследвания : Юбилеен сборник по повод 30 години от създаването на специалност "Унгарска филология". София: Университетско издателство "Св. Климент Охридски". // Hungarian studies: A Festschrift on the Occasion of 30th anniversary of University Program „Hungarian philology“. Sofia: Sofia University Press.

Molnár, Miklós (2001). *A Concise History of Hungary*. Cambridge University Press.

Nedkov, Boris (1953). Борис Недков. *Унгарската емиграция в България 1849-1850*. // Известия на Държавна библиотека „Васил Коларов“ за 1953, 234-261. // Boris Nedkov. Boris (1953). *Hungarian Emigration in Bulgaria 1849-1850*. // Proceedings of Sofia State Library for 1953, 234-261.

Petrova, Margarita (1979). *30 [тридесет] години музей Лайош Кошут*. Шумен: Окръжен исторически музей [1979]. // *30 Years Lajosh Kossuth Museum*. Shumen: Regional History Museum.

Popovski, Ivan (1978). Иван Поповски. *Музей на българо-унгарската дружба „Лайош Кошут“ в Шумен. Пътеводител*. // *Музей болгаро-венгерской дружбы в имени Лайоша Кошути в Шумене. Путеводитель*. // *Lajos-Kossuth-Museum in Schumen Städtee der Bulgarisch-Ungarischen Freundschaft*. (In Bulgarian, Russian and German). София: Издателство „Прес“. // Sofia: Press Publishing House. *Regional Historical Museum Shumen [Official Internet site]*. // <http://museum-shumen.eu> [Accessed 11 Febr. 2018].

Rumenov, Daniel (2014). "Opportunities for the Management and Development of the Regional Historical Museum - Shumen in 2013-2018", Service Management 13(2), 75-86.

Slavinski, Peter (1949): *Лайош Кошут: Сто години от емигрирането му в България. По случай откриването на музей на борбите на унгарския народ за свобода и демокрация*. Съставител Петър Славински. София: Българо-унгарски комитет. (In Bulgarian). // *Lajos Kossuth: A Hundred Years of his Emigration in Bulgaria. On the Occasion of Opening a Museum*

dedicated to struggles of the Hungarian People for Freedom and Democracy. Ed. Peter Slavinsky. Sofia: Bulgarian-Hungarian Committee.

Tóth, Heléna (2014): *An Exiled Generation: German and Hungarian Refugees of Revolution, 1848–1871*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

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

Britta Burkhardt (Romania)

### Author

Britta Burkhardt is a fourth year PhD student in the History, Civilisation, Culture doctoral school of Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj, Romania, and is also gaining work experience as a project assistant at the Transylvania Trust Foundation and Built Heritage Conservation Training Center in Cluj-Napoca.

Contact: [brittaburkhardt@gmail.com](mailto:brittaburkhardt@gmail.com)

### 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 (Borş 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 (Borş 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, Sălaj. 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 findigs discovered so far (Fodor et ali 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; Czétényi & 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 uniformality 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 totalitarism) 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’ (Holtorf 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 ‘westernness’ 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 rejecion 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 (Ştefan 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

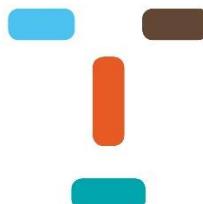
There is an innate interconnection between culture and civilisation, due to the very definition of culture, which can be seen as tradition that creates cohesion and continuity. Culture is often considered a trait of human civilisation and it is part of society. Society must not be stripped of culture 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.

Pentru a da culoare, am adăugat **cele patru elemente primordiale** fără de care omul nu ar fi putut exista de-a lungul istoriei:

**AER**  
**PĂMÂNT**  
**FOC**  
**APĂ**

și am obținut simbolul grafic al Muzeului Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei.



**Figure 1 – Logo of the National Museum of History 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.<sup>55</sup>



**Figure 2 – Example of programmes and activities (Photo: Barabás Ákos, for the online newpage 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);

<sup>55</sup><http://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. Tentativă reconstrucției monumentelor antice'<sup>56</sup>), and a series of public discussions upon the failed restoration project of the fortress of Capidava.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> and on occasion they involved younger team-members who made similar contributions<sup>59</sup> 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.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>56</sup><https://www.facebook.com/MinisterulCulturiiRomania/> see 26.10.2016

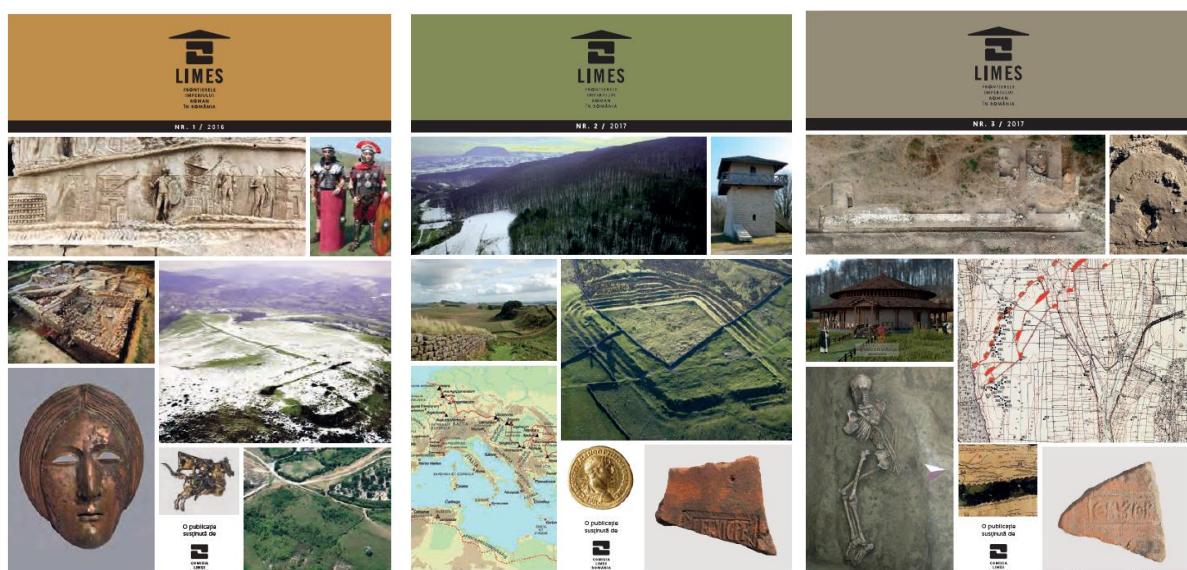
<sup>57</sup><https://limesromania.ro/ro/articole/noutati/precizari-privind-restaurarea-siturilor-arheologice-comisia-nationala-limes.html>

<sup>58</sup><http://www.clujulcultural.ro/despre-cele-mai-noi-descoperiri-arheologice-la-dezbaterea-din-ciclul-povesti-despre-cluj/>

<sup>59</sup>[http://foter.ro/cikk/20170411\\_mi\\_van\\_a\\_foter\\_alatt](http://foter.ro/cikk/20170411_mi_van_a_foter_alatt)

<sup>60</sup><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 Mureş County Museum met the requirements of broadcasting linked with heritage education in the form of a rather innovative ‘site launch’.<sup>61</sup> 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.



**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)<sup>62</sup> and *Limes - Frontierele Imperiului Roman în România*<sup>63</sup>
- the 2013-2014 *Apulum Mithraeum III Project* (Dr. Matthew M. McCarty; Dr. Mariana Egri; Dr. Aurel Rustoiu; drd. Csaba Szabó);<sup>64</sup>
- as well as the *Roman Limes Route Project*<sup>65</sup> and *Digitizing the Roman Limes. Sector: Brâncoveneşti-Sărăteni* (Mureş county Museum);<sup>66</sup>
- *Castrul Malaiesti Prahova*;<sup>67</sup>
- the ‘*Valorificarea si Promovarea Limes-ului Roman Bistrita-Nasaud* Project’;<sup>68</sup>

<sup>61</sup><https://szekelyhon.ro/aktualis/kontinenseket-ativelo-vedelmi-rendszer-egyik-legjobban-megmaradt-lanczemnet-tartak-fel-szekelyfoldon>

<sup>62</sup><https://limesromania.ro/>

<sup>63</sup>[https://www.facebook.com/limesromania/?ref=br\\_rs](https://www.facebook.com/limesromania/?ref=br_rs)

<sup>64</sup><http://apulumithraeum.blogspot.ro/> and feature in [www.dayofarchaeology.com](http://www.dayofarchaeology.com)

<sup>65</sup><http://www.limesdacicus.ro/>

<sup>66</sup><http://www.rlrc.ro/>

<sup>67</sup><https://antiquitasweb.wordpress.com/despre/> and [https://www.facebook.com/castrulmalaiesti.prahova?ref=br\\_rs](https://www.facebook.com/castrulmalaiesti.prahova?ref=br_rs)

- *Principia - Castrul Roman Apulum*;<sup>69</sup>
- 2015-2017 *Limes Transalutanus Project*;<sup>70</sup>
- *Porolissum*<sup>71</sup>
- *Bologa Archaeological Site Project*;<sup>72</sup>
- *Situl arheologic Târgșorul Vechi*;<sup>73</sup>
- *Castrul Legiunii V Macedonica*;<sup>74</sup>
- *Castrul roman Capidava*;<sup>75</sup>
- *Castrul Roman Drajna de Sus*.<sup>76</sup>

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 Bonțida, 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

<sup>68</sup><https://www.facebook.com/Valorificarea-si-Promovarea-Limes-ului-Roman-Bistrita-Nasaud-1663352137213182/>

<sup>69</sup><http://castrul-apulum.ro/> and [https://www.facebook.com/castrulroman/?ref=br\\_rs](https://www.facebook.com/castrulroman/?ref=br_rs)

<sup>70</sup>[https://www.facebook.com/Limes-Transalutanus-729444053797839/?ref=br\\_rs](https://www.facebook.com/Limes-Transalutanus-729444053797839/?ref=br_rs)

<sup>71</sup>[https://www.facebook.com/pages/Porolissum/141091542583061?ref=br\\_rs](https://www.facebook.com/pages/Porolissum/141091542583061?ref=br_rs)

<sup>72</sup>[https://www.facebook.com/BologaArchaeologicalSite/?ref=br\\_rs](https://www.facebook.com/BologaArchaeologicalSite/?ref=br_rs)

<sup>73</sup>[https://www.facebook.com/Situl-arheologic-T%C3%A2rgu-Mure%C5%9F-Foru-Vechi-249683258515554/?ref=br\\_rs](https://www.facebook.com/Situl-arheologic-T%C3%A2rgu-Mure%C5%9F-Foru-Vechi-249683258515554/?ref=br_rs)

<sup>74</sup>[https://www.facebook.com/Castrul-Legiunii-V-Macedonica-791112297676180/?ref=br\\_rs](https://www.facebook.com/Castrul-Legiunii-V-Macedonica-791112297676180/?ref=br_rs)

<sup>75</sup>[https://www.facebook.com/Capidava1/?ref=br\\_rs](https://www.facebook.com/Capidava1/?ref=br_rs)

<sup>76</sup>[https://www.facebook.com/castrulromandrajadesus/?ref=br\\_r](https://www.facebook.com/castrulromandrajadesus/?ref=br_r)

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.

## References

- (2012) Innovating for people: Handbook of human-centered design methods. LUMA Institute: Pittsburgh
- (2014-2017) *Identitás & Kultúra: Identity & Culture*. In: Ipartanszék füzetek No.1-4 (eds.): Dobai J.- Vásáros Zs. = Budapest University of Technology Press, Budapest.
- Araoz G (2013), Conservation Philosophy and its Development: Changing Understandings of Authenticity and Significance, *Heritage & Society* (vol. 6/2), 144-154.
- Ashworth, G. J (2005): Imagining New found lands. In: G. J. Ashworth & G. Brian (Eds.), *Senses of Place: Senses of Time* = Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 177-192
- Borş, C (2014): *Protejarea Patrimoniului arheologic din România. Despre situri și monumente arheologice din perspectiva evoluției din perspectiva evoluției cadrului legislativ în context european*. Cluj-Napoca: Editura MEGA
- Burkhardt B (2016). The mise en valeur concept in the case of Roman period ruins. An invisible heritage, *Transsylvania Nostra Journal* (54), 2016/4, 54-60.
- Cesare Brandi C (1992): *Teoria e esperienzadell'arte*. Roma: Editori Riuniti.
- Clark K (1998), Conservation Plans: a guide for the perplexed, *Context* (57/March), 7-1.
- Clark, K (2000). Conservation Plans. Benefit or burden? *The Building Conservation Directory*, 23–25.
- Czétényi P. & Vukov K (2009): *Örökségvédelmi fogalomtár*. Magyar Építész Kamara, Műemlékvédelmi, restaurátori tagozat
- Dallen T (2007). *The political Nature of Cultural Heritage and Tourism*: Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.
- Dehio G (1914): *Denkmalschutz und Denkmalpflege im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*. In: Festrede an der Kaiser-Wilhelms-Universität zu Straßburg, den 27. Januar 1905. = Kunsthistorische Aufsätze München/Berlin. 261-281.
- Demas, M (2000), Planning for Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites. A value-based approach. In: Palumbo, G. – Teutonico, J. M (eds.), *Management Planning for Archaeological Sites*. Proceedings. International workshop = Corinth – Los Angeles, 27–54.
- Fodor B. et al (2016), *Probleme de punere in valoare si reconstructie a castrului roman de la Bologa, Limes. Frontierele Imperiului Roman in România*, nr. 1., 19-25.

Gál E (2018), A népvándorlás, a honfoglalás és a Magyar Nagyfejedelemség kora In: Erdély jogtörténete, (ed.) Veress Emőd = Sapientia Forum Iuris, Kolozsvár (to be published)

Gard'ner, J (2003). Informed conservation: principles and practice, Context (78/March), 37–38.

Harrison R (2010): *Understanding the Politics of Heritage*. Manchester:University Press  
Holtorf C.J (2008) *Is the past a non-renewable resource?* In: *The Heritage Reader* (eds). G. Fairclough et al = Abingdon, UK, Routledge, 125-131.

Jokilehto M.J (2012): *Comments on the Venice Charter with illustrations*. ICOMOS Scientific Journal. 4:61-76

Kelemen B. Z (2011): *Romkarakterológia, Az épített örökség védelmében*. In: L'Apologie du patrimoine architectural. The Protection of Architectural Heritage = Széchenyi Irodalmi és Művészeti Akadémia, Budapest. 196-203.

Kundera M (1984), A Kidnapped West or Culture Bows Out, Granta (11), 95-11.

Luxen, J.-L (2000), A műemlékek és műemléki helyszínek immateriális dimenziói, Műemlékvédelem (XLIV/2), 231–233.

Maguire M (2001), Methods to support human-centred design, Int. J. Human-Computer Studies (55), 587-634.

Mason R (2008), *Assessing values in conservation planning: Methodological Issues and Choice*. In: *The Heritage Reader* (eds). G. Fairclough et al = Abingdon, UK, Routledge, 99–124.

Matero F (2006): *Making Archaeological Sites: Conservation as Interpretation of an Excavated Past*. In: Neville, A. – Bridgland, J (eds.), Of the Past, for the Future: Integrating Archaeology and Conservation = Proceedings of the Conservation Theme at the 5th World Archaeological Congress, 22–26 June 2003, Los Angeles. 55–64.

Matero F. et al (1998). Archaeological site conservation and management: An appraisal of recent trends, Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites (2), 129–142.

Matero, F. G., Heritage, Conservation, and Archaeology: An introduction., Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites (12), 1–5.

McIntosh A. J (1999), Into the Tourist's Mind: Understanding the Value of the Heritage Experience, Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing (8), 41-64.

Morrison I (2009). The public value of conservation - The view from the Heritage Lottery Fund, Conservation Principles in practice - Conservation Bulletin (60), 9–21.

Nardi, R (2010). Conservation in Archaeology: Case studies in the Mediterranean, Region, Heritage, Conservation and Archaeology, 1-7.

Nicholas S.-P (2009): *The Reconstruction of Ruins: Principles and Practice*. In: Conservation: Principles, Dilemmas and Uncomfortable Truths (eds): Alison Richmond and Alison Bracker = Elsevier Publishing, Amsterdam. 32-46.

Ştefan AI (1984), Progresele arheologiei și muzeografiei în România în perioada 1881-1927, Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche și Arheologie 35 (2), 109-143.

Szabó Cs (2017): *Erdélyi Régészeti*. Kolozsvár: Exit kiadó.

Szilágyi O (u.d.), A dákiai római építészeti hagyaték rekonstruálásának problematikája, Marisia, vol. XXXVII (under publication)

Wang W. et al (2017), Developing teenagers' role consciousness as 'world heritage guardians', Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development, 7 (2), 179-192.

Wei Ch. & Aass A (1989), Heritage Conservation: East and West, ICOMOS Information (3), 3-8.

## The making of the European identity

György Csepeli (Hungary)

### Author

György Csepeli is a Senior Research Fellow at the iASK Institute of Advanced Studies, Hankiss Centre, Kőszeg, and a Professor of Social Science at Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE), Budapest.

Contact: [csepeli.gyorgy@gmail.com](mailto:csepeli.gyorgy@gmail.com)

### 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 (Heidegger, 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 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 and 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

- Csepeli, Gy. 1997. National Identity in Contemporary Hungary. Social Science Monographs, Boulder, Colorado. ARP, Inc. Highland Lakes, NJ. Distributed by Columbia University Press, New York.
- Csepeli., Gy. Örkény A. 2018. Nemzet és Migráció. (Nation and Migration) Budapest: ELTE TáTK
- Csepeli, Gy. 2016. To be or not to be? – The European Union is at the Crossroads. Central European PoliticalScience Review, Spring. No. 63. 129-136.
- Heidegger, M. 1985. The Self-Assertion of the German University and the Rectorat. 1933/34 Facts and Thoughts. Review of Metaphysics, 38:3. 471-472.
- Hobsbawm, E. Ranger, T. 1992. The invention of tradition. Cambridge University Press
- Hroch, M. 1985. Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe. A comparative Aanalysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups among the Smaller European Nations. Cambridge University Press.
- Leerssen, J.Th. 2006. National Thought in Europe: A Cultural History. Amsterdam University Press
- Pók, A. 2017. Conclusion: The Challenge of European History. In Rememberign and Forgetting Communism in Hungary. Studies on Collective Memory and Memory Politics in Context. Kőszeg: iASK.
- Szücs, J. Parti J. 1983. The Three Historical Regions of Europe: An outline. Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae- Vol. 29. No.2. pp. 131-184.

Weber, E.1976. Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914.  
Stanford University Press.

## Heritage and identity: The Jesuit-Guarani Missions interpretation experience

Luiz Antônio Bolcato Custódio (Brazil)

### Author

Luiz Antônio Bolcato Custódio holds a Master's in Urban Planning from the Rio Grande do Sul University – PROPUR/UFRGS, Porto Alegre, Brazil, and a PhD in Art History and Cultural Management from the Universidad Pablo de Olavide, Seville, Spain. He is an Urban Planning professor at UNIRITTER University Center - Laureate Universities (Uniritter). Contact: [labolcatocustodio@gmail.com](mailto:labolcatocustodio@gmail.com)

### 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.

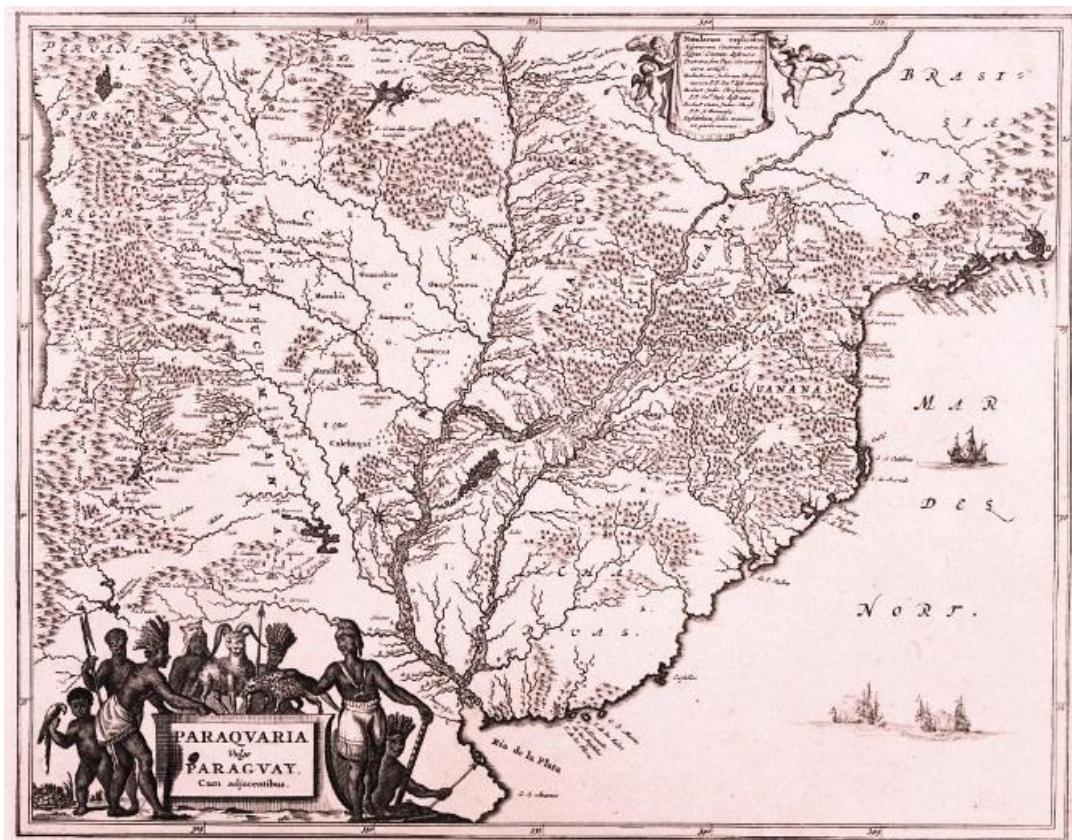
In the 19th century, the remnant land of the Missions in Brazil was occupied by European migrants who, in an attempt of cultural insertion, adopted a symbolic relationship with the history of the past. Today, there are some archaeological sites declared National Heritage, open to the public. In these 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

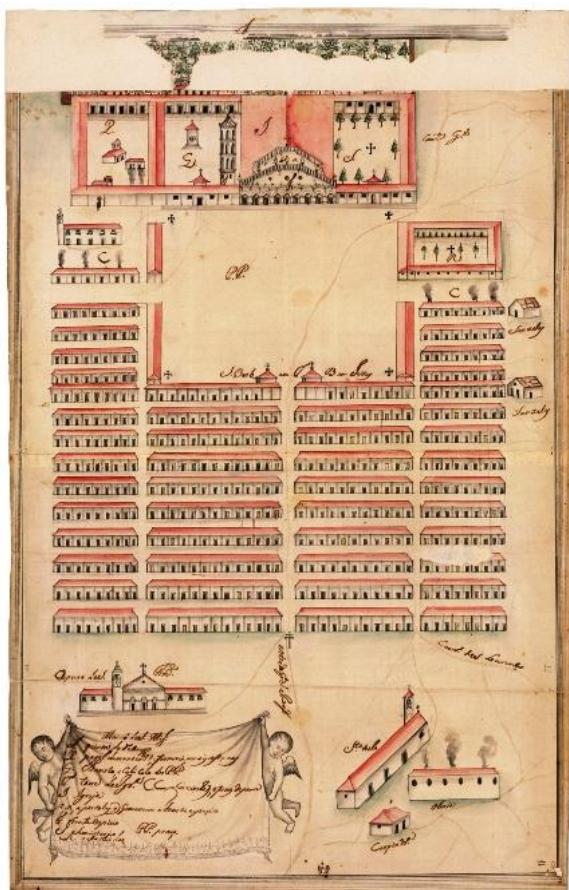
During the Spanish conquest of America, religious orders, such as the Society of Jesus, took charge of the *Spiritual Conquest* of native tribes. One experience in particular within this process was the *Jesuit Province of Paraguay - Paraqvária* - created in a territory that today includes Paraguay, 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.



**Figure 1 – Paraqvária, 1641 (Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil)**

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.



**Figure 2 – Saint Michael Mission urban plan – 1756 (Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil)**

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 19<sup>th</sup> 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'Bia* 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 300<sup>th</sup> anniversary of three reductions. This commemoration stimulated research and historic documentation that allowed the beginning of educational activities involving heritage education in archaeological sites.



**Figure 3 – Saint Michael Archaeological Site and Missions Museum (IPHAN Archive)**

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.



**Figure 4 - Missions Museum collection – 1940 (IPHAN Archive)**

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).

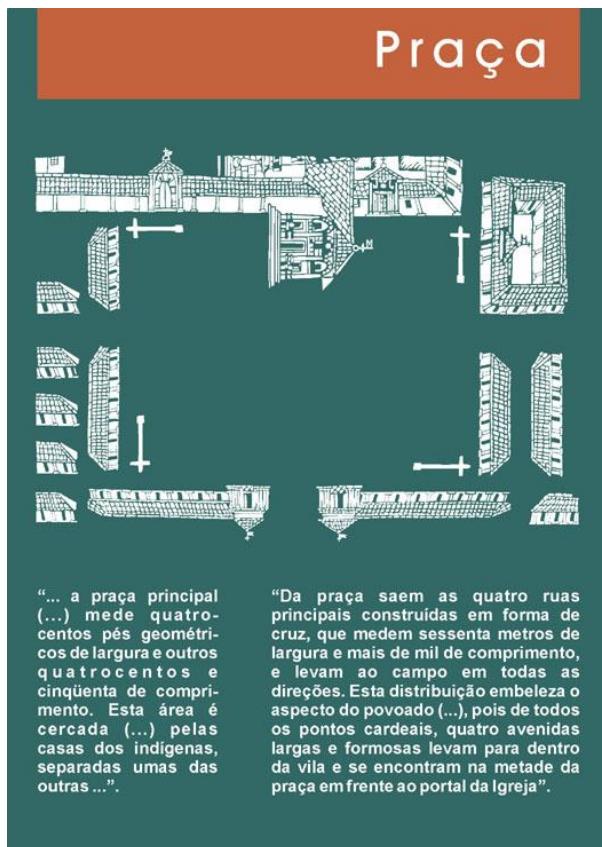


**Figure 5 – Saint Michael the Archangel Computer graphics reconstruction (IPHAN Archive)**

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).



**Figure 6** – São João Batista Archaeological Site Eco-cultural interpretive trail panel (IPHAN Archive)

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 *Guarani 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.



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

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).



Placa P15: Casas dos índios  
56x40cm

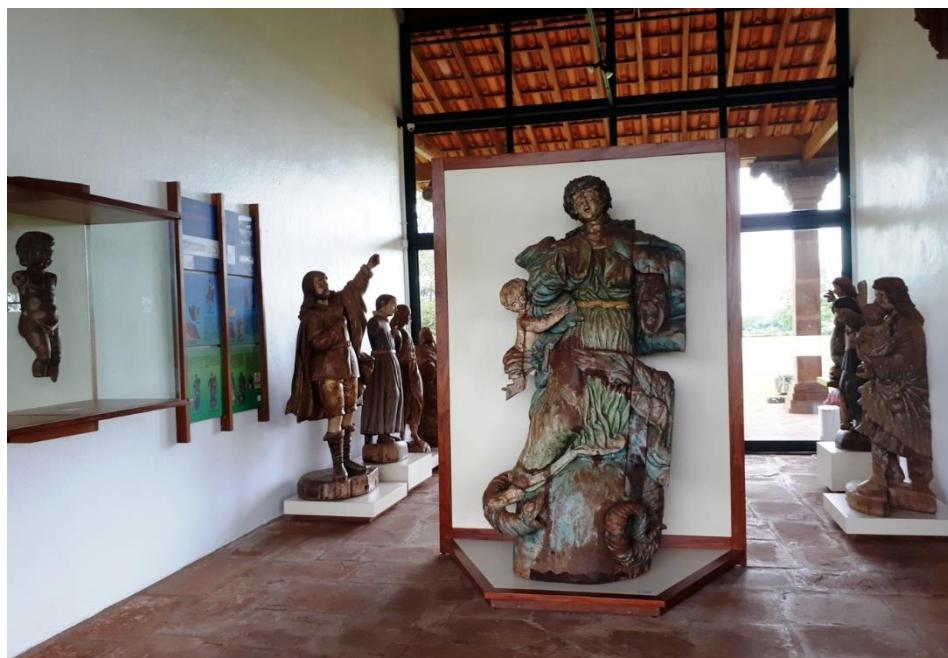
**Figure 8 – São Nicolau Archaeological Site interpretive panel (IPHAN Archive)**

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.

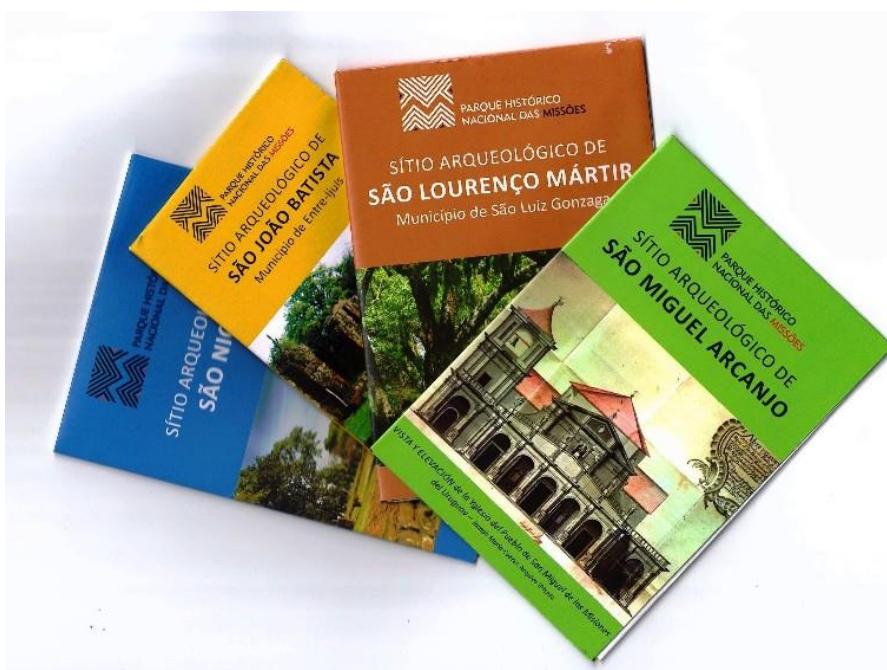
Another activity implemented, inspired by the Santiago de Compostela Trail, focused on walking or biking tours on the local roads between the archaeological sites. In addition to these initiatives, promotional souvenirs were developed and sold, including t-shirts, caps and brochures featuring the logos 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)



**Figure 10 – Folders (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

- Custodio, Bolcato, L. A. (2006): *Turismo Cultural en las Misiones Jesuíticas*. In La dimensión Social del Patrimonio - VIII Congreso Internacional de Rehabilitación del Patrimonio Arquitectónico y Edificación. Buenos Aires, Salta, Argentina: CICOP, 471-475.
- Custodio, Bolcato, L. A. (2003): *Turismo Cultural: experiencias brasileñas*. In López Morales, G. (Ed.) Patrimonio Cultural y Turismo – Cuadernos 5. Memorias Parte 1. México - DF, México: Conaculta.
- Goodey, B. (2001): *Planificación Interpretativa en Brasil: El Caso de Puerto Seguro*. Concepción, Chile: Revista Urbano, 4, 59–65.
- Izquierdo-Tugas, P.; Tresserras, J.J.; Matamala-Mellini, J.C. (2005): *Heritage Interpretation Centres, The HICIRA Handbook*. Barcelona, Spain: Institut d'Edicions de la Diputació de Barcelona.
- Murta, S. & Albano, C. (Eds). (2002): *Interpretar o Patrimônio: um exercício do olhar*. Belo Horizonte, Brasil: Editora UFMAG/Território Brasilis.
- National Trust for Historic Preservation in the United States (1993): *Getting Started: How to Succeed in Heritage Tourism*. Washington DC: National Trust for Historic Preservation.
- Tilden, F. (1957/2007): *Interpreting Our Heritage*, Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

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

Jasna Fakin Bajec (Slovenia)

### **Author**

Jasna Fakin Bajec is a research fellow at the Institute for Culture and Memory Studies, Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Science and Arts, Ljubljana.

Contact: [jasna.fakin@zrc-sazu.si](mailto:jasna.fakin@zrc-sazu.si)

### **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.)<sup>77</sup> also show that he always

<sup>77</sup> 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 Oršanić 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.<sup>78</sup> 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,

<sup>78</sup> 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.<sup>79</sup> 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

<sup>79</sup> 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 10<sup>th</sup> 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."<sup>80</sup>*



**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.

<sup>80</sup> 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 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

- Aktiv kmečkih žena (2005): *Da ne bi pozabili. Planina pri Ajdovščini. Običaji in recepti naših prednikov*. Planina pri Ajdovščini.
- Bratož, R. (2006). "Martin Tourski in njegovi stiki s Panonijo" Zgodovinski časopis, 3/4 (134), 259–281.
- Fakin Bajec, J. (2016): "Cultural heritage and the role of voluntary associations in the process of achieving sustainable development in rural communities", Stud. ethnol. Croat., vol. 28, 21–45.
- Gáspár, D. (2008): Sveti Martin Tourski. In: Arambašić J (eds.) *Sveti Martin Tourski kot simbol evropske kulture*, Celovec: Mohorjeva družba, 118–122.
- Hrvoje Pršanič, T. et. alt. (2014): *Velika evropska kulturna pot sv. Martina Tourskega od Zreč do Logatca: romarski vodnik*. Podsreda: Kozjanski park.
- Internet site 1: Council of Europe, Cultural Routes, Saint Martin Tours Route.  
<https://www.coe.int/en/web/cultural-routes/the-saint-martin-of-tours-route> (22.2.2018).
- Internet site 2: European institute of Cultural routes: The Saint Martin of Tours Route  
<http://culture-routes.net/routes/the-saint-martin-of-tours-route> (21. 2. 2018).
- Internet site 3: European Commission. 2017. *European Year of Cultural Heritage 2018*.  
[https://ec.europa.eu/culture/european-year-cultural-heritage-2018\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/culture/european-year-cultural-heritage-2018_en) (2.2.2017).
- Internet site 4: 25 years of independence of Republic Slovenia. Culture as the basis of national identity. <http://www.slovenia25.si/i-feel-25/timeline/then-and-now/culture-as-the-basis-of-national-identity/index.html> (22.2. 2018).
- Kovač, E. (2008). Sveti Martin kot etični simbol. In: Arambašić J (eds.) *Sveti Martin Tourski kot simbol evropske kulture*, Celovec: Mohorjeva družba, 11–14.
- Marušič, B. (1999). "Pregled društvene dejavnosti v Avstrijskem Primorju (1848-1918)." Annales. Ser. hist. sociol., 9 (16), 163-192.
- Nurse, K. (2006). *Culture as the Fourth Pillar of Sustainable Development*.  
<http://www.fao.org/SARD/common/ecg/2785/en/Cultureas4thPillarSD.pdf> (29. 2. 2012)

Rosa, M. & Fakin Bajec, J. (eds.) (2014): *Da ne bi pozabili II. Šege in navade ter kuharski recepti s Planine pri Ajdovščini*. Planina pri Ajdovščini: Društvo gospodinj in dramska skupina Planina pri Ajdovščini.

Sooš, Timotej et. alt. (ur.). (2017). Strategija razvoja Slovenije. Ljubljana: SVRK.

Šerbelj, F. (2006). Valentin Metzinger (1699-1759), San Martino e il povero. In: *Martino: uno santo e la sua civiltà nel racconto dell'arte*. Milano: Skira, 152–153.

## Desire, love, identity: Interpreting LGBTQ histories

Stuart Frost (UK)

### Author

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.

Contact: [sfrost@britishmuseum.org](mailto:sfrost@britishmuseum.org)

### 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.<sup>81</sup> 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).<sup>82</sup> 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.

<sup>81</sup> 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.

<sup>82</sup> 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 LGBTQ+ Rights (25 February- 3 September 2017), Peoples' History Museum, Manchester (Photo: Stuart Frost)**

### 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.

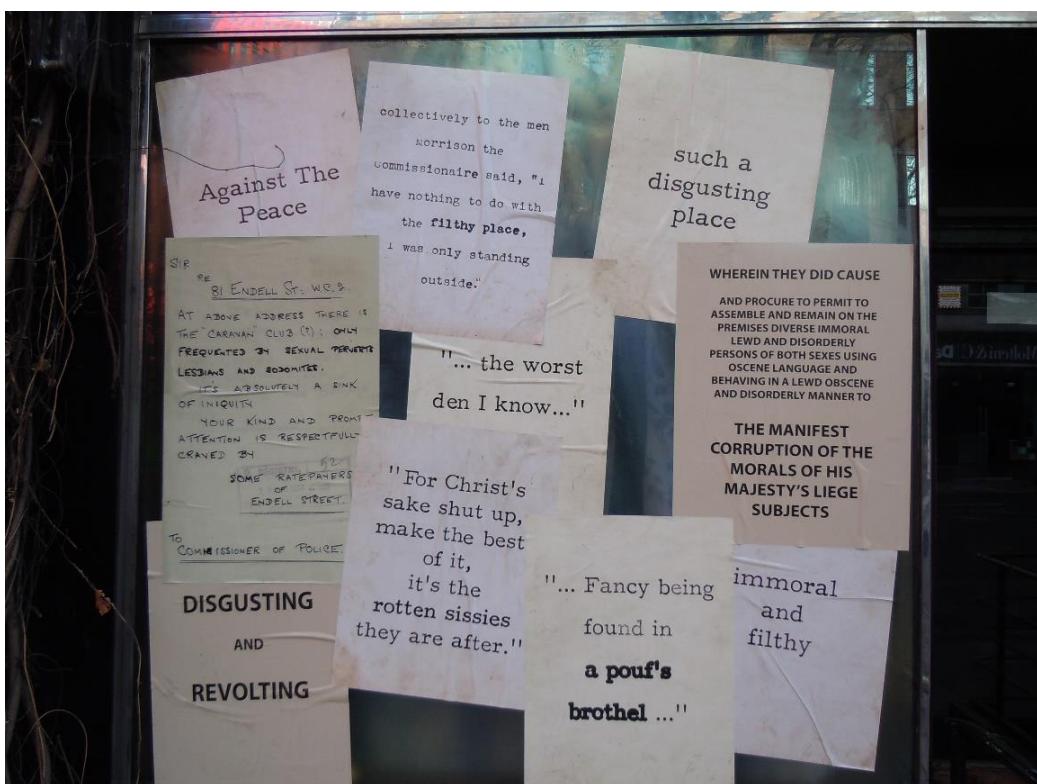
During March 2017, the National Trust and The National Archives temporarily re-created the Caravan, a queer-friendly members' club of 1934 (Hillel & Houlbrook 2017). The recreation took place at Freud Café-Bar – very close to the Caravan's original location – and about a five-minute walk away from the 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).<sup>83</sup>

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.<sup>84</sup> 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)

<sup>83</sup> 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.

<sup>84</sup> 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.<sup>85</sup> 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

<sup>85</sup> 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 @LondonLGBTPrude 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). Most heritage organisations avoid confrontation and controversy, but surely there is sometimes significant benefit and value in encouraging people to reflect upon their attitudes and to openly articulate their position on a significant issue. Stimulating a wider debate – even with negative publicity – can be seen as a beneficial outcome. As John Orna-Ornstein, the National Trust's Director of Curation and Experience, pointed out:

“Anything that is bold and interesting, some people are going to love it and some are going to find it really challenging. I would be more worried if people came to our houses and didn't respond” (Brown 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

*Coming Out: Sexuality, Gender and Identity* (28 July – 5 November 2017), Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/walker/exhibitions/arts-council-collection/coming-out/index.aspx>

*Desire, love, identity: exploring LGBTQ histories* (11 May - 15 October 2017), British Museum, London <http://britishmuseum.org/desireloveidentity>

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

*Never Going Underground – The Fight for LGBT+ Rights* (25 February - 3 September 2017), Peoples' History Museum, Manchester  
<http://www.phm.org.uk/whatson/never-going-underground-the-fight-for-lgbt-rights/>

*Prejudice and Pride.* The National Trust  
<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/>

*Queer British Art 1861-1967*, (5 April – 1 October 2017), Tate Britain  
<http://www.tate.org.uk/whats-on/tate-britain/exhibition/queer-british-art-1861-1967>

*Speak its Name!* (22 November 2016 - 6 August 2017), National Portrait Gallery, London  
<https://www.npg.org.uk/whatson/display/2016/speak-its-name.php>

### References

Barlow, Claire (ed). (2017) *Queer British Art 1861-1967*. London, Tate.

Bennett, Catherine. "Is outing people really the remit of the National Trust?", *The Guardian*, Sunday 13 August 2017. [online] Available at:<  
<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/aug/12/is-outing-people-remit-of-national-trust>>[Accessed 17 February 2018]

Brown, Mark. "William John Bankes, forced into exile after gay liaison, celebrated by National Trust", *The Guardian*, Monday 18 September [online] Available at:<  
<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/sep/18/william-john-bankes-forced-into-exile-after-gay-liaison-celebrated-by-national-trust>>[Accessed 17 February 2018]

Cook, Matt & Oram, Alison. (2017) *Prejudice & Pride: Exploring LGBTQ Heritage*. London, National Trust.

Frost, S. (2008) *Secret Museums: Hidden Histories of Sex and Sexuality*. In: Museums and Social Issues, Volume 3, Number 1. 29-40

Frost, S. (2010): *The Warren Cup: Secret Museums, Sex and Society*. In Amy Levin (ed), Gender, Sexuality and Museums: A Routledge Reader. London, Routledge.

Frost, S (2016), 'Interpreting sexuality and celebrating difference: a more inclusive future?', *The Future of Europe – Interpret Europe Conference Proceedings*, p.31-38 [online] Available at: <  
[http://www.interpret-europe.net/fileadmin/news-tmp/ie-events/2015/IE\\_Proceedings\\_2014-2015.pdf](http://www.interpret-europe.net/fileadmin/news-tmp/ie-events/2015/IE_Proceedings_2014-2015.pdf)> [Accessed 4 February 2018]

Gaimster, D. (2000). "Sex and Sensibility at the British Museum", *History Today*, 10-15.

Gaimster, David (2001): *Under Lock and Key: censorship and the secret museum*. In: Stephen Bayley (ed), *Sex: The Erotic Review*. London. 126-139.

Grierson, Jamie. "National Trust reverses decision enforcing use of gay pride badges", *The Guardian*, Saturday 5<sup>th</sup> August 2017. [online] Available at:< <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2017/aug/05/national-trust-reverses-decision-on-gay-pride-badges> > [Accessed 17 February 2018]

Hastings, Max. "After 40 years my wife and I have quit the National Trust because it is pursuing an obsessively politically correct social agenda", *The Daily Mail*, 14 September 2017 [online] Available at:< <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/debate/article-4882298/After-40-years-wife-quit-National-Trust.html> >[Accessed 17 February 2018]

Hillel, Rowena, Houlbrook, Matt. (2017). *Queer City: London Club Culture 1918-1967*. London, National Trust

Hopkins, Katie. "The National Trust should take Pride in all its members and volunteers and objecting to using dead people's sexuality as a marketing tool isn't anti-gay, it's just good manners", *The Daily Mail*, 4 August 2017 [online] Available at:< <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4761990/The-National-Trust-Pride-members.html> >[Accessed 17 February 2018]

Keenan McDonald, Charlotte. (2017). *Coming Out: Sexuality, Gender & Identity*. Liverpool, National Museums Liverpool.

LGBTI ALMS, 2012. R. B. Parkinson, A 'Great Unrecorded History': Presenting LGBT History in a Museum for the World. [online] Available at: <<http://lgbtialms2012.blogspot.co.uk/2012/08/richard-parkinson-british-museum-london.html#more>> [Accessed 20 February 2016]

LGBT History Month. *LGBT History Month website*. [online] Available at: <<http://lgbthistorymonth.org.uk/>> [Accessed 20 February 2016]

MacGregor, N. (2010). *A History of the World in 100 objects*. London, Penguin.

Manning, Sanchez. "Climbdown by National Trust chiefs in gay pride badges row as it says they are no longer compulsory to wear", *The Daily Mail*, 6 August 2017. [online] Available at:< <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4764608/Climbdown-National-Trust-chiefs-gay-pride-badges-row.html>>[Accessed 17 February 2018]

Morris Hargreaves McIntyre, 2006. *Pleasure You Can Measure: Visitor Responses to the Warren Cup Exhibition*, [online] Available at: <[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/research\\_projects/all\\_current\\_projects/visitor\\_research.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/research_projects/all_current_projects/visitor_research.aspx)> [Accessed 20 February 2016]

O'Donnell, Catherine. (2017). "Never Going Underground: The fight for LGBT+ rights" in *Social History Curators Group Journal*, Volume 41, pp.67-76

Parkinson, R. B. (2013). *A Little Gay History*. London, British Museum Press.

Tinker, Christopher (ed). (2017) "Speak its name". London, National Portrait Gallery.

Tweddle, Neil. "Why HAS the National Trust outed a leading historian as gay? Dismay as his sexuality is raked over by the charity for its Prejudice and Pride project", *The Daily Mail*, 31 July

2017, [online] Available at:< <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4745008/Why-National-Trust-outed-leading-historian-gay.html>>[Accessed 17 February 2018]

TWResearch. (2017). *Desire, Love, Identity – Summative Qualitative Evaluation*. Unpublished report.

Vincent, J. (2014). *LGBT People and the UK Cultural Sector*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate.

Wallace, M. (2007). Under Lock and Key. In: M. Wallace, M. Kemp, and J. Bernstein (eds): *Seduced: Art and Sex from Antiquity to Now*, London, Barbican Art Gallery, 32-50.

Williams, D. (2013). "The Warren Cup", *ICOM España Digital, Revista del Comité Español de ICOM* No 8, 64-69.

Williams, D. (2006). *The Warren Cup*. London, British Museum Press.

## Museoeurope: The concept of no border museum – the path to common EU identity

Oskar Habjanič (Slovenia)

### Author

Oskar Habjanič joined The Regional Museum Maribor in 2008 where he works as a Senior Curator. He is the author or co-author of several exhibitions and is one of the project leaders and editors for the international project, Museoeurope. He writes about museum ethics, and mainly covers the history of the 19th century.

Contact: [oskar.habjanic@museum-mb.si](mailto:oskar.habjanic@museum-mb.si)

### Abstract

In 2012, when Maribor was the European Capital of Culture, the 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 the wider public. The main goal of the project is the mobility of various museum objects, which originate from different cultural and historical backgrounds, but share a common basic idea or concept of common heritage. The project relates to individual collections of the Regional Museum Maribor or annual temporary exhibitions. Up until 2017, Regional Museum Maribor has cooperated with highly regarded museums, such as the 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 Vevey in Switzerland, the Peasant Museum from Bucharest, Romania, the National Museum in Warsaw, the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Sarajevo Museum and the Bosniac Institute – Adil Zulfikarpašić Foundation from Sarajevo.

### Keywords

Regional Museum Maribor, collection mobility, interpretation, museum objects, international projects, EU identity

### Introduction

In 2012, when Maribor was the European Capital of Culture, the Regional Museum Maribor began the project Museoeurope. The project is based on numerous European directives that focus on the importance of a common but diverse European culture and cultural heritage. The project highlights the role of individual museum collections and individual outstanding museum objects, which can be placed in a wider European context. Visiting objects from selected museums that are hosted by the Regional Museum Maribor within occasional or permanent exhibitions and individual collections complement the interpretation of the subject related to the time of production. In the words of Freeman Tilden, “the interpretation goes beyond the apparent to the real, beyond a part to a whole, beyond a truth to a more important truth” (Tilden, 1957/2007: 33).

The core of the project is the common cultural history, which can be identified through the museum objects and collections. As time passes, every object accumulates different meanings, and by displaying them in the new broader context, they change their role from passive to active (Pierce 2006: 19). This is how the museum objects have their primal identity restored and on the other hand receive a new one.

### From the European directives to the concept of the project

The concept of a common European culture was first set out by the Maastricht Treaty in 1992. The Treaty received much criticism within the professional public, which drew attention to the

diversity of European culture and identities (Innocenti 2014: 5). A specific mention of the cooperation between the member states and of non-commercial cultural exchanges appears within the Treaty of Amsterdam, signed in 1997. In Article 151 we can read about “respecting national and regional diversity and bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore” (Treaty of Amsterdam: 1997). Paragraph 2 talks about cooperation between the member states, where non-commercial cultural exchanges, are mentioned (Treaty of Amsterdam: 1997).

The cooperation and protection of both tangible and intangible heritage and the concept of ‘open citizenship’ are very explicitly defined in the Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society – the so-called Faro Convention, where the “rights relating to cultural heritage are inherent in the right to participate in cultural life, as defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights” (Faro Convention: 2005). The Faro Convention explicitly emphasises the link between cultural heritage, human rights and democracy. In Article 2, the connection between cultural heritage and identity is also stated. Even more, the cultural heritage evolves personal or common “values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions. It includes all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time” (Faro Convention: 2005).

The European Cultural Heritage Strategy for the 21st Century, launched in April 2017, “redefines the place and role of cultural heritage in Europe and provides guidelines to promote good governance and participation in heritage identification and management, and disseminates innovative approaches to improving the environment and quality of life of European citizens” (The Strategy for 21st Century 2017). The Strategy is a step forward from the so-called Namur Convention, which was adopted during the European Cultural Convention in Namur (Belgium) on 23-24 April 2015. The Conference had the ambitious title, *Cultural heritage in the 21st century for living better together. Towards a common strategy for Europe*. The Namur Convention recognises cultural heritage as a key component of the European identity. The common cultural heritage is seen as a step forward in redefining the whole concept of the European Union, which has to adopt the cultural heritage in its essence. In paragraph 4, the strategy points out the values of Europe: “democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, openness and dialogue, equal dignity of all persons, mutual respect and sensitivity to diversity” (The Namur Convention 2015).

### **The collection mobility**

As we can see, the awareness of cultural heritage and identity is a common vision of EU policy. On the other hand, where are the museums within the common concept of the EU? Is the common cultural heritage and identity visible in their mission statements, and after all how can the collections and the museum objects help us to understand all of the conventions? Of course, every museum has its own mission according to its location and cultural history background, but the common values are rarely seen in any statements.

Tomislav Šola understands the notion of “building up the identities” as “projections of desired self which would be opposite to their implied nature” (Šola 2010:226). Šola sees the collections as a tool to strengthen the European identity. The collections and museum objects should avoid personal or institutional connotations in the sense as that we quite often hear the terms “my collection” or “my museum”. The museums should adopt the policy using the collections as a common resource (Šola 2010:230). The step forward is the Europeana project, in which several different collections from different European institutions are visible. Throughout the collection, we should communicate the public memory. The heritage is information, which counts in order to form a ‘meme’ – the units of memory to be communicated (Šola 2010:232). The collection should become a public resource, reflecting and communicating the common European identity.

The Faro Convention also introduces the term ‘heritage community’ referring to the private or institutional collectors who value the specific aspects of cultural heritage according to their traditions (Meijer-van Mensch & Van Mensch 2010:51). This is also the essence of Eco museums – preserving and keeping the heritage, the knowledge and the story alive.

Regarding the collections and the common EU identity, the collection networking is a must, which museums shouldn't avoid in the future. There have already been several initiatives implementing collections mobility. Council resolution on the European cooperation in the field of culture was accepted in June 2002 and implemented in December 2002 when the mobility of persons and the circulation of works in the cultural sectors was added. It "stresses that the promotion of mobility of persons and circulation of works in the cultural sector are decisive factors in the dissemination of knowledge, experience, mutual inspiration, and cooperation. The issue of mobility and circulation will thus be an important tool to communicate the diversity of cultures in Europe and strengthen the cultural cooperation" (Council Resolution 2003/C 13/03).

Further, in 2003 the new resolution on cooperation between cultural institutions in the field of museums had been launched. The resolution clearly emphasises the "circulation of artefacts, art works and collections. The cultural institutions and museums of the Member States could promote the circulation of collections and the individual works of art for exhibition purposes within Europe, thereby bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore" (Council Resolution 2003/C 295/01). The resolution aims to "intensify cultural links between Member States in order to promote knowledge of common cultural heritage and cultural diversity within Europe. ...Particular encouragement could be given to exhibitions that are organised by joint groups of scholar and experts from the Member States' institutions and dealing with issues concerning the contacts, influences and relationships between the peoples of Europe over the course of history" (Council Resolution 2003/C 295/01). The common approach to collections mobility intensified in 2004: the Hague Conference – Museum collections on move, Council conclusions on Work Plan for Culture 2005 – 2006 in which the mobility of collections was one of the priorities (Weij 2010:162).

In 2005, the publication *Lending to Europe. Recommendations on Collection Mobility for European Museums* was published. In the introduction, we can read "museum collections of Europe are, first and foremost, one of society's common assets. It is therefore important to safeguard them, but also to make them available to society as much as possible" (Lending to Europe 2005:8). The project was undertaken in collaboration with several museums, including Rijksmuseum, Natural Historical Museum from Stockholm, Natural Museum Warsaw, Tate Gallery, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin and many others. The "set of recommendations aims to encourage collection mobility, both by stimulating a larger number of European institutions to share in cultural exchanges within Europe and by redressing the imbalance vis-à-vis financially stronger and better equipped partners outside Europe" (Lending to Europe 2005:8). In the same year, the British Museums Association organised a conference titled Increasing the mobility of collections, where the goal of greater collection mobility was also adopted. Conferences on collections mobility also continued in all parts of Europe (Prague 2005: The Museum and Change II.; Madrid 2006: Conference on Museum Training, Museum Collections and Planning; Helsinki 2006: Encouraging the Mobility of Collections; Budapest 2006,: Anti Seizure and Legal Immunity, München 2007: Collection Mobility in Europe: Crossing Borders) until the end of the first decade of 21st century (Weij 2010:161). The Action Plan for the EU Promotion of Museum Collection Mobility and Loan Standards was developed in 2006 during the Austrian EU Presidency and finalised during Finland's EU Presidency. It summarises the major issues regarding the loan traffic.

The next step was undertaken in 2007 during the German EU-presidency, where the conference in Bremen focused on building up trust and networking to encourage the exchange of museum objects and the means to explore measures in order to enhance the mobility of collections. Two years later, the study on *Mobility of Works of Art in Europe* was published. The study provides the information about the obstacles in the circulation of works of art in the EU, focusing mainly on private galleries (Ilczuk 2009).

In 2010, the Lending for Europe project was founded with a broad number of participants. The project was founded by the European Commission/Culture Programme. Finally, yet importantly, within the project the publication *Encouraging collections mobility* was published, in which authors

discussed the collection mobility, with specific issues on the history of collecting, on active collections, on the public's benefit, and the practical guide to collections mobility at the end of the publication gives a good impression about the subject (Pettersson et al. 2010).

### **Museoeurope – the concept of no border museum**

Encouraged by many regulations, resolutions, directives and action plans, the decision for the Museoeurope project was just the logical consequence following all the above-mentioned recommendations.

The main goal of the project is the mobility of museum objects and to juxtapose objects that originate in different cultural and historical environments, but which hold a common basic idea or message and connotation. The project is tied to the individual collections of the Regional Museum Maribor or its temporary exhibitions. Into this context, a representative museum from the wider environment is invited, which then places the collection or exhibition into a wider European space. The focus is on the exchange of knowledge and experience in the interpretation of tangible heritage. To coincide with the exhibition, an international symposium takes place with the aim of interpreting the tangible heritage within the cultural and historical context.

The reminiscences of the past European tradition are based on the deception, kidnapping and rape, 'perpetrated' by the lust of the Greek gods. Medieval Europe takes us into the world of knighthood, chivalry and the development of refinement, the kiss of peace, devotion and love and, last but not least, faith and hope. Renaissance Europe is derived from the beauty of the spirit and sensuality, the Enlightenment from reason, the Industrial Age and the Modern Era from the ideals of equality, freedom and solidarity. The project Museoeurope is symbolically based on the Renaissance proverb about "knowledge that brings to life that which is dying," and "art that calls back into life that which has sunken into the shadows". The focus is on the exchange of ideas and experience, knowledge and heritage, and revealing different faces of Europe (Habjanič 2012).

The name of the project is composed of two terms. The first is the term *muzeón*, which was used by the ancient Greeks to name the sites where the Muses inspired artists. The Muses were the daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne (Greek: memory). With the help of her daughters, Mnemosyne transported artists into a different time and space; she connected them with their memory and enabled the birth of their inspiration. Europe is the second term and within this context is to be understood as a cultural one. The association of the Regional Museum Maribor with other renowned European museums rests on the basis of its 100,000 museum objects and the 100,000 materialised connections between the past and the present, all of which reflect different faces of Europe (Koren 2014:2).

The project was launched in 2012 with the temporary exhibition, The Language of Peace, staged by the Regional Museum Maribor in cooperation with the Landeszeughaus, which is part of the Universalmuseum Joanneum from Graz. The exhibition was based on the weapon collection from the Regional Museum Maribor and the joint historical context of the defence against the Turks in the 16th and 17th centuries. The weapons preserved by the Regional Museum Maribor were bought in the 16th and 17th centuries by the Maribor townspeople in the royal armoury in Graz. Graz – as the capital of the province of Styria – supplied the other towns in the defence against the Turks (Toifl 2012). The Landeszeughaus (provincial armoury) in Graz has preserved to this day the most important weapon collection from the period of 16th and 17th centuries, comprising 32,000 items. The temporary exhibition juxtaposed the equipment of the famous provincial mercenaries – the 16th century Landsknechts – against the Regional Museum Maribor weapon collection. After more than 400 years, the objects that originated from the same armoury once more shared the same space, at least for a limited time. As part of the project, Dr Leopold Toifl from Universalmuseum Joanneum examined the Maribor museum's weapons and wrote an extensive monograph about it. The international exhibition was accompanied by talks on the theme of using and restoring weapons.

The next joined project involved the Pontifical Swiss Guard from the Vatican (Guardia Svizzera Pontificia). The uniform of the Pontifical Swiss Guard was included in the context of the collection of uniforms from the Regional Museum Maribor and the historically documented arrival of Pope Pius VI in 1782 at Maribor Castle. Pope Pius VI was on the road to Vienna, to the Austrian royal court, where he met with Josef II, with whom he discussed the termination of the monasteries. The pope stopped overnight in Maribor castle, and the very next day, on St. Joseph's day on 10 March, he attended mass in the Loretto Chapel (Leben und Wirken 1915: 11). The uniform of the halberdier of the Pontifical Swiss Guard, worn by the soldiers of the Guard today, was placed inside the Loretto Chapel in Maribor Castle. As part of the project, a member of the Pontifical Swiss Guard, Erwin Niederberger, gave a lecture about the development of the uniform, while Dr France M. Dolinar from the Archiepiscopal Archives of Ljubljana presented Pope Pius VI and his time.



**Figure 1 – The Pontifical Swiss Guard from Vatikan in Loretto Chapel in Regional Museum Maribor (Regional Museum Maribor, 2012)**

The project Museoeurope continued with a collaboration between the Regional Museum Maribor and the Bavarian National Museum from Munich (Bayerisches Nationalmuseum München). The latter keeps extensive heritage of Johann Baptist Straub, who was for several decades the leading sculptor in Munich. The Straub family, the family of sculptors, originates from Wiesensteig in Baden-Württemberg and has entered the history of Central European sculpture because of its exceptional oeuvre (body of work). Johann Georg Straub (+1730) educated his five sons as sculptors. Their skill and knowledge took them around the whole of Central Europe. The eldest, Johann Baptist Straub (1704-1784) mainly worked in court in Munich. Philipp Jakob (1706-1774) worked in court in Graz, Johann Georg Jr. (1721-1773) ended in Radgona, Josef (1712-1756) started his career in Ljubljana and later moved on to Maribor, and last but not least, Franz Adam (1726-before 1771) settled down in Zagreb (Vrišer 1987).

At the exhibition, *The Sculptures of the Straub Brothers*, as part of the Museoeurope project, the Regional Museum Maribor once more placed side by side the works of three of the brothers, Johann Baptist, Philipp Jakob and Josef Straub. The Bavarian National Museum exhibited two personal objects: the portrait of Johan Baptist Straub, probably created by Balthasar Augustin Albrecht from around 1710, and a wood carving from 1759 of Mary and Child, made for the façade of a house in Hacken Street in central Munich, which was bought in 1741 by Straub for his family. Mary and Child is considered a representative example of Johann Baptist Straub's sculpture, since it reflects all the characteristics of his work (Weniger 2012). Regional Museum Maribor exhibited the representative works from Joseph Straub from the high altar of the Church of Saint Joseph in Studenci: the statues of saints Zaharias and Elisabeth, and Joachim and Ana from around 1750. The brother Philipp Jacob was represented with the work of Saint Georg from the 18th century. The temporary exhibition was accompanied by a lecture by Dr Matthias Weniger from the Bavarian National Museum and a lecture by Dr Polona Vidmar from the Faculty of Arts of the University of Maribor.



**Figure 2** – Johann Baptist Straub's sculpture masterpiece, Mary and Child, 1759, from The Bavarian National Museum (Regional Museum Maribor, 2012)

In 2012, the Regional Museum Maribor collaborated internationally with the Warsaw National Museum. Here, the focus was on the furniture collection kept by the Maribor museum. Previously, in 2011, the Regional Museum Maribor had presented its furniture collection as an open storage area on the premises of the Partizan Cinema, today part of the Regional Museum Maribor. For this, the European Museum Academy shortlisted the Maribor Regional Museum among the six finalists for the prestigious Micheletti award for 2013. The temporary exhibition, *Baroque Furniture in Styria*, included a representative table with the coats-of-arms of the families of Radziwiłł and Wiśniowiecki from the period 1741-1744, and a painting by Fryderyk La Croix from 1702, depicting Michał Serwacy Wiśniowiecki (1680-1744), the Lithuanian Field Hetman (1703-1707). The previously mentioned table was made for Michał Serwacy Wiśniowiecki and his wife Tekla Róża, born Radziwiłł. Both were from noble families who played an important role in the history of the then federation of countries. For many generations, their members performed the most important secular and ecclesiastical professions, and supported culture and art (Habjanič, Mieleszkiewicz, Gutkowska 2012). Alongside the exhibition, the project included a lecture, given by Stefan Mieleszkiewicz and Dorota Gutkowska from the National Museum in Warsaw, covering

the history of the two visiting objects. Dr Maja Lozar Štamcar from the National Museum of Slovenia compared the European Baroque furniture in Poland with that in Slovenia.

In 2012, with the aim of recreating the objects involved in the project, educational institutions and societies were also invited to take part, alongside the guest exhibitions. The following took part: Woodwork High School in Maribor, Maribor Design College, the Chair of Materials and Forming at the Faculty of Engineering at the University of Maribor, Triptih, the restoration studio and the photographers who captured the historical elements in a unique way. In cooperation with the aforementioned institutions and societies, a temporary exhibition was prepared and placed in the Knight's Hall of Maribor Castle. Among the reproduced products, we can emphasise the re-creation of the papal Swiss Guard, the transformation of the cloaks, and the so-called 'pledner' found its way as a tourist souvenir, many professional and non-professional photographers exhibited their photographs depicting historical elements.

In 2014, Museoeurope was marked by a collaboration with the National Museum of the Romanian Peasant, from Bucharest. The Romanian museum's exhibit – a wooden wheel – was included in the then open part of the permanent exhibition of the Regional Museum Maribor, dedicated to the craft of wooden cart making. The borrowed object demonstrated the art of the collars and blacksmiths who supplied the fumans along the Vienna-Trieste trading route. Maribor 'survived' and developed through the ages, especially because of the exceptional position of the settlement. The wheel was made of oak and is dated to the early 20th century. It originates from the village of Obîrsia in part of the multicultural region of Transylvania (Habjanič, Blajan, 2014).

Alongside the exhibition, there was an international symposium titled The Practical Value of The Wooden Wheel, involving 12 speakers from Romania, Austria, Serbia and Slovenia. Within the framework of the symposium, the Regional Museum Maribor represented the way in which the invention of the wheel, which was invented 6,000 years ago, influenced and co-created the living environment throughout time, reaching from the prehistory until today. The lectures reflected the posed fundamental questions, whether the wheel can still be regarded as the incentive of human progress, and whether wood, in the sense of a raw material, represents the material that will enable the way out of the crisis and provide contemporary design and technological solutions. One of the questions of great importance, which was raised, is the question concerning the kind of maintenance and preservation of wood in order to put it at the disposal of our successors (Habjanič 2014: 3).

In 2016, the Regional Museum Maribor joined forces with three institutions from the city of Sarajevo: The National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, The Sarajevo Museum, and The Bosniak Institute – Foundation Adil Zulfikarpašić. The museum material in the temporary exhibition, The Meeting of Two Worlds, prompted reflection on what unifies the present-day Catholic and Islamic worlds, as well as what divides them.

The content of the ceiling paintings in the Knights' Hall was confronted with the substance of the exhibition which was set up by colleagues from Sarajevo in the same space. The central field of the ceiling in the Knights' Hall was painted with brutal battle scenes between the Austro-Hungarian soldiers and the Ottoman army which reflect the general external perception of the Ottomans around the year 1680. The iconographical motif of the battle with the Ottomans, which is depicted in three scenes on the ceiling of the Knights' Hall, was determined as the starting point for a wider approach to the reciprocal influence of two great cultures of the past – the Western culture; predominantly Catholic, and the Eastern culture; predominantly Islamic and regionally limited to the former Ottoman Empire. The incursions of the Ottoman army into our lands and this part of Europe in the time between the 15th and 17th centuries have had a great impact on the life of the people. The consequences of these incursions have been reflected in architecture, fine arts, the way of life, etc (Bevc Varl 2015: 3).

With an exceptionally subtle choice of concomitant objects of utility, the authors of the exhibition have managed to shift our viewpoint and have shown us the concrete view from the inside. The objects testify about the high knowledge level of craftsmen and aesthetic requirements which were to be met by the artisans in Sarajevo in the times of the Ottoman Empire, with which they have elevated the culture of living of the population (Koren 2015:2).

The ceiling paintings in the Knights' Hall, as well as the exhibition, served as an excellent starting point for numerous interpretations of the central topic of that year's symposium. Fourteen lecturers, coming from Austria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Turkey, and Slovenia took up the invitation to participate in the symposium. The symposium was prepared in the times when Slovenia was faced with a new form of social life, with refugees from Syria who cross Slovenia on their way to the promised lands of Western Europe. The Regional Museum Maribor witnessed the emergence of numerous new questions, but most of all we could sense the fear of people which perhaps resembles the fear that was felt by the commissioner of the ceiling paintings in the Knights' Hall more than 300 years ago. If we are to believe the ancient saying that just a little good can destroy a lot of evil, there is no doubt that nowadays we are in dire need of our symposium, The Meeting of Two Worlds, to deal with this topic (Koren 2015:2).

At the temporary exhibition, the objects were placed in groups: religion, old books and manuscripts, literacy, personal hygiene, coffee and tobacco, jewellery, hamam, bridesmaid legacy, clothing, ceramics and carving. Most objects were made by goldsmiths, coppersmiths, carvers and textile manufacturers, and some others were made by smithers, tailors, potters and other craftsmen. These objects represented the extraordinary skill of the craftsmen, reaching their peak in the 17th and 18th centuries. The meeting of domestic and foreign masters led to the exchange of experiences in various fields of applied arts, especially in the field of metalworking, production of weapons, the production of objects for everyday use and for sacral use (Bev Varl 2015:3).

Questions concerning the way in which Western and Eastern cultures have enriched each other and where they have diverged throughout history were recognised as a suitable challenge for the preparation of professional and scientific papers for the symposium. Fourteen authors from Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Austria, and Turkey took up the invitation to participate in the symposium (Bev Varl 2015:3).

In 2016, on the occasion of the 170th anniversary of Franz Liszt playing in the Knights' Hall at Maribor Castle, the Regional Museum Maribor, in cooperation with the Liszt Ferenc Memorial Museum and Research Centre in Budapest and the Regional Museum Burgenland in Eisenstadt, organised a temporary exhibition with the overall title, Franz Liszt on a Small European Tour, and dedicated it to this musical virtuoso. Material for the exhibition was also contributed by the Regional Museum Celje, the National Museum of Slovenia, the Regional Archives Maribor, the Historical Archives Celje, the Styrian Provincial Archives Graz, the University Library Johann Christian Senckenberg in Frankfurt am Main and the University of Maribor Library, while the graphical material for the town of Zagreb was contributed by the Zagreb City Museum.

Among the borrowed museum objects, it is worth mentioning the personal card of Franz Liszt from around 1860, and copy of a Liszt hand, made after the original for pedagogical purposes. The original was made just three years before Liszt's death (Czernin 2016). The copy of the hand was made with the help of the Laboratory for Engineering Design from The Faculty of Mechanical Engineering from the University of Maribor. Both items are from Regional Museum Burgenland. Among the objects from Liszt Ferenc Memorial Museum and Research Centre in Budapest, I should mention the Hungarian tricolour from Liszt's estate from 1882 and the bust of Franz Liszt, the work of an unknown sculptor, probably a Hungarian artist, in 1936 (Domokos 2016).

The complementary international symposium, Europe in the Time of Franz Liszt, revealed the essential questions of the 19th century. With the help of numerous music societies as well as new

concert stages and halls, musical giants raised the cultural level of previous amateur performances. Many professional critics either sealed the fate of young aspiring artists or elevated their careers. Multitudinous cultural events paved the way for cultural supplements of local newspapers. The primary goal of the project Museoeurope in 2016 was to emphasise the role and meaning of the greatest piano player of his time, Franz Liszt. The artist who, at the peak of his career, made a stand and held a concert in a small rural city in Lower Styria, which in those days was perceived as an incomparable experience (Bevc Varl, Habjanič 2016:6).

Twenty-four researchers, from Hungary, Austria, Croatia, and Slovenia, accepted the invitation to participate in the symposium and prepared the papers presented in the collective volume.



**Figure 3 – Franz Liszt on a Small European Tour, international exhibition (Regional Museum Maribor, 2016)**

In 2017, the central theme of the Museoeurope international symposium was kitchen, food and eating, based on the Maribor museum's international exhibition, The Kitchen Debate.

After the horrors of World War II, when Europe was rebuilding its foundations, the political situation once more began to threaten the world's very existence. Not only two extremely different political systems stood in opposition to each other, but also two completely different ways of life, which failed to find any common ground in the second half of the 20th century: on the one hand democracy and capitalism, on the other communism and the command economy. The emphasis in the former is on free will and the individual, who beneath the flag of democracy and capitalism ever more frequently face fundamental economic problems and alienating interpersonal relations. The latter, at least on the formal level, under the name of socialism, emphasised the doctrine of public ownership and equality. Never before had two different world views been so far apart in their understanding of form and content, and they clashed in many fields – not least in their understanding of the kitchen. Different stances were expressed in the so-called 'kitchen debate', when at the opening of the American National Exhibition in Moscow on 24 June 1959, a meeting took place between Soviet premier Nikita Kruschev and United States vice-president Richard

Nixon. The latter showed Kruschev an average American house, with a colour television and washing machine, which was also accessible to a worker in the steel industry, the pride of the rising USA in the 1950s and '60s. There developed a debate between the two statesmen about quality of life, free trade and cooperation in the field of technological progress to the benefit of ordinary people, which quickly deviated into the arms race of the time (Habjanič, Šrimpf Vendramin 2017:4).

Today, with the flood of cooking programmes, celebrity chefs, fashion diets, super foods and eating disorders, it seems that in everyday life, the kitchen debate has never really ended. And so, in 2017, the Regional Museum Maribor joined the debate and looked at the kitchen, food and eating habits.

The central European food museum Alimentarium in Vevey in Switzerland was invited as the main guest institution. The exhibition highlights the two borrowed objects from Alimentarium: a citrus fruit squeezer from 1940, which was used at the same time in the USA, and a tin from Nestle dating from 1938. Material for the exhibition was also loaned by the Tolmin Museum, Matej Masič, the National Liberation Museum Maribor, the Nuremberg Toy Museum, and the University of Applied Arts, Vienna.

Twenty-seven researchers from eight countries – Austria, Croatia, Italia, Japan, Romania, Slovenia, Serbia and Switzerland – took part in the symposium. The various contributions at the international Museoeurope 2017 symposium, Kitchen debate, emphasised the exceptional importance of culinary heritage, which although it is now very topical in museum exhibitions, still has massive potential when it comes to raising the profile of regions and countries. Kitchen debate drew attention to the great opportunity concealed within the design and furniture industry, which once more in the 21st century places the kitchen at the heart of the home. And when we talk about the kitchen, we also need to focus on its essence – food (Habjanič, Šrimpf Vendramin 2017:7).

The year 2018 is centred upon the general theme of uniform as a reminder of social order and tradition and as a remembrance of the end of WWI. The Regional Museum Maribor keeps over 3,000 military and civilian uniforms and related items from the early 19th century to today. In 2018, the collection of uniforms will be given a new depot arrangement, which during the Museoeurope 2018 project will include objects from the host museum.

The Museoeurope 2018 symposium welcomes contributions about the development, characteristics and functions of military uniforms in different historical periods, the role and significance of civilian uniforms, the design, development and analysis of uniforms and their influence on modern fashion design, and the importance of the uniform as identity. The experiences of exhibitors of uniforms and experts involved in their preservation will be of great interest.

### **Conclusion**

In 2012, the Regional Museum Maribor joined the programme of the European Capital of Culture with the project Museoeurope. It was conceived in line with the concept of the modern no-border museum, which by juxtaposing museum objects, knowledge and the bearers of that knowledge, presents the past, in which is reflected the present. Its main goals are sustainability and mobility, which facilitate links among European museum institutions and experts and the development of a synergy of knowledge. It is a contribution towards strengthening the European identity and awareness of a common heritage. The project received considerable attention in international circles and still has a great deal of potential since the rich and diverse collections of the Regional Museum Maribor hold objects that can stand side by side with those abroad. The highest body – the International Council of Museums of Europe – has taken on long-term patronage of the project. The Regional Museum Maribor received the highest national professional award for the project – the Valvasor Award for 2012.

Within the frame of the project, the Regional Museum Maribor has in the last seven years collaborated with 11 institutions, including: the Universalmuseum Joanneum from Graz, the Pontifical Swiss Guard from Vatican, the Bavarian National Museum from Munich, the National Museum in Warsaw, the National Museum of Romanian Peasant from Bucharest, the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Sarajevo Museum and the Bosniac Institute – Adil Zulfikarpašić Foundation from Sarajevo, the Liszt Ferenc Memorial Museum and Research Centre from Budapest, the Regional Museum Burgenland from Eisenstadt and with the Alimentarium from Vevey from Switzerland.

86 researchers from 14 countries, including Austria, Croatia, Italy, Japan, Romania, Serbia, Switzerland, Vatican, Germany, Hungary, Turkey, Bosna and Herzegovina, Poland, and Slovenia, took part in the symposiums. The participants of the symposiums came not just from the museums, but also from research centres, scientific institutes, universities, self-employed, and non-governmental organisations.

#### **References:**

Bevc Varl, V (2015): *Preface of the Editor: The Meeting of two Worlds*. In: Valentina Bevc Varl (ed.): Museoeurope: Srečanja dveh svetov = The Meeting of two Worlds, Zbornik mednarodnega simpozija 15. in 16. 10. 2015 = The collected volume of the symposium on 15 and 16 October 2015, Regional Museum Maribor. 3 – 4.

Bevc Varl, V., Habjanič, O. (2016): *Preface of the Editors: Europe in the time of Franz Liszt*. In: Valentina Bevc Varl, Oskar Habjanič (eds.): Evropa v času Franza Liszta = Europe in the time of Franz Liszt, Zbornik mednarodnega simpozija 13. – 15. 10. 2016 = The collected volume of the symposium 13. – 15. 10. 2016, Regional Museum Maribor. 4 – 6.

Czernin, M. (2016): *Deželni muzej Gradiščanskega* = Regional Museum Burgenland, Eisenstadt, Austria. In: Valentina Bevc Varl, Oskar Habjanič: Franz Liszt: mala evropska turneja: občasna razsstava = Franz Liszt: small European tour: temporary exhibition, maj 2016 – april 2017, Regional Museum Maribor.

*Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (Faro Convention)*,  
<http://www.coe.int/en/web/culture-and-heritage/faro-convention> (accessed on: 10.1. 2018)

*Council resolution: Implementing the work plan on European cooperation in the field of culture: European added value and mobility of persons and circulation of works in the cultural sector*, 19. 12. 2002, Document: 2003/3 13/03, [http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32003G0118\(02\)&from=EN](http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32003G0118(02)&from=EN) (accessed on: 10. 1. 2018)

Domokos, S. (2016): *Liszt Ferenc Memorial Museum and Research centre, Budapest, Hungary*. In: Valentina Bevc Varl, Oskar Habjanič: Franz Liszt: mala evropska turneja: občasna razsstava = Franz Liszt: small European tour: temporary exhibition, maj 2016 – april 2017, Regional Museum Maribor.

*Encouraging collections Mobility: A Way Forward for Museum in Europe*. Susanna Pettersson, Monika Hagedorn – Saupe, Teijamari Jyrkkiö, Astrid Weij (eds), Finnish National Gallery, 2010.  
*European Cultural Heritage Strategy for the 21st century (Namur Declaration)*,  
<https://www.coe.int/en/web/culture-and-heritage/strategy-21> (accessed on: 10. 1. 2018)

Ilczuk, D., Kulikowska, M., Litorowicz, A. (2009): *The Mobility of Works of Art in Europe*. Brussels, European Parliament.

Innocenti, P. (2014): *Introduction: migrating heritage – experiences of cultural networks and cultural dialoge in Europe*, in: Perla Innocenti (ed): Migrating Heritage: Experiences of Cultural Networks and Cultural Dialogue in Europe, Ashgate, Farnham. 1 – 24.

Habjanič, O., Mieleszkiewicz, S., Gutkowska, D. (2012): *Mizica princa Wiśniowieckiego i princess Radziwiłł: občasna razstava = The table of princ Wiśniowiecki and princess Radziwiłł: temporary exhibition*: 28. 11. 2012 – 18. 12. 2012, Regional Museum Maribor.

Habjanič, O., Pungartnik, T. (2012): *Evropa v muzeju – muzej v Evropi = Europe in the museum – museum in Europe, Govorica miru = The Language of Peace, občasna razstava = Temporary Exhibition*, 4. 7. 2012 – 6. 9. 2012, Regional Museum Maribor.

Habjanič, O. (2014): *Preface of the Editor: The practical value of the wooden wheel*. In: Oskar Habjanič (ed.): Museoeurope: Uporabna vrednost lesenega kolesa = The radical value of the wooden wheel, Zbornik mednarodnega simpozija 26. in 27. 9. 2014 = The collected volume of the symposium on 26 and 27 September 2014, Regional Museum Maribor. 3 – 5.

Habjanič, O., Blajan, I. (2014): *Kolo iz Transilvanije: občasna razstava*, 26. 9. 2014 – 2. 11. 2014=The wheel from Transylvania: temporary exhibition, 26. 9. 2014 – 2. 11. 2014, Regional Museum Maribor.

Habjanič, O., Šrimpf Vendramin, K. (2017): *Preface of the Editors: Kitchen Debate*. In: Oskar Habjanič, Katarina Šrimpf Vendramin: Debata o kuhinji = Kitchen Debate, Zbornik mednarodnega simpozija 19.-21. 10. 2017 = The collected volume of the symposium 19.-21. 10. 2017, Regional Musem Maribor. 4 – 7.

Habjanič, O., Weniger, M. (2012): *Kipi bratov Straub: občasna razstava = The sculpture of the Straub brothers: temporary exhibition*: 7. 11. 2012 – 27. 11. 2012, Regional Museum Maribor.

Koren, M. (2014): *Introduction to the Project: Museoeurope*. In: Oskar Habjanič (ed.): Museoeurope: Uporabna vrednost lesenega kolesa = The radical value of the wooden wheel, Zbornik mednarodnega simpozija 26. in 27. 9. 2014 = The collected volume of the symposium on 26 and 27 September 2014, Regional Museum Maribor. 2.

Koren, M. (2015): *Introduction to the Project: Museoeurope 2015*. In: Valentina Bevc Varl. (ed.): Museoeurope: Srečanja dveh svetov = The Meeting of two Worlds, Zbornik mednarodnega simpozija 15. in 16. 10. 2015 = The collected volume of the symposium on 15 and 16 October 2015, Regional Museum Maribor. 2.

*Leben und Wirken der ehrwürdigen Mutter Maria Josefa Leopoldine Brandis: Gründerin und erste Visitatorin der Barmherzigen Schwestern in Österreich – Ungarn*, Band I., Verlag der Barmherzigen Schwestern, Graz, 1915.

*Lending to Europe* (2005): Ronald de Leeuw et al.: *Recommendations on collection mobility for European museums*, Rotterdam.

Meijer-van Mensch, L. & Van Mensch, P. (2010): *From disciplinary control to co-creation – collecting and the development of museums as praxis in the 19th and 20th century*. In: Susanna Pettersson, Monika Hagedorn – Saupe, Teijamari Jyrkkiö, Astrid Weij (eds): Encouraging collections Mobility: A Way Forward for Museum in Europe. 33 – 53.

Pierce, Susan M. (2006): Objects as meanings; or narrating the past. In: Interpreting Objects and Collections (Pearce, M. Susan), Routledge, 2006. 19 – 29.

Šola, T. (2010): *European collection resources – museums serving European identity*. In: Susanna Pettersson, Monika Hagedorn – Saupe, Teijamari Jyrkkiö, Astrid Weij (eds): *Encouragings collections Mobility: A Way Forward for Museum in Europe*. 226 – 235.

Tilden, F. (1957/2007): *Interpreting Our Heritage*, The University of North Carolina Press.  
Toifl, L. (2012): *Govorica orožja: območje Maribora od madžarskih vpadov do francoske zasedbe* = *The language of weapons: the area of Maribor between the Hungarian raids and the French occupation*, Regional Museum Maribor.

*Treaty of Amsterdam amending the Treaty on European Union, the Treaties establishing the European Communities and certain related acts*, Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1997.

<http://www.europarl.europa.eu/topics/treaty/pdf/amst-en.pdf> (accessed on: 10. 1. 2018)

Vrišer, S. (1987): *Jožef Straub: ob 275 letnici kiparjevega rojstva in rekonstrukciji kužnega znamenja v Mariboru*, Pokrajinski muzej Maribor, Zavod za varstvo naravne in kulturne dediščine Maribor, Maribor, 1987.

Weij, A. (2010): *Collections mobility timeline*. In: Susanna Pettersson, Monika Hagedorn – Saupe, Teijamari Jyrkkiö, Astrid Weij (eds): *Encouragings collections Mobility: A Way Forward for Museum in Europe*. 161 – 165.

## Cultural heritage and the meaning of museums for young Hungarians

Aniko Illes<sup>86</sup> and Peter Bodor (Hungary)

### Authors

Aniko Illes is Associate Professor at the Moholy-Nagy University of Art and Design, Budapest.  
Contact: [anikoilles@mome.hu](mailto:anikoilles@mome.hu)

Peter Bodor is from the Eötvos Loránd University, Budapest.

### 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 himself 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. Here, we are talking about an entity as a member of a class. 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.

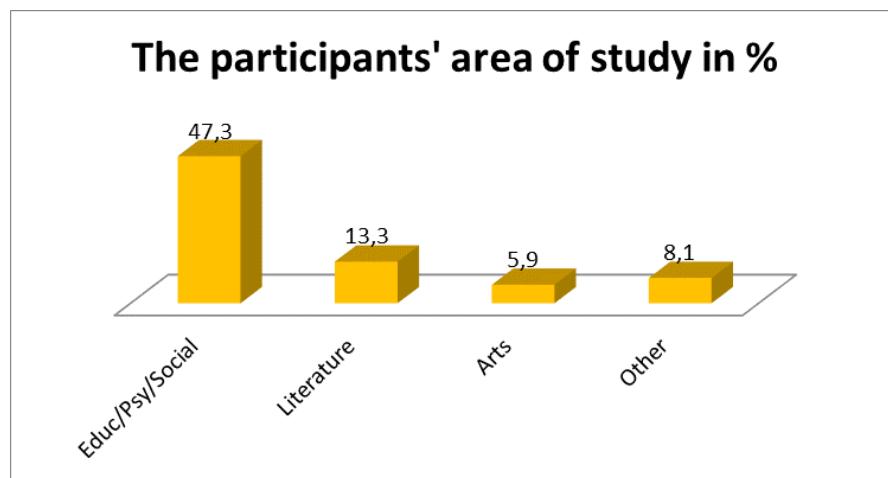
### The patterns of visiting museums in Hungarian youths

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.

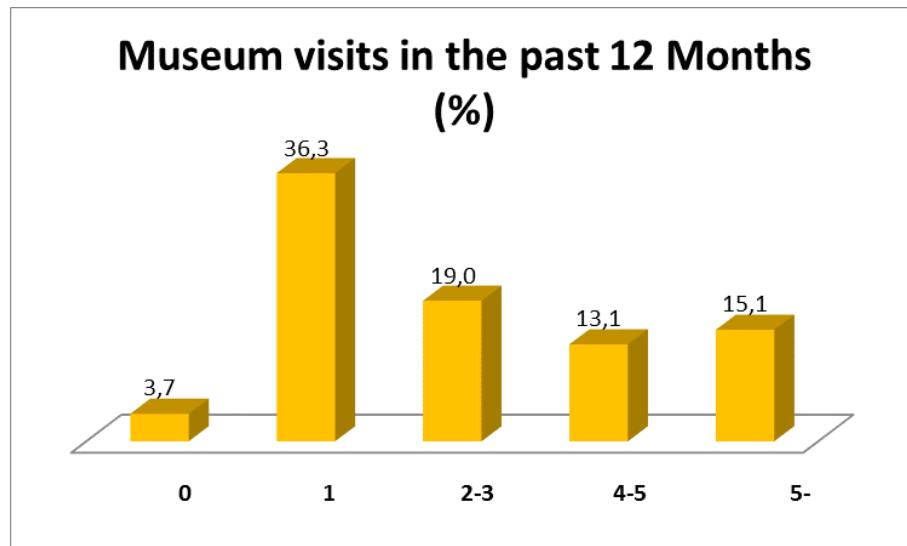


**Figure 1 – The participants' area of study (by percentage)**

#### 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.

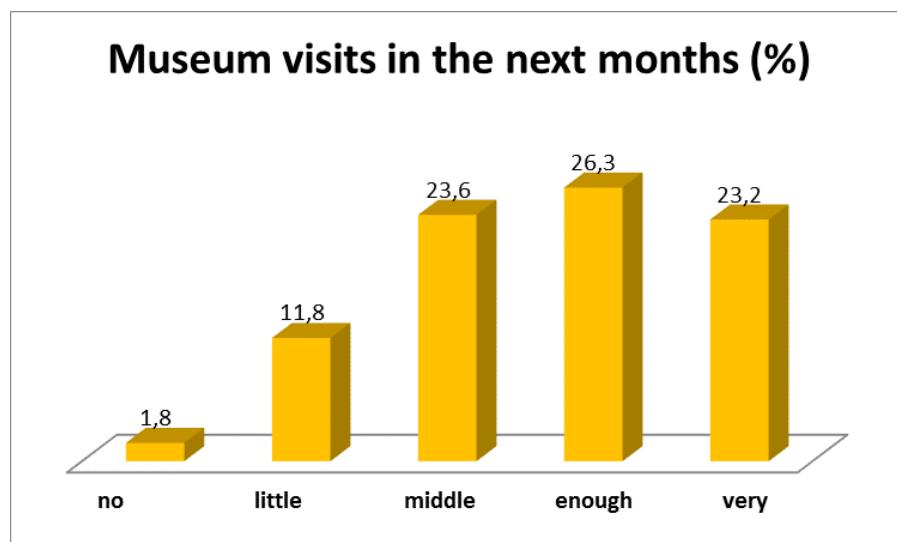
#### Estimated number of museum visits



**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.



**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 museophage. 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 oriented 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 Gioconda 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 it 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

- Anderson G. (2012). (eds.) Reinventing the museum. Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on the Paradigm Shift. Oxford
- Charmaz, K (2006). *Grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.
- Falk, J. (2006). An Identity-Centered Approach to Understanding Museum Learning In: Curator. The Museum Journal, Vol 49(2), 151-166
- German, K. (2017) Részt venni és részt kérni a kortárs múzeumokban. In: Ruttkay Zs., German, K. (eds.) Digitális múzeum. Budapest-Szentendre, Hungary
- Illés, A. (2012). Pictorial Representations of National Identity. In: Heller Mária, Kriza Borbála (eds.) Identities, Ideologies and Representations in Post-transition Hungary. Budapest: ELTE Eötvös Kiadó, 385-400.
- Illés, A., Bodor, P. (2016). Patterns of Museum Perception in Hungarian University Students In: Stefano Mastandrea, Fridanna Maricchiolo (eds.) The Role of the Museum in the Education of Young Adults. Motivation, Emotion and Learning. 219 p. Rome: Roma Tre-Press, pp. 185-201.  
ICOM (International Council of Museums): Museum definition. <http://icom.museum/the-museum-definition/> Date of downloading: 15.02.2018
- ITEMS (Innovative Teaching for European Museum Strategies, 2010-12)  
<http://www.insea.org/publications/innovative-teaching-european-museums> Date of downloading: 15.02.2018
- Mead, G. H. (1934). Mind, Self, and Society. University of Chicago
- Shrapnel, E. (2012). Engaging Young Adults in Museums. An Audience Research Study. The Australian museum Audience Research Department.  
<https://australianmuseum.net.au/document/engaging-young-adults-in-museums> 15.02.2018
- Simon, N. (2010). The Participatory Museum. Santa Cruz

## **Is there a Danube-identity? – The Danube's heritage as part of the identity of riverside communities**

Bálint Kádár and Dániel Balizs (Hungary)

### **Authors**

Bálint Kádár, PhD, is an architect and lecturer in the Department for Urban Planning and Design, Budapest University of Technology and Economics, and is the project lead for the Danube Urban Brand Interreg-project.

Contact: [kadarb@urb.bme.hu](mailto:kadarb@urb.bme.hu)

Dániel Balizs, PhD, is a geographer, research fellow and LP-researcher in the Department for Urban Planning and Design, Budapest University of Technology and Economics, on the Danube Urban Brand Interreg-project.

Contact: [balizs.daniel@urb.bme.hu](mailto:balizs.daniel@urb.bme.hu)

### **Abstract**

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.

### **Keywords**

Danube, cultural heritage, tourism development, tourism region, local identity

### **Introduction**

The Danube, with a total length of 2,860 kilometres, is the longest river in the EU, divided into three sections by the Devín Gate and the Iron Gate (forming the Upper-, Middle- and Lower-Danube). It originates in the Black Forest of Germany and empties into the Black Sea via the Danube Delta, running through ten countries (Germany, Austria, Slovakia, Hungary, Croatia, Serbia, Romania, Bulgaria, Moldova and Ukraine), making it the most international river in the world. Its longest section is located in Romania (1,020 km), whereas the shortest one is in Moldova (0.6 km). The drainage basin of the Danube covers 17 countries and includes 8% of the whole European continent (817,000 sqkm).

The landscape-shaping role of the Danube is significant on a continental scale. Along the Upper-Danube, at the Hungarian Danube Bent and at the Iron Gate, the river deepens its riverbed, but along the Middle- and the Lower-Danube sections it lays down sediments and builds several shallows and islands (Csallóköz/ Žitný ostrov, Szigetköz, Szentendre-, Csepel-, Mohács-, Bala- and Braila-island, etc.). There are several hydroelectric power stations on the Danube, mainly on the Austrian section, and the largest hydroelectric power station is located at the eastern end of the Iron Gate, between Romania and Serbia (built in 1972). Because of this power station, many islands were covered by the waters of the Danube (e.g. Ada Kaleh-island by Orsova). Inspite of human interventions in nature, extended areas have retained their natural condition, in many places these were organised into national parks, of which there are 17 along the Danube. The

river links regions with different climatic and hydrologic character: it is an ecological corridor which plays a very important role in maintaining a high level of biodiversity; especially in the forests and meanders along the Danube.

There are about 80 million inhabitants within the drainage basin of the Danube; the river passes through four capital cities (Vienna, Bratislava, Budapest and Belgrade). Despite that, the river flows mainly through rural areas, where the typical elements of the settlement network are smaller towns and agricultural villages. From hundreds of settlements on the Danube riverside there are only ten cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants (excluding the capitals). The Danube has great economic importance; it is an international shipping route and part of the Danube-Rhine-Main waterway, and there are many harbours on the riverbank. But its economic potential is still underused, especially compared to western European rivers; for example, the Hungarian Danube section would be capable of carrying ten times more traffic than it currently does. The Danube's economic role is confined only to transportation, electricity generation and the not-so-significant tourism. Other activities, which previously had more importance (e.g. fishing), have almost disappeared.

The popularity of tourism along the Danube is increasing and it has several components. Firstly, the cycle route along the shoreline (mainly in Germany, Austria, Slovakia and Hungary, but the last one is not yet fully developed). Secondly, cruises: such cruise ships travel mainly from Passau, through the Wachau region (Austria), around the Hungarian Danube Bend, the Iron Gate and between the main Danube-cities (Vienna and Bratislava, Vienna and Budapest). There are popular sightseeing boats in many cities as well (Passau, Linz, Vienna, Budapest and Belgrade). Besides that, there are many possibilities for water sports (e.g. kayaking and canoeing), mainly along the shoreline of the islands (e.g. Szigetköz). The tourism potential of the regions and settlements along the Danube is enormous. Unfortunately, the connective possibilities of the river are not well used, destinations along the river stay isolated from each other. Cruise ships stop only in the most frequented towns; meanwhile, long sections of the Danube remain unexplored. Currently there is no effective Danube tourism strategy and no international cooperation between the settlements along the river.

This river had enormous influence on the landscape and the economy; however, local people are less influenced by this unique natural landscape today, than ever before in history. In fact, there is a various and rich cultural heritage along the Danube, created by people affected by this river in all ages.

This rich history, where the Danube was the major route of cultural and economic influences (e.g. the role of 'the route of the nation' - Paikert, 1967; Ohliger & Münz, 2002), has left plenty of traces in today's cultural landscape. Many such sites are protected, some even on the UNESCO list of World Heritage Sites. The Wachau Cultural Landscape, the historic cities of Budapest, Vienna and Regensburg are already on this list, together with the natural landscapes of the Srebarna Natural Reserve and of the Danube Delta. Other sites, like the Djerdap National Park of the Iron Gates or the Danube Limes and many unique historical places in Esztergom, Komarno-Komárom and Smederevo are on the tentative list [1]. The new list of Danube Limes sites, which has just been submitted, includes almost 100 sites along the Danube in Germany, Austria, Slovakia and Hungary. There is a strong professional effort to reveal the joint heritage of the Danube, as local inhabitants and visitors are not fully aware of the potential in the cultural connectivity that exists between these sites. Tourists visiting single sites are not aware of the larger stories connecting these with others along the river.

Is it possible to identify the cultural influence of the Danube and transform it into a cultural network with a real Danube-identity today? Will it elevate the quality of tourism? And the quality of local life? Could more awareness of the living heritage connected to the Danube lead to future communities producing once again valuable traces of life connected to the river?

### **Role of the Danube in the cultural space of today**

The connective role of the Danube diminished throughout the past 200 years. We identified three main processes that lead to a much more disconnected cultural system along this river.

First, the political changes in Europe lead to the strengthening of the idea and the reality of the nation states, the borders of which strengthened the dividing functions instead of the connective functions of the river. The division between East and West with the Iron Curtain closed these borders to a never seen impermeability (Carbon & Leder, 2005). While the Yugoslav wars closed the 20th century with great damage to the remaining shipping routes of the Danube (Fenrick, 2001), the EU integration of the region bought a promise for the 21st century that the nations and regions along the Danube can again be fully connected and integrated (Schimmelfennig, 2011).

Second, the industrial revolutions of the 19th and 20th centuries bought some technologies which helped to increase the productivity of the industrial and transport infrastructures based on the Danube (Keeling, 1999; Gingrich, Haidvogl & Krausmann, 2012), but these brought even more technological turns that diminished the connective role of the Danube as a transport route and industrial region. On the other hand, the construction of hydroelectrical plants made the river more navigable, and a never before seen number of new bridges increased the connectivity of regions where borders did not impede regional integration. New greener technologies are today helping to rehabilitate the river, which has brought an immense rise in the quality of water in recent years (Sârbu & Pop, 2005; Kirschner, Kavka, Velimirov, Mach, Sommer & Farnleitner, 2009).

Third, the socio-cultural transformations of modern societies also lead to the weakening of a Danube cultural identity. Modern societies lose their roots in their traditions. Secularisation, the diminishing role of agriculture and fishing, migration to cities, and an emerging urban culture, not rooted in the land which surrounds it, resulted in a long process of cultural alienation. Many of the towns along the Danube became agglomeration settlements of larger cities, and even the traditional population lost its daily connections to the landscape and to the river (Antrop, 2004; Claval, 2007). Traditional crafts disappeared, communities became more fragmented, their cultural traditions and festivities often discontinued. On the other hand, a new cultural revival began with the emergence of tourism and heritage protection (Evans, 2005; Nasser, 2003; Richards & Wilson, 2007). Research and public funds focused much on the preservation of cultural heritage, while tourism brought an ever-increasing interest in the cultural landscapes along the Danube [2][3][4][5][6][7]. New trends in tourism generate interest in local traditions, crafts, gastronomy, and community life.

There is hope that these main three processes, after a period of fragmentation and cultural decline, will turn to help to re-connect the cultural life along the Danube. The main force behind a possible positive turn is EU integration.

The integration of the EU can lead to an integrated Danube region; the cohesion policies of the EU favour not only political, but also cultural integration. The EU has started extensive programmes to improve physical and cultural connections along the Danube.

The Danube Transnational Programme must form transnational partnerships to cooperate together in four priorities and aims:

- Innovative and socially responsible Danube region
- Environmental and culturally responsible Danube region
- Better connected and energy responsible Danube region
- Well-governed Danube region

The programme is financing the instrument of European Territorial Cooperation (ETC) and promotes economic and social cohesion in the Danube Region through policy integration in selected fields [8].

The other important programme in the EU which is connected to the Danube is the Central Europe Programme. This is an EU cohesion policy programme which encourages cooperation beyond borders between Central-European countries and regions. It has four main priorities: innovation, low carbon, culture and environment, transport. It is currently (in 2018) funding 85 cooperation projects across Central-Europe [9].

### **Tourism as a tool for cultural regeneration**

Tourism is a key field in the development of the Danube region and its cultural life. A large variety of tourism types are relevant in the Danube valley, but in this study the analysis of cultural tourism (Richards, 1996, 2014) is most important.

Tourism is most often seen as a cultural phenomenon, but when its effects are considered, the economic impacts are mentioned initially, then the social issues, and finally the spatial consequences. It is quite evident that the economic output of the tourism industry is the main question when its local benefits are examined, but the costs of tourism development, the negative effects on host communities and the sustainability questions of such processes are equally important, though more complex and recent issues in tourism research.

Tourism destinations are developed with the promise of a positive financial outcome. International tourism accounted for 2.2% of the GDP in 30 European countries in 2006, and as the volume growth of the tourism industry is higher than the average GDP growth, today tourism has an even higher economic significance (Halkier, 2010). Tourism is responsible for 5% of the GDP and 10% of employment in countries considered important destinations, 6% of the GDP of Hungary and 5.8% for Austria (World Tourism Organization, 2014). None of the above-mentioned data take into consideration the multiplier effects of tourism, estimated to double the total weight of it in the national GDP.

There is a wide range of literature on the impact of tourism on host communities. Such literature from the 1970s and '80s was reviewed by Ap (1992), and from the 1990s and early 2000s by Andriotis (2004). The latter noted how only one third of these attitudinal studies researched urban residents' perceptions. Still there are studies based on surveys bringing important findings on urban resident attitudes toward heritage tourism (Chen & Chen, 2010; Deichmann, 2002; Michalkó, 1996; Simpson, 1999; Vong, 2013). Residents of York, UK, saw tourism as beneficial for their recreational activities, and helping to preserve the natural and built environment, but they felt it had negative effects on traffic and littering, while unfairly inflating property prices (Jeonglyeol Lee, Li, & Kim, 2007). Residents of Canterbury and Guildford, UK, thought similarly of the positive role of tourism in preservation, and they perceived positive cultural effects associated with the presence of tourists. But they saw overcrowding as a problem, while they felt that tourist related commerce did not improve their shopping opportunities (Gilbert & Clark, 1997). The most commonly mentioned positive effects of tourism were economic benefits (33.1%) and better employment possibilities (21.4%) among the inhabitants surveyed in Budapest, Hungary (Michalkó, 1996). The developing cultural segment and infrastructures were mentioned by much fewer people. The benefits of tourism perceived by decision makers and locals appear to be mostly of economic (Nuryanti, 1996).

These studies highlight the positive effects of tourism - cultural richness, improving service infrastructure, better management and conservation of heritage, and of course economic profits - but also warn of some negative effects. Local socio-economic systems can also face severe negative processes with the tourist commodification of heritage cities (Dumbrovská, 2017; Kádár, 2013). It was already noted by Ashworth & Turnbridge (1990, p. 257) that most services of a tourist-historic city are free of charge, while the visitors pose serious wear on the infrastructures and physical environment. They also note how eating and drinking, services, and rents tend to have higher prices in these environments, as local retail changes to a more tourist-oriented profile. In extreme cases such process is either the result or cause of the *museumification* (Gospodini, 2004; Nasser, 2003) or *Disneyfication* of heritage towns (McNeill, 1999). Therefore,

sustainability is a concept that must be applied to urban tourism as well, in order to define measures in keeping visitors from causing negative alterations in the original social, physical, economic and psychological systems. Sustainable tourism nowadays is an important area in tourism studies, extending the discourse of environmental sustainability (Jenkins & Schröder, 2013) also to historical urban centres (Nasser, 2003).

The Danube is an attractive force in tourism, but the distribution of visits to the different segments of the Danube is quite unbalanced (Figure 1). In the Danube region, tourism can be researched in various scales (Dragin, Dragin, Plavša, Ivković & Đurđev, 2007; Ploner, 2009; Meschik, 2012), but to achieve a sustainable tourist system all scales must be connected. Only if the benefit of tourism is higher at all scales than its negative consequences can we speak of a sustainable system.

The largest scale is interregional, where many destinations along the Danube are visited together. Cities by the river Danube form a tourist network, connected not only culturally, but also by bicycle routes (Eurovelo 6), multiple city visit trips (Vienna-Bratislava-Budapest), and river cruise ships. A typical cruise starts at Passau, Regensburg or Nuremberg in Germany, touches Linz, Melk, Vienna in Austria, Bratislava and finally Budapest, but some of them continue south towards Belgrade. This scale involves interregional planning (like transport connections) and branding (like the common signal and advertisement of destinations at an international level).

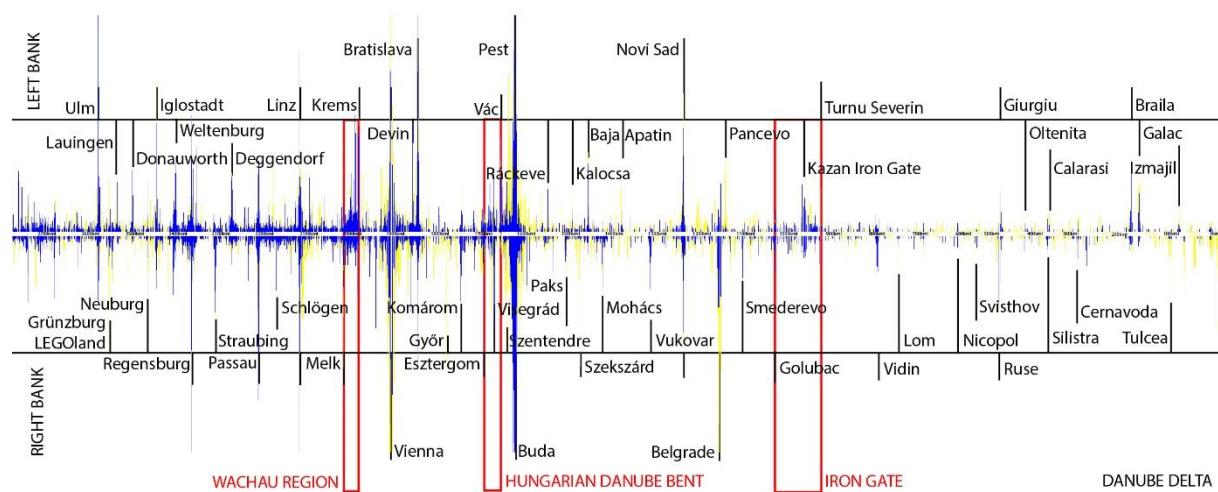
The next scale is the regional one, a scale much studied in spatial planning (Kádár & Rab, 2011). Large cities have smaller destinations around them, and a longer vacation often includes visits to these. Budapest has some popular destinations within an hour's travel from its centre (Figure 1). Szentendre, Visegrád, Esztergom, Vác and Gödöllő are the most popular ones (Michalkó et al., 2016). There are important tourism regions along the Danube which are not part of the agglomeration of large cities. Examples include the Danube Delta region, or the Wachau region and the Iron Gate area studied together with the abovementioned Hungarian Danube Bend in this paper. Such scale involves regional planning (transport, heritage management), administration (common regulatory measures, taxes and fees), and a strong common branding (a regional brand).

Single urban or natural destinations (cities, natural protection parks) form the most commonly analysed tourism destinations in case studies (Keul & Kühberger, 1997). The large capital cities along the Danube are fundamentally different at this scale to the smaller heritage towns. In fact, it is worthwhile to conduct more research in these smaller towns, as they form successful tourism destinations in the upper-Danube, while they are underused by tourism in the middle- and lower-Danube. This scale involves good destination management (TDM), urban planning, and community involvement.

At local scales, the singular items of cultural heritage can also be analysed. Sometimes these form part of the integrated urban systems of the Danube's towns (Esztergom castle), others are relatively separated from urban areas (Golubac castle). These are the most common attractions that attract visitors to an area, therefore these are the basic building elements of the multi-scale tourism system. Local cultural heritage items also show a great variety in perceived importance. The base of tourism in the Danube area consists of UNESCO listed or nationally listed heritage, but there is a wide variety of locally protected or totally unlisted cultural heritage that complement these sites of major importance. The value of local culture and heritage is rarely understandable without a greater context. To be integrated into a complex tourism system, such lesser known heritage has to be interpreted in the context of the places of well-known importance. It is, therefore, important to connect most local heritage assets into a local system, while their connection to greater general stories along the Danube assist the tourist valorisation of these.

The connective forces of the Danube, which defined much of the cultural richness of the region, are mostly underused in the fields of culture and tourism. Danube cruises are the only successful

tourism products connecting this outstanding chain of cities and landscapes along the river (Dragin, Jovicic & Boškovic, 2010), but these work only by their isolated business models, insignificantly contributing to the economic and cultural cohesion of local communities. Even in the upper-Danube regions, where riverside tourism is well-established, local communities see their cultural heritage as consumer goods for visitors, and less as potential for their own development. In the lower-Danube regions, tourism is not even a considerable factor of economy or culture. New narratives would be needed to improve the attractiveness of these places. The coherent reading of the similarities, connections and differences in the cultural heritage and contemporary needs of these communities could make a considerable impact on the consolidation of these regions, becoming one of the richest and most visited destinations in Europe. Therefore, there is a common goal to find a multi-scale interregional Danube-identity, and interesting research questions can be posed to seek the right answers.



**Figure 1 – Intensity of tourist photography along the Danube (Research by authors based on Flickr.com)**

### DANube Urban Brand

The DANUrB Interreg Danube Transnational Programme, operating between 2017 and 2019, is a project helped by EU funds working with the resources of tourism but aiming toward the integration and beneficial interpretation of the Danube's culture.

The DANUrB cultural network aims to strengthen the Danube regional cultural identity and to create a common brand by fostering transnational cultural ties between the settlements along the Danube, and by exploring the unused or hidden cultural and social capital resources for a better economic and cultural return. The main goal of the project is to create a comprehensive spatial-cultural network, a 'European Cultural Promenade' connecting communities along the Danube.

DANUrB works only with cultural heritage, and helps to create a unified tourism destination brand, offering thematic routes and development possibilities that can increase the number of visitors and can prolong their stay in the region. The project targets the local communities, intended to be more connected to the Danube, to better use their cultural resources, and to be directed towards a more sustainable development trajectory as parts of a lively chain of attractive settlements along the river. Project partners – relevant universities, regional municipalities, NGOs and professional market-based agencies – create a network and a common platform to work together with a wide range of cultural stakeholders. The resulting sustainable cultural and tourism strategy will prove that a common Danube Urban Brand can bring social and economic benefits at once.

To achieve these goals, DANUrB aims to reveal the underused cultural heritage and resources in towns, organised spatially by the Danube, connecting these to form viable cultural collaborations and tourism products. In accordance with the project's spatial-cultural strategy, the aim is to rebrand the previously neglected local resources as a unified cultural destination, bringing better access to culture for locals, and better economic outputs based on increased interest of visitors, finally reaching the unexplored small towns from the large cities of culture along the river.

DANUrB is, therefore, a project to valorise cultural heritage for the maximum benefit of local communities. The partnership focuses on the reinterpretation of previously unexplored cultural heritage with a real potential to be part of an interconnected system. Such heritage assets can be various. Examples of industrial heritage, heritage of the communist past, fortifications, traces of commerce, or even intangible living cultural traditions can be easily connected to the great stories along the Danube. These heritage items are well known to locals, but without a coherent strategy of valorisation, no one had faith in their potential.

The DANUrB partnership makes research on cultural heritage along the Danube's spatial system. The researchers from seven countries selected a methodology based on the case studies and pilot research actions well distributed along the first 2,000 kilometres of the Danube (counted counter-flow from the Delta). In the first year of the programme, the partnership visited three tourism regions. An on-site workshop took place in all three regions, partly done by research partners and partly by the students of the university partners. Local research partners shared the extensive knowledge they gathered of the region visited. In this stage of the programme, research reports are being made on these regions, creating comparable materials to understand the culture and tourism related spatial systems of these riverside microregions, their historic and present functions.

### **Microregions and tourism regions along the Danube**

While the EU and the countries themselves define their territories by dividing it into different regions at different scales, tourism regions often don't overlap with any of these administrative regions. Many of the microregions defined by cultural traditions are transnational, and culturally defined, but among commons too intangible to form an administrative unit in a country. Still, such microregions can build on their common cultural heritage and connections to brand themselves as a unified tourism region (e.g. EGTC [10]). Often these tourism regions have only voluntary administrative entities, like associations, holding together various municipalities.

A well-defined microregion based on such voluntary self-administration and self-branding is the Wachau region, inscribed as Wachau Cultural Landscape in the UNESCO List of World Heritage Sites in December 2000. In Austria, a similarly well-branded Danube section is the Donausteig between Passau and Grein. Other microregions are still not at this stage of development. The most famous ones are the Danube Delta (mostly in Romania), the Hungarian Danube Bend (with possible connections to Slovakia), and the Iron Gate area (between Romania and Serbia). These regions have all the potential to become well-functioning tourism regions along the Danube, as their natural and cultural heritage makes them outstanding in the European market. There are still other microregions along the Danube worth researching, as the main goal is to have an interconnected system of microregions all along the Danube.

In the common section between Slovakia and Hungary there are the meandering floodplains (Szigetköz), and the cultural regions between Győr, Komarno and Esztergom. These areas are still not at the stage of being able to be defined as tourism regions in their own right, and neither are the areas south from Budapest in the Hungarian territory. The Csepel Island with the centres of Ráckeve and Szigetszentmárton is one such region, and the list could go on to the Delta. To understand whether such regions can be developed for better cohesion and tourism outcome, the already well-defined tourism regions along the Danube should be analysed first.

The DANURB research team conducted on-site research in three different regions during 2017 to discover how locals and tourists use their Danube related heritage. The main research question was whether communities in these regions are aware of the potential they have with heritage connected to the Danube, and how they use it. The final question was whether these microregions can learn from each other and is there a common methodology to connect them to a unified Danube identity.

### **Wachau Cultural Landscape**

In the Wachau region, a rich heritage lead to bottom-up cooperation and development, genuine care for the local identity, and a good quality tourism offer, with problems sometimes related to overcrowding. The region has been listed as UNESCO World Heritage since 2000, and is an authentic living cultural landscape with significant cultural heritage (its landscape is defined by the river, the vineyards and apricot plantations, and its traditional architecture), identity (its people taking care of the vineyards, still making a living out of agriculture and traditional forms of hospitality) and tourism (bicycle routes on both sides of the river, special gastronomy and vines, a train-line used by tourism crafted into the landscape, accessible castles and built heritage).

The Wachau region has about 45,000 inhabitants; there is a huge difference in population density: the largest settlement (Krems) has 24,000 inhabitants, whilst the smallest (Aggsbach) has only 700 [11]. Between Krems and the second largest town (Melk), the Wachau has very low population density. The agriculture in Wachau is land-intensive; in the whole region, the vineyards are mainly in the north of the Danube and the apricot plantations are in the south. The most famous product from the Wachau is the Wachauer Marille, which is a listed original brand of apricot products.

With the Original Wachauer Marille seal of quality, the authenticity of the origin and the unique aroma and taste quality of the apricots are guaranteed through 220 apricots farmers. There is a Wachauer Marille association organised by stakeholders in agriculture, which ensures the cultivation, preservation and protection of products under this brand. The products made of the apricots are jams, chutney, juice, liqueur and vinegar. In addition to viticulture and tourism, fruit production, particularly of apricots, is an important pillar of the regional economy. The other most important agricultural sector in Wachau is the production of wine. With a total vineyard area of about 1,350 hectares, the Wachau is one of the smallest wine regions in Austria, but it is also one of the most noted and one of the oldest cultural landscapes. The Wachau is especially known for the production of white wines, for example Grüner Veltliner and Riesling. Famous wine production communities include Spitz, Dürnstein and Rossatz or Mautern. Most of the landscape is defined by the special terraces carved into the hills, necessitating a labour-intensive wine production tradition to be maintained, but also resulting in a recognisable world famous cultural landscape (Figure 2).



**Figure 2** – The Wachau region in Lower Austria (source: <http://www.pfeffel.at/en/hotel/offers-packages/steinfeder-week-2018/>)

Wachau is not only known for its culinary and natural offers, visitors can discover many cultural possibilities. This region recorded nearly 680,000 overnight stays per year, with only 450 overnight accommodation enterprises. Since the end of the 20th century, the Wachau has experienced a new upturn in the quality of the wine culture and cooking, but also in the mass segment as a result of cycling tourism.

In addition to these offers, there are many castles (e.g. Dürnbach and Aggstein) and monasteries (Melk and Göttweig) and cultural activities (festivals and exhibitions) in the region. Castles are suitable for a day trip, which can be connected with hiking. Krems, which is the 'capital' of Wachau, has a complex tourism offer (historical city centre, urban tourism, cycling tourism, viticulture, connecting the Danube, etc.). Furthermore, there are many special attractions. The Venus of Willendorf is a small, stone Venus figurine (11.1 centimetres high), from the Paleolithic. The figure was found in 1908, during construction works on the Donauufer bahn (the railway alongside the Danube) in Willendorf. It is carved from an oolitic limestone that is not local to the area and tinted with red ochre. The figurine is now in the Naturhistorisches Museum in Vienna, Austria.

Since 2001, World Cultural Heritage has become a centre of attraction not only for guests from all over the world but also a spiritual centre in the heart of lower Austria. Furthermore, the highest garden with apricots in the Wachau has been opened for visitors: on the south side of the monastery, one can learn about the Wachauer Marille. The view from the terrace of the restaurant to the Danube valley of the Wachau is wonderful. The extraordinary atmosphere of the monastery and the premises can also be used for events, such as weddings, exhibitions, lectures, seminars or tastings, etc.

Wachau shows a good example to other regions along the Danube. Despite the population decline, small settlements have huge potential to offer more cultural activities in various fields. Wine and apricots contribute to the Wachau's sense of identity just as the Danube and the architecture of its settlements. Wachau has a strong local community, self-organised in order to

maintain the well-earned UNESCO World Heritage title. This cooperation among stakeholders is the example that can be carried down the Danube to other tourism regions.

### The Hungarian Danube Bent

The Danube Bent, from Esztergom downstream to Budapest, has a cultural heritage historically similar to Wachau, but despite being known as a tourism region, the different municipalities and their stakeholders are much less connected and self-organised than in Wachau. People lack an identity tied to the Danube or to their region, acting more like a suburban agglomeration anywhere near a capital city. Tourism is not reaching its full potential, infrastructure is uneven, different municipalities do not cooperate, gastronomy is not explored, there is a constant feeling that tourism is about a staged authenticity with no living traditions and local highlights, a sign of this is that many of the old buildings and uses seem abandoned.



**Figure 3 – The Hungarian Danube Bent ('Dunakanyar', source:  
<http://www.futas.net/hungary/dunakanyar/kepek/dunakanyar.jpg>)**

The Danube Bent (Hungarian: Dunakanyar) region has 198,725 inhabitants, which is much more than in Wachau or in the Iron Gate. Due to the beautiful natural environment (Pilis and Visegrádi-Mountain, forests, the Danube, etc.) and the very intensive transport connection with Budapest, Dunakanyar is the most sought-after suburb area of Budapest. It consists of 21 settlements (nine towns and 12 villages, the biggest one (Dunakeszi) has more than 41,000 inhabitants, the smallest one (Kisoroszi) has 900 inhabitants; this area has the highest population density along the Danube after the capitals [12].

Dunakanyar has similar characteristics to Wachau, but also differences: it has a cultural heritage (landscape, castles and churches) and tourism is an important sector (Figure 3), on the other hand there is no possibility of a 'round trip' on the other side of the Danube, and the economy is not self-integrated, but depends on the capital city. The region lacks a Danube-identity (perhaps because it belongs to the Budapest-agglomeration) and under-uses the potential of tourism.

For example, the bicycle routes (EuroVelo6) are interrupted and underused, connection between the settlements is weak (only one ferry between Nagymaros and Visegrád, and no bridges). There is no special, Danube Bent-specific gastronomy and this tourism segment is also not well-

developed. The tourism offer is fragmented, there are just a few thematic tours along the Dunakanyar, and every settlement offers just their own attractions. This region ends in Esztergom, therefore, in its upper section the Danube is a border river between Slovakia and Hungary. Even less cooperation can be found between the settlements of the two countries, therefore, the emergence of a transnational region seems far out of reach.

However, Sturovo and Esztergom were re-connected by the reconstruction of the historical bridge in 2002, and now there are signs of joint events, like the Museums' Night festival and the Danube Days initiated by the DANUrB programme to join together the twin cities. Also, there are bilateral programmes along the Ipoly border river, joining together the northern shore of the Danube with a new bridge on the Ipoly and with mutual cooperation. The Ister-Granum Euroregion association started a work of stakeholders' cooperation, highlighting the so far undervalued role of local produce and gastronomy as well. Still, the Dunakanyar as a unified region lacks more of such programmes, and remains a region underachieving its potential, struggling to find its identity connected to the Danube, but liberated from its agglomeration status.

### Iron Gate region

The Iron Gate area has layers of natural and cultural heritage, but the river acts as an EU border all along this region, impeding the development of both local and tourist life. The infrastructure is fragmented, not capable of hosting large numbers of tourists. The two areas of protection covering most of the region are the Djerdap National Park in Serbia, on the tentative list for UNESCO World Heritage status, and the Romanian Iron Gates Natural Park (in Romanian: Portile de Fier), that has obtained the approval of UNESCO to become the second biosphere reserve in Romania after the Danube Delta. The two national parks intend to cooperate to become a cross-border biosphere reserve [13].

The Iron Gate attracts tourists interested in natural heritage, but there is also large potential for cultural tourism, as this part of the Danube is Europe's most anciently inhabited land, offering tangible and intangible traces of a rich history since prehistoric times (Figure 4). The main obstacles to develop tourism in this region are the lack of larger settlements with proper services, the underdeveloped transport and tourism infrastructures, the EU Schengen border along the river between an EU member and a non-EU state, and the fact that the whole section of the river was inundated by the Iron Gate I. and II. hydroelectrical powerplants in the 1970s, leaving much of the cultural heritage of the region underwater. Many of the communities along the river have been reconstructed since the 1970s, therefore, these do not offer attractive urban environments of original historical architecture. The dam also destroyed much of the living heritage, therefore, here both local life and tourism must bond to a river that was drastically altered, changing most of the cultural landscape for something weaker, but with the promise to rediscover what was there some dozens of metres below (Figure 5).



**Figure 4 – The Iron Gate in the 19th century (left: painting of László Mednyánszky, right: picture from Iron Gate Atlas, source: <http://www.donsmaps.com/engravings.html>)**

Tourists arriving in the region are much fewer in number than in the other two areas analysed, and they cannot relate to the few and small communities by the river. The strategies working in the Austrian tourism regions might work in the Hungarian Danube Bent, but not in the Iron Gate area. The local population is small (2011: Serbian side: 8,424 [14], Romanian side: 19,962 [15], total: 28,386 inhabitants) with respect to the potential future numbers of tourists. The transport infrastructure will not be able to carry more tourists than it already does, the only possibility in the near future is the development of passenger shipping, already the main form of tourism transport. Hotels and other facilities are hard to develop in large numbers without altering the balance between the local population and tourists.



**Figure 5 – The Iron Gate today (source:**  
[http://adagondozo.hu/files/Vaskapu%202015/11783590\\_936164456427124\\_1175895886\\_o.jpg](http://adagondozo.hu/files/Vaskapu%202015/11783590_936164456427124_1175895886_o.jpg))

A strategy for sustainable tourism in the region should be based on the two largest towns in the area, which can also be considered as the gates of the Iron Gate. Golubac, in Serbia in the north is the centre of a sparsely inhabited area, still the densest in the Serbian part of the Iron Gate. Drobeta-Turnu Severin, in Romania is located outside the region but it is the urban centre of the whole area, a relatively large city with 100,000 inhabitants. Together with the smaller Orșova, a few kilometres upstream, these are the southern centres of Iron Gate area, having a relatively developed hotel infrastructure and service infrastructure. In fact, the Romanian shoreline has more towns and villages with a larger population, but the same problem of infrastructure, as only one road connects these together, and there are no bridges above the Iron Gate dam between the two countries to facilitate a comprehensive transport system (Figure 6).



**Figure 6 –** The island of Ada Kaleh at the beginning of 20th century (left) and today (right), when – due to the hydroelectric power station – it is underwater (source: <http://alexisphoenix.org/adakaleh.php>)

In the Iron Gate area, cultural heritage is not very visible and abundant to become the main commodity for tourism. Unlike in Wachau and in the Hungarian Danube Bent, cultural heritage does not frame the everyday life of locals, instead the memories and traces of it should be used to give a sense of community and identity to the local inhabitants who live in housing estates and well planned new villages since the construction of the dams. These new towns have much less of a sense of locality and identity than the older settlements, therefore, the possible valorisation process of cultural heritage with the reinterpretation of the pre-dam situation can help these communities to thrive not only as tourism destinations, but also as places with a stronger local identity.

### Conclusions

The conclusion of this stage of the research is that there is a possibility to learn from more developed sections of the Danube to better use the cultural heritage as identity building matter, but still every section of the Danube is different, and the stories should be first of all interpreted in a local-regional context, creating connections with neighbouring towns and not with distant regions.

Wachau is a well-managed tourism region, its importance is acknowledged by UNESCO World Heritage Site status, and local culture today is still connected to the resources and identity defined by the presence of the Danube. Other regions can learn of the cooperation of different stakeholders in order to achieve a unified brand and identity for the region. Still, the success of Wachau came at a price: the intense increase in tourism of the area in some seasons and the commodification of some of its heritage resources. Its example warns about the sustainability issues related to tourism, but it remains one of the most successfully managed heritage landscapes along the Danube.

The Dunakanyar has most of the potential that Wachau has, however, it couldn't rely on this to construct a well-managed region. Communities along the Hungarian Danube Bent are less cooperative and live as part of Budapest's agglomeration. Connections with the Slovak end of the region are even weaker. The example of Dunakanyar can teach other regions how it is somewhat harder to exist in the shadow of a large city that is a destination in itself and the main market to attract visitors, but also to give economic opportunities. Without the self-definition of the region's identity, building on its own resources and on the Danube as the main potential, the region will not reach its full potential as an effective tourism region and as a liveable micro-region with a strong identity.

The Iron Gate area today has a double life divided between two countries, and this impedes its ability to unfold to the maximum potential. The cultural heritage was largely damaged by the flooding of the original settlements after the construction of the dam, therefore, the region should now build on the intangible and invisible cultural heritage along with the resources of natural heritage. The example of the Iron Gate area teaches us how difficult it is to build a region with an attractive identity without a traditionally settled population in settlements large enough to start the self-powered valorisation of their resources. A solution would lie in the stronger integration of Serbia and Romania, and a common strategy for the region.

### Acknowledgement

This research was implemented within the framework of Interreg's Danube Transnational Programme, co-funded by European Union Funds (ERDF and IPA) and the Government of Hungary.

### References

- Andriotis, K. (2004). The perceived impact of tourism development by Cretan residents. *Tourism and Hospitality Planning & Development*, 1(2), 123–144.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1479053042000251061>
- Antrop, M. (2004). Landscape change and the urbanisation process in Europe. *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 67(1–4), 9–26. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0169-2046\(03\)00026-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0169-2046(03)00026-4)
- Ap, J. (1992). Residents' perceptions on tourism impacts. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 19(4), 665–690. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383\(92\)90060-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383(92)90060-3)
- Ashworth, G. J., & Turnbridge, J. E. (1990). *The tourist-historic city*. London and NY: Belhaven Press.
- Carbon, C. C., & Leder, H. (2005). The Wall inside the brain: Overestimation of distances crossing the former Iron Curtain. *Psychonomic Bulletin and Review*, 12(4), 746–750.  
<https://doi.org/10.3758/BF03196767>
- Chen, C.-F., & Chen, P. (2010). Resident Attitudes toward Heritage Tourism Development. *Tourism Geographies*, 12(4), 525–545. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2010.516398>
- Claval, P. (2007). Changing Conceptions of Heritage and Landscape. In Moore, N. & Whelan, Y. (Eds.), *Heritage, Memory and the Politics of Identity*, Aldershot, England pp. 85-94.
- Deichmann, J. I. (2002). International Tourism and the Sensitivities of Central Prague's Residents. *Journal of Tourism Studies*, 13(2), 41–52.
- Dragin, A. S., Djurdjev, B. S., Armenski, T., Jovanovic, T., Pavic, D., Ivković-Džigurski, A., ... Favro, S. (2014). Analysis of the labour force composition on cruisers: The Danube through Central and Southeast Europe. *Journal of Transport Geography*, 39, 62–72.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jtrangeo.2014.06.013>
- Dragin, A. S., Dragin, V., Plavša, J., Ivković, A. & Đurđev, B. S. (2007). Cruise ship tourism on the Danube in Vojvodina Province as a segment of global tourism. *Geographica Pannonica* 11 pp. 59-64.
- Dragin, A. S., Jovicic, D., & Boškovic, D. (2010). Krstarenja pan-europskim koridorom VII i njihov ekonomski znacaj na receptivne prostore. *Ekonomski Istrazivanja*, 23(4), 127–141.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1331677X.2010.11517438>

Dumbrovská, V. (2017). Urban Tourism Development in Prague: From Tourist Mecca to Tourist Ghetto. In N. Bellini & C. Pasquinelli (Eds.), *Tourism in the City* (pp. 275–283). Springer.  
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-26877-4>

Evans, G. (2005). Measure for Measure : Evaluating the Evidence of Culture's Contribution to Regeneration. *Urban Studies*, 42(5/6), 1–25.

Fenrick, W. J. (2001). Targeting and Proportionality during the NATO Bombing Campaign against Yugoslavia. *European Journal of International Law*, 12(3), 489.  
<https://doi.org/10.1093/ejil/12.3.489>

Gilbert, D., & Clark, M. (1997). An exploratory examination of urban tourism impact, with reference to residents attitudes, in the cities of Canterbury and Guildford. *Cities*, 14(6), 343–352.

Gingrich, S., Haidvogl, G., & Krausmann, F. (2012). The Danube and Vienna: Urban resource use, transport and land use 1800-1910. *Regional Environmental Change*, 12(2), 283–294.  
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10113-010-0201-x>

Gospodini, A. (2004). Urban morphology and place identity in European cities: built heritage and innovative design. *Journal of Urban Design*, 9(2), 225–248.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/1357480042000227834>

Halkier, H. (2010). EU and Tourism Development: Bark or Bite? *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, 10(2), 92–106. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15022250903561952>

Jenkins, I., & Schröder, R. (Eds.). (2013). *Sustainability in Tourism*. Springer Gabler.

Jeonglyeol Lee, T., Li, J., & Kim, H.-K. (2007). Community Residents' Perceptions and Attitudes Towards Heritage Tourism in a Historic City. *Tourism and Hospitality Planning & Development*, 4(2), 91–109. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14790530701554124>

Kádár, B. (2013). Differences in the spatial patterns of urban tourism in Vienna and Prague. *Urbani Izziv*, 24(2), 96–111. <https://doi.org/10.5379/urbani-izziv-en-2013-24-02-002>

Kádár, B., & Rab, J. (2011). Egy kétközépontú eurorégió városainak versengése és együttműködése. In I. Györgyjakab & K. Kukla (Eds.), *Centrum és Periféria: Határ menti perspektívák, kulturális regionalizmus, kortárs vizuális kultúra* (pp. 6–41). Debrecen: MODEM.

Keeling, D. (1999). The Transportation Revolution and Transatlantic Migration 1850-1914, 19, 1999.

Keul, A., & Kühberger, A. (1997). Tracking the Salzburg Tourist. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 24(4), 1008–1012.

Kirschner, A. K. T., Kavka, G. G., Velimirov, B., Mach, R. L., Sommer, R., & Farnleitner, A. H. (2009). Microbiological water quality along the Danube River: Integrating data from two whole-river surveys and a transnational monitoring network. *Water Research*, 43(15), 3673–3684.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.watres.2009.05.034>

McNeill, D. (1999). Globalisation and the European city. *Cities*, 16(3), 143–147.

Meschik, M. (2012). Sustainable Cycle Tourism along the Danube Cycle Route in Austria. *Tourism Planning & Development* 9(1) pp. 41-56.

Michalkó, G. (1996). Az alkalmazott szociálgeográfia lehetőségei a turizmus kutatásában - Budapest I. kerülete példáján. *Tér És Társadalom*, 10(2–3), 1–17.

Michalkó, G., Kádár, B., Gede, M., Balízs, D., Kondor, A., & Ilyés, N. (2016). A Budapesti Agglomeráció szatellit turizmusa és környezeti hatásai. In T. T. Sikos & T. Tiner (Eds.), *Tájak, régiók, települések térben és időben: tanulmánykötet Beluszky Pál 80. születésnapjára* (pp. 241–257). Budapest: Dialóg Campus kiadó.

Nasser, N. (2003). Planning for Urban Heritage Places: Reconciling Conservation, Tourism, and Sustainable Development. *Journal of Planning Literature*, 17(4), 467–479.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0885412203251149>

Nuryanti, W. (1996). Heritage and Postmodern Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 23(2), 249–260.

Ohliger, R., & Münz, R. (2002). Minorities into Migrants: Making and Un-Making Central and Eastern Europe's Ethnic German Diasporas. *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, 11(1), 45–83. <https://doi.org/10.1353/dsp.2011.0045>

Paiker, G. C. (1967). *The Danube Schwabians. German Populations in Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia, and Hitler's impact on their Patterns*. Springer, The Hague, Netherlands 323 p.

Ploner, J. (2009). Narrating regional identity in tourism – sketches from the Austrian Danube valley. *Language and Intercultural Communication* 9(1) pp. 2-14.

Rakityanskaya, A. (1998). *Central and Eastern European Studies. English* (Vol. 1).

Richards, G. (2014). Creativity and tourism in the city. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 17(2), 119–144. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13683500.2013.783794>

Richards, G. (Ed.). (1996). *Cultural Tourism in Europe* (Vol. 1). Wallingford: CAB International.

Richards, G., & Wilson, J. (2007). *Tourism, Creativity and Development*. New York: Routledge.

Sârbu, C., & Pop, H. F. (2005). Principal component analysis versus fuzzy principal component analysis: A case study: The quality of danube water (1985-1996). *Talanta*, 65(5), 1215–1220. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.talanta.2004.08.047>

Schimmelfennig, F. (2011). EU political accession conditionality after the 2004 enlargement: consistency and effectiveness. *Journal of European Public Policy* 15(6), 918-937.

Simpson, F. (1999). Tourist Impact in the Historic Centre of Prague: Resident and Visitor Perceptions of the Historic Built Environment. *The Geographical Journal*, 165(2), 173–183.

Vong, L. T.-N. (2013). An investigation of the influence of heritage tourism on local people's sense of place: the Macau youth's experience. *Journal of Heritage Tourism*, 8(4), 292–302. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1743873X.2013.787084>

Vujko, A., & Gajic, T. (2014). Opportunities for tourism development and cooperation in the region by improving the quality of tourism services – the 'Danube Cycle Route' case study. *Economic Research-Ekonomska Istrazivanja*, 27(1), 847–860. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1331677X.2014.975517>

World Tourism Organisation. (2014). *Compendium of Tourism Statistics dataset*. Madrid: UNWTO.

- [1] <http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/1498/> (retrieved on February 13, 2018)
- [2] <http://virtuelnimuzejdunava.rs/srbija.104.html> (retrieved on February 13, 2018)
- [3] <http://www.danubiana.sk/en> (retrieved on February 13, 2018)
- [4] <http://www.dunamuzeum.hu/> (retrieved on February 13, 2018)
- [5] <http://dunapest.hu/en> (retrieved on February 13, 2018)
- [6] <http://danubecc.org/> (retrieved on February 13, 2018)
- [7] <http://www.interreg-danube.eu/approved-projects/danurb> (retrieved on February 13, 2018)
- [8] <http://www.interreg-danube.eu/> (retrieved on February 13, 2018)
- [9] <http://www.interreg-central.eu/Content.Node/home.html> (retrieved on February 13, 2018)
- [10] [http://ec.europa.eu/regional\\_policy/hu/policy/cooperation/european-territorial/egtc/](http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/hu/policy/cooperation/european-territorial/egtc/) (retrieved on February 08, 2018)
- [11] [www.statistik.at](http://www.statistik.at) (retrieved on February 12, 2018)
- [12] <https://www.ksh.hu/apps/hntr.main> (retrieved on February 12, 2018)
- [13] [http://www.danubegates.eu/en/about\\_us/](http://www.danubegates.eu/en/about_us/) (retrieved on February 08, 2018)
- [14] <http://pod2.stat.gov.rs/ObjavljenePublikacije/Popis2011/Nacionalna%20pripadnost-Ethnicity.pdf> (retrieved on February 11, 2018)
- [15] <http://www.recensamantromania.ro/rezultate-2/> (retrieved on February 11, 2018)
- [16] <http://www.donsmaps.com/engravings.html> (retrieved on February 14, 2018)
- [17] <http://alexisphoenix.org/adakaleh.php> (retrieved on February 14, 2018)
- [18] <http://www.pfeffel.at/en/hotel/offers-packages/steinfeder-week-2018/> (retrieved on February 14, 2018)
- [19] <http://www.futas.net/hungary/dunakanyar/kepek/dunakanyar.jpg> (retrieved on February 14, 2018)
- [20] [http://adagondozo.hu/files/Vaskapu%202015/11783590\\_936164456427124\\_1175895886\\_o.jpg](http://adagondozo.hu/files/Vaskapu%202015/11783590_936164456427124_1175895886_o.jpg) (retrieved on February 14, 2018)

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

István Kollai (Hungary)

### Author

Istvan Kollai is Assistant Professor at the Corvinus University of Budapest, Faculty of Social Sciences and International Relations. His main research field is intercultural dialogue and transnational cooperation. He is currently developing an online platform of cultural sensitivity, HorizonGuide.net.

Contact: [istvankollai@gmail.com](mailto:istvankollai@gmail.com)

### 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

- Beedie, Paul: Outdoor Education in an Urban Environment. In: Higgins, Peter – Humberstone, Barbara (ed.): *Outdoor Education and Experiential Learning in the U.K.* Institute for Outdoor Learning, 1999.
- Brookes, Andrew: Lost in the Australian Bush: Outdoor Education as Curriculum. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 2002/ July, 405-425.
- Gilbertson, Ken – Bates, Timothy – McLaughlin, Terry – Ewert, Alan: *Outdoor education: Methods and strategies*. Human Kinetics, US, 2006.
- Interpretation of Cultural and Natural Resources. Knudson, Douglas M.; Cable, Ted T.; Beck, Larry. Venture Publishing, Inc., 1999 Cato Ave., State College, PA
- Higgins, Peter: Outdoor Education in Scotland. [\*Journal of Adventure Education and Outdoor Learning\*, 2002/2, 149-168.](#)

Ford, Phyllis: *Outdoor Education: Definition and Philosophy*. Washington, 1986.

Kollai, István – Zahorán, Csaba (ed.): *Europe in Budapest. A Guide to its Many Cultures*. Terra Recognita Foundation, Budapest, 2011.

Knudson, Douglas M. – Cable, Ted T. – Beck, Larry: *Interpretation of Cultural and Natural Resources*. Venture, State College, 1999.

Lai, Hsin-Chih – Chun-Yen, Chang – Ying-Tien. Wu: The implementation of mobile learning in outdoor education: Application of QR codes. *British Journal of Educational Technology*, 2013 March, 57-62.

Miles, John C. – Priest, Simon (ed.): *Adventure Programming*. Venture, State College, 1999.

Mozelius, Peter – Eriksson Bergström, Sofia – Jaldemark, Jimmy: Learning by Walking - Pokémon Go and Mobile Technology in Formal Education. *The International Academy of Technology, Education and Development*, 2017/10, 1172-1179.

Henderson, Bob – Potter, Tom G.: Outdoor Adventure Education in Canada: Seeking the Country Way Back In. *Canadian Journal of Environmental Education*, 2001/Spring, 225-242.

Patrick-Weber, Courtney: Digital Technology, Trauma, and Identity: Redefining the Authentic Self of the 21st Century. *Technoculture: An Online Journal of Technology in Society*. 2014/4, 1-20.

Simms, Annegret – Clarke, Howard B. (ed.): *Lords and towns in medieval Europe: the European Historic Towns Atlas Project*. Farnham, Ashgate, 2015.

Stewart, Alistair: Whose place, whose history? Outdoor environmental education pedagogy as 'reading' the landscape. In: *Journal of Adventure Education and Outdoor Learning*, 2008/2, 79-98.

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

Katalin Nagy (Hungary)

### **Author**

Katalin Nagy is a PhD Student at the Corvinus University of Budapest, researching the correlation between cultural / public diplomacy and economic competitiveness.

Contact: [ktln.ngy@gmail.com](mailto:ktln.ngy@gmail.com)

### **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 (Csepeli 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 seen as somewhat of a 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 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<sup>87</sup> 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<sup>88</sup>, to relax or to undertake adventure or to be involved<sup>89</sup>) (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 time, 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<sup>90</sup>. 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,

<sup>87</sup> Lengyel, Szántó (1998)

<sup>88</sup> creative examples in Tan, Siow-Kian, Kung, Shiann-Far, Luh, Ding-Bang (2012)

<sup>89</sup> acculturation in: Rasmussen, Sarah, Ng, Sielwmm, Lee, Julie A., Soutar, Geoff N. (2014)

<sup>90</sup> 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.<sup>91</sup> 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, Vasvári 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.<sup>92</sup> These kinds of interactions can

<sup>91</sup> 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, Shu, Marshall 2011).

<sup>92</sup> Based on an article of Austin Ramzy: China's Cultural Revolution in: New York 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.<sup>93</sup> 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

<sup>93</sup> 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 Fej  s 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 Kalocsai flower ornament as an example how a local tradition has grown into a world-wide recognised symbol of all Hungarian culture (Bárt 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 knowledge and 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 political 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.<sup>94</sup>

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.

<sup>94</sup> Based on: [visitestonia.com](http://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 Kalocsai 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.<sup>95</sup> On the contrary, for instance, there are a lot of contemporary Hungarian inventions,<sup>96</sup> enterprises, arts and crafts and initiatives, and brands as well – many of them use Hungarian folklore or other aspects of cultural heritage as inspiration.<sup>97</sup> 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.

<sup>95</sup> We can allude to the case of Kalocsai ornaments 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. (Romsics 2010)

<sup>96</sup> For instance the Gombold újral fashion show

<sup>97</sup> 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.

## References

Anderson, Benedict (1993) : Imagined Communities. Reflection on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, London - NewYork

Anderson-Lain, Karen (2017): Cultural Identity Forum: Enacting the self-awareness imperative in intercultural communication. in: Communication Teacher, 31:3 pp. 131-136. Routledge. 2017.

Ang, Ian & Isar, Yudhishtir Raj & Mar, Phillip (2015): Cultural diplomacy: beyond the national interest? in: International Journal of Cultural Policy Vol. 21. No 4. 365-381.

Bauman, Zygmunt (2011): Culture in a Liquid Modern World, Polity Press, Cambridge.

Báth Jenő (1987) : Jelképpé nött virágok. Forrás XIX. 7. szám 77-78.

Bódis Krisztina (1998): Posztmodern turizmus. in: Fejős, Zoltán (ed): A turizmus mint kulturális rendszer

Boniface, Priscilla & Flower, Peter, J. (1996): *Heritage and Tourism in 'the Global Village'*. London, Routledge 1993.: *Heritage and Tourism. Special Issue, Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 23.

Brohman, J.(1996): New Directions in tourism for Third World Development. in: *Annals Of Tourism Research* 23:48-70.

Bujdosó, Zoltán & Dávid, Lóránt & Tőzsér, Anett & Kovács, Gyöngyi & Major-Kathi, Veronika & Uahkitova, Gulmira & Katona, Péter & Vasvári, Mária (2016): Basis of heritagization and cultural tourism development. in: *Procedia . Social and Behavoir science* 188 (2015) 307-315.

Canavan, Brendan (2010 ): *Tourism culture: Nexus, characteristics, context and sustainability*. in: *Journal of Tourism Management* 2015.

Cohen, Eric (1974): Who is a tourist?: A conceptual clarification. in: *The Sociological Review*, Vol. 22. No 4. pp. 527-555.

Cuccio, Tiziana & Guccio, Calogero & Rizzo, Ilde (2016): The effects of UNESCO World Heritage List inscription on tourism destinations performance in Italian regions. in: *Economic Modelling* 53 (2016) 494-508.

Csepeli György (1987) : Meditáció a nemzeti karakterről. In: *Csoporttudat - nemzettudat*. Budapest. 223-233.

European Cultural Convention - 1954.

Fejős, Zoltán (1992): *Folklór és turizmus*. In (Mohay Tamás ed.): *Közeliítések*. Debrecen. 337-346.

Fejős, Zoltán (1998) (ed.): *A turizmus mint kulturális rendszer*, Néprajzi Múzeum.

Fülemile, Ágnes (1998): Skót nemzeti öntudat és a népviselet jelentősége in: Fejős, Zoltán (ed): *A turizmus mint kulturális rendszer*.

Füzi, Imola (2013): *Assessment of National Tourism Development Strategy - Hungary*, Sustainable Tourism Working Group. 2013

Geertz, Clifford (1994) : *Az értelmezés hatalma*. Budapest, Századvég

Handler, Richard (1990): in: Fejős, Zoltán (1998) (ed.): *A turizmus mint kulturális rendszer*, Néprajzi Múzeum.

Howes, David (2002): *Cross-Cultural Consumption: Global Markets, Local Realities*, Routledge

Kaneva, Nadia (2012) : *Branding Post-Communist Nations*, Routledge.

Kapitány,Gábor & Kapitány, Ágnes (1999): *Magyarság szimbólumok*. European Folklore Institute.

Leed, Eric J. (1991) : *The Mind of the Traveller. From Gilgamesh to Global Tourism*. New York.

Lengyel, György & Szántó Zoltán (ed.): *Tőkefajták: A társadalmi és kulturális erőforrások szociológiája*, Aula Kiadó, Budapest, 1998.

Lind, Charlene & Roach-Higgins & Mary, E. (1985) : Collective Adoption, Fashion, and the Social-Political Symbolism of Dress. In: Solomon, Michael R. (ed.): *The Psychologoy of Fashion*. Lexington, Toronto

Löfgren, Orvar (1988): Gondolatok a nemzeti érzés kulturális szerveződéséről. In: Hofer Tamás - Niedermüller Péter: *Nemzeti kultúrál antropológiai nézetben*. 145-180.

Lovrentjev, Sonja (2015): Intangible Cultural Heritage and Tourism: Comparing Croatia and Czech Republic. in: *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences* Vol. 6. No 5. pp. 522-526. (September 2015).

Meethan, Kevin (1996) : Heritage and Postmodern Tourism. In: *Annals of Tourism Research*. 23. (2). 322-341.

Nica, Ana-Maria (2015): Cultural Heritage and Tourism Competitiveness of Central and Eastern Europe. in: *International Journal of Economic Practices and Theories*. Vol. 5. No 3. pp. 248-256.

Pálffy Zoltán (1998): Egzotikus Magyarország in Fejős, Zoltán (ed): *A turizmus mint kulturális rendszer*

Pudaruth, Santhos Kumar (2017): Nation Rebranding Through a New Approach to Cultural Diplomacy: A Case Study of Mauritius. in: *SAGE Open April-June (2017)* 1-7.

Ramzy, Austin: China's Cultural Revolution in: *The New York Times* (May 14, 2016)

Rasmi, Sarah & Ng, Sielwmm & Lee, Julie A. & Soutar, Geoff N. (2014): Tourists' strategies: An acculturation approach. in: *Tourism Management* (40) 311-320.

Rekettye, Gábor & Tóth, Tamás & Malota, Erzsébet (2008): *Nemzetközi Marketing*, Akadémia Kiadó, Budapest

Richard, Greg (1996) : Production and Consumption of European Cultural Tourism. In: *Annals of Tourism Research*. 23. (2): 261 - 284.

Romsics Imre (1998): Népművészeti -Úti elemek - Nemzeti Jelképek in: Fejős, Zoltán (ed): *A turizmus mint kulturális rendszer*

Sanchez, Peter M. & Adams, Kathleen M. (2008): The Janus-Faced Character of Tourism in Cuba in: *Annals of Tourism Research* Vol.35. No 1. pp. 27-46. 2008.

Tan, Siow-Kian & Kung, Shiann-Far & Luh, Ding-Bang (2013) :A model of creative experience in creative tourism. in: *Annals of Tourism Research* Vol. 41. pp 153- 174. 2013.

Timothy, Dallen J. (2014). Contemporary Cultural Heritage and Tourism: Development Issues and Emerging Trends. *Public Archeology* 13:1-3. 30-47.

UNESCO Convention for the protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972) UNESCO Paris.

Urošević, Nataša (2012): Cultural Identity and Cultural Tourism- between the local and the global (A case study of Pula, Croatia). in: *Singidunum Journal of Applied Sciences*. 2012. 9:1. pp. 67-76.

Urry, John (2002): *The tourist gaze*. Sage, London

Winter, Tim (2013): Clarifying the critical in critical heritage studies. In: International Journal of Heritage Studies 19:6 pp. 532-545.

Woodside, Arch G. & Hsu, Shih-Yun & Marshall, Roger (2011): General theory of culture's consequences on international tourism behavoir. in: Journal of Business Research, 64. (2011) p. 785-799.

**online sources:**

<https://justestonishing.atavist.com/estonia-nation-branding> (15 February, 2018)

<https://www.visitestonia.com> (15 February, 2018)

Hungarian Touristic Agency <https://mtu.gov.hu> (15 February, 2018)

Magyar Turizmusfejlesztési Stratégia 2030 <https://mtu.gov.hu/cikkek/strategia>

UNESCO <https://en.unesco.org>

## Ten visions of cultural heritage in Évora, Portugal

Sheila Palomares Alarcón, Armando Quintas and Pietro Visconti  
(Portugal)

### Authors

Sheila Palomares Alarcón. Dra. Architect. HERITAS [PhD] - Heritage Studies. CIDEHUS-University of Evora (Portugal) / CIEBA University of Lisbon, Portugal.

Contact: [sheila@uevora.pt](mailto:sheila@uevora.pt)

Armando Quintas. Historian. Master TPTI. Director of CECHAP where promote cultural initiatives and research projects. CIDEHUS-University of Evora, Portugal.

Pietro Visconti. Master's Degree in History of Art. Master's Degree in Architecture and Historical Heritage. CIDEHUS/CHAIA-University of Evora, Portugal.

### Abstract<sup>98</sup>

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 30<sup>th</sup> 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<sup>99</sup> 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.

<sup>98</sup>This 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 Quinas: PD/BD/135143/2017. CIDEHUS - Centro Interdisciplinar de História, Cultura e Sociedades. Pietro Visconti. CIDEHUS - Centro Interdisciplinar de História, Cultura e Sociedades / CHAIA - Centro de História da Arte e Investigação Artística.

<sup>99</sup>Architecture characteristic of the early 16th century, developed in mainland Portugal and in the 'overseas islands, cities and fortresses'. (Dias, Rodriguez e Silva, 2017).



**Figure 1 – Roman Temple. April 2015 (Photo: Pietro Visconti)**

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 Manueline era and from other periods. This contributed to the classification of the historical centre of the ‘Museum City’<sup>100</sup> 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*<sup>101</sup>.

Évora’s historical heritage is extraordinarily rich<sup>102</sup>. 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.

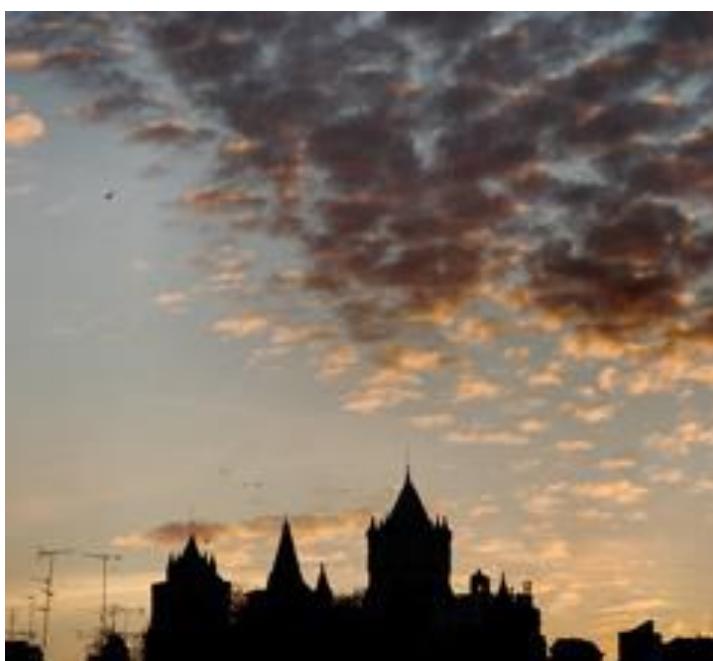
*Due to the circumstances of its individual history, Évora is part of a group of inhabited historical cities that have evolved according to various evolutionary cycles, without the interruption of the violent destructions and profanations that affected a large number of European cities, caused by natural 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*

<sup>100</sup>Concept created in the late 19th century (Simões, 2007: 271).

<sup>101</sup>World Heritage List. Available at: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/361> [Visited on: 29 April 2016]

<sup>102</sup>The bibliography that analyses the historical heritage of the city of Évora is rather extensive, see for example (in chronological order): (Haupl, 19?), (Proença, 1924), (Espanca, 1949), (Espanca, 1964-1965), (Espanca, 1987), (Almeida, 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 Visconti)

### 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 Évora<sup>103</sup>, under the coordination of Sheila Palomares Alarcón, Armando Quintas and Pietro Visconti, 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.

<sup>103</sup> 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 Palace<sup>104</sup> (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 Manueline residential building with a Mudéjar influence, an evidence of the extraordinary São Francisco palatial ensemble, built in the surroundings of the São Francisco convent.

---

<sup>104</sup>Protection: Category: MN – National Monument, Decree of 16-06-1910, DG no. 136, of 23 June 1910 / ZEP, Ordinance, DG, 2nd series, no. 12, of 15 January 1955 \*1.



**Figure 3 – D. Manuel Palace. November 2016 (Photo: Pietro Visconti)**

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.



**Figure 4 – Espaço Celeiros.** December 2016 (Photo: Pietro Viscomi)

EspaçoCeleiros (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 CanteAlentejano, 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.

### **3. Architecture. Espírito Santo College. University of Évora**

The third session was held in January 2017, under the theme, *Architecture*, in the Espírito Santo College, (1553) currently the University of Évora<sup>105</sup>.

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).

<sup>105</sup>Protection: Category: MN – National Monument, Decree of 16-06-1910, DG no. 136, of 23 June 1910.



**Figure 5** – Espírito Santo College. University of Évora. April 2016 (Photo: Sheila Palomares Alarcón)

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.

### **5. Museology. Museum of Évora.**

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<sup>106</sup> (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 Visconti)**

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.

<sup>106</sup>Category: MN – National Monument, Decree of 10-01-1907, DG no. 14, of 17 January 1907 / Decree of 16-06-1910, DG no. 136, of 23 June 1910.

## 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 Leõesbuilding, which used to be 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 Visconti)**

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<sup>107</sup>, 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.

<sup>107</sup>Regional Directorate for Culture of Alentejo. Available at: <http://www.cultura-alentejo.pt/> [Visited on: 2 February 2018]



**Figure 8** – Regional Directorate for Culture of Alentejo. May 2017 (photo: Sheila Palomares Alarcón)

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<sup>108</sup> 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 sare 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,<sup>109</sup> 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

<sup>108</sup>Category: MN - National Monument, Decree of 16-06-1910, DG, no. 136, of 23 June 1910.

<sup>109</sup>Cultural Heritage. Regional Directorate for Cultural Heritage. Available at:

[http://www.monumentos.gov.pt/Site/APP\\_PagesUser/SIPA.aspx?id=11746](http://www.monumentos.gov.pt/Site/APP_PagesUser/SIPA.aspx?id=11746) [Visited on: 2 February 2018]

sustainability, published the Statute of the Library six years later (21 September 1811). The Public Library of Évora<sup>110</sup> was integrated into the National Library of Portugal in 2012.



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

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,<sup>111</sup> 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<sup>112</sup>. 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.

<sup>110</sup>Public Library of Évora. Available at: <http://www.bpe.pt/> [Visited on: 2 February 2018]

<sup>111</sup>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)

<sup>112</sup>Cultural Heritage. Regional Directorate for Cultural Heritage. Available at: [http://www.monumentos.gov.pt/Site/APP\\_PagesUser/SIPA.aspx?id=3840](http://www.monumentos.gov.pt/Site/APP_PagesUser/SIPA.aspx?id=3840) [Visited on: 2 February 2018]



**Figure 10** – Church of Salvador. November 2017 (Photo: Sheila Palomares Alarcón)

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.

Date	Theme	Venue
1 November 2016	UNESCO City and Heritage	D. Manuel Palace
2 December 2016	Sociology and Intangible Heritage	EspaçoCeleiros
3 January 2017	Architecture	Espírito Santo College. University of Évora
4 February	Photography and Communication	Soror Mariana Auditorium
5 March 2017	Museology	Museum of Évora
6 April 2017	Industrial and Technical Heritage	Leões Factory
7 May 2017	Conservation and Restoration	Regional Directorate for Culture of Alentejo.
8 September 2017	Archaeology	Vimioso Palace
9 November 2017	New Technologies Applied to Heritage	Public Library of Évora
10 December 2017	History of Art	Church of Salvador

**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.

## References

- Almeida, C. (Coord.), (2001): *Riscos de um século: Memórias da Evolução Urbana de Évora*. Évora: Câmara Municipal de Évora.
- Brigola, João (2014): "Frei Manuel do Cenáculo (1724-1814): o coleccionador compósito", Revista Artis, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, nº 2, pp. 32-37.
- Cabeça, S.M. (2016): *Estrutura e processo de formação das formas culturais: O Caso do Cante Alentejano*. [Tese de Doutoramento em Sociologia]. Évora: Universidade de Évora.
- Cardoso, J. L. (2006): "El terremoto de Lisboa de 1755 y la política de regulación económica del Marqués de Pombal", Historia y Política, 16, 209-236.
- Cardoso de Matos, Ana.&Dos Santos, María Luisa (2004): "Os Guias de Turismo e a emergência do turismo contemporâneo em Portugal (dos finais do século XIX às primeiras décadas do século XX)", Scripta Nova: Revista electrónica de geografía y ciencias sociales, nº 8, 157-180.
- Cardoso de Matos, Ana. & Bernardo, María Ana. (2008): "A Candidatura de Évora a Património Mundial: Testemunhos na Imprensa", in Eloy Martos Núñez e Alberto E. Martos García (coord.) Seminario Internacional El Patrimonio Cultural: Tradiciones, Educación y Turismo, Extremadura – Portugal. Cáceres: Universidad de Extremadura/Consejería Provincial Cáceres, 2008, pp. 75-84.
- Cardoso de Matos, Ana. & Merca Pereira, João. (2016): "O engenheiro Adriano Monteiro e a utilização do ferro na reconversão e refuncionalização de espaços em Evora: o caso do Palácio D. Manuel e dos Paços do Concelho", A cidade de Évora, Boletim de Cultura da Câmara Municipal de Évora. III Serie, nº1, pp.78-89.
- Cardoso de Matos, A., Bernardo, M. A. & Rodríguez, P.S. (2010): *Évora: Roteiros Republicanos*. Évora: QUIDNOVI / Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações do Centenário da República.
- Choay, Françoise. (2005): *Património e Mundialização : Problemática e Estratégias*. Évora: Casa do Sul Editora / Centro de História da Arte da Universidade de Évora.
- Dias, P. Rodriguez, D., Grilo, F. & Silva, N. (2017): *El manuelino*.Vienna: Museum Ohne Grenzen / Museum with no frontières.
- Espanca, Tulio. (1949): *Évora: guía histórico-artístico*.
- Évora : Comissão Municipal de Turismo de Évora.
- Espanca, Tulio. (1964-1965): *Évora: visitas guiadas*.

Évora : Comissão Municipal de Turismo de Évora.

Espanca, Túlio. (1987): *Évora, Arte e História*. Évora: Câmara Municipal de Évora.

Guimarães, P. (2010): *Elites e indústria no Alentejo (1890-1960): um estudo sobre o comportamento económico de grupos de élite em contexto regional no Portugal Contemporâneo*. Edições Colibri.

Fonseca, Helder Adegar (1996): *Alentejo no século XIX. Economia e Atitudes Económicas*. Imprensa Nacional Casa Moeda.

Haupl, A. (19?): *A arquitetura da Renascença em Portugal*. Lisboa: J. Rodrigues.

Sánchez Mustieles, D. (2013): *Metodología para la recuperación y puesta en valor del patrimonio industrial arquitectónico. Antiguas fábricas del Grao de Valencia* [Tesis doctoral]. Editorial Universitat Politècnica de València.

Proença, Raul. (1924): *Guia de Portugal*. Vol. 1. Lisboa: BNL.

Simões Rodrigues, P. (2007): “O passado é uma cidade ideal: um olhar sobre a patrimonização de Évora”, *Revista de História da Arte*, 4, 271-296.

## Historic urban landscapes of modernity: Conflicts of value perception

Vaidas Petrus (Lithuania)

### Author

Vaidas Petrus is a senior scientific researcher at the Institute of Architecture and Construction of Kaunas University of Technology, Lithuania. She is co-author of the books, 'Architectural heritage of the interwar period in Lithuania: the combination of tangibility and intangibility' (2015) and 'Architecture in Soviet Lithuania' (2012). Since 2009, she has been developing the project for a digital internet archive of architectural heritage ([www.autc.lt](http://www.autc.lt)). Member of ICOMOS International Scientific Committee on 20th Century Heritage. Member of the Governing Board of JPI Cultural Heritage: A Challenge for Europe. Curator of the platform 'Modernism for the Future' in the programme of Kaunas European Capital of Culture 2022. Head of the team for the preparation of UNESCO WHL dossier "Kaunas 1919-1939: The Capital Inspired by the Modern Movement". ICCROM fellow (1 June to 31 July 2017).

Contact: [vaidas.petrus@ktu.lt](mailto:vaidas.petrus@ktu.lt)

### 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 Petrus, 2016)



**Figure 3** – House built by Iljinai family in 1933, architect Arnas Funkas. (Photo: Vaidas Petrus, 2017)

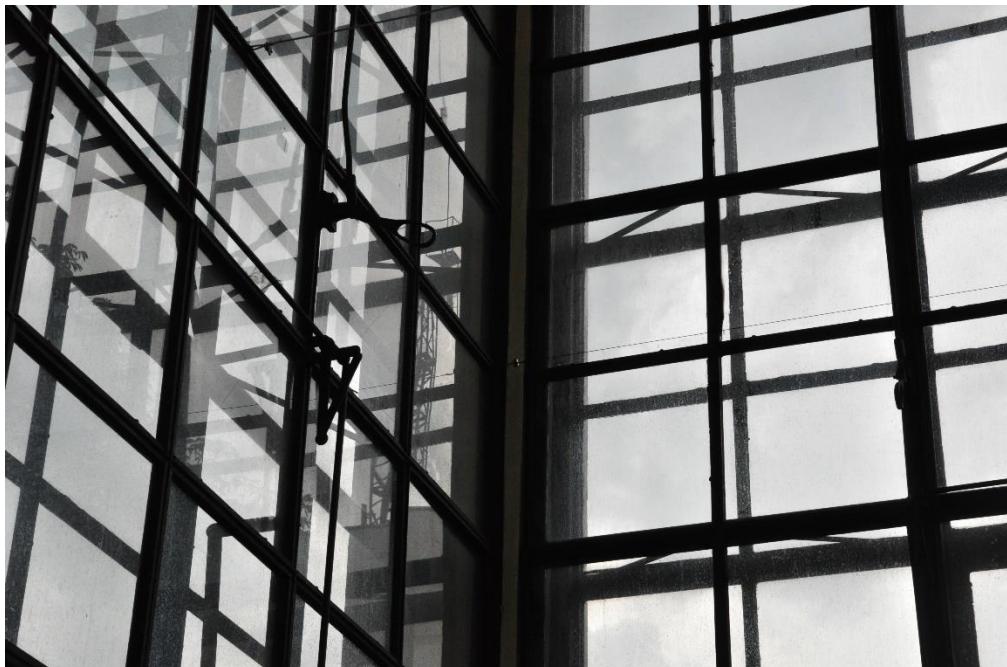


**Figure 4** – More than 200 wooden front doors of individual design have been preserved in Kaunas; example from Žemuogių str. (Photo: Vaidas Petrus, 2017)

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 Petruulis, 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"

(Kelemerlis 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](http://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 Chaimesunai family in 1931, architect Vytautas Landsbergis-Žemkalnės.  
(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 Petrus, 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 furthermore encourages us to develop a multifaced 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.

### References

Arrhenius, Thordis. Nine points Towards an Expanded Notion of Architectural Work. *Tabula Plena: Forms of Urban Preservation*, ed. by Bryony Roberts, Zurich: Lars Muller Publishers, 2016, p. 192–197.

Bielinskis, Feliksas. Architektūros esmė [On Essence of Architecture], *Savivaldybė*, 1937, nr. 2, p. 61–62.

Circular of the Lithuanian Reconstruction Commissariat [Lietuvos atstatymo komisariato aplinkraštis], 1923 m., LCVA, f. 377, ap. 8, b. 4, l. 64.

Desilvey, Catlin. *Curated Decay. Heritage beyond saving*. London, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017.

Gravari-Barbas, Maria, *Towards a new EU Agenda for Cultural Heritage Research and Innovation' Horizon 2020 Expert Group on Cultural Heritage Workshop*, 2014, accessible via the internet:

<http://ec.europa.eu/transparency/regexpert/index.cfm?do=groupDetail.groupDetailDoc&id=18080&no=3>

Kelermileris, Adolfas. Prakalba [Foreword], *Statybos menas ir technika*, 1923, sas. 2 (5), p. 1–5.

Kim, Soo. *Vienna's World Heritage status under threat over plans to build 66-metre tower*, 7 July 2017, accessible via the internet:

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/destinations/europe/austria/vienna/articles/vienna-historic-centre-joins-unesco-endangered-list/>

Landsbergis, Vytautas. Fiziško auklėjimo rūmai [House of physical Education], *Fiziškas auklėjimas*, 1931, nr. 2, p. 109–115.

Lehne, Andreas. Characteristics of 20th century architecture and the cultural, social and economic value of its conservation. *Twentieth-century architectural heritage: strategies for conservation and promotion*. Proceedings. Colloquy organised by the Council of Europe with the Austrian Ministry of Science and Research and the Bundesdenkmalamt Vienna (Austria), December 1989. Council of Europe Press, 1994, p. 11–13.

*List of the cultural monuments of the Lithuanian SSR* [Lietuvos TSR Kultūros paminklų sąrašas]. Vilnius: Lietuvos TSR Kultūros ministerija, 1973.

Lowenthal, David. *The past is a foreign country*. Revisited. Cambridge: Cambridge university press, 2015.

Normandin, Kyle; Macdonald, Susan. *A Colloquium to Advance the Practice of Conserving Modern Heritage*. The Getty Center, Los Angeles, California, March 6-7, 2013, ed. by, Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute, 2013.

Otero-Pailos, Jorge. Monumentaries. *Tabula Plena. Forms of Urban Preservation*. Ed. by Bryony Roberts. Zurich: Lars Muller Publishers, 2016, p. 20–29.

Rausch, Christoph. *Global Heritage Assemblages. Development and Modern Architecture in Africa*. New York, London: Routledge, 2017.

Rennix, Brianna; Robinson, Nathan J. Why you hate contemporary architecture. *Current Affairs*, 2017 October, accessible via the internet: <https://www.currentaffairs.org/2017/10/why-you-hate-contemporary-architecture>

Robertson, Iain J. M. Introduction: Heritage from Below. *Heritage from Below*, ed. Iain J. M. Robertson. Farnham: Ashgate, 2012, p. 1–29.

Valtieri, Simonetta. Cultural Heritage "Value" and its Social Appreciation. *Values an Criteria in Heritage Conservation. Proceedings of the International Conference and Fondazione Romualdo Del Bianco, 2-4 March 2007, Florence*, ed. by Andrzej Tomaszewski, Firenze: Edizioni Polistampa, 2008, p. 243–248.

Venturi, Robert. Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1966.

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

Angela Pfenninger (Germany)

### Author

Angela Pfenninger runs her own company, Museum-Theater-Events, in Germany. She is also the Chair of the International Museum Theatre Association (IMTAL) Europe ([www.imtal-europe.com](http://www.imtal-europe.com))  
Contact: [angela.pfenninger@gmx.de](mailto:angela.pfenninger@gmx.de)

### 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-mouthing 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

Filip Skowron (Poland)

### Author

Filip Skowron works in the Education Department of the National Museum in Krakow and is writing a doctoral dissertation on the social history of museums at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow.

Contact: [fskowron@mnk.pl](mailto:fskowron@mnk.pl)

### 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 Szczerbski, 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.



**Figure 1** – The start of the exhibition *#heritage* in the National Museum in Krakow, Poland. 2017  
(Photo: F. Skowron)

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** – 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’ (Szczerbski 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 bizarre 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)

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 do to 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.



**Figure 5** – Visitors of the exhibition #heritage looking for their own family heritage on the map of 18th century Poland. 2017 (Photo: F. Skowron)

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 Łódź, 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'

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).

## References

- Bal, M. (2008): *Exhibition as film*. In: R. Ostow (ed.) *(Re)visualizing national history: museums and national identities in Europe in the new millennium*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 15-43.
- Certeau, M. de (1984): *The Practice of Everyday Life*, transl. Steven Rendall. Berkeley-Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Clifford, J. (1999): *Museums as contact zones*. In: D. Boswell and J. Evans (eds) *Representing the Nation: Histories, Heritage, and Museums*. London: Routledge, 435–457.
- Crary, J. (2000): *Suspensions of Perception: Attention, Spectacle and Modern Culture*. Cambridge: MIT.
- Foucault, M. (1973): *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*, transl. A. Sheridan. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Schwarz, B. (1996): *Powers of the past*. In: S. Selwood, B. Schwarz and N. Merriman (eds) *The Peopling of London: Fifteen Thousand Years of Settlement from Overseas, An Evaluation of the Exhibition*. London: Museum of London.
- Smith, L. (2006): *Uses of Heritage*. London: Routledge.
- Szczerski, A. (2017): #heritage. In: A. Szczerski (ed.) #heritage. Kraków: Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, 25-29.
- Tylor, E. (1871): *Primitive Culture: Research into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom*. London: John Murray, vol. 1, 1.
- Young, L. (2002): *Rethinking heritage: cultural policy and inclusion*. In: R. Sandell (ed.) *Museums, Society, Inequality*. London and New York: Routledge, 203-212.

---

<sup>i</sup> 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 Savarensis in the life of Szombathely

Ottó Sosztarits and Borbála Mohácsi (Hungary)

### Authors

Ottó Sosztarits is an archaeologist, specialising in heritage protection, and is Deputy Director of the Iseum Savarensis in Hungary. He has carried out excavations in Szombathely since 1990, and he 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 Savarensis in June 2017, as part of the archaeological research team. She is currently writing her Master's thesis about the Oriental Cults of Roman Pannonia.

Contact: [mohacsibori@gmail.com](mailto:mohacsibori@gmail.com)

### 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 Savarensis, 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),<sup>113</sup> eventually winning over spaces occupied by pagan temples.

## 1. The beginnings (1955-2001)

### Excavations by Tihamér Szentlélek (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, Serapis<sup>114</sup>, somewhere outside the city walls.



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

<sup>113</sup> For the history of Savaria, see: Kiss *et al.* 1998, especially the chapter about the Roman era by Endre Tóth: p7-67.

<sup>114</sup> The Roman version of Osiris.

Since there was no archaeologist working in Szombathely at the time, the excavations were led by Tihámér 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 (Hajnócz & Szentléleky 1959-1960, 129pp).<sup>115</sup>

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.<sup>116</sup> 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 (Hajnóczy & 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 weather<sup>117</sup>, 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 1972<sup>118</sup> – the only ancient monument in the country to achieve such recognition.

<sup>115</sup> The planning was done by Tibor Vákár, architect of the Budapest City Planning Institute until 1959, then it was taken over by Gyula Hajnócz, professor of the Budapest University of Technology.

<sup>116</sup> 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).

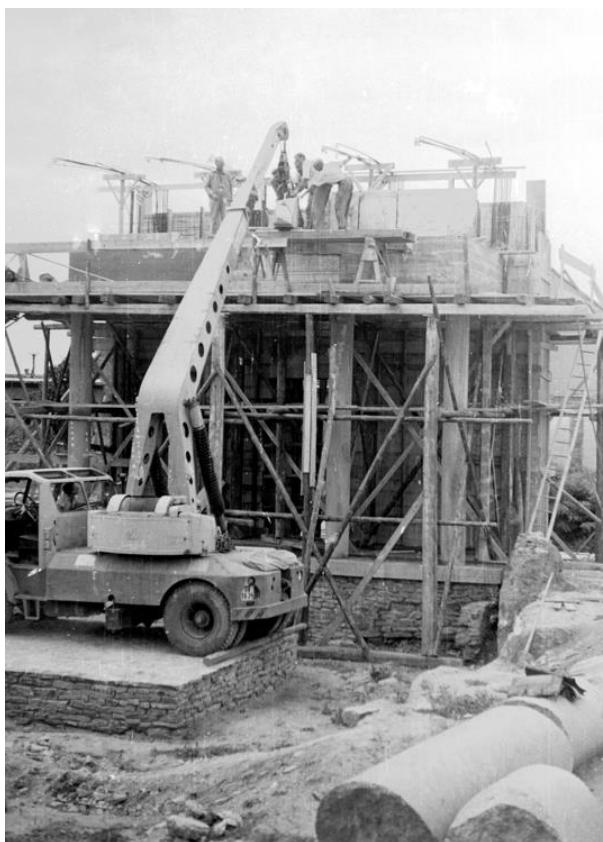
<sup>117</sup> Due to the pouring rain, the concert was held in the Culture and Sports Centre, but later *The Magic Flute* played each year with great success, alongside other, mostly antique-themed, musical performances.

<sup>118</sup> 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 Feiszt, 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 Szentlélek, 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 Hajnóczki'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.<sup>119</sup>



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

<sup>119</sup> Even the reconstruction permit issued by the authorities for the Council in 2001 to replace the stonework ordered the restoration of Hajnóczki's ferro-concrete complex.



**Figure 3** – Szombathely's Communist era coat of arms, with the reconstruction in the red field

## 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 Szentlélek. 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<sup>120</sup>, 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.



**Figure 4** – Restarting fieldwork in 2001: the first hack of the pickaxe by Tihamér Szentlélek

<sup>120</sup> 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<sup>121</sup> 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 masonry 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

<sup>121</sup> 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.

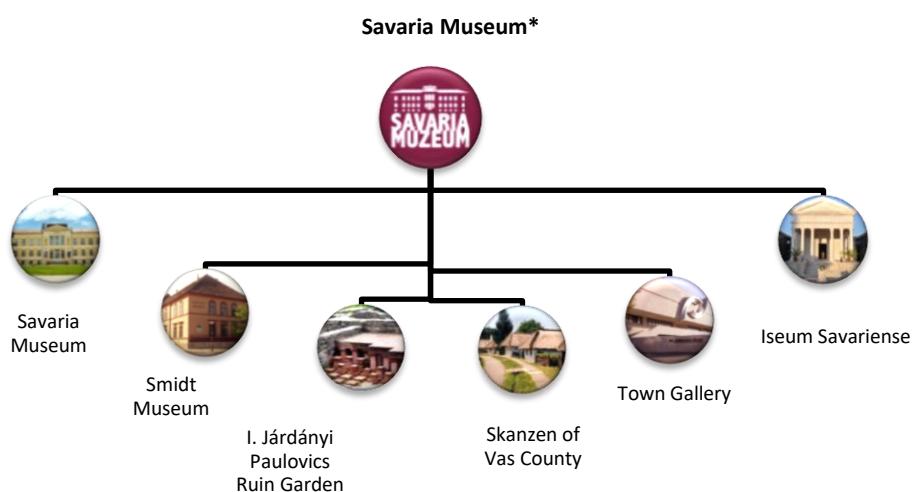
Although the Iseum as a brand became unique and characteristic, the prognosis of the impact study was proven true: in itself, without pertaining to a comprehensive marketing plan for the whole town, the Iseum is unable to accomplish a growth in tourism (although that was expected).

### 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 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 Járdányi 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.



**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



**Figure 7 – Receiving the ,Museum of the Year’ award in the Hungarian National Museum**

#### **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<sup>122</sup>. 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.

<sup>122</sup> ‘Crosstalks’ – Aegyptus et Pannonia Workshop, 22-23 October 2012; ‘Heiligtümer in Oberpannonien und im angrenzenden Noricum’ – 7-8 March 2013; ‘Iseum 60’ – The 60th Anniversary of the Iseum Savarensis – 26-27 November 2015; ‘SYMPORIUM PEREGRINUM’ – Egyptian and Eastern Cults in the Roman Empire – 15-18 June 2017.



**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.



**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 Savarensis 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*.<sup>123</sup>

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.

<sup>123</sup> 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.



**Figure 12** – Intersection along the Amber Road, displayed under the glass floor of the bank

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 Savarensis*, 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.



**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)

## References

BALÁZS *et al.* 2013

BALÁZS, Péter – CSAPLÁROS, Andrea – KÓSI, Anita – SOSZTARITS, Ottó, *The Home of Isis in Savaria. Guide to the permanent exhibition of Iseum Savarensis*. Sistrum Ser. B. No. 1. Szombathely 2013.

CSAPLÁROS & SOSZTARITS 2012

CSAPLÁROS, Andrea – SOSZTARITS, Ottó,  
'Savaria – größtes Isis-Heiligtum im  
Donauraum.' [Savaria – The Biggest Isis  
Sanctuary in the Danube Region.] In:  
*Archäologie in Deutschland* Heft 2 (2012) 6-7.

HAJNÓCZI & SZENTLÉLEKY 1959-1960

HAJNÓCZI J. Gyula – SZENTLÉLEKY  
Tihámér: Római kor homlokzat helyreállítás  
Szombathelyen. [Reconstructing a Roman  
Façade in Szombathely.] *Magyar  
Műemlékvédelem* 2 (1959-1960.) Budapest  
1964. 129-136.

KISS et al. 1998

KISS Gábor – TÓTH Endre – ZÁGORHIDI  
Czigány Balázs, *Szombathely története 1. A  
város alapításától 1526-ig.* [The History of  
Szombathely 1. From the Founding to 1526.]  
Szombathely 1998.

MEZŐS 2002

MEZŐS, Tamás, 'A new concept for the  
Reconstruction of the Iseum of Szombathely.'  
In: *Aegyptus et Pannonia I - Acta symposii  
anno 2000.* Budapest 2002. 129-146.

MEZŐS 2005

MEZŐS, Tamás, 'Recent facts regarding the  
theoretical reconstruction of the Iseum in  
Szombathely.' In: *Aegyptus et Pannonia 2.  
Acta Symposii anno 2002.* Budapest 2005.  
111-122.

MRÁV 2005

MRÁV, Zsolt, 'Die severerzeitliche Fassade  
des Isis Heiligtums in Savaria.' [The Severan  
Façades of the Isis Sanctuary in Savaria.] In:  
*Aegyptus et Pannonia 2. Acta Symposii anno  
2002.* Budapest 2005. 123-156.

SOSZTARITS & BALÁZS 2016

SOSZTARITS, Ottó – BALÁZS, Péter, 'Die  
neuerzeitliche Geschichte des Iseum  
Savariense.' [The Modern History of the Iseum  
Savariense.] In: *Aegyptus et Pannonia 5 - Acta  
symposii anno 2008.* Budapest, 2016. 165-176.  
Taf. 51-68.

SOSZTARITS 1994

SOSZTARITS, Ottó, 'Topographische  
Forschungen im südlichen Teil von Savaria:  
Die Notgrabung auf dem Hauptplatz von  
Szombathely (1991-1992).' [Topographic  
Research in the Southern Part of Savaria:  
Excavations in the Main Square of  
Szombathely.] In: *La Pannonia e l'Impero  
romano: atti del convegno internazionale "La  
Pannonia e l'Impero romano". Roma, 13-16  
gennaio 1994.* Rome 1994. 233-241.

SOSZTARITS 2003

SOSZTARITS Ottó, 'A savariai Iseum újraindított kutatásáról.' [About the Renewed Research of the Iseum of Savaria.] In: *Ókor* II/4. szám. Budapest 2003, 51-54.

SOSZTARITS 2008

SOSZTARITS, Ottó: 'Az Ízisz-szentély és az egyiptomi eredetű vallásosság emlékei Savariában.' [The Isis Sanctuary and the Relics of Egyptian Cults in Savaria.] In: Tiradritti, Francesco (Szerk.): *Reneszánsz a fáraók Egyiptomában / Pharaonic Renaissance. Archaism and the Sense of History in Ancient Egypt*. Budapest, 2008. 129-133, 199-207, Kat. 134-151.

SOSZTARITS 2010

SOSZTARITS, Ottó, 'Evidenzen der Chronologie vom Iseum in Savaria.' [Evidences of the Chronology of the Iseum in Savaria.] In: *Aegyptus et Pannonia* 4. Budapest 2010. 145-152.

SOSZTARITS 2016

Sosztarits, Ottó, 'The Iseum Savarensis and the last days of paganism in Savaria.' In: *Saint Martin and Pannonia. Christianity on the Frontiers of the Roman World*. Szombathely-Pannonhalma 2016. 35-42.

SOSZTARITS et al. 2013

BALÁZS Péter – CSAPLÁROS Andrea – SOSZTARITS Ottó (ed.), *Iseum – Isis savariai temploma Szombathelyen*. [Iseum – The Temple of Isis in Savaria.] Sistrum – Ser. B. No. 2. Szombathely 2013.

SZENTLÉLEKY 1959

SZENTLÉLEKY, Tihamér: Die Ausgrabungen des Isis-Heiligtums von Savaria. [Excavations in the Isis Sanctuary of Savaria.] In: *Acta Ant. Hung.* 7. (1959) 195-200.

SZENTLÉLEKY 1960

SZENTLÉLEKY Tihamér, *A szombathelyi Isis-szentély*. [The Isis Sanctuary of Szombathely.] Műemlékeink. Budapest 1960.

SZENTLÉLEKY 1961

SZENTLÉLEKY Tihamér, 'Az Iseum helyreállítási tervei.' [Reconstruction Plans for the Iseum.] In: *Vasi Szemle* (1961) 67-73.

SZENTLÉLEKY 1965

SZENTLÉLEKY Tihamér, *A szombathelyi Isis-szentély*. [The Isis Sanctuary of Szombathely.] Savaria Romkertjei I. Szombathely, 1965.

TÓTH 1998

TÓTH István, 'A savariai Iseum kutatásainak eredményei és feladatai.' [Achievements and

Duties of Research in the Iseum of Savaria.] In:  
*Savaria* 23/3 (1996-1997), Szombathely 1998,  
329-352.

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

Mária Szilágyi and Anica Draganić (Serbia)

### Authors

Mária Szilágyi is a PhD research assistant at the University of Novi Sad, Serbia, Faculty of Technical Sciences, Department of Architecture and Urbanism.

Contact: [maria\\_siladij@uns.ac.rs](mailto:maria_siladij@uns.ac.rs)

Anica Draganić is Assistant Professor at the University of Novi Sad, Serbia, Faculty of Technical Sciences, Department of Architecture and Urbanism.

Contact: [atarher@gmail.com](mailto:atarher@gmail.com)

### 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-18<sup>th</sup> 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'* (Силађи 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. Reinstatement 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](http://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 religion 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.

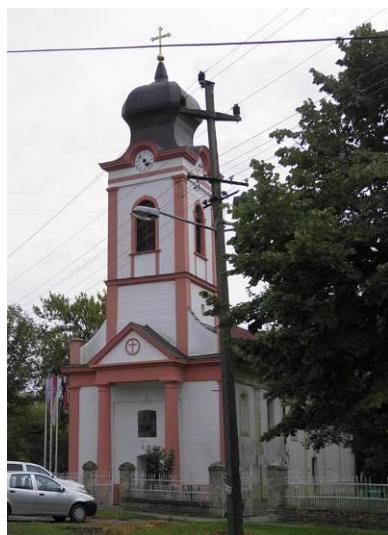
(<http://www.sonovacrnja.org.rs/srpska%20crnja.html>)

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.

(<http://www.zrenjaninheritage.com/kulturna-dobra/spomenici-kulture/crkva-svetog-prokopija-u-srpskoj-crnji>)



**Figure 1** – An Orthodox church,  
Srpska Crnja



**Figure 2** – An Orthodox church,  
Srpska Crnja



**Figure 3** – A Catholic church,  
Srpska Crnja

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.



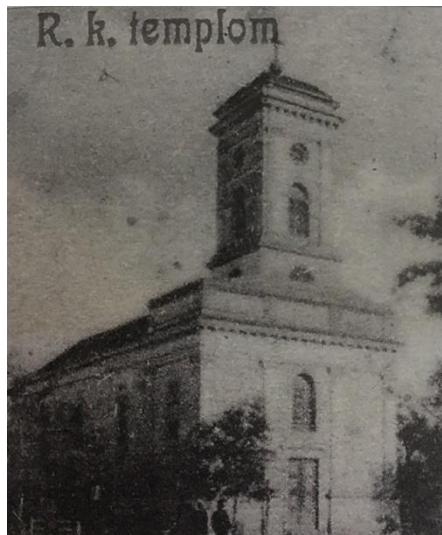
**Figure 4 – An Orthodox church, Vojvoda Stepa**



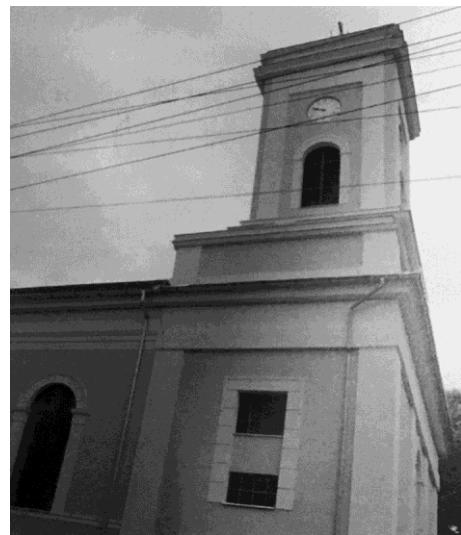
**Figure 5 – An Orthodox church, Vojvoda Stepa**

## 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.



**Figure 6 – A Catholic church, Nova Crnja**



**Figure 7 – A Catholic church, Nova Crnja**

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, Čekonjić, 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 Čekonjić'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.



**Figure 8 – Old Orthodox church, Banatsko Karađorđevo**



**Figure 9 – New Orthodox church, Banatsko Karađorđevo**

### 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 Crnja, 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.



**Figure 10** – Old Catholic church,  
Čestereg



**Figure 11** – New Orthodox temple, Čestereg

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' (Rauski 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.

### References

Balassa, Iván & Gyula Ortutay (1979): Magyar néprajz. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó

Draganović, Krunoslav (1939): Opći šematzizam katoličke crkve u Jugoslaviji. Sarajevo: Akademija "Regina apostolorum"

Erős, Lajos (1993): Adalélkok a Zrenjanini-Nagybecskereki Egyházmegye történetéhez. Újvidék: Kisoroszi Római Katolikus Plébániahivatal

Impopulations Hauptinstructions für das Banat, 1772.

Jovanović, Miodrag (2000). "Umetnost u Banatu između nacionalnih kriterijuma i primljenih oblika", Temišvarski zbornik 2, 11-19.

Lazić, Veselin (2000): Seoske crkve i groblja u Vojvodini. Novi Sad: Kulturno-istorijsko društvo PČESA

Ministerium des Handels (1849): Deutsches Colonialwesen i Ungarn und Siebenbürgen im achtzehnten und neuzehnsten Jahrhunderte. Wien: Aus der kaiser-königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei

Pavković, Nikola (1998). "Religijski pluralizam u Vojvodini - istorijski pregled", Zbornik Matice srpske za društvene nauke 104/105, 225-254.

Popović, Miloš (2001): Versko-crkveni život Srba u Banatu. Zrenjanin: Knjižara Teater

Rauški, Ljubiša (2001): Srušene katoličke crkve u Banatu. Novi Sad: Deutscher Verein „Donau“

Rošu, Marius (2009): Koliko se poznajemo – iz istorije nacionalnih zajednica u Vojvodini. Novi Sad: Izvršno veće Autonomne pokrajine Vojvodine

Силађи, Марина (2010). "Хоризонтална и вертикална регулација главних тргова у банатским селима", Зборник пете конференције о интегралној заштити. Бања Лука: Републички завод за заштити културно-историјског и природног наслеђа Републике Српске, 268 –277.

Škalamera, Željko (1969). "Obnova "Srpskog stila" u arhitekturi", Zbornik Matice srpske za likovne umetnosti, 5, 191-236.

<http://www.sonovacrnja.org.rs/srpska%20crnja.html>

[www.tolerancija4.bos.rs](http://www.tolerancija4.bos.rs)

<http://www.zrenjaninheritage.com/kulturna-dobra/spomenici-kulture/crkva-svetog-prokopija-u-srpskoj-crnji>

### Acknowledgements

The research was conducted as part of the project, *Optimisation of Architectural and Urban Planning and Design in the Function of Sustainable Development in Serbia*, funded by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of Republic of Serbia.

## Cultural Diversity – Converging Point of Heritage and Security Theories

Saša Tkalec (Croatia)

### Author

Saša Tkalec is a heritage preservation consultant, trainer and author. He works at Log 2 Log – cultural heritage protection consultancy.

Contact: [sasa.tkalec@xnet.hr](mailto:sasa.tkalec@xnet.hr)

### 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 be 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 aggregate 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. ... [H]uman 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 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

- Bourbeau, P., Balzacq, T., Dunn Cavelty, M. (2015): *International relations: Celebrating eclectic dynamism in security studies*. In: Bourbeau, P. (ed.): *Security: Dialogue across disciplines*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 111-136.
- Feldman Barrett, L. (2011): “Constructing Emotion”, *Psychological Topics* 20 (2011), 3, 359-380, URL: <https://hrcak.srce.hr/78732> (1 February 2018)
- Giddens, A. (1991): *Modernity and Self-identity*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Hylland Eriksen, T. (2010): *Human Security and Social Anthropology*. In: Hylland Eriksen, T., Bal, E. and Salemik, O.: *A World of Insecurity: Anthropological Perspectives on Human Security*. New York: Pluto Press.
- Kupers, R. (2018): *Resilience in complex organizations*. World Economic Forum, URL: <http://reports.weforum.org/global-risks-2018/resilience-in-complex-organizations/> (11.2.2018.)
- Logan, W. and Reeves, K. (eds.) (2009): *Places of Pain and Shame: dealing with “difficult heritage”*. New Work: Routledge.
- Maslow, A. H. (1982): *Motivacija i ličnost*. Beograd: Nolit.
- Mihaljević, B. and Toth, I. (2008): „Vođenje i upravljanje u kriznim situacijama“, Proceedings of the “III. scientific-professional conference Management and Safety”. Čakovec/Croatia: Croatian Safety Engineers’ Society, College of Safety.
- Shweder, R. A. & Bourne, E. J. (1991): *Does the Concept of Person Vary Cross-Culturally?*. In: *Thinking through cultures: Expeditions in cultural psychology*. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press. 113-155
- Vojvodić, V. (1999): *Socijalno konstruirane emocije sigurnosti i nesigurnosti* (graduation thesis, mentor: Aleksander Štulhofer). Zagreb, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences.
- Zedner, L. (2009): *Security*. New York: Routledge.

## Cultural mosaic of Žumberak region as a part of cultural heritage in Croatia

Marko Trupković (Croatia)

Co-presented by Mojca Bedjanič, Lenka Stermecki, Martina Zanjković

### Author

Marko Trupković has an MA in Sociology and Anthropology, and is the coordinator for the EU INTERREG project titled, I enjoy the tradition on culinary transversal from Pannonia to the Adriatics. He works at the Žumberak – Samoborsko gorje Nature Park and 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'. Contact: [marko.trupkovic@pp-zumberak-samoborsko-gorje.hr](mailto:marko.trupkovic@pp-zumberak-samoborsko-gorje.hr)

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 Zanjković has experience in interpretation of cultural heritage, school programmes, project ideas.

### Abstract

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 [ǔskɔ̂tsi]). 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.

### Keywords

Žumberak, Uskok, cultural landscape, cultural mosaic, protected area

### Žumberak – Samoborsko gorje Nature Park

*The Nature Park is a vast natural or partly cultivated area of land and/or sea with great bio- and geodiversity, pronounced landscape and cultural and historical values<sup>124</sup>.*

<sup>124</sup> Croatian Nature Protection Act (Official Gazette 80/13)

In 1999, Croatian parliament declared Žumberak mountains a protected area: a nature park. Its main aim is to protect and promote the environmental and cultural beauties and resources of the area. Located in north-western Croatia, it covers 34,235 hectares<sup>125</sup> (342 sqkm) of mountainous territory composed of three characteristically different areas: Žumberak mountains, Samobor hills and Plešivica hills. The area has characteristics of the Dinarides, the Alps and the Pannonian plains. The Dinaric type is featured in karst landscape, the Alpine characteristics are seen in the harsh steep mountain ridges and the mild hills are typical to Pannonia. Due to the karst morphology, this carbonate mountainous massif has numerous steep sides, mountain peaks and ridges parted with deep erosion valleys, the dominant ones belonging to the rivers Bregana, Kupčina, Slapnica, Lipovačka and Rudarska Gradna. The area has 847 registered water springs and 151 registered speleological features: caves and shafts (Bognar & Bognar, 2010; Buzjak, 2002; Buzjak, 2008:85; Vujnović, 2011; Župan & Rezo, 2014).

The geological characteristics of the protected area are complemented with rich flora and fauna. The diversity of flora is shown in more than 1,000 different plant species, some being strictly protected by the Nature Protection Act and others having a special status according to European legislation and international conventions. Rich and diverse fauna can be seen in species of rare large predators, like bear and wolf, and other endangered mammals, such as bats, a plethora of bird fauna and the list continues, including species of amphibians, reptiles and invertebrates, many of which can be found listed in the IUCN Red Books of Endangered Species<sup>126</sup>. (Šoštarić et al., 2012; Partl, 2011; Vrbek & Fiedler, 1998; Jeran et al. 2011, Buzjak, 2010; Kirin et al. 2011; Ćuk & Vučković, 2009; Šoštarić et al., 2013)

Humans shared this territory with wildlife for more than 3,500 years. Various archaeological sites show that the Žumberak mountains have been inhabited, intersected with trade routes and witnessed life's hardships since before the beginning of written history. Most famous among the archaeological findings is the Budinjak site, an early Iron Age settlement with a graveyard consisting of 141 tumuli, grave-mounds with tombs – a common example of burial architecture in the early Iron Age in Europe. The Budinjak site is considered one of the biggest findings of this type in the south-eastern alpine area. A bronze helmet found in tumulus, no. 139 (Škoberne et al. 1999), is thought to be the property of the so-called prince, respected leader of the community, whose helmet was a symbol of power and might. This well-preserved example of a helmet, typical for this period, is the reason every future finding of this type of helmet elsewhere in Europe carries the name Budinjak<sup>127</sup>.

Various prehistoric tribes and cultures, e.g. Lasinj culture, lived in this area. By the time the Celtic tribe Latobics (Klemenčić, 1990:278) expanded here in the late Iron Age, bringing new customs and beliefs, General Octavian, later known as the first Roman Emperor, conquered this area. Various archaeological findings of glass containers give us evidence of the importance and wealth of Romanised Celtic settlements on Žumberak, probably due to exploitation of the mineral resources found here, providing evidence of prehistoric trade routes connecting this area to northern Italy (Dular, 1997; Lapajne, 1996; Škoberne, 1997).

After the fall of the Roman Empire, from the 5th century onwards, Huns, Ostrogoths and Lombards broke into the area. From the end of the 8th and the beginning of 9th centuries, Žumberak was part of Francia, and from the first half of the 10th century it was under Croatian and Hungarian rulers (Knez, 1989:32-34). The earliest written evidence of the Žumberak name in

<sup>125</sup> Administratively, a large area of the Nature Park is covered by two counties: Zagreb (77%) and Karlovac (23%). The following cities and municipalities are represented in the County of Zagreb: City of Samobor with 30% of the area, City of Jastrebarsko with 8%, Municipality of Klinča Sela with 1%, Krašić Municipality with 5% and Žumberak Municipality with 33% of the total area. In Karlovac County, Ozalj municipality covers 23% of the area (Žumberak – Samoborsko gorje Nature Park, Management plan for 2017–2026 period, available at: [www.park-zumberak.hr/dokumenti](http://www.park-zumberak.hr/dokumenti)).

<sup>126</sup> Biology in Žumberak – Samoborsko gorje Nature Park, available at: [www.pp-zumberak-samoborsko-gorje.hr](http://www.pp-zumberak-samoborsko-gorje.hr).

<sup>127</sup> Locations: Budinjak. Available at: [www.pp-zumberak-samoborsko-gorje.hr](http://www.pp-zumberak-samoborsko-gorje.hr).

history is from the 12th century, concerning the ownership of the lands and fortified towns. In that period, Žumberak mountains were on the border between two big feudal states – the Croatian-Hungarian Kingdom and the Germanic Empire (Klemenčić, 1990:277-279). The fate of Žumberak as a borderland continued in the 16th century when it became a part of the Military Frontier, a ‘cordon sanitaire’ (Pešut, 1997:86), against incursions from the Ottoman Empire. It was the time when new populations immigrated to this land.

Life was never easy nor safe, but the majority of contemporary settlements are situated at a height of between 400-700 meters above sea level, still defying easy urban life as we know it, even today. Along the Croatian and Slovenian<sup>128</sup> border of the park, the highest mountain ridge doesn't exhibit any stronger human activities, so it kept its natural landscape with woods and grasslands combined. Going south, the density of settlements grows, intertwining with woods, fields, orchards and grasslands, creating a vivid cultural landscape. The eastern extension of Žumberačka gora is named after the main town: Samobor hills. Mostly known for its picturesque landscape, it has been the cradle of Croatian mountaineering activities. The first alpine climb was made by a woman, a teacher and a poet, Dragolja Jarnević from Karlovac. Becoming a member of the Illyrian movement and women's right activist, she was also known for climbing the southern, steeper side of Okić peak in 1843. The first mountain climb was organised here in 1875 on Oštrc and Plešivica, a year after the Croatian Climbing Society was founded, putting Croats among the first seven nations in the world with a climbing organisation.

Today, this protected area has more than 350 kilometres of hiking trails<sup>129</sup>. The south-eastern branch of Žumberak Mountains is called Plešivica, and is mostly famous for its vineyards and wine roads.

Bio- and geomorphological characteristics of this protected area, along with continuous human activity, created a vast cultural landscape rich in biodiversity and cultural heritage (Dumbović Bilušić & Obad Šćitaroci, 2007). Changing the environment through crop and livestock farming, humans unintentionally made new habitats, opening ways for more diverse wildlife. Traditional grass mowing, hay production and grazing resulted in favorable anthropogenic ecosystems. A good example are the man-made ponds as water supplies for cattle, which created new animal habitats (Janev Hutinec & Struna, 2007).

Unfortunately, a larger part of this protected area has always been secluded and never had the chance to properly strengthen its infrastructure. Lacking in adequate power and water systems, quality of roads and other essential necessities, the area shows signs of strong depopulation. The first reasons of economic decline started at the population's peak and continued through the 20th century until the present day, caused by agrarian overpopulation, mountainous inaccessibility and wars (Crkvenčić, 2002:293-301). Feeling cut off and emigrating to neighboring cities and abroad, today's demographic picture of the population within the nature park shows a negative prognosis for the future of the area.

The public institution, Žumberak – Samoborsko gorje Nature Park, manages to maintain and preserve a mosaic-like landscape through educational trails, outdoor education for children and events. With the help of the local community, some activities organised over the years have had positive outcomes in teaching and interpretation of natural and cultural heritage. Two of them are: ‘Košnja kao nekad za sutra’ ('Traditional moving as before for tomorrow'<sup>130</sup>), an event contributing to the awareness of grasslands biodiversity, traditional ways of moving and the impact of progressive vegetation succession; and ‘Tisućljeća kulinarstva’ (Culinary Millenia), culinary workshops of prehistoric, roman, medieval and traditional cuisine (Želle, 2007), an interactive representation of the intangible heritage of the region.

<sup>128</sup> See: Mileusnić, Maja (2009): *Slovene or Slovenian?*

<sup>129</sup> The history of the Croatian Climbing Society, available at: [www.hps.hr/planinarstvo/iz-proslosti](http://www.hps.hr/planinarstvo/iz-proslosti).

<sup>130</sup> Event 'Košnja kao nekad za sutra' in Žumberak-Samoborsko gorje Nature Park (available at:

<http://www.mzoip.hr/hr/ministarstvo/vijesti/manifestacija-kosnja-kao-nekad-za-sutra-u-subotu-u-parku-prirode-zumberak-samoborsko-gorje.html>)

There are now 25 registered protected sites listed on the Croatia Register of cultural goods. The list includes sacral and profane architecture, traditional rural housings, watermills and archaeological and memorial sites, all contributing to the cultural importance of this area. Furthermore, in 2008 and 2011, the area of Žumberak, Samobor hills and Plešivica hills was preventatively protected as an organically evolved cultural landscape (Dumbović Bilušić, 2014:48). In 2015, an expert commission of the Ministry of Culture made a decision to put this protected area on the Croatian List of protected cultural heritage within the same boundaries as previous preventative protections. Since this cultural landscape covers more than 300 sqkm, work is still in progress<sup>131</sup>.



**Image 1** – Interpretation on educational trail, The trail of princes, in Budinjak, July 2017 (from the archives of Public Institution “Žumberak – Samoborsko gorje” Nature Park).

### Žumberak, a historical borderland

If regions are perceived as geographically complex units characterised with specific natural and cultural factors (Klemenčić, 1990: 277), also having strong geographical and historical basis, Žumberak is an important heterogeneous microregion in Croatia (Crkvenčić, 2002:290; Turk et al., 2016:242).

The Žumberak mountains are a massif located in southwestern Slovenia and in northwestern Croatia, stretched between the Krka River in the northwest, Sava in the north and Kupa in the south. It is surrounded by the towns of Samobor, Jastrebarsko, Ozalj, Krašić, Metlika, Novo Mesto, Šentjernej, Kostanjevica and Brežice. The Slovenian part of the mountains is called Gorjanci (Lukić, 2008:65-68). The summit of Žumberačka Gora is called Sveta Gera (Saint Gertrude) in Croatian and Trdinov vrh (Trdin Peak) in Slovenian<sup>132</sup>. In Croatia, Žumberak is also a

<sup>131</sup> Žumberak – Samoborsko gorje Nature Park, Management plan for 2017–2026 period, available at: [www.park-zumberak.hr/dokumenti](http://www.park-zumberak.hr/dokumenti).

<sup>132</sup> The former Slovenian name for the summit was Sveta Jera, but it was renamed in 1923 after the Novo Mesto Mountaineering Club president Ferdinand Seidl proposed it should be named after Janez Trdina, the Slovenian writer and historian famous for his ethnographic work in Gorjanci and Lower Carniola (Župančić, 1962:133-134). The border lies between two churches, a 16th century gothic Greek Catholic Church of St. Elijah the Prophet on

name of a village and of the municipality in this mountainous area with a low population<sup>133</sup>. Considering country borders and historical social stratification, Žumberak (excluding Samobor hills and Plešivica hills) became a standalone geographical area with remarkable historical, natural and cultural characteristics (Hranilović, 1990:594-596).

The 722-year-old name originated from a fortified medieval town today known as Old Town Žumberak. The town was mentioned in historical documents under the name of 'Sichelberg' in the list of papal tithes from 1296. The town was under various ownership, Carinthian and Croatian Dukes and later Austrian Archdukes until the 16th century (Dizdar, 1989: 35-38; Lapajne, 1996: 33-34). At that time, the main social and cultural differentiation of the Žumberak area from its surroundings started to evolve. The most specific cultural features of Žumberak originate from the role it had in the Military Frontier due to immigration of Uskoks<sup>134</sup>. Even today, the German name for Žumberak is Uskokengebirge (Laszlo, 2015:91).

Žumberak experienced major changes during the attacks of the Ottoman Empire during the 15th and early 16th centuries. The importance of this area as a defensive area for Slovenian Carniola region was the reason Duke (later King and Emperor) Ferdinand redeemed it from the Church and organised it into feudal estates. In multiple attacks, the area of Žumberak was devastated. War, hunger and epidemics started to follow, leaving just one third of the population (Šarac, 2014:179). In 1530, the Austrian authorities began to repopulate the area with families of nomadic cattle-breeders and warriors. Under the guidance of dukes and priests, the first wave of settlers came to the Žumberak area in the villages of Pećno, Grabar, Drašći Vrh, Sošice, Sopot and Kašt (Klemenčić, 1990:281). The first 50 settled families were led by Duke of Glamoč Vladislav Stipković and priest Joanikije<sup>135</sup> from Bosnia (Periklieva & Hristov, 2013:21-22; Dizdar, 1989:38). Immigration lasted until 1617, and by that time several thousand people were moved from Bosnia, Herzegovina, Serbia, Albania, Montenegro and Dalmatia to Žumberak (Hranilović, 1990:596). In the 19th century, the Uskoks started to declare themselves as Croats and after the demilitarisation of the Military Frontier, they became regular citizens of Croatia (Periklieva & Hristov, 2013:24; Crkvenčić, 2002:292; Klemenčić, 1990:280-290).

---

the Croatian side and the conserved remains of a 15th century Roman Catholic chapel of Saint Gertrude on Slovenian side. The summit is also known for a Croatian-Slovenian political dispute over a military base which was abandoned by The Yugoslav People's Army in 1991, after which the Slovenian army took it in their command on Croatian soil, making it a well-known political issue between two neighboring members of North Atlantic Alliance.

<sup>133</sup> 2011 Census, available at:

[https://www.dzs.hr/Eng/censuses/census2011/results/htm/E01\\_01\\_01/e01\\_01\\_01\\_zup01\\_5401.html](https://www.dzs.hr/Eng/censuses/census2011/results/htm/E01_01_01/e01_01_01_zup01_5401.html).

<sup>134</sup> The name originated from the Croatian verb , uskočiti, (to jump in). There is a long history of Uskoks as a displaced population under Ottoman aggression, being defectors and exiles from Croatian, Bosnian and Herzegovinian territories, who settled near Croatian fortified towns. Once settled, they 'jumped in' to battles helping Croatian border armies. The cities of Klis and Senj, with the Žumberak region, hold firm connections to Uskoks history.

<sup>135</sup> The history of Žumberak, available at: <https://www.zumberacki-vikariat.com/zumberacka-povijest>.



**Image 2 – The 485th anniversary of Uskoks arriving on Žumberak, September 2015 (photo given by Edi Kirschenheuter, Radio Samobor).**

### **Identity creation in Žumberak region**

“Ja sam Žumberčanin!” (“I am from Žumberak!”)

Identity can be most commonly described as ‘belonging’. It is an image of ‘self’ or the ‘community’ in which a person or a group belongs and integrates, but at the same time differentiates them from ‘others’ (Golubović: 2011:25-26).

The contemporary identity of Žumberak Uskoks has a long history, even visible in their social class, when they were honored with titles of nobility. In 1567 and 1569, with the first organisation of the Military Frontier, the first noble title was given to eight Uskoks of Žumberak. With more than 20 families given nobility over past centuries, their coats of arms symbolise their history and might in the war against the Ottoman Empire. Common motifs on the coats were of natural origin, like crescent moon, lilies, chestnut tree, oak branches with acorns or even bees, but symbols more commonly show their history, e.g. lions holding a sabre or the head of an Ottoman warrior. The last nobility with coat of arms was given to Officer Dane Šajatović in 1897<sup>136</sup>. Their identity was strongly connected to a proud military heritage.

There is evidence for Uskoks having a large part in defending the town of Sisak in 1593. A vast army of 4,000 soldiers defending Sisak included around 500 warriors from Žumberak. Led by Count Petar Erdödy, they successfully defended the bridge over the Kupa river. The Battle of Sisak brought a great defeat against the Ottoman Empire (Olesnički, 1942:130; Mažuran, 1998:136).

In the 19th century, after being demilitarised, descendants of the Uskoks started identifying themselves by region, calling themselves Žumberčani (being from Žumberak), speaking

<sup>136</sup> Heraldry of the Žumberak area, available at: <http://uskok-sosice.hr/grbovi-zumberka/>.

“Žumberski [language], and some would call it Croatian” (Petrović, 2005:70). Separation is perceived due to a lack of national awareness originating from their own military role in history, quantifying the regional identity of the population through family legacy and religion. Today we see a different situation. Some authors state that some Serbs in neighboring Slovenian villages retained their Serbian self-consciousness, while residents of the Greek Catholic villages in the Croatian Žumberak firmly identify themselves as Greek Catholic Croats (Periklieva & Hristov, 2013:22).

The history of Greek Catholicism in Croatia developed in parallel with the Uskoks migrating to this area. Under the pressure of the Habsburg Crown and Catholic Church, the Orthodox section of the new population of the Military Frontier in Žumberak could keep their Eastern rite, but were forced to acknowledge the Catholic Pope, creating a population of Greek Catholics (i.e. Uniates) (Dizdar, 1989:41). By 1820, there were 3,879 registered Uniates in five parishes (Periklieva & Hristov, 2013:22). Today, Žumberak Deanery has nine parishes with five priests but, due to depopulation, several thousand fewer members<sup>137</sup>. Even though most sacral and profane traditions remained alive only in ethnographic works, specifics of the Žumberak identity can be seen today, only on a smaller scale. There is a strong appreciation among the community for Žumberačka Bogorodica (Žumberak's Virgin Mary). An icon of Virgin Mary is believed to be brought by Uskoks in the 16th century, being one of the most important iconic centres of their strong faith and identity, seen in their houses and also in sacral processions and gatherings. The original is preserved in the Greek Catholic Seminary in Zagreb (Kobasić, 2005).

Today, evidence of separation in the Žumberak region can be seen even on a different scale. Recent genetic research on mitochondrial DNA shows some specifics of population dynamics of the area. There are some visible signs of a different path in local genetic history, not inclining to the populations from which the Uskoks originated (Bosnians, Herzegovinians, southern Croatians) nor to their current closest neighbors (northern Croatians and Slovenians). Due to mild isolation, population bottlenecks and the accompanying effect of genetic drift, the Žumberak population shows signs of mild genetic isolation (Šarac, 2014:190).

### Žumberak as a cultural mosaic

“Mi smo Žumberčani<sup>138</sup>!” (“We are from Žumberak!”)

Repopulation had a rich and diverse cultural impact on the Žumberak region, which can be seen in the immigration of the Wallachian Orthodox population, Catholic Croats (i.e. Bunjevci) and some Orthodox Serbs (Periklieva & Hristov, 2013:22), which created, as we could call it today, a multi-ethnic region of the 16th century. This diverse population settled down, transforming into a mildly differentiated collective scattered in mostly deserted villages over a vast territory. Being Žumberčanin (one being from Žumberak) mostly overlaps with Greek Catholic religion (Periklieva & Hristov, 2013:32). With a mostly Roman Catholic population, Croatia has around 13% of religious minorities, Greek Catholics being an unnoticeably small population, mostly associated with Žumberak<sup>139</sup>, depicting it as a region of significant cultural importance.

One of the interesting local orthodox rituals is Napijanje Božje Slave or Napijanje u Slavu Božiju (roughly translated as ‘worship of the Glory of God’), a ritual completed on the day of the patron saint of the family name, village or the parish (Periklieva & Hristov, 2013:40). On that day of Krsna slava or Krsno ime<sup>140</sup>, blessings to the family or community are done with ceremonial items

<sup>137</sup> Having around 8,000 inhabitants in the middle of 19th century, population trends show a significant peak in Žumberak in 1931, counting 11,185 citizens, decreasing over the years to 2,041 inhabitants in 2001 and still slowly decreasing over time (Crvenčić, 2002:293-298).

<sup>138</sup> See previous chapter title. Author remarks being Žumberčanin today mostly concerns the region, not religion.

<sup>139</sup> NB: Greek Catholics are not isolated to Žumberak and are found in smaller numbers throughout Croatia.

<sup>140</sup> Patron Saints from Žumberak Uskoks, available at: <https://www.zumberacki-vikariat.com/krsne-slave-zumberackih-uskoka>.

and sacrificial offerings, mostly candles, wine, incense and ceremonial bread, called krsnik. Bread as the centre of ceremonial occasions is strongly connected to annual festivals. Božićnjak<sup>141</sup> is a bread decorated with braids and figurines of animals (cows with calves, oxen with yokes, wine barrels, pigs, chickens, sheep, donkeys, birds) with a central figurine often being a rooster, an apple or a cross. Prijateljski hleb (the bread of friendship)<sup>142</sup> was usually shared over wine with friends, accompanied with a recital, most often in marriage ceremonies. Bread was also made for animals and was usually called by the name of the animal: volarica, konjarica, ovčarica, čelarica (made for oxes, horses, sheep or bees, respectively), for their health and fertility (Gavazzi 1991: 125-126). Most of the culinary specialties of the region are common with regular rural culinary traditions of central Croatia, although some differences are seen in the vegetables grown, due to the mountainous climate (Belaj, n.d.:8). More study is needed to research the possibility that Uskoks brought traditional cuisine to this area, which through time, intertwined with local recipes. Mutual respect of both Catholic rites in this region is visible in all generations. Greek Catholics are seen attending Roman mass and vice versa<sup>143</sup>.

A beautiful symbolic example of unity of Rites is seen in Sošice, small rural town with around 50 residents in the centre of Žumberak, which was once a centre of its economic strength. Two churches stand one beside the other, the 18th century Greek Catholic Church of Saint Peter and Paul and the 19th century Roman Catholic Chapel of Virgin Mary's Assumption (Laszlo, 2015:95). Although religion plays an important, maybe even the most important, part in the identity of today's descendants from Uskoks in Žumberak, being a Žumberčanin today overcomes religious affiliations.

An important characteristic of the region can be seen in the local language, rich in dialects. Because of the long-term immigration, Žumberak is an intersection of all three Croatian dialects, domestic kaikavian mixed with shtokavian and chakavian with ikavian and ekavian pronunciations. For centuries, linguistic features have been subjected to significant changes through waves of immigration. In spite of continuous depopulation from the 19th century onwards, Žumberak retains a great wealth of language culture even today (Celinić & Čilaš Šimpraga, 2008; Hranilović, 1990:604).

Beauty in diversity can be heard, but it can also be seen. Folk costumes give us an insight into distinctive ethnic elements. Roman Catholic folk costumes have Pannonian characteristics, while Greek Catholic (descendants of Uskoks) have Dinaric characteristics. While the traditional male Uskok costume mostly reflects their previous Frontier lifestyle with elements of military uniforms<sup>144</sup> and has similarities to the ones from Samobor and Jastrebarsko areas, a distinctive element of Uskok male garments is a traditional woolen bag carried over a shoulder. Women's costumes are better kept and researched, due to the fact women were more connected to rural traditional lifestyle and everyday chores, and can be seen today in large number. Woven on a specific, vertical loom, called tara, traditional Greek Catholic costumes consist of several parts, depending on the area or social status: a linen shirt with embroidery at the neck, an apron, a lace trimmed headscarf pinned to the braids and a leather coat, usually for winter times (Cvetan, 2012:34-41; Muraj, 1988).

The most commonly known visual symbol of local community is the red and blue coloured embroidery, commonly seen on Greek Catholic women's costumes. The origins of this type of

<sup>141</sup> Božićnjak, božitnjak, letnica, novoletnica – similar names for decorated ceremonial bread made for Christmas, New Year and Epiphany, common for both Roman and Greek Catholics of Žumberak, respectively. People also made sestrica and prikuvačić, names for first bread baked after Božićnjak. Easter bread used in Church food blessing is called libača (Randić Brlek, 1996:232-233).

<sup>142</sup> Naši običaji i starine, Udruga Žumberački Uskoki, available at: <http://uskok-sosice.hr/zum-starine>.

<sup>143</sup> Roman and Greek Catholic religion in Pribić area, available at: <http://uskok-sosice.hr/pribic-sjediste-rimokatolicke-i-grkokatolicke-zupe/>.

<sup>144</sup> After demilitarisation of the Frontier, they usually wore clothes more common for urban areas and kept traditional military uniforms as a stronger reminder of heritage (Cvetan, 2012:38).

embroidery can be traced to the vicinity of Dubrovnik, Konavle, parts of Dalmatia and Lika, where it disappears and reappears again on Žumberak (Račić, 1965:139-143). Traditional embroidery together with coats of arms can also be seen in churches, combining national, religious and local identity (Periklieva & Hristov, 2013:41).



**Image 3** – Female Greek Catholic folk costume and embroidery (photo by Marko Trupković, archives of Public Institution “Žumberak – Samoborsko gorje” Nature Park).

Besides sacral architecture, the cultural landscape of Žumberak is specifically known for its traditional rural architecture, technologically and typologically influenced by both Pannonian and Alpine cultural territories. Built on hillsides, always rectangular, with an A-frame roof, most houses have a ground floor built of stone, sometimes partially dug into the ground. The lower floor was used as a basement for keeping tools and sometimes as a stable for cattle. The upper floor is wooden with a porch, called ganjak, on one or both sides. The insides are wooden with stone walls around the fireplace, which forms the centre of the household. Houses commonly have two or three rooms.

Traditionally, they were the centre of large families, called *zadruga*, an extended patriarchal family or a clan of related families, which held its property in common, usually with the eldest male member in charge. By the 19th and 20th centuries, families started to transform into smaller, nuclear families. One room in the upper floor functioned as a kitchen, *veža*, the other as a sleeping room, *kuća* or *iža*. Next to the sleeping room, a smaller one was sometimes constructed, called *kambra*. Roofs were covered with (rye) straw, called *škop*, or sometimes shingle. The poor economy of the area was strongly connected to housing construction, but today – as a part of protected cultural heritage – they show an excellent example of difficult rural life, and also a connection to nature through ecological consciousness (Salopec, 1996).

A deep connection of everyday life with nature can be seen in bonfire traditions. Fire celebrations are common and known events, occurring on many holidays in various cultures. The established

practice of Žumberak bonfires (*krijes*)<sup>145</sup> usually took place for Easter, Jurjevo (St. George's Day)<sup>146</sup> and Ivanje (St. John's Day, celebrated on 23 June). Bonfire feasts also depend on the growth of the vegetation and pruning, which varies due to altitude differences. Earlier spring bonfires are connected to lower altitudes, and the ones around midsummer happen in higher areas<sup>147</sup>. Near Žumberak, the common tradition of eastern bonfires (*vuzmenka*) can be seen today in Krašić, a town near the southwestern part of Žumberak. Traditional bonfires are stacked into a cone-like shape out of mostly evergreen branches around a high wooden pole. Considered as a competition among the villages, the highest and brightest bonfires gave villagers a sense of pride. Often, smaller 'fake' bonfires were used to trick and mock neighboring villages into lighting their bonfires early. They even tried to sneak and burn the opposition's fires, so gathering around and guarding them through the night was an important social event, accompanied by feasts (Đaković, 2006; 2011).

Another cultural practice specifically related to the nature of this area, but unfortunately forgotten today, is the rain invoking ritual of *prporuše*, recorded in the village of Mrzlo Polje in 1941. The central figure of the rituals was a male child wrapped in green leaves followed by four girls. As they passed through the village, they stopped at each house. The male child was sprinkled with water by the villagers while the girls danced in rhythm and sang. The male child then hopped, dropping water on the ground (Čulinović-Konstantinović, 1963).



**Image 4 – Prporuše photographed in Mrzlo Polje-Žumberak, 1941 (photo by Š. Bernas-Belošević, archives of Žumberački Uskoci Association).**

<sup>145</sup> Žumberački *krijes* is also the name of the yearbook kept since 1978, which depicts all important religious, cultural, economic events throughout the year in the Žumberak area.

<sup>146</sup> Depending on the Rite and religious calendar, Roman Catholics celebrate it on 23 April and Greek Catholics ("Đurđevdan") on 6 May.

<sup>147</sup> Unpublished ethnographic data are available in the public institution Žumberak – Samoborsko gorje Nature Park archives.

The cultural heritage<sup>148</sup> of the region depicts a strong appreciation of the natural environment through time, being a part of the rich cultural landscape known today. Heritage plays an important role of identity of one calling oneself a Žumberčanin. Keeping in mind that centuries of various natural and social factors have shaped this region, identity was transformed and internalised through the dimension of locality. The identity of Žumberak becomes a state of mind and place.

Social dimensions are another proof of various different communities sharing one region as their own. Due to poor accessibility of the mountainous area from the nearest Croatian cities, the southwestern part of the region strongly interacts with neighboring Slovenia. The vicinity of cities like Metlika and Novo Mesto give western inhabitants a chance to commute to school and work more efficiently (Turk, 2016: 253). The social life of locals also depended on those cities: "We had our first loves there [in Metlika]. With Slovenians! Many of them married here" (Hebar, 2018).

Friendships and families were built, relationships lasted where politics intended borders. The common view is rather different to the ones we hear in the media. People often complain about how border politics often outshine so much needed attention to the basic infrastructure of the area. Marija from Metlika says in the interview: "I'm from Metlika! Across the border. Coming to visit my friends. My husband was from here. And Gera? People don't care about Gera on either side of borders"<sup>149</sup> (Hebar, 2018).

As a result of this geographically dispersed population, we see the people of Žumberak coming together in virtual communities. Becoming a virtual representation of their common identity, websites like Moj Žumberak ([www.mojzumberak.com](http://www.mojzumberak.com)) and Žumberački Uskoci ([www.uskok-sosice.hr](http://www.uskok-sosice.hr)), Facebook sites and groups (Moj Žumberak, I love Žumberak! and Žumberački Uskoci) are common tools for advertising the region, local communities and events, and also provide a place of interaction and discussion for everyday issues.

The economic condition and ageing of the population are the main two threats in the last few decades. It is an unwelcome, but sincere prediction that Žumberak could one day stand in danger of being unwillingly abandoned. The cultural and natural heritage and the identity of locals should not remain 'artificially'<sup>150</sup> maintained, but lived by people. Better infrastructure and richer tourist offers could be the most viable way of strengthening the area. It is also important to emphasise its location near Zagreb, a capital city, and the natural benefits it possesses for a number of citizens in central Croatia. The main potential can be seen in nature and a clean environment (Turk et al., 2014), which is the best starting point for a stronger appreciation of the area. Hopefully, it will become more recognised by locals and tourists, and a path to a more thriving future could be possible. In that way, over time, natural resources could help in keeping cultural heritage alive.

Cruising through this cultural landscape is a perfect one-day road-trip. Educational trails and picnic areas near visitor centres are recognised by Zagreb families, but scarcely. Revitalisation of local crafts is a good way of improving tourism and keeping traditions alive. Stronger local cuisine, greater number of events and better marketing is the first step in making positive outcomes for this protected area. The path of creating more opportunities for spending quality leisure time with family or friends could slowly increase the number of visitors over time. Unused land, homegrown food, unpolluted nature and fresh air could be the ruling factor in future

<sup>148</sup> The cultural heritage of this area is widely described and researched. Traditional cuisine, crafts, folk medicine, games, songs, sacral and profane customs are rich and cannot be fully described in this work. For further reading, the author recommends the anthology, Magdalenić, Ivan et al. (eds.): Žumberak: baština i izazovi budućnosti. SANT Samobor, Stari grad Žumberak, Croatia; also, the works of ethnologist Aleksandra Muraj and many others, listed in the references and bibliography.

<sup>149</sup> Since 1994, on the last Sunday in January, a traditional winter mountaineers' march/pilgrimage from Sošice to Sveta Gera takes place, with Slovenians hiking from the other side of mountain. In that manner, the summit of Žumberak mountains symbolises the unity of both nations, with disputable army base being just meters away from the meeting point.

<sup>150</sup> By 'artificially', the author implies the struggles of just remembering, and not actively living the culture.

controlled rural gentrification, which could someday lead to the next wave of migration. Hopefully, mild repopulation of the area could save the local customs and make this vast cultural landscape into an economically stable living environment.



**Image 5 – Traditional hay gathering in Sošice in the central part of Žumberak, 20th century**  
(photo from the archives of Žumberački Uskoci Association).

Though it may sound romanticised, Žumberak is a cultural mosaic. It is a place of natural and cultural heritage, a community of heart-warming people, where descendants from different parts of southeastern Europe become one in their complex historical identity. Intertwined cultural characteristics of ethnicities, cultural landscape, diverse wildlife and the inhabitants' love for their land cannot be fully depicted. In time, theory should find a way to enable practical outcomes through stronger interpretation and tourism opportunities. In other words, telling the story of this area should not end by writing and remembering, but in living the beauty of the region. Struggles in revitalisation and the interpretation of heritage are strong, but slowly show signs of positive progress through the work of institutions and the never-ending love of the locals for their home. In that optimistic manner, Žumberak survives and can never be forgotten.

### Conclusion

Žumberak is a mountainous area in the northwestern part of Croatia, near the capital of Zagreb. It has been a part of the protected area of Žumberak – Samoborsko gorje Nature Park since 1999. This heterogeneous cultural microregion has a rich and diverse historical background. Humans have cooperated with nature since prehistoric times, creating a rich cultural landscape. Strong demographic oscillations and migration have created a multi-ethnic society with vivid religious and profane customs and traditions. Today, descendants of both indigenous and immigrated populations live together and share their heritage as diverse, but as common and unique as well. A common identity was born and internalised through the dimension of locality. This region is not only a cultural landscape, but a cultural mosaic. Today, if ever, a need for protecting not only biodiversity but also the population of Žumberak is strongly advised for keeping an important part of Croatian and European natural and cultural heritage alive.

## References

- Belaj, Melania *et al.* (n.d.). *Prehrana u kontekstu nematerijalne kulture*. Etnografski muzej u Zagrebu.
- Bognar, Helena Ilona & Bognar Andrija (2010). *Povijesni razvoj i političko-geografska obilježja granice i pograničja Republike Hrvatske s Republikom Slovenijom na Žumberku i u kupsko-čabranskoj dolini*, Geoadria 15(1), 187-224.
- Buzjak, Nenad (2002). *Speleološke pojave u Parku prirode Žumberak – Samoborsko gorje*, Geoadria 7(1), 31-49.
- Buzjak, Nenad (2008). *Geoekološko vrednovanje speleoloških pojava Žumberačke gore*, Hrvatski geografski glasnik 70(2), 73-89.
- Buzjak, Suzana *et al.* (2010). *Flora at some pit and cave entrances of Žumberak, Croatia*, Natura Croatica 19 (1), 165–177.
- Celinić, Anita & Čilaš Šimpraga, Ankica (2008). *Govor Jurkova Sela u Žumberku*, Rasprave Instituta za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovje 34, 63-93.
- Crkvenčić, Ivan (2002). *Žumberačka gora – Transformation from a Refuge to an Exodus Zone*, Migracijske i etničke teme 18 (4), 289-306.
- Cvetan, Dragica (2012). *Narodna nošnja Žumberka*. In: Kablar, Biserka: Žumberačka etnografska zbirka. Katalog stalnog izložbenog postava. KUD 'Žumberčani', Zagreb. 34-41.
- Čulinović-Konstantinović, Vesna (1963). *Dodole i prporuše – narodni običaji za prizivanje kiše*. In: Narodna umjetnost 2(1). 73-96.
- Ćuk, Renata & Vučković, Ivan (2009). *First record of caddisfly Rhyacophila laevis Pictet, 1834 (Insecta:Trichoptera) in Croatia*, Natura Croatica 18(2), 449–453.
- Dizdar, Zdravko (1989). *Od 11. stoljeća do 1941. godine*. In: Jagarić, Vladimir *et al.* (eds.): Po Žumberku i Gorjancima. Tiskarna Novo Mesto, Slovenia. 35-43.
- Dular, Janez (1997). *Gorjanci v prvem tisočletju pred našim štetjem*. In: Dražumerič, Marinka *et al.* (eds.): Gorjanci. Dolenjski zbornik. Tiskarna Novo Mesto, Slovenia. 84-91.
- Dumbović Bilušić, Biserka & Obad Šćitaroci, Mladen (2007). *Kulturni krajolici u Hrvatskoj – identifikacija i stanje zaštite*, Prostor 2(34), 260-271.
- Dumbović Bilušić, Biserka (2014). *Prepoznavanje i razvrstavanje krajolika kao kulturnog nasljeđa*, Godišnjak zaštite spomenika kulture Hrvatske 36, 47-66.
- Đaković, Branko (2006). *Uskrni kriješ. Vuzmenka/vazmenka/vuzmenjak*. In: Etnološka istraživanja 11(1). 31-40.
- Đaković, B. (2011). *Igre oko vatre. Prilog etnološkim istraživanjima o vatri*. Meridijani, Samobor.
- Gavazzi, M. (1991). *Godina dana hrvatskih narodnih običaja*. 3rd Ed. Hrvatski Sabor kulture. Zagreb.
- Golubović, Zagorka (2011). *An Anthropological Conceptualisation of Identity*, Synthesis Philosophica 51(1), 25-43.

Hebar, Srđan (2018). *Lako za Svetu Geru, naš Žumberak umire, to je pravi problem.* Večernji list. 17 January 2018. Available at: <https://www.vecernji.hr/vijesti/lako-za-svetu-geru-nas-zumberak-umire-to-je-pravi-problem-1220463> (Accessed 10 February 2018).

Hranilović, Nada (1990). *Žumberčani – subetnička grupa u Hrvata*, Migracijske teme 6(4), 593-612.

Janev Hutinec & Struna (2007). *A survey of ponds and their loss in Žumberak – Samoborsko gorje Nature Park, Northwest Croatia*, Natura Croatica 16(2), 121-137.

Jeran, Nina et al. (2011). *Finding of the Alpine salamander (Salamandra atra Laurenti, 1768; Salamandridae, Caudata) in the Nature Park Žumberak - Samoborsko gorje (NW Croatia)*, Hyla 1, 35-46.

Kirin, Tamara et al. (2011). *Habitat selection and similarity of the forest songbird communities in Medvednica and Žumberak – Samoborsko gorje Nature Parks*, Šumarski list 9-10, 467-475.

Klemenčić, Mladen (1990). *Povjesno-geografska osnovica regionalnog poimanja Žumberka*, Sociologija sela 28 (109-110), 277-293.

Kobasić, Nenad (2005). *Žumberački identitet dio je samoborskog*. Glasnik-SSN. 7 December 2005. Available at: <http://www.samoborskglasnik.net/razgovor.asp?datum=20051207&sif=147> (Accessed 10 February 2018).

Knez, Tone (1989): *Povjesni pregled. Arheološka slika*. In: Jagarić, Vladimir et al. (eds.): Po Žumberku i Gorjancima. Tiskarna Novo Mesto, Slovenia. 32-34.

Lapajne, Damjan (1996): *Spomenička baština Žumberka*. In: Magdalenić, Ivan et al. (eds.): Žumberak: baština i izazovi budućnosti. SANT Samobor, Stari grad Žumberak, Croatia. 23-55.

Laszlo, Želimir (2015). *Žumberak*. In: Rašperić, Ružica (ed.): Guardians of Heritage. Zagreb County Tourist Board, Zagreb. 90-98.

Lukić, Aleksandar (2008): *Žumberška gora*. In: Kladnik, Drago (ed.): Zamejska Hrvaška. Ljubljansko geografsko društvo, Ljubljana. 65-84.

Mažuran, I. (1998): *Povijest Hrvatske od 15. stoljeća do 18. stoljeća*. Golden Marketing, Zagreb.

Mileusnić, Maja (2009): *Slovene or Slovenian?*. In: Zemljarič Miklaavčič et al. (eds.): Izzivi jezika. Zbornik študentskih strokovnih besedil s področja prevajanja. Oddelek za prevajalstvo, Filozofska fakulteta Univerza v Ljubljani, Slovenia. 54-57.

Ministry of Culture. Online Register of Cultural Goods of Croatia. Available at: <http://www.minkulture.hr/>

Muraj, A. (1988). *Narodna nošnja Žumberka*. Biblioteka Narodne nošnje Hrvatske, Zagreb.

Olesnički, Aleksije (1942). *Tko nosi odgovornost za poraz turske vojske kod Siska 20. ramazana 1001. godine (22. lipnja 1593)?*, Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, 22-23(1), 115-173.

Partl, Anamarija (2011). *Lichen flora of Žumberak-Samoborsko gorje Nature Park, NW Croatia*, Acta Botanica Croatica 70(1), 99-107.

Periklieva, Violeta & Hristov, Petko (2013). *Local Religion and Strategies for Identity Development: Greek Catholics from the Region of Žumberak, Croatia*, Monitor ISH, 15(1), 19-44.

Petrović, Tanja (2005). *The Serbs of Bela Krajina between local and national identity*. In: Detrez, Raymond & Plas Pieter (eds.): *Developing Cultural Identity in the Balkans: Convergence Vs. Divergence*. Multiple Europes 34. Peter Lang Verlagsgruppe, Brussels.

Pešut, Damjan (1997). *Etnička i konfesionalna podjela nakon odlobođanja Like od Turaka*, Senjski zbornik 24. 85-130.

Račić, Božo (1965). *Žumberački vez*. In: Predović, Milko (ed.): *Žumberački kalendar*, Milko Predović, Zagreb. 139-143.

Randić Brlek, Mirjana (1996). *Žumberak: Tradicijski okviri prehrane stanovništva*, Sociologija sela 34(3/4), 223-241.

Salopek, Davor (1996). *Čuvanje i revitalizacija žumberačkog predajnog graditeljstva. Propozicije gradnje na tragu tradicije*, Sociologija sela 34(1), 37-45.

Šarac, Jelena et al. (2014). *Maternal Genetic Heritage of Southwestern Europe Reveals a New Croatian Isolate and a Novel, Local Sub-Branching in the X2 Haplogroup*, Annals of Human Genetics 78, 178-194.

Škoberne, Želimir (1997): *Budinjak, gradišće in grobišće iz starejše železne dobe*. In: Dražumerič, Marinka et al. (eds.): Gorjanci. Dolenjski zbornik. Tiskarna Novo Mesto, Slovenia. 92-97.

Škoberne, Želimir et al. (1999): Budinjak. Kneževski tumul. Katalog izložbe. Muzej grada Zagreba.

Šoštarić, Renata et al. (2012). *An endangered rich fen habitat along the Jarak stream (Nature Park Žumberak – Samoborsko gorje, Croatia)*, Natura Croatica 21(2), 335-348.

Šoštarić, Renata et al. (2013). *Flora i vegetacija Sopotskog slapa i gornjeg toka Kupcine (Park prirode Žumberak - Samoborsko gorje) s prijedlogom mjera zaštite*, Glasnik Hrvatskog botanickog društva 1(2), 4-17.

Turk, Ivo et al. (2014). *Starenje stanovništva kao ograničavajući čimbenik demografskog razvoja Žumberka*, PILAR 17(1)-18(2). 91-119.

Turk, Ivo et al. (2016). *Prometna dostupnost kao čimbenik depopulacije i razvojnoga zaostajanja: primjer Žumberka*, Društvena istraživanja 25(2), 241-266.

Vujnović, Tatjana (2011). *Springs in the Žumberak – Samoborsko gorje Nature Park*, Natura Croatica 20(1), 19-34.

Vrbek, Mirjana & Fiedler, Suzana (1998). *The distribution, degree of threat to and conservation of the orchids of Žumberak (Croatia)*, Natura Croatica 7(4), 291-305.

Želle, Morena (2007). *Tisućljeća kulinarstva – radionice pretpovijesne, rimske, srednjovjekovne i tradicijske kuhinje u Arheološkome parku u Budinjaku*, Etnološka istraživanja 12/13. 423-430.

Župan, Robert & Rezo, Ana (2014). *Vizualizacija 3D modela Samoborskog gora*, Geodetski list 4, 309-324.

Župančić, Jože (1962). *Pred 40 leti so dobili Gorjanci Trdinov vrh*. In: Planinski vestnik 18(3), 133-134.

Websites:

Public Institution Žumberak – Samoborsko gorje Nature Park, available at: [www.park-zumberak.hr/](http://www.park-zumberak.hr/) (Accessed 6 January 2018).  
Croatian Mountaineering Association, available at: [www.hps.hr](http://www.hps.hr) (Accessed 7 January 2018).  
Žumberački vikarijat, available at: [www.zumberacki-vikariat.com](http://www.zumberacki-vikariat.com) (Accessed 17 January 2018).  
Cultural assosiation Žumberački Uskoci, available at: [www.uskok-sosice.hr](http://www.uskok-sosice.hr) (Accessed 24 January 2018).

**Additional bibliography**

Brown, Steve (2007). *Landscaping heritage: toward an operational cultural landscape approach for protected areas in New South Wales*, Australasian Historical Archaeology, 25(1), 33-42.

Cifrić, Ivan & Trako, Tijana (2008). *Usporedba percepcije prirodnog i kulturnog krajobraza u Hrvatskoj*, Socijalna ekologija 17(4), 379-403.

Cifrić, Ivan & Trako Poljak, Tijana (2013/2014). *Baština čovječanstva – održanje, korištenje i stvaranje*, God. Titius 6-7, 25-36.

Chao, Georgia T. & Moon, Henry (2005). *The cultural Mosaic: A Metatheory for Understanding the Complexity of Culture*, Journal of Applied Psychology 90(6), 1128-1140.

Croatian Nature Protection Act (Official Gazette 80/13)

Dumbović Bilušić, Biserka (2014). *Prilog tumačenju pojma krajolika kao kulturne kategorije*, Sociologija i prostor 52(2), 187-205.

Hranilović, Nada (1990). *Osnovna obilježja i analiza nekih strukturalnih promjena Hrvatske žumberačke naseobine u Clevelandu*, Migracijske teme 6(2), 195-221.

Joppa, Lucas (2012). *Population change in and around Protected Areas*, Journal of Ecological Anthropology 15(1), 58-64.

Živković, Z. (2013). Hrvatsko tradicijsko graditeljstvo. Zagreb: Printera Grupa.

Žumberački Narodni Sabor (2016). *Program razvoja Žumberka*. Žumberak, Croatia.

## Heritage without heirs? Reconnecting church and community through adaptive reuse

Nikolaas Vande Keere and Bie Plevoets (Belgium)

### Authors

Nikolaas Vande Keere is a Civil Engineer Architect. He is co-director of UR architects and specialises in design research on adaptive reuse. As guest professor, he taught at the TU Delft in the chair of Interiors Buildings Cities. He is currently professor in charge of the Design Studio of the International Master's course at the Hasselt University.

Contact: [nikolaas.vandekeere@uhasselt.be](mailto:nikolaas.vandekeere@uhasselt.be)

Bie Plevoets is an Interior Architect with a PhD in adaptive reuse. She is currently a post-doctoral researcher focusing on adaptive reuse theory, genius loci and interiority. She is working on a book on the subject, co-authored by Koenraad Van Cleempoel (Routledge, 2019). She teaches the Theory Module in the International Master's course at the Hasselt University.

### 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 Bleekere & 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 Cleempoel & 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.<sup>151</sup> The study was executed by tv TRACE, a collaboration between different architectural offices<sup>152</sup> 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.<sup>153</sup>



**Figure 1 – St. Jozef – Aerial view of the church in the neighbourhood of Rabot, Ghent**

<sup>151</sup> More information on this programme is available on [www.herbestemmingkerken.be](http://www.herbestemmingkerken.be), accessed 14 February 2018.

<sup>152</sup> Three offices, Broekx-Schieters 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.

<sup>153</sup> 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 *Schedegotiek*, 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 Blieck, 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.

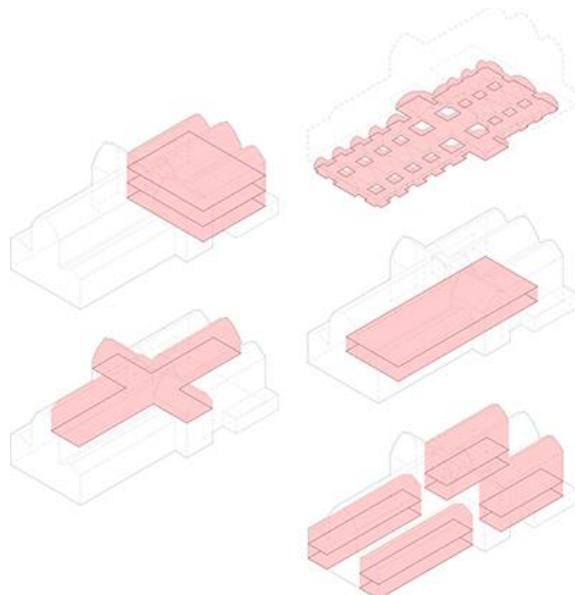


**Figure 2(a) & (b)** – St. Jozef – Polychromatic interior and impression of an additional floor

#### Research by design

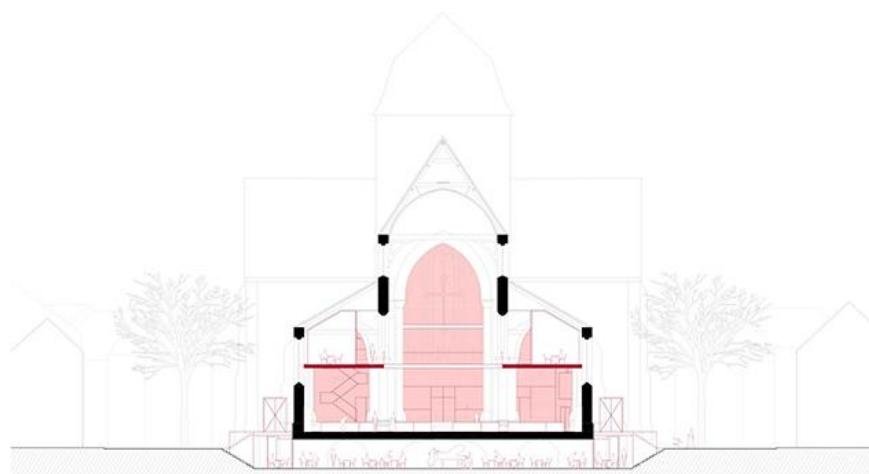
Although the designers started from an analysis of the listed possible functions for the church, the study was not limited to the design of the concrete needs for a set of specific users or functions. Instead, the research focused on spatial questions, such as how to increase the useful area, the accessibility 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<sup>154</sup> 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?”

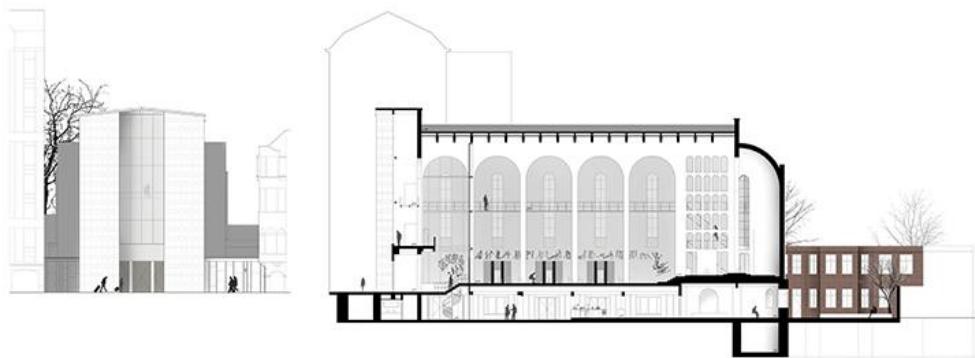


**Figure 6(a) & (b)** - Postcard Taizé, 1967

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

<sup>154</sup> 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.

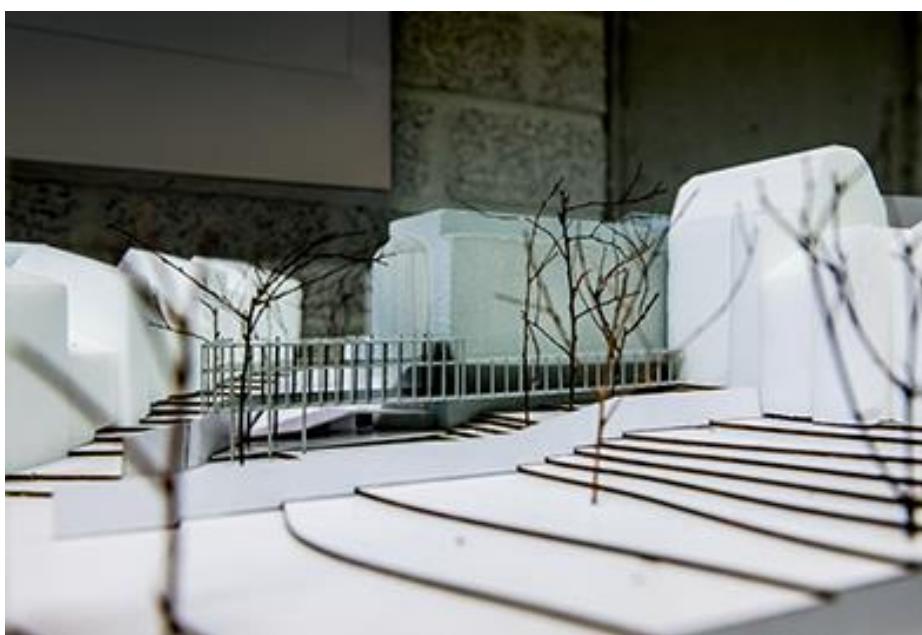
### 3.3.2 Modernist gesamtkunstwerk

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.



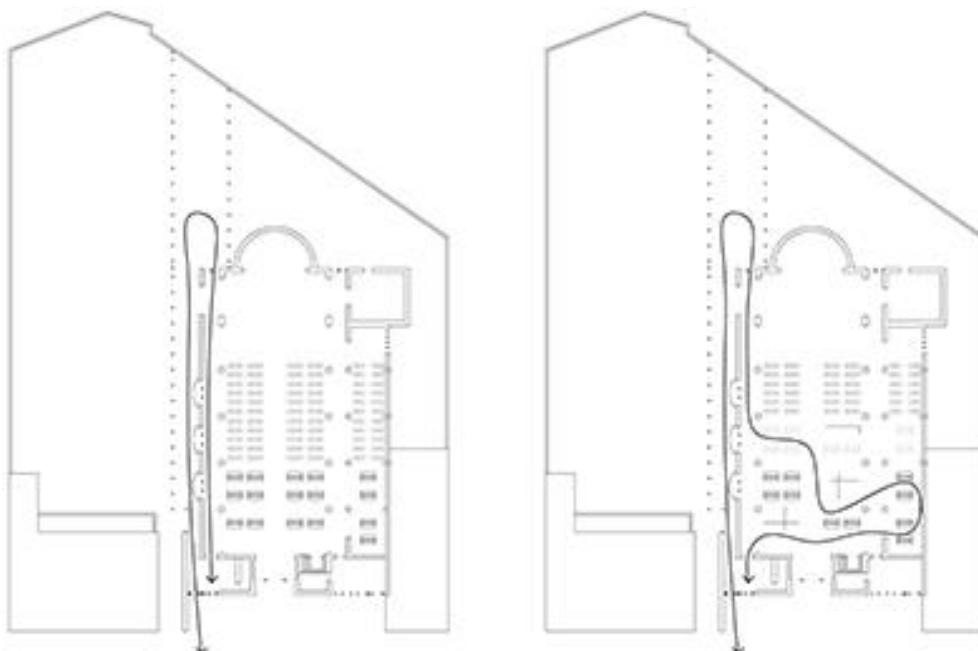
**Figure 8 – Sainte Marie de la Tourette – Le Corbusier, façade detail, 1960 (Photo: Fernando Schapochnik)**

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.



**Figure 9 - St. Alena – Emilie Raquet, a model of new volume and 'corridor of silence' (Photo: Liesbeth Driessens)**

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

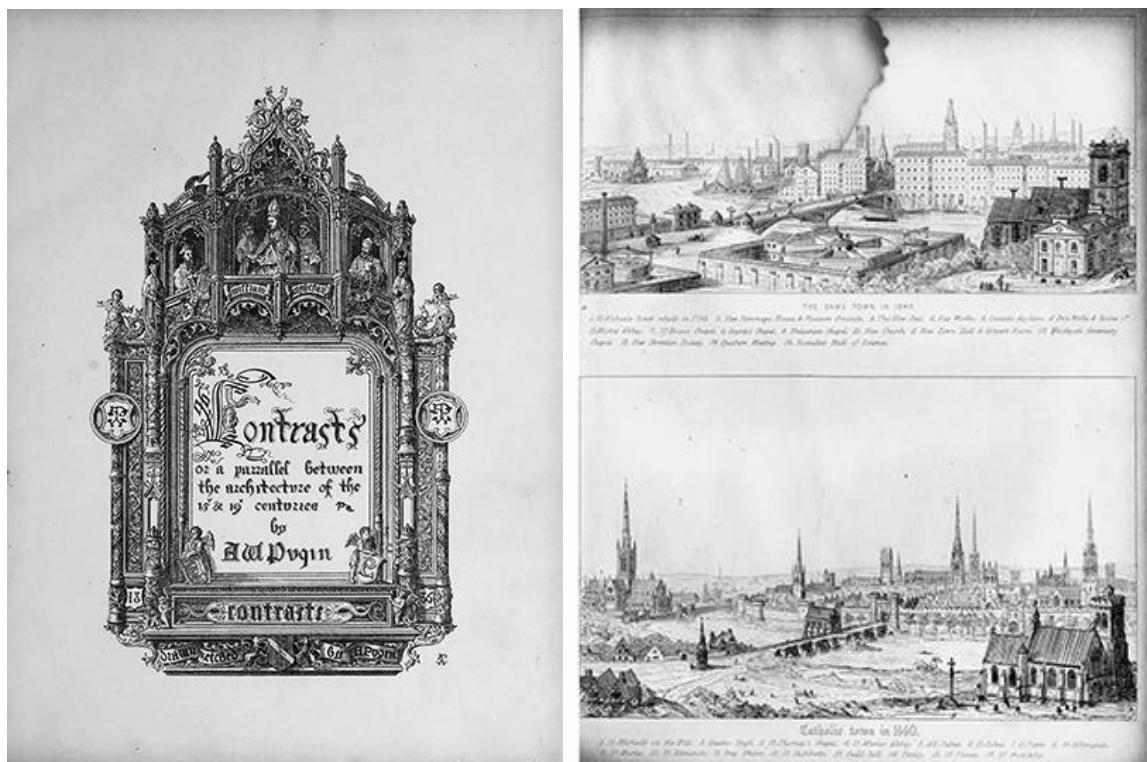
The new programme for the Tafelkirche in Oberhausen is not perceived by the Catholic faith as a break with its former use or the tradition of celebration of mass. Instead, it can be considered as a reinterpretation of the communal activity to adapt to contemporary and local needs. In the same way, the 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).<sup>155</sup> 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

<sup>155</sup> 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.



**Figure 11(a) & (b)** – *Contrasts* – Augustus Welby Pugin, comparison between a 19th century and a medieval town, 1836

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

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<sup>156</sup>. 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

- Aerts, J., Jaspers, J., Klinckaert, J., Stevens, D. and Van Dyck, A. (2014) *Atlas van het Religieus Erfgoed van Vlaanderen*. Heverlee: CRKC, pp. 77-103.
- Bouwen, E., Perusinovic, J. and Van Meerbeek, L. (2016) Saint Joseph Church Reconversion Project. Integrated Project Work II, Raymond Lemaire International Centre for Conservation KU Leuven.
- Deathridge, K. (2012) *From sacred to secular: the adaptive reuse of America's religious buildings*. Middle Tennessee State University.
- De Bleeckere, S. and De Ridder, R. (2014) *Het open kerkgebouw*. Kalmthout: Pelckmans.
- Diepmans, H. B. and Eisenmenger, P. T. (2018) *Tafelkirche Heilige Familie*. Available at: <http://www.pfarrei-st-marien.kirche-vor-ort.de/13406.html> (Accessed: February 14 2018).
- EAAE (2012) *EAAE Charter on Architectural Research*. Chania: European Association for Architectural Education. Available at: <http://www.eaae.be/about/statutes-and-policy/eaae-charter-architectural-research/> (Accessed: 5 February 2018).
- Halman, L. and Draulans, V. (2006) 'How secular is Europe?', *The British Journal of Sociology*, 57(2), pp. 263-288.
- Mayernik, D. (2016) *The Challenge of Emulation in Art and Architecture: Between Imitation and Invention*. Routledge.

<sup>156</sup> 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 Cleempoel 2014; Plevoets & Heynickx 2016)

Lanotte, A. (Ed.) (2001). *Roger Bastin Architecte 1913-1986*. Sprimont: Mardaga.

Morisset, L., Noppen, L. and Coomans, T. (eds.) (2005) *Quel avenir pour quelles églises? What future for which churches?* Québec: Presses de l'université du Québec.

Plevoets, B. and Heynickx, S. (2016) 'Adapting the Modern Interior: Variations on an Emphatic Approach', *Docomomo 14th International Conference. Adaptive Reuse. The Modern Movement Towards the Future*, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisboa, Portugal, 6-9 September: Docomomo & Casa d'Arquitectura, 700-705.

Plevoets, B. and Prina, D. (2017) 'Introduction.', *Conservation/Adaptation. Keeping Alive the Spirit of the Place. Adaptive Reuse of Heritage with Symbolic Value. Proceedings of the 5th EAAE Conservation Network Workshop*, Liège-Hasselt. Hasselt: EAAE, 1-8.

Plevoets, B. and Van Cleempoel, K. (2014) 'Aemulatio and the Interior Approach of Adaptive Reuse', *Interiors: design, architecture, culture*, 5(1).

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.

Vande Keere, N., Verplaetse, R., Heynickx, S., Broekx, J., Schiepers, M., Plevoets, B. and Van Cleempoel, K. (2017) 'SINT-JOZEFKERK GENT Ontwerpbaarheidsonderzoek na de transformatie van de Sint-Jozefkerk voor herbestemming'.

Van Cleven, J., van Tyghem, F., de Wilde, I. and Francois, L. (1994) *Neogotiek in België*. Tielt: Lannoo.

Van de Weijer, M., Van Cleempoel, K. and Heynen, H. (2014) 'Positioning Research and Design in Academia and Practice: a Contribution to a Continuing Debate.', *Design issues*, 30(2), pp. 17-29.

Voas, D. (2010) 'Comment: Value Liberalization or Consumption: Comment on Hirschle's Analysis of Ireland's Economic Boom and the Decline in Church Attendance', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 49(4), pp. 688-690.

## 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 'Gieħ 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-Istorkija tal-Kultura tal-İlkel 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).*

### 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 and 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.*

### **Fertő-Neusiedler See, a heritage site that combines diverse identities and heritage interpretations**

Melinda Harlov-Csortán (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-Csortán 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 Hegedüs (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 Hegedüs 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](http://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 greener! 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 21<sup>st</sup> 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 Lăpuş 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 (Transilvania 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 16<sup>th</sup> 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 Savarensis 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 Savarensis. 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 Savarensis 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 (Sóstó 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 Cmodern European history, Central European identity and collective memory.*

### **'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 frame of EYCH2018.

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 Wohlerts (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.

*Lars Wohlerts 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 Eötvös 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.*