MUZEOLÓGIA and Cultural Heritage vol. 9 4/2021
MUZEOLÓGIA a kultúrne dedičstvo

ISSN 1339-2204
e-ISSN 2453-9759

MUZEOLÓGIA 4 2021
MUSEOLOGY
a kultúrne dedičstvo
and Cultural Heritage

PEER-REVIEWED SCHOLARLY JOURNAL

IN THIS ISSUE

05 Željka Miklošević:
Fostering inclusion in art museums through mobile digital content

21 Marta Milewska:
Museums of martyrdom and the pedagogy of remembrance in the context of shaping students' attitudes and future competences

41 Ewa Manikowska – Andrzej Jakubowski:
On Defining the Participatory Museum: The Case of the Museum of the Second World War in Gdansk

57 Kamil Zeidler – Aleksandra Guss:
The Protection of Cultural Heritage vs. the Right to Private Property: The Extraordinary Case of the Portrait of Dr. Gachet by Vincent van Gogh

69 Aldona Piwko:
Islamic architecture in Tbilisi and Batumi: Muslim heritage in Georgia

85 Roman Drozd:
Greek Catholic and Orthodox shrines in the Polish People's Republic as examples of destroying and saving the cultural heritage of the frontier

99 Eldar Eldarov – Murtazali Gadzhiev:
Local history and museology in Dagestan: trends and prospects of interrelated development

ISSN 1339-2204
e-ISSN 2453-9759 - online version
DOI: 10.46284/mkd.2021.9.4.0

Volume 9 (2021)
No. 4

MUZEOLÓGIA
a kultúrne dedičstvo

VEDECKÝ RECENZOVANÝ ČASOPIS

MUZEOLÓGIA
A KULTÚRNE
DEDIČSTVO, o.z.

Redakčná rada/Editorial Board:
Prof. Dr Pavol Tišliar, PhD (Editor-in-Chief), Dr Tibor Díte, Mgr. Silvia Eliašová, PhD, Assoc. Prof. Mgr. Ľuboš Kačírek, PhD, Prof. Dr Ladislav Lenovský, PhD, Dr Peter Maráky, Assoc. Prof. Dr Michal Šmigeľ, PhD, Mgr. Lenka Ulašinová-Bystrianska, PhD, Mgr. Lenka Vargová, PhD

Medzinárodná redakčná rada/International Editorial Board:
Dr Vitaly Ananiev, DrSc, Saint-Petersburg State University (Russia); Prof. Jože Hudales, PhD, University of Ljubljana (Slovenia); Prof. Dorian Koçi, PhD, National History Museum of Albania & Tirana State University (Albania), Dr Tone Kregar, Muzej novejše zgodovine Celje (Slovenia); Assoc. Prof. François Mairesse PhD, Université Sorbonne Nouvelle – Paris 3 (France); Prof. Eiji Mizushima, PhD, University of Tsukuba (Japan); Prof. Mark Stolarik, PhD, University of Ottawa (Canada), Prof. Bruno Brulon Soares, PhD, Federal University of the State of Rio de Janeiro (Brazil); Assoc. Prof. M. A. Lynne Teather, M. A., PhD (Canada)

Redaktori/Editors:
Mgr. Nela Szabóová & Mgr. Marianna Tutková

Výkonný redaktor/Executive Editor:
Prof. Dr. Pavol Tišliar, PhD

Jazyková redakcia/ Proofreading:
Ebor Editing

Vydavateľ/Published by:
Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo, o.z.
Púpavová 22
841 04 Bratislava
Slovak Republic
IČO vydavateľa 42 360 528

Redakcia/Editorial Office:
e-mail: muzeologia.kd@gmail.com
www.muzeologia.sk

Periodicita/Frequency:
4x ročne/Quarterly

ISSN 1339-2204
e-ISSN 2453-9759 - online version, http://www.muzeologia.sk/casopis_mkd_en.htm
Winter 2021

Časopis je indexovaný v databázach/**Journal is indexed by:**
Central and Easter European Online Library (CEEOL); Crossref; Elsevier SCOPUS; Historical Abstracts EBSCOhost; The Central European Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities (CEJSH); The European Reference Index for the Humanities and the Social Sciences (ERIH PLUS); Directory of open access journals (DOAJ); Clarivate Analytics Web of Science Core Collection ESCI

CONTENTS

Articles

Željka Miklošević: *Fostering inclusion in art museums through mobile digital content* 5

Marta Milewska: *Museums of martyrdom and the pedagogy of remembrance in the context of shaping students' attitudes and future competences* 21

Ewa Manikowska – Andrzej Jakubowski: *On Defining the Participatory Museum: The Case of the Museum of the Second World War in Gdansk* 41

Kamil Zeidler – Aleksandra Guss: *The Protection of Cultural Heritage vs. the Right to Private Property: The Extraordinary Case of the Portrait of Dr. Gachet by Vincent van Gogh* 57

Aldona Piwko: *Islamic architecture in Tbilisi and Batumi: Muslim heritage in Georgia* 69

Roman Drozd : *Greek Catholic and Orthodox shrines in the Polish People's Republic as examples of destroying and saving the cultural heritage of the frontier* 85

In Practice

Eldar Eldarov – Murtazali Gadzhiev: *Local history and museology in Dagestan: trends and prospects of interrelated development* 99

Fostering inclusion in art museums through mobile digital content

Željka Miklošević

Željka Miklošević, PhD, Assistant Professor
Faculty of Humanities and Social Science,
University of Zagreb
(Department of Information and Communication Sciences, Museology Unit)
Ivana Lučića 3, 10000 Zagreb, Croatia
e-mail: zmiklose@ffzg.hr
ORCID: 0000-0003-2742-3508

Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo, 2021, 9:4:5-19
DOI: 10.46284/mkd.2021.9.4.1

Fostering inclusion in art museums through mobile digital content
This paper deals with digitally mediated museum experiences of novice visitors at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna and discusses them in the context of museum inclusion. Research participants included families with young children and members of minority communities in Vienna whose visit was facilitated by two app-based guided tours developed for children. The research goal was to explore the impact of the mobile guide's digital content and modes of communication on the visitors' interaction with the guide, with the museum space and objects, and with family members. The families' interactions were observed, recorded and analyzed. The results suggest that carefully considered and created content on mobile guides has the potential to provide novice family visitors with experiences that support their independence and active engagement, create opportunities for mutual facilitation, and support their different identities, all of which have been considered as conducive to inclusion.

Keywords: art museum, mobile guide, novice visitors, multimodality, inclusion

1. Introduction

Mobile interactive guides (handheld devices) have been widely used in museums to supplement individual physical exhibits and enhance visitors' experiences. Their unique functionalities include location-independent experiences, large quantities of varied information that can meet visitors' preferences, and various interactive features and modes of personal use that place visitors in control over the content.[1]

Instead of thinking of technology as a novelty and its attractive features as a simple panacea for museums' ailments, the use of new media in museums calls for thoughtful and strategic approaches to content development, as well as attention to different cultures of usage. This is especially true if technology being used to achieve cultural and social inclusion, in which case it is necessary to reflect on what the right approach might be and whether it will be relevant to the targeted communities.[2] In his overview of the use of ICT in art museums, Peter Samis concludes that audiences care about "meaning: a memorable, emotionally compelling

[1] TALLON, Loïc. Introduction: Mobile, Digital, and Personal. In: TALLON, Loïc – WALKER, Kevin (eds.). *Digital Technologies and the Museum Experience – Handheld Guides and Other Media.* Lanham: AltaMira Press, 2008, pp. xvii-xviii.
[2] PARRY, Ross. Including Technology. Can New Media Really Help Museums to Meet the Inclusion Agenda. In: DODD, Jocelyn, SANDELL, Richard (eds.). *Including Museums. Perspectives on Museums, Galleries and Social Inclusion.* Leicester: Research Centre for Museums and Galleries, University of Leicester, 2001, p. 106

experience"[3] no matter what means are used to deliver it. Handheld interpretive devices, as only one type of ICT, have the potential to engage different types of visitors as long as their contents and affordances provide expected and desired experiences.

This research, grounded in the view that modes of museum communication are crucial for shaping visitors' experiences and attitudes to the institution, was conducted to explore digitally mediated experiences among families with young children during their first visit to the Kunsthistorisches Museum (KHM) in Vienna.

The rest of the paper is organized as follows: Section 2 provides an overview of the literature dealing with families as museum visitors and the use of digital handheld guides in art museums. Sections 3 and 4 present the research methodology and findings. Section 5 offers a discussion that covers the implications for further research and limitations of the study. The paper concludes with section 6.

2. Literature review

As this study focuses on the use of digital mobile interactivity in an art museum, the review of the literature given in this section deals with three main relevant topics, namely, art museums in the context of access and barriers to engagement, families with young children as art museum visitors, and families' experiences related to the content and communication modes of digital mobile guides.

The environment of a typical art museum is mostly rooted in a formalist approach to exhibiting, which prioritizes the perception of form or an interpretational approach via an art history-based discourse. Hooper-Greenhill[4] sees this as being related to the modernist paradigm according to which museums as institutions exercise the power of curators and art connoisseurs, that is, of someone who possesses knowledge not held by the less knowledgeable visitors. Decades-long research into art museums and galleries has provided information indicating that museums are perceived as exclusive in terms of class, ethnicity and education.[5] Educated and experienced museum-goers who have developed familiarity with museums' codes are more likely to have meaningful experiences and develop a feeling of belonging.[6] Conversely, visitors with little or no art museum experience may not show any appreciation for the art they encounter in such spaces. As Peter Samis reports, interpretive resources in art museums might be crucial for uninitiated visitors' engagement in or withdrawal from the experience.[7] Although art museums have been working on facilitating experiences with art works for diverse audiences by providing different kinds of interpretative material, this

---

[3] SAMIS, Peter. Revisiting the utopian promise of interpretive media. An autoethnographic analysis drawn from art museums, 1991 – 2017. In: DROTNER, Kirsten − DZIEKAN, Vince − PARRY, Ross − SCHRØDER, Kim Christian (eds.). *The Routledge Handbook of Museum, Media and Communication*. London: New York: Routledge, 2009, p. 63

[4] HOOPER GREENHILL, Elaine. *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*. London: New York: Routledge, 1992, p. 7.

[5] ANG, Ien. Change and Continuity, Art Museums and the Reproduction of Art Museumness. In: WITCOMB, Andrea − MESSAGE, Kylie (eds.). *The International Handbooks of Museum Studies: Museum Theory, vol 2. Disciplines and Politics*. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2015, p. 214.

[6] O'NEILL, Mark. The Good Enough Visitor. In SANDELL, Richard (ed.). *Museums, Society, Inequality*. London: New York: Routledge, 2003, p. 35.

[7] SAMIS, Peter. Gaining Traction in the Vaseline: Visitor Response to a Multi-Track Interpretation Design for Matthew Barney: DRAWING RESTRAINT. In: TRANT J. − BEARMAN D. (eds.). *Museums and the Web 2007: Proceedings*. Toronto: Archives & Museum Informatics, 2007, accessed October 1, 2020. http://www.archimuse.com/mw2007/papers/samis/samis.html

has not become widespread practice. Adams and Koke[8] found reasons for the still-pervasive resistance to change include the predominant curatorial expertise in exhibition development, institutional structural issues, collection organization, and the absence of community voices. Regarding children and youth as specific audience groups, making art museums more inclusive for such groups has been achieved mainly through short-term projects and specially designed programmes.[9]

Families go to museums because they hope the visit will have educational benefits for the children, provide an opportunity to spend time together, and offer an enjoyable experience.[10] In addition to comfortable spaces where children can freely explore, one of the most preferred features of museums for families is interactivity. One way that art museums provide interactive experiences on a more permanent basis is through specially designed interactive galleries, which, in a way, prepare families for visiting the permanent exhibitions. These galleries seem to be successful in stimulating interest in and learning about objects; however, research has found that repeated visits are needed in order to increase visitor's familiarity with the museum before they feel willing to visit the permanent exhibition.[11] Despite their success, these spaces may be construed as contributing to the "othering" of children[12] by removing them from permanent exhibitions as the spaces that have traditionally been reserved for adult visitors.[13]

Researching adult–child interaction at an interactive art exhibition which was equipped with fixed multimedia interpretation, Stéphane Debenedetti and colleagues[14] found that the children enjoyed using interactives and that they spent more time in front of the art works in the close proximity of these devices. Such an approach to exhibition-making can fulfil the goal of every art museum, which is to have visitors focus on the original artworks. However, this study showed that the communication between adults and children was reduced to a mere transference of information provided by the panels, which the authors explain by the failure of the interpretive resources to enable adults to engage children or encourage them to engage themselves in the experience, both cognitively and emotionally.

---

[8] ADAMS, Marianna – KOKE, Judy. "Stuck" Is Where You Need to Pay Attention. Some Barriers to Creating Truly Inclusive Art Museums. In: BOYD, Joni Acuff – EVANS, Laura (eds.). *Multiculturalism in Art Museum Today*. Lenham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2014, pp. 3-18

[9] JOHANSON, Katya − GLOW, Hilary. 'It's not enough for the work of art to be great': Children and Young People as Museum Visitors. In: *Participations – Journal of Audience and Reception Studies*, 9(1), 2012, p. 28.; WEIER, Katrina. Empowering Young Children in Art Museums: Letting Them Take the Lead. In: *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood*, 5(1), 2004, pp. 107-108.

[10] MCMANUS, Paulette M. (1994). Families in Museums. In: MILES, Roger − ZAVALA, Lauro (eds.). Towards the Museum of the Future: New European Perspectives. London: York: Routledge, 82-83;

[11] ADAMS, Marianna – LUKE, Jessica – ANCELET, Jeanine. What Do We Do and Not Know about Family Learning in Art Museum Interactivity Spaces – Family Learning in Interactive Galleries, 2010, accessed June 6, 2019, http://www.familiesinartmuseums.org/images/pdf/CompleteFLINGLitReview.pdf.

[12] BIRCH, Jo. Museum spaces and experiences for children – ambiguity and uncertainty in defining the space, the child and the experience. In: *Children's Geographies*, 16(5), 2018, p. 517.

[13] GRØN, Karen. Empower the Audience! Audience through Deliberate and Strategic Use of Experience and Learning Theories. In: FRITSCH, Juliette (ed.). *Museum and Gallery Interpretation and Material Culture*. London: New York: Routledge, 2011, p. 208.

[14] DEBENEDETTI, Stéphane − CARO, Florence − KREBS, Anne. "I'd Rather Play Than Look at Statues": The Experiences of Children with Art Works and Interactive Devices at an Art Exhibition, In: *International Journal of Arts Management*, 11(3), 2000, p. 56

Providing information on interactive mobile guides in art museums has been proven beneficial for different aspects of visits.[15] However, empirical research shows that the relationship between what is interpreted and how can be crucial for a balanced experience – one that does not privilege digital content over original exhibits or one's visit companions.

Mobile guides with augmented reality features enhance the visual information that visitors receive from the original objects and this is what contributes to longer and more focused engagement with displayed art work, especially in comparison with generic digital guides.[16]

Storytelling – especially its humorous aspects, links to everyday contemporary life, an informal tone, and unconventional characters are appealing to most visitors, but especially to children.[17] In their research, Rubino and colleagues[18] explored the impact of different communication approaches on learning for adult and young visitors. They demonstrated that a combination of the physical environment, virtual characters, microgames, and cultural contents have a positive impact on visitors' memory skills. Another important realization stemming from their research is that informal style stimulates children but discourages adults from using the game as they perceive it as childish. The implication of this is that museum should develop different content for adults and children, which complements Helal, Maxson and Ancelet's findings that parents would like mobile guides whose content is more adapted to children.[19]

Recent studies on the use of mobile digital interactives by families show that visitors adopt different patterns of use and in-group behaviour,[20] which might depend on their visit motivation and family dynamics.

These and similar investigations provide valuable insights into how different communication modes and the content of digital interpretation resources can impact museum experiences, primarily in terms of visitor satisfaction, levels of engagement and learning. However, little attention has been paid to the impact that these and other aspects of ICT use have on the perception of the museum as an institution, especially among non-visitors. In order to fill the gap in the literature, this study expands the research field of mediation in art museums to novice families with young children. It focuses on the ways in which mobile digital content shapes their art museum experiences and, in turn, explores the power of digital devices in terms of its wider sociocultural importance in the context of museums.

---

[15] GIUSTI, Ellen. Improving Visitor Access. In TALLON, Loïc – WALKER, Kevin (eds.). *Digital Technologies and the Museum Experience – Handheld Guides and Other Media*. Lanham: AltaMira Press, pp. 97-108; SAMIS, Peter. Revisiting the utopian promise… pp. 58 – 59.

[16] CHANG, Kuo-En – CHANG, Chia-Tzu – HOU, Huei-Tse – SUNG, Yao-Ting – CHAO, Huei-Lin – LEE, Cheng-Ming. Development and behavioral pattern analysis of a mobile guide system with augmented reality for painting appreciation instruction in an art museum. In: *Computers & Education*, 71, 2014, p. 192.

[17] ROUSSOU, Maria − KATIFORI, Akrivi. Flow, Staging, Wayfinding, Personalization. Evaluating User Experience with Mobile Museum Narratives. In: *Multimodal Technologies and Interaction*, 2, 2018, p. 16.

[18] RUBINO, I. – BARBERIS, C. – XHEMBULLA, J. – MALNATI, G. Integrating a location-based mobile game in the museum visit: Evaluating Visitors' Behaviour and Learning. In: *Journal on Computing and Cultural Heritage*, 8(3), 2015, pp. 11-14.

[19] HELAL, Dina − MAXSON, Heather – ANCELET, Jeanine. Lessons Learned: Evaluating the Whitney's Multimedia Guide. In: PROCTOR, Nancy − TELLIS, Chris (eds.). *Museums and the Web 2013*. Silver Spring, MD: Museums and the Web, 2013, accessed May 29, 2019. https://mw2013.museumsandtheweb.com/paper/lessons-learned-evaluating-the-whitneys-multimedia-guide/.

[20] RENNICK-EGGLESTONE, Stefan – BRUNDELL, Patrick – KOLEVA, Boriana – ROUSSOU, Maria − CHAFFARDON, Christophe – BENFORD, Steve. Families and mobile devices in museums: designing for integrated experiences. In: *Journal on Computing and Cultural Heritage*, 9(2), 2016, pp. 6-8.

3. Research methodology

3. 1. Theoretical framework

This research was based on the socio-semiotic theory of multimodal communication and multimodal ethnography. As has been mentioned earlier in the text, art museum exhibitions are often seen as spaces for the representation of specialist knowledge, and their sociocultural power operates through discourses intended for a particular group of visitors. Focusing on the intentionality of communicative acts and their relation to social power,[21] social semiotics is employed to theoretically frame the investigation into the museum's digital guide as a mode of communication motivated by the wish to establish meaningful relationships with underrepresented visitors. The focus of the research, therefore, treats the discourse, style, genres and modality of the mobile guide as elements of social semiotics that can reveal power relations within communicative acts in particular cultural sites and social occasions[22] – in this case in the Kunsthistorisches Museum. A multimodal approach to communication contributes to the understanding of the role and value of different modes such as image, sound and action in visitors' experiences and responses.[23] A mutual complementarity between social semiotics and multimodal ethnography lies in their shared focus on meaning-making through cultural and social practices that unfold in time and in a particular cultural setting.[24] This study draws on Pink's multimodal ethnography, which pays attention to sensory aspects of research.[25] In order to reveal the communicative acts as they occur, the researcher records participants' behaviour, including their embodied sentiments produced during interaction with the environment, which in this study is related to interactions with the mobile guide, space, exhibits and other participants. This makes fieldwork an activity that directs the focus of the researcher to both the cognitive and the emotional dimensions of the visit, or to what matters to the communities that participate in the study.[26] Drawing on these approaches, this study aims to provide an answer to the research questions: how does the use of the digital museum guide impact the experience of novice museum visitors, and what impact might that experience have, if any, on the perception of the museum as an institution in terms of its inclusivity?

3. 2. Setting and method

The mobile guide in focus is the Kunsthistorisches Museum Stories (hereinafter referred to as KHM Stories), an app that can be downloaded to personal smart phones for free and used in and outside the museum. It is one of very few apps developed for an art museum that offers specifically developed content for children and families and is, in addition, translated into the languages of various local communities.

At the time of research there were two stories developed for children, namely, *How to Look for Monsters* and *Superpower*. The stories are shaped as theme-based guided tours that comprise

---

[21] KRESS, Gunther. *Multimodality – a social semiotic approach to contemporary communication*. London: New York: Routledge, 2010, p. 22.

[22] VAN LEEUWEN, Theo. *Introducing Social Semiotics*. London: Routledge, 2005, pp. 93-177.

[23] JEWITT, Carey. Digital technologies in museums: New routes to engagement and participation. In: *Design for Learning*, 5(1-2), 2012, pp. 74-93.

[24] DICKS, Bella − BAMBO, Soyinka − COFFEY, Amanda. Multimodal Ethnography. In: *Qualitative Research*, 6(1), 2006, pp. 77-96.

[25] PINK, Sarah. Multimodality, multisensoriality and ethnographic knowing: Social semiotics and the phenomenology of perception. In: *Qualitative Research*, 11(3), 2011, p. 271.

[26] LUTZ, Catherine. What matters. In: *Cultural Anthropology*, 32(2), 2017, p. 189.

eight and nine stations respectively, which means eight and nine museum objects exhibited at the permanent exhibition and interpreted through different modes of communication. The tours for children are envisaged to provide experiences adapted to their age. Both tours are translated into the languages of the largest minority communities living in Vienna, namely, Turkish, Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian.

The research was conducted in February and March 2018 with families of Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian origin who had lived in Vienna for at least one year before the start of the research. For the purpose of this study, a family has been defined as consisting of at least one adult and one child,[27] and novice visitors refers to people who do not visit art museums and are new to interpreting and experiencing art in these institutions. The research participants included ten families with at least one seven- or eight-year-old child per family (Table 1).

Tab. 1: *Families that participated in the research*

Family groups	Family members	Codes	
F1	Mother + son (8) + daughter (17)	F1M, F1S, F1D	
F2	Mother + daughter (7)	F2M, F2D	
F3	Father + daughter (8)	F3F, F3D	
F4	Mother + daughter (8)	F4M, F4D	
F5	Father + son (7) + daughter (10)	F5F, F5S, F5D	
F6	Sister (+18) + brother (8)	F6S, F6B	
F7	Mother + daughter (7) + daughter's friend (7)	F7M, F7D, F7F	
F8	Mother + son (7)	F8M, F8S	(visited together)
F9	Mother + son (8)	F9M, F9S	
F10	Mother + daughter (7)	F10M, F10	

Data on behaviours, reactions and interactions with museum objects, the space, the digital content and amongst themselves were gathered through participant observation and interviews with the families. The tours began at the museum lobby from where the participants (including the researcher) were guided by the digital device to each station. Before and after the visit, the families were interviewed with the aim of finding out information about their everyday use of digital technology (primarily the children's behaviour with and around digital content, such as frequency and type of content with which they interact most often), their previous experience with the museum, and reflections on the gained experiences and advantages or disadvantages of the guide in the context of their visit. Interview questions were mainly directed at the parents, though the children were present and could participate actively in the conversation. Each family group did one tour, and the duration of the visits ranged from 60 to 100 minutes.

The gathered data included extensive field notes and verbatim transcripts of audio recordings of the participants' conversations, reactions in the physical space, and views about the museum before, during and after the visit. The qualitative textual data were thematically analysed. Methodological limitations related to the lack of visual recordings in the analysis of visitors' behaviour, which could have contributed to more nuanced results.

[27] FALK, John H. Analysis of the behaviour of family visitors in natural history museums. In: *Curator*, 34(1), 1991, p. 45.

4. Findings: Three ways in which the museum can present an environment that fosters inclusion

The main framework for the interpretation of the obtained data was determined by the aim of the research. The findings have been conceptualized as three characteristics of the museum environment shaped by the use of the digital guide and conducive to inclusivity for this particular group of visitors.

4.1. An environment that supports independent engagement

During the visit to the KHM, the children's focus and interest were maintained by different types of activities provided by the guide. Different characters tell stories in an informal way, in "everyday language", posing questions and directing attention to details on exhibits. Recorded speech, animation of paintings and possibilities to take a selfie as Hercules holding a surfing board or as an Amazon warrior playing tennis created moments of fun and enjoyment for all family members with a high degree of mutual interaction.

Narrative texts of the guide introduced the families with the displayed objects by providing information related to different contexts such as mythology, popular culture, the animal world, historic events and so on. Solving quizzes about individual artworks generated a genuine excitement and evoked a wide range of emotions in the children. Choosing the right answer often resulted in exclamations of joy and gestures such as a clenched fist (one that communicates success or victory), whereas failing to get it right first try brought about a short-lasting disappointment, after which they went on with the guessing game until the sign "correct" appeared on the screen. Drag-and-drop and colouring, as a hands-on activity in which children can make their own unique creation, was engaging for both children and parents and turned them into active participants in the co-creation of content, which they could then share through social media.

The multimodal content and dynamic exchange of genres kept children engrossed in listening or reading the stories, watching videos, observing objects in search of details, answering questions, etc. The children were so absorbed in the activities that they were surprised when the tour finished. Their disappointed and surprised exclamations "Is it over so soon?" (F2D), "It's ended so quickly!" (F8S), show that they did not "feel" the time passing even though the average time they spent using the guide was 45 minutes.

The families were guided through the museum either by reading the characters' instructions on where to go or by comparing the digital image of the interior and their current location in the physical space. This feature of the guide was interesting to children who compared it to a navigation system. With the guide in their hands, they moved through the museum independently and confidently, sometimes even too fast for their parents, who let them lead the way. Letting children take the lead and direct their own experience can contribute to their sense of participation and involvement, by showing them they "have a valuable contribution to make".[28] For both children and parents, the use of the guide was such an interesting and exciting experience that they expressed a wish to visit the museum again.

4.2. An environment that creates opportunities for knowledge-sharing and mutual facilitation

The adult–child relationship during the museum visit is very important for the family

[28] WEIER, Katrina. Empowering Young Children in Art Museums… p.15.

experience, which, as has already been mentioned, is very often directed at learning, with parents mostly acting as facilitators wherever possible.[29]

The digitally mediated experience at the KHM generated negotiations between family members in terms of who was in charge of the visit and who acted as facilitator. Children showed great orientation skills in using the digital content, and also provided scaffolding for their parents, particularly for those who did not use the guide consistently and synchronously with the child. Since they did not access the same information, the children were more "in-the-know" when it came to information about the objects, the meanings of some of their elements, and so on. Realizing their children felt comfortable in their position of leaders and knowledge distributors, the parents let them have that experience.

Knowledge-sharing was present where the interaction between the child and the parent intensely revolved around information that they both obtained from the guide, which was evident in the exchange of questions and exclamations such as, "did you know that?!" and "did you hear that?!".

Some parents were consistent in trying to slow down their children's pace, direct their attention to objects, and instruct them to be more careful and focused when looking at the exhibited art works, or when reading or listening to the stories about them (probably due to the common belief that museums, especially art museums, are about looking at objects).

Parents positively reacted to children's inquisitiveness and interests and continued conversations about the displayed objects by providing additional explanations and prompting extended observation.

F2D: Mum, look! They are up there!

F2M: Yes, dead people are painted in a different colour, some sort of grey. Look how the women are pale!

The guide assisted both children and parents in meaning-making and appreciation of objects through interactive explorations of concepts. Parents provided explanations for certain words when and where needed. "Rome", "bronze" and "linen" (the material), were some of the terms they explained by making associations with something from everyday life, such as clothes, jewellery, films they had seen or stories they had read at home.

F4D: Amazons?! What is that?

F4M Listen, they are brave warriors (both listening)

F4D: Look! (pointing to the sarcophagus with the relief of Amazons whose parts are missing)

F4M Yes, it's fallen off (both listening) … *Riiight! For the city of Troy* (referring to the battle shown on the sarcophagus) *Do you remember Troy – I told you about that huge horse that was brought inside with hidden warriors in it and then they won…*

F4D: I think I know…

Conversations and knowledge-sharing seemed not to have been dependent on anything particularly related to the digital content and functionalities of the device but rather on the dynamics of visits, individual interests and mutual interaction patterns among family members.

4.3. An environment that supports different identities

One of the biggest advantages of digital technology is that it can deliver information in ways that suit different learning styles. Holding their own phone in one hand, and operating it with the other, both children and parents could choose whether to read texts on the device or

[29] FALK, John. *Identity and the Museum Visitor Experience*. London: New York: Routledge, 2009, p. 87.

to listen to audio recordings. The images which accompanied the written texts and/or audio recordings functioned as successful meaning organizers, attracting attention and encouraging the families, particularly the children, to further explore the content. They could choose to listen or read additional stories on the page "More information" or engage in other activities that occupied the children's attention. Reading texts could not be avoided in the majority of quizzes but we found it was mostly skipped where listening was offered as alternative. This sort of digital behaviour stems from the children's daily use of digital devices, either mobile phones or tablets, on which they play video games or watch YouTube clips. The influence of everyday digital habits manifested in the first 10 minutes of the visit when, after the first introduction with the guide, they quickly mastered all its functionalities. This also included children whose parents reported not allowing them to spend much time on smartphones.

Awareness of the children's enjoyment made the parents feel relaxed and satisfied about their decision to invest personal time and bring the children to the museum. In the interviews before the tour, parents reported having made, on several occasions, family visits to the Natural History Museum and the Technical Museum in Vienna. However, they had never had a wish to visit the Kunsthistorisches Museum before, because they had perceived it as not offering anything interesting to children. However, once they learnt about the guide and its entertaining and educational features, they decided to come. They initiated a museum-based activity in order to create opportunities for their children to gain experiences which might entertain and educate them.

After the visit, the changed perception of the museum was based on parents' own experience and children's wish to come back again (tomorrow!) or to do the whole thing again but with another story. However, the parents did more than see their children as suitable users of this art museum. They marked it as a place on their own leisure map when they realized they could come again to try the stories for adults.

F8S: Mum, before I turn 19, I can come here alone, for free?

F8M: Yes, but you cannot come alone.

F8S: Yes, but Mum, you can come with me to the entrance and wait for me there.

F8M: (laughing) Mum (referring to herself) can also come again and learn something new. … Aunty (referring to F9M) and I will come and do one tour slowly and thoroughly without you kids running around…

The feeling of belonging or being accepted was reinforced by the use of ex-Yugoslav languages (Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian). The fact that the knowledge communicated through this guide was in the visitors' language(s) was seen not only as welcoming but also necessary, due to the sizeable community of ex-Yugoslav citizens in Vienna. The recognition here is both cultural and sociopolitical. Another type of impact of the language on the feeling of recognition and inclusion was that felt by parents whose command of German was below the level used in the museum. For them, the guide's content was more accessible in their language and they could share the experience with their children, even if the children chose to interact with the app's content in the German language.

On the other hand, for children who had just started school, German could also be problematic, so the mother tongue can be regarded as a tool that both enables children's comprehension of the digital content and helps parents to assume the role of facilitators and provide explanation of certain words or assistance in reading textual information. The sociocultural closeness that the museum established through language was important for parents whose knowledge of

German was limited. For them, that feature of the guide was a welcome opportunity to access the cultural richness of the museum with greater ease.

5. Discussion: Towards inclusion through digital content

Traditionally, art museums have been more focused on providing access to original artworks than different meanings of or about them, and there is still reluctance among numerous institutions to transform themselves into inclusive environments for broader audiences. The findings of this research indicate the potential that well-designed content and modes of communication via a mobile digital guide can have for overcoming some of the barriers to cultural participation for uninitiated family visitors in traditional art museums.

Firstly, the digital guide can be seen as a tool that can appease the polarised views of what the space of an art exhibition should be like and for whom it should be designed – in particular, the people who need more and diverse information about art or those who do not.[30] Digital mediation via a mobile guide can make art museums equally intellectually accessible and enjoyable to a wide range of visitors, and provide each individual, at the same time and in the same space, with different experiences of art, whether aesthetic, contextual or interactive. Without causing any disruption for those who enjoy the pristine spaces of art museums and galleries, digital resources can help novice families feel more included in the cultural practice. This particularly concerns children accompanied by parents, who are often isolated in specially designated spaces. Using digital content adapted to their age, children can participate equally with adults in the principal museum space, i.e., the exhibition galleries, and can be in contact with original artworks, which decreases the ghettoizing effect.[31]

Secondly, by encouraging and enriching personal and social meaning-making, digital content can turn family members into self-reliant and independent visitors in seemingly uninviting spaces filled with art and information about art history. This is true for both children and adults. The features that enable this relate primarily to the informal style of communication, the narrative genre, and the approach to interpretation of museum objects that enable visitors to forge a connection between the museum and their everyday lives. Connecting object-related topics with children's pre-existing knowledge and interests fosters meaningful experiences and raises the educational and cultural value of the museum environment.[32] When visiting museums, children prefer family over school trips because they can exert more control over the visit within the family group.[33] With control and choice comes a higher level of motivation leading to a bigger interest and engagement without conscious awareness of the activities or the passing of time, which is when people "experience the highest levels of well-being".[34] Additionally, deep enjoyment and involvement can lead to attribution of significance to an activity.[35]

[30] LATIMER, Sue. Art for Whose Sake? In: FRITSCH, Juliette (ed.). *Museum Gallery Interpretation and Material Culture*. London: New York: Routledge, 2011, pp. 67-79.
[31] BIRCH, Jo. Museum spaces and experiences for children, p. 517
[32] PISCITELLI, Barbara − ANDERSON, David. Young children's Perspectives of Museum Settings and Experiences. In: *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 19(3), 2001, p. 279.
[33] JENSEN, Nina. Children's Perceptions of Their Museum Experiences: A Contextual Perspective. In: *Children's Environments*, 11(4), 1994, p. 311
[34] CSIKSZENTMIHALYI, Mihaly. *Flow and the Foundations of Positive Psychology*. Dordrecht: Springer, 2014, p. 72
[35] PARIS, Scott. Situated Motivation and Informal Learning. In: *Journal of Museum Education*, 22(2-3), 1997, p. 23.

Thirdly, children's learning experiences, including enjoyment as an important aspect of learning, are highly regarded by parents, who, by using accessible digital content, can also discover interesting things for themselves and be engaged in activities and, in turn, empowered by the museum. This holds important implications for art museums, especially in relation to the research that shows that the role of museums as cultural places that build social distinction has been changing due to the changing role of the families who privilege construction of their children's identities and their personal development over the transmittance of social status and social values onto their children.[36] Parents can be effective facilitators for their children's learning when exhibitions are designed with collaborative learning in mind and when adults feel comfortable with the content and experiences provided in the museum[37] In this way, they can fulfil their role as parents who recognize opportunities for learning and the cultural development of their children, as well as for themselves.

Lastly, barriers to art experiences can be intellectual, but also linguistic, especially in this time of frequent migrations, in Europe in particular. Recognizing the need to speak the language of minority communities is another step institutions can make towards removing barriers to minorities' participation in arts and culture and the recognition of their cultural identity. Digital resources can help the art museum to make a dent in breaking its image of exclusivity and instead create an environment where families with no or little knowledge of art can still actively participate in the social and cultural practice of museum-going, whether for the sake of children or not. According to Mark O'Neill, a socially inclusive art museum treats all visitors with equal respect by "providing access appropriate to their background, level of education, ability and life experience".[38] Museum experiences that promote self-sufficiency, engagement and relevance can build individuals' confidence and self-esteem in their future social and cultural life. In addition to access and participation, representation is recognized as integral to the cultural dimension and inclusion.[39]

However, when it comes to participation as an opportunity to participate in cultural production, and representation as the "extent to which an individual's cultural heritage is represented within the mainstream cultural arena",[40] this particular museum could take more substantial steps towards inclusivity. Although language is a powerful cultural marker and an important aspect of representation and although the research results suggest it is a factor that has potential to form stronger ties between the museum and the minority communities, it is still just a mediating tool of the content that was not developed with the minority cultures in mind. All the information presented digitally is still related to the universal value of the historical art pieces in the museum's collection. One way in which this app could be developed to embrace all the elements of the cultural inclusion dimension might be to contain culture-specific narratives, which would require consultation with community members and a different approach to the discourse of the app stories. The content might include references, no matter how tangential, to the art and culture of minority communities and not be a mere translation

---

[36] JONCHERY, Anne − BIRAUD, Sophie. Musées en famille, familles au Musée. De l'expérience de visite des familles à des politiques muséales spécifiques. In: *Informations Sociales*, 1(181), 2014, pp. 89-90.
[37] FALK, John H. – DIERKING, Lynn D. *Learning from Museums. Visitor Experiences and the Making of Meaning*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press. 2000, p. 95
[38] O'NEILL, Mark. The Good Enough Visitor… p. 24
[39] SANDELL, Richard. Museums as Agents of Social Inclusion. In: *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 17(4), 1998, p. 410.
[40] SANDELL, Richard. Museums as Agents… p. 410.

into another language. Extending the stories into the realms that are linked to the historical, geographical and artistic background of these communities might have much deeper meaning and representational value and might move beyond the effect of increasing attendance of underrepresented visitor groups. Another important aspect of inclusivity is the impact on the people and their lives within particular communities;[41] however, it would be necessary to conduct further research to uncover this. The mobile guide can be seen as good motivation tool but longitudinal research is needed to determine the possible long-term effects of a mediated museum experience. What also needs to be noted is that due to the exploratory nature of this study the results cannot be generalized; further research might therefore include a quantitative approach and a more in-depth look into the museum-going habits and digital participation of these communities.

6. Conclusion

As digital mobile guides have been assuming an increasingly important role in museums as information-rich resources that provide personalized experience to visitors, this research aimed to explore views and attitudes of novice family visitors to the Kunsthistorisches Museum based on a museum experience supported by the use of a digital guide. Research participants included families with young children from ex-Yugoslav communities living in Vienna, who represent large minority groups in the city and who have been largely underrepresented among the museum's audiences. Data about participants' behaviour during their visit and details of their experience were gathered through observation and interviews. The obtained data were interpreted and conceptualized from the position of the museum as a place or environment that can support specific sociocultural and personal profiles of the audience. The findings show that the use of the digital interpretive tool helped the research participants to engage with the physical space and exhibits independently, both as individuals and as a family; created opportunities for them to share knowledge and facilitate each other's learning process; and made them feel recognized in terms of their learning and cultural identities.

Digital mobile guides can be powerful interpretation tools for shaping experiences of novice museum visitors from minority communities and can contribute to forging new museum audience relationships, as well as establishing relevance by removing barriers to cultural participation, especially in traditional spaces such as art museums. Speaking in terms of museum communication, carefully designed modes and modalities of digital communication may lead to a change in social relations between the "elitist" art museums and visitors with little knowledge about art.

This paper has been fully supported by the Croatian Science Foundation under the project Art and the State from the Enlightenment to the Present, IP-2018-01-9364. The research was conducted as an STMS within the COST ACTION IS1410 Digital literacy skills and practices in the early years (DigiLitEY).

[41] NEWMAN, Andrew − MCLEAN, Fiona. Architectures of Inclusion: Museums, Galleries and Social Inclusion. In: SANDELL, Richard (ed.). *Museums, Society, Inequality*. London: New York: Routledge, 2003, 56-68.

References

ADAMS, Marianna – KOKE, Judy (2014). "Stuck" Is Where You Need to Pay Attention. Some Barriers to Creating Truly Inclusive Art Museums. In: BOYD, Joni Acuff – EVANS, Laura (eds.). *Multiculturalism in Art Museum Today*. Lenham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 3-18. ISBN 9780759124103

ADAMS, Marianna – LUKE, Jessica – ANCELET, Jeanine (2010). What Do We Do and Not Know about Family Learning in Art Museum Interactivity Spaces. Family Learning in Interactive Galleries, accessed June 6, 2019. http://www.familiesinartmuseums.org/images/pdf/CompleteFLINGLitReview.pdf.

ADAMS, Marianna – LUKE, Jessica – MOUSSOURI, Theano (2004). Interactivity: Moving beyond Terminology. In: *Curator* 47(2): 154-170. ISSN 0011-3069

ANG, Ien (2015). Change and Continuity, Art Museums and the Reproduction of Art Museumness. U: Witcomb, Andrea - Message, Kylie (eds.). T*he International Handbooks of Museum Studies: Museum Theory*, John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., 211 – 231. ISBN 9781405198509

BIRCH, Jo (2018). Museum spaces and experiences for children – ambiguity and uncertainty in defining the space, the child and the experience. In: *Children's Geographies*, 16(5): 516-528. ISSN 1473-3277

COFFEE, Kevin (2008). Cultural Inclusion, Exclusion and the Formative Roles of Museums. In: *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 23(3): 261-279. ISSN 1872-9185

CSIKSZENTMIHALYI, Mihaly (2014). *Flow and the Foundations of Positive Psychology*. Dordrecht: Springer. ISBN 9789401790888

DEBENEDETTI, Stéphane - CARO, Florence - KREBS, Anne (2000). "I"d Rather Play Than Look at Statues": The Experiences of Children with Art Works and Interactive Devices at an Art Exhibition'. In: *International Journal of Arts Management*, 11(3): 46-58 ISSN 1480-8986

DICKS, Bella - BAMBO, Soyinka - COFFEY, Amanda (2006). Multimodal Ethnography. In: *Qualitative Research*, 6(1): 77-96. ISSN 1741-3109

FALK, John (2009). *Identity and the Museum Visitor Experience.* London: New York: Routledge ISBN 9781598741636

FALK, John H. (1991). Analysis of the behavior of family visitors in natural history museums. In: *Curator*, 34(1): 44-50. ISSN 0011-3069

FALK, John H. – DIERKING, Lynn D. (2000). *Learning from Museums. Visitor Experiences and the Making of Meaning.* Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press. ISBN 9780742502956

GIUSTI, Ellen (2008). Improving Visitor Access. In: TALLON, Loïc – WALKER, Kevin (eds.). *Digital Technologies and the Museum Experience – Handheld Guides and Other Media*. Lanham: AltaMira Press, 97-108. ISBN 9780759112377

GRØN, Karen (2011). Empower the Audience! Audience through Deliberate and Strategic Use of Experience and Learning Theories. In: FRITSCH, Juliette (ed.). *Museum and Gallery Interpretation and Material Culture*. London: New York: Routledge, 204-217. ISBN 9780415885751

HELAL, Dina - MAXSON, Heather - ANCELET, Jeanine. (2013). Lessons Learned: Evaluating the Whitney's Multimedia Guide. In: PROCTOR, Nancy - TELLIS Chris (eds.). *Museums and the Web 2013*. Silver Spring, MD: Museums and the Web, accessed May 29, 2019. https://mw2013.museumsandtheweb.com/paper/lessons-learned-evaluating-the-whitneys-multimedia-guide/. ISBN 9780985227128

HOOPER GREENHILL, Elaine. (1992). *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*. London: New York: Routledge. ISBN 0203724062

JENSEN, Nina (1994). Children's Perceptions of Their Museum Experiences: A Contextual Perspective. In: *Children's Environments*, 11(4): 300-324. ISSN 20510780

JEWITT, Carey. (2012). Digital technologies in museums: New routes to engagement and participation. In: *Designs for Learning*, 5(1-2): 74-93. ISSN 2001-7480

JOHANSON, Katya - GLOW, Hilary (2012). 'It's not enough for the work of art to be great': Children and Young People as Museum Visitors. In: *Participations – Journal of Audience and Reception Studies*, 9(1): 26-42. ISSN 1749-8716

JONCHERY, Anne - BIRAUD, Sophie (2014). Musées en famille, familles au Musée. De l'expérience de visite des familles à des politiques muséales spécifiques. In: *Informations Sociales*, 1(181): 86-95. ISSN 2101-0374

LATIMER, Sue (2011). Art for Whose Sake? In: FRITSCH, Juliette (ed.). *Museum Gallery Interpretation and Material Culture*. London: New York: Routledge, 67-79. ISBN 9780415885751

LUTZ, Catherine (2017). What matters. In: *Cultural Anthropology*, 32(2): 181–191.

ISSN 0886-7356, online ISSN 1548-1360.

MOORHOUSE, Natasha, TOM DIECK Claudia M. – JUNG, Timothy (2019). An experiential view to children learning in museums with Augmented Reality. In: *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 34(4): 402-418. ISSN 1872-9185

NEWMAN, Andrew - MCLEAN, Fiona. (2003). Architectures of Inclusion: Museums, Galleries and Social Inclusion. In: Sandell, Richard (ed.). *Museums, Society, Inequality*. Taylor & Francis e-Library, 56-68. ISBN 0203167384

O'NEILL, Mark. (2003). "The Good Enough Visitor." In Sandell, Richard (ed.). *Museums, Society, Inequality*. London: New York: Routledge, 24-40. ISBN 0203167384

PARIS, Scott. (1997). Situated Motivation and Informal Learning. In: *Journal of Museum Education*, 22(2-3): 22-26. ISSN 1059-8650

PARRY, Ross. (2001). Including Technology. Can New Media Really Help Museums to Meet the Inclusion Agenda. In: DODD, Jocelyn - SANDELL, Richard (eds.). *Including Museums. Perspectives on Museums, Galleries and Social Inclusion*. Leicester: Research Centre for Museums and Galleries, University of Leicester, 104-108. ISBN 189848919X

PINK, Sarah. (2011). Multimodality, multisensoriality and ethnographic knowing: Social semiotics and the phenomenology of perception. In: *Qualitative Research*, 11(3): 261–276. ISSN 1741-3109

PISCITELLI, Barbara - ANDERSON, David. (2001). Young children's perspectives of museum settings and experiences. In: *Museum Management and Curatorship,* 19(3): 269-282. ISSN 1872-9185

RENNICK-EGGLESTONE, Stefan - BRUNDELL, Patrick - KOLEVA, Boriana - ROUSSOU, Maria - CHAFFARDON, Christophe - BENFORD, Steve. (2016). Families and mobile devices in museums: designing for integrated experiences. In: *Journal on Computing and Cultural Heritage*, 9(2): 11/1-11/13. ISSN 1556-4711

ROUSSOU, Maria - KATIFORI, Akrivi. (2018). Flow, Staging, Wayfinding, Personalization: Evaluating User Experience with Mobile Museum Narratives. In: *Multimodal Technologies and Interaction*, 2: 1-32. ISSN 2414-4088

RUBINO, I. - BARBERIS, C. - XHEMBULLA, J. - MALNATI, G. (2015). Integrating a location-based mobile game in the museum visit: Evaluating Visitors' Behaviour and Learning. In: *Journal on Computing and Cultural Heritage*, 8(3): 1-18. ISSN 1556-4711

SAMIS, Peter (2019) Revisiting the utopian promise of interpretive media. An autoethnographic analysis drawn from art museums, 1991 – 2017. In: DROTNER, Kirsten - DZIEKAN, Vince - PARRY, Ross - SCHRØDER, Kim Christian (eds.). *The Routledge Handbook of Museum, Media and Communication*. London: New York: Routledge, 47-66. ISBN 9780367580438

SAMIS, Peter (2007) Gaining Traction in the Vaseline: Visitor Response to a Multi-Track Interpretation Design for Matthew Barney: DRAWING RESTRAINT. In TRANT J. - BEARMAN D. (eds.). *Museums and the Web 2007: Proceedings*. Toronto: Archives & Museum Informatics, published March 1, 2007 accessed October 1, 2020. http://www.archimuse.com/mw2007/papers/samis/samis.html. ISBN 1885626347

SANDELL, Richard (1998). Museums as Agents of Social Inclusion. In: *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 17(4): 401-418. ISSN 1872-9185

TALLON, Loïc. (2008). Introduction: Mobile, Digital, and Personal. In: TALLON, Loïc – WALKER, Kevin (eds.). *Digital Technologies and the Museum Experience – Handheld Guides and Other Media*. Lanham: AltaMira Press, xvii-xviii. ISBN 9780759112377

TALLON, Loïc - WALKER, Kevin. (2008). *Digital Technologies and the Museum Experience: Handheld Guides and Other Media*. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press. ISBN 9780759112377

VAN LEEUWEN, Theo. (2005). *Introducing Social Semiotics*. London: Routledge. ISBN 0203673425

WEIER, Katrina. (2004). Empowering Young Children in Art Museums: Letting Them Take the Lead. In: *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood*, 5(1): 106-116. ISSN 1463-9491

Museums of martyrdom and the pedagogy of remembrance in the context of shaping students' attitudes and future competences

Marta Milewska

Dr Marta Milewska
Vistula University in Warsaw
OBBH IPN in Warsaw
Poland
e-mail: m.milewska@vistula.edu.pl
ORCID:0000-0003-3283-4037

Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo, 2021, 9:4:21-39
DOI: 10.46284/mkd.2021.9.4.2

Museums of martyrdom and the pedagogy of remembrance in the context of shaping students' attitudes and future competences
Museums of martyrdom operate on the sites of former Nazi concentration camps in Poland as memorials to the events of the Second World War. These institutions are part of the pedagogy of remembrance, which is an educational discipline connected with the theories of the German philosopher Theodor W. Adorno. The pedagogy of remembrance assumes that as part of the didactic process, it is important not only to learn about atrocities, but above all to analyse their causes. The discussion and debate surrounding the pedagogy of remembrance have allowed this article to identity the correlation between its assumptions and the shaping of students' attitudes as well as the development of skills included in the key competences. These competences are also referred to in a broader sense as competences of the future, as they are necessary for an individual to function properly in society. The aim of this article is therefore to clarify whether and how museums of martyrdom and the pedagogy of remembrance can foster the development of the skills defined as competences of the future. This article also attempts to indicate the museum activities and didactic methods that can be used by educators at places of remembrance in order to shape attitudes and develop key competencies.

Keywords: museum, museum of martyrdom, pedagogy of remembrance, key competences, competences of the future

In recent years, technological developments have changed the role of the museum. Museums that limit themselves to traditional exhibits have come to be seen as unresponsive to public expectations.[1] Those that more closely resembled places of mass communication rather than "elite salons" have become more popular.[2] Museums, including museums of martyrdom, have thus began to function not only as guides to the past, but also as animators of social life.[3] According to Krzysztof Pomian, this is because visitors come to museums with specific expectations shaped by the media, and thus are not satisfied by the "classical" ways of displaying objects. Today's visitors want something more—presentations and animations that stimulate not only their eyes, ears, and nose, but also their minds, feelings, and emotions. "They

[1] CASEY, Edward. *The Face of Place. A Philosophical History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997, p. 13; MALPAS, Jodi Ellen. *Place and Experience: A Philosophical Topography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 35.

[2] MAJEWSKI, Piotr. Muzeum jako instytucja komunikacji społecznej, Narodowy Instytut Muzealnictwa i Ochrony Zabytków, accessed 14 December 2020, http: https://docplayer.pl/7438611-Muzeum-jako-instytucja-komunikacji-spolecznej-1.html.

[3] CZERNER, Anna and NIEROBA, Elżbieta. *Na styku historii i codzienności. Społeczność lokalna wobec miejsc pamięci*. Opole: Centralne Muzeum Jeńców Wojennych, 2017, p. 306.

want the exhibits to also be a show".[4] In response to these expectations, museums are trying to implement new media techniques.[5] According to Dorota Folga-Januszewska, modern models for museum operations should, however, take into account the use of appropriate didactic methods to foster socially desirable attitudes and skills.[6] In the contemporary educational model, particular attention is paid to shaping the skills necessary for an individual to function in society, that is, key competences, and in a broader sense, competences of the future.[7] Certain questions then arise: Can the educational activities of museums of martyrdom in the social space foster the development of the skills defined as competences of the future? Will a visit to a museum of martyrdom produce only knowledge, or will it produce skills and attitudes that are important from a competence perspective?

As defined in the *Dictionary of the Contemporary Polish Language,* the word *kompetencja* (competence) means "an appropriate range of knowledge and skills, professionalism, ability, and practical knowledge".[8] General competences, on the other hand, are the knowledge, skills, and attitudes acquired through education in primary and secondary schools.[9] These competences "are primarily related to the intellectual development of students with a broad introduction to the world of humanities and social sciences".[10] However, the development of science and technology is generating civilisational progress. The future will bring changes that will require people to have specific knowledge and skills in order to be able to respond effectively to new realities—that is, they must have the right competences. With key competences in mind, the educational process has begun to be designed to make students aware of the need to be constantly learning and to respond appropriately to dynamic situations.[11] Key competences represent the chance for a smooth transition from the competences needed today to the as yet undefined competences of the future. In addition to key competences, the following may also be defined as the social competences of the future: communication, conflict resolution, negotiation, group work, organisation, creativity, mental flexibility, and learning to learn.[12] We are living in a changing reality; various aspects of our lives are changing, including educational curricula, and with them the scope and role of education in shaping the competences of the future. In the modern world, we observe the demand for a form of education which,

---

[4] POMIAN, Krzysztof. Muzeum: kryteria sukcesu. In: *Muzealnictwo*, 50, 2009, pp. 57–64.

[5] BANACH, Krzysztof. Muzeum martyrologiczne jako muzeum konstruktywistyczne. In: KRANZ, Tomasz (ed). *Muzea w poobozowych miejscach pamięci. Tożsamość, znaczenia, funkcje.* Lublin: Państwowe Muzeum na Majdanku, 2017, p. 77.

[6] FOLGA-JANUSZEWSKA, Dorota. Muzeum: definicja i pojęcie. Czym jest muzeum dzisiaj? In: *Muzeologia*, 49, 2008, pp. 200–204.

[7] Compare: HEIN, George. *Learning in the Museum.* London: Routledge, 1998; ZACHARIAS, Wolfgang. *Zeitphänomen Musealisierung. Das Verschwinden der Gegenwart und die Konstruktion der Errinerung.* Essen: Klartext, 1990; HARTMUT, John and DAUSCHEK, Anja. (eds). *Museen neu denken. Perspektiven der Kulturvermittlung und Zielgruppenarbeit.* Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, Landschaftsverband Rheinland, Rheinisches Archiv—und Museumsamt, 2008; YVONNE, Leonard (ed). *Kindermuseen, Strategien und Methoden eines aktuellen Museumstyps.* Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2012.

[8] SIKORSKA-MICHALAK, Anna. WOJNIŁKO, Olga (eds). *Słownik współczesnego języka polskiego.* Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Wilga, 1996, p. 398.

[9] KWIATKOWSKI, Stanisław. *Kompetencje przyszłości.* In: KWIATKOWSKI, Stanisław (ed). *Kompetencje przyszłości.* Warszawa: Fundacja Rozwoju Systemu Edukacji, 2018, p. 17.

[10] OKOŃ, Wincenty. *Nowy słownik pedagogiczny.* Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademickie Żak, 2001, p. 1041–2005.

[11] KWIATKOWSKI, *Kompetencje przyszłości…,*p. 28.

[12] MAYER, Jack and SALOVEY, Peter. Czym jest inteligencja emocjonalna? In: SALOVEY, Peter and SLUYTER Dawid (eds). *Rozwój emocjonalny a inteligencja emocjonalna. Problemy edukacyjne.* Poznań: Dom Wydawniczy Rebis, 1999, pp. 344–345.

while transmitting the values of one's own nation and its culture, at the same time fosters the development of key competences. It is therefore worth considering whether museums of martyrdom in Poland and the pedagogy of remembrance may be part of this educational trend.

Museums of martyrdom operate on the grounds of former Nazi camps in Poland as memorials to the events of the Second World War. In Poland in the 1980s and 1990s, these museums experienced a sharp decline in interest in their activities, which was related to the ongoing political transformation of the period.[13] For several years now, these museums have been experiencing a kind of renaissance, as evidenced by an increasing number of visitors. The largest museum of martyrdom in Poland, the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum, was visited by around 500,000 people a year in the 1990s. In recent years, that figure has risen to 1.5 million visitors. The State Museum at Majdanek observed a similar increase. In the 1990s the site was visited by around 100,000 people a year. In 2015–2016, this number increased to 150,000 visitors per year.[14] These figures indicate increased interest in places of remembrance as well as the need for museum educators to constantly create new didactic methods in response to the changing needs of society and to develop key competencies.[15]

In the 1980s, there was a clear shift in European museum studies away from intuitive operations and towards a practice based on socio-pedagogical theories.[16] The combination of the aforementioned theories with elements of psychology, cognitive science, and knowledge theory has resulted in a variety of educational strategies at places of remembrance. These strategies, according to Krzysztof Banach, "are not [...] usually without influence on the exhibition activities of the institutions where they are implemented".[17] Taking into account educational needs, museums of martyrdom have thus expanded their activities by making their collections more accessible and interactive.[18] Most such institutions in Poland, including the Auschwitz-Birkenau Memorial and Museum, the Stuthoff Museum, the State Museum at Majdanek, the Gross-Rosen Museum in Rogoźnica, and the Central Museum of Prisoners of War in Łambinowice-Opole have adapted their exhibitions to visitors' needs and expectations. Exhibitions are still their primary activity, but they now also take into account didactic methods and the need to develop future competences. Keeping in mind the three pillars of historical education—knowledge, skills, and attitudes—these museums of martyrdom strive to make places of remembrance into institutions which not only transmit knowledge, but also help shape attitudes and skills in accordance with didactic concepts of historical education about the Second World War.

Pierre Nora was the first to analyse the collective memory of a given community through the description of the topography of recognisable memorial sites.[19] In his case, the community was the French nation. In Germany, the concept of memorial sites was developed by Etienne François and Hagen Schulze, who, unlike Pierre Nora, did not use the nation as the basis of reference, but invited historians, ethnologists, sociologists, lawyers, etc. to cooperate.[20] These

13 FOUCAULT, Michel. *Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Random House, 1975, p. 26; ADAMSKA, Jolanta. Pamięć i miejsca pamięci w Polsce po II wojnie światowej. In: *Przeszłość i Pamięć,* 1, 1998, p. 9.

[14] ADAMSKA, *Pamięć i miejsca…*, p. 9.

[15] BANACH, *Muzeum martyrologiczne jako…*, p. 73.

[16] HEIN, *Learning in the Museum…*, p. 34.

[17] BANACH, *Muzeum martyrologiczne jako…*, p. 74.

[18] CZERNER, Nieroba, *Na styku historii i codzienności…*, p. 306.

[19] NORA, Pierre. *Les lieux de mémoire*, Paris: Gallimard, 1984–1992, pp. 1–7.

[20] FRANCOIS, Etienne and SCHULZE Hagen (eds). *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, vol. 1–3. München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2001–2003.

activities resulted in the analysis of memorial sites in various countries.[21] The studies created in this way currently support the pedagogy of remembrance, which, on the one hand, sustains the memory of the victims of Nazi crimes, and on the other, shapes social attitudes and behaviour desired in democracy.[22]

The origin of the pedagogy of remembrance as an educational trend is linked to the theories of the German philosopher Theodor W. Adorno, who in his essay *Erziehungnach Auschwitz* (Education after Auschwitz) emphasised that the mere remembrance of the atrocities committed by the Nazis during the Second World War does not guarantee that these tragic events will not be repeated in the future. Adorno's postulate "that Auschwitz should never happen again" became the starting point for the concept known as the pedagogy of remembrance. Following his theory, it was not only sharing knowledge about the atrocities, but above all analysing their causes that was essential to the didactic process. Thus, a characteristic element of Adorno's concept of "education after Auschwitz" was to make the next generation aware of the social and psychological mechanisms that led to the crimes. According to Adorno, analysing the causes of the crimes was aimed at developing desirable attitudes and behaviours, such as critical thinking, the ability to express one's own views, and the ability to negotiate and discuss, as well as the formation of civic attitudes.[23] Despite the passage of time, these attitudes and skills have not lost their relevance, and are even part of the competences of the future.

> The museum spaces at concentration camp sites are places of remembrance which contextualise the process of analytical reflection and give it an exemplified character, while the educational activities are features of concretised social prevention.[24]

The above considerations indicate a correlation between the assumptions of the pedagogy of remembrance and the development of the skills and competences that are key to the proper functioning of an individual in society.

The development of the concept of the pedagogy of remembrance was first observed in Germany. It was initially seen as part of a process of reckoning between German society and the legacy of Nazism. In the early 1970s, this concept formed the basis for the activities of the Action Reconciliation Service for Peace (*AktionSühnezeichen*) and was developed into a form of historical and political education. The Action Reconciliation Service for Peace is an organisation that arranges educational trips to the sites of former concentration camps in Poland. On the

[21] BANK, Jan and MATHIJSEN, Marita. *Plaatsen van herinnering. Nederland in de negentiende eeuw*. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2011; BRIX, Emil, BRUCKMüLLER Ernst, and STEKL, Hannes (eds). *Memoria Austriae*, vol. 1–3. Wien-München: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik 2004–2005; KMIEC, Sonja, MAJERUS, Bonoit, MARGUE, Michel, and PEPORTE, Pit. *Lieux de mémoire au Luxembourg. Usages du passé et construction nationale. Erinnerungsorte in Luxemburg. Umgang mit der Vergangenheit und Konstruktion der Nation*. Luxembourg: Éditions Saint-Paul 2007; KRIES, Georg. *Schweizer Erinnerungsorte. Aus dem Speicher der Swissness*. Zürich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 2010; PRAK, Maarten. *Plaatsen van herinnering. Nederland in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw*. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2006.

[22] SCHEURICH, Imke. NS-Gedenkstätten als Orte kritischer historiach-politischer Bildung. In: THIMM, Barbara, KößLER, Gotfriet. and ULRICH, Susanne (eds). *Verunsichernde Orte. Selbstverständnis und Weiterbildung in der Gedenkstättenpädagogik*. Frankfurt am Main: Brandes und Apsel, 2010, pp. 38–44; RATHENOW, Hanns-Fred. Gedankstättenpädagogik. In: RICHTER, Dagmar and WEIβENO, Georg (eds). *Lexikon der politischen Bildung*. Bd. 3 (*Didaktik Und Schule*). Schwalbad: Wochenschau Verlag, 1999, pp. 79–82; KROH, Jens. *Transnatiionale Erinnerung. Der Holocaust im Fokus geschichtspolitischer Iniciativen*. Frankfurt–New York: Amazon.de: Bücher, 2006.

[23] ADORNO, Theodor W. *Erziehung zur Mündigkeit*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp; 1. Auflage, 1970, p. 92.

[24] BANACH, *Muzeum martyrologiczne jako…*, p. 76.

one hand, these trips are intended as an expression of solidarity with the victims of the Second World War, while on the other hand, they are an opportunity to learn about Nazism at the scenes of its crimes.[25] The memorial education (*Gedenkstättenpädagogik*) initiated by German researchers was also aimed at reflecting on the phenomenon of remembrance itself and its usefulness in didactic education.[26]

According to the German theorists of the pedagogy of remembrance Norbert H. Weber and Hanns F. Rathenow, places of remembrance are places where we encounter "iron witnesses", that is, objects that transmit knowledge and help shape our attitudes.[27] Thus, in the German understanding, the pedagogy of remembrance became a form of historical and social education aimed at promoting the memory of the victims of Nazi crimes and shaping socially acceptable attitudes and behaviours.[28] According to Rathenow, when conducted within the framework of the pedagogy of remembrance, the educational process should combine active action with affective and pragmatic elements.[29]

In the 1990s, German museums played an important role in the development of the pedagogy of remembrance and may be considered as catalysing a culture of remembrance.

> In general, in the German understanding, the pedagogy of remembrance promotes an active, open, and multifaceted confrontation of the past and combines historical reflection with the creation of attitudes and behaviours desirable in a democracy,

wrote Tomasz Kranz.[30] The pedagogy of remembrance is a concept that emphasises the didactic and educational importance of knowledge of Nazi crimes, and particularly knowledge acquired at museums at the sites of former Nazi concentration camps.[31] Educational activities carried out within the framework of the pedagogy of remembrance should be oriented towards learning about the history of the given place—a Nazi concentration camp—and towards stimulating thought processes that foster critical thinking and broaden historical awareness.[32] The above considerations on the pedagogy of remembrance indicate that there is great potential for its use in the process of forming key competences.

---

[25] SKRIVER, Ansgar. *Aktion Suehnezeichen. Bruecken uber Blut und Asche*. Stuttgart: Walter de Gruyter, 1962, pp. 131–135; KRANZ, Tomasz. Pedagogika pamięci. In: *Nigdy więcej*, 18, 2010.

[26] See: BRINKMANN, Annette (ed). *Learning from History. The Nazi Era and the Holocaust in German Education*. Bonn: American Association of Teachers of German, 2000; EHMANN, Annegret (ed). *Praxis der Gedenkstättenpädagogik. Erfahrungen und Perspektiven*. Opladen: Leske und Budrich, 1995; KAHLS Heike. *Erinnern lernen? Pädagogische Arbeit in Gedenkstätten*, Münster: Agenda Päda-gogik, 1996; KRANZ, Tomasz. Einleitung. In: KRANZ. Tomasz (ed), *ZurPädagogik der Erinnerung. Bedingungen, Ziele und Methodenhistorischer Bildung in Gedenkstätten*. Lublin: Państwowe Muzeumna Majdanku, 2015, p. 8.

[27] WEBNER. Norbert and RATHENOW, Hanss-Fred. Pedagogika miejsc pamięci—próba bilansu. Translated by SZYMAŃSKI, Mirosław and LEWANDOWSKA, Izabela. In: *Kwartalnik Pedagogiczny*, 2, 1996, p. 24.

[28] SCHEURICH Imke. NS-GedenkstättenalsOrtekritischerhistorisch-politischerBildung, In: THIMM, Barbara, KŐβLER, Gottfried, and ULRICH, Susanne (eds). *VerunsicherndeOrte, Selbstverständnis und Weiterbildung in der Gedenkstättenpädagogik*. Frankfurt am Main: Brandes + Apsel Verlag Gm, 2010, pp. 38–44.

[29] RATHENOW, Hanns-Fred. Gedenkstättenpädagogik. In: RICHTER, Dagmar and WEIβENO, Georg (eds), *Lexikon der politischenBildung,* vol. 3 (*Didaktik und Schule*). Schwalbad: WochenSchau Verlag, 1999, pp. 79–82.

[30] KRANZ, Tomasz. Pedagogika miejsc pamięci. In: *Obyczaje*, 16, 2004, pp. 5–8.

[31] KRANZ Tomasz. Pedagogika miejsc pamięci. In: PILCH, Tadeusz (ed), *Encyklopedia pedagogiczna XXI wieku,* vol. 4. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademickie Żak, 2005, pp. 1701–1772.

[32] KRANZ, Tadeusz. Uwagi na temat rozwoju działalności pedagogicznej muzeów upamiętnienia w Polsce i Niemczech. In: *Zeszyty Majdanka*, 22, 2003, pp. 4014–4015.

The principles of the pedagogy of remembrance were gradually developed in Poland from the 1990s onwards by the museums of martyrdom established at the sites of the former concentration camps in Auschwitz, Stutthoff, and Majdanek. In Communist Poland, these museums conducted mainly awareness and propaganda activities. It was not until the late 1990s that the educational activities of Polish museums of martyrdom began to change. They began to focus not only on imparting historical knowledge, but also on stimulating thought processes.[33] The development of the pedagogy of remembrance in Poland was a process that required a change in museums' self-awareness as institutions of historical and social education and required them to define the scope of their activities as places of remembrance and to create appropriate methodological and material conditions. To use the pedagogy of remembrance in the teaching process, museums also had to cooperate with schools in the areas of methodology and didactics.[34]

Although the pedagogy of remembrance has both a theoretical basis and a developed methodology, it is still difficult to find a definition that fully reflects its essence, aims, content, and educational forms.[35] This is because the pedagogy of remembrance is based on the assumption that in the educational process, the perception of authentic historical places should be kept in mind, as should reflection on the memory of the past. The scenes of atrocities evoke specific impressions and feelings that can lead us to experience and learn about the past. The memory of the past is "a constitutive element of individual and collective identities and at the same time a matrix that shapes the way we perceive and understand the world".[36] Cultivating the memory of historical events is seen today as an important element in the life of the individual and a nation. According to the French researcher of memory and history, Pierre Nora, "memory [...] is life: its bearers are always groups of the living".[37]According to A. D. Smith, cultivating memory and the past is essential to the survival of society.[38] Each individual and collective memory—social, national, and cultural—is the basis of human development.[39] This view was also shared by M. Foucault, who recognised that memory is an important cultural and political resource.[40]

> Social memory is about generations of children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren and even further social inheritors having a sense of some continuity with their predecessors' generations, and thus a sense of continuity of fortune, a sense of identity and responsibility for the past and the future.[41]

---

[33] KRANZ, *Pedagogika miejsc pamięci*…, p. 6.
[34] Ibid., p. 6.
[35] KRANZ, Tomasz. Pedagogika pamięci jako forma edukacji muzealnej. In: KRANZ, Tomasz (ed). *Wizyty edukacyjne w Państwowym Muzeum na Majdanku. Poradnik dla nauczycieli.* Lublin: Muzeum Państwowe na Majdanku, 2012, pp. 111–115.
[36] KRANZ, *Pedagogika miejsc pamięci*…, p. 6.
[37] Compare: NORA, Pierre. *Rethinking France. Les Lieux de memoire, Vol. 2: Space.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006; NORA, Pierre. Between Memory and History. Les Lieux de mémoire. In: *Representation,* 26, 1989.
[38] SMITH, Anthony. *Myths and Memories of the Nation.* Oxford–New York: Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 34.
[39] Compare: NIETZSCHE, Friedrich. *On the Advantage and Disadvantage of History for Life.* Indianapolis: Hackett, 1980; RICOEUR, Paul. *Memory, History, Forgetting.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.
[40] FOUCAULT, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison.* New York: Random House, 1975, p. 25.
[41] GOLKA, Marian. *Pamięć społeczna i jej implanty.* Warszawa: Scholar, 2008, p. 8.

Past events, as Alan R. H. Baker rightly pointed out, can evoke an overriding sense of unity.[42] The above considerations lead to the conclusion that the past influences the present. This fact has become one of the postulates of the pedagogy of remembrance, namely "to learn from history".[43] It is worth noting that the pedagogy of remembrance has many points of contact with regional and intercultural education and thus is becoming part of European education. In turn, intercultural communication promotes dialogue between peoples, combats stereotypes, and raises awareness of diversity.[44]

Today, the pedagogy of remembrance is seen not only as a form of critical historical self-awareness, but also as an element of the educational process which shapes active attitudes towards threats to democracy and human rights violations. The general aim of contemporary pedagogy of remembrance is to help visitors learn about the history of a place of martyrdom. On the other hand, its specific objectives are about activating the cognitive process, which is important for our internal development. Museums of martyrdom and their memorials are thus intended to "facilitate orientation in the world and stimulate social activity".[45] An analysis of the aims of the pedagogy of remembrance may conclude that it fosters the development of skills which are also important from the perspective of key competences.

The educational activities conducted at places of remembrance not only foster the development of cognitive attitudes, but also support the shaping of the key competences developed when learning about history. The postulates of the pedagogy of remembrance are compatible with the general aims of education on the Second World War. This was also pointed out by Tomasz Kranz, who wrote,

> the basic didactic postulate from the perspective of the Second World War is to indicate the necessity of shaping a sense of responsibility and creating an attitude of tolerance and sensitivity to the feelings and values of other people. Responsibility and empathy are therefore the primary categories of civic education referring to historical heritage.[46]

In the light of the definition included in Wincenty Okoń's *Słównik pedagogiczny* (Dictionary of Pedagogy), civic education is

> raising awareness of the functional mechanisms of the modern state, aimed at shaping social, civic, and patriotic feelings and attitudes, as well as preparation for practical activities related to functioning as citizens of the state.[47]

---

[42] BAKER, Alan R. H. *Geography and History: Bridging the Divide.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 135; FAULKNER, William. *Requiem for a Nun.* New York: Random House, 1951, p. 73; AUGE, Marc. *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity.* New York–London: Verso, 1995, p. 34.

[43] KRANZ, Tomasz, *Pedagogika pamięci jako forma edukacji…*, p. 11.

[44] Compare: NEIRICH, Uwe. *Erinnern heiβt wachsam bleiben. Pädagogische Arbeit in und mit NS-gedenkstaätten.* Mülheim: Verlag an der Ruhr, 2000; KLIMOWICZ, Anna.(ed). *Edukacja międzykulturowa. Poradnik dla nauczyciela.* Warszawa: Ośrodek Rozwoju Edukacji, 2004.

[45] WEBER, Norbert H. and RATHENOW, Hanns-Fred. Education at the memorials: an assessment. In: *Kwartalnik Pedgogiczny*, Wydział Pedagogiczny Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2, 1996, pp. 376–379; KRANZ, *Pedagogika miejsc pamięci…*, p. 7.

[46] KRANZ, Tomasz. *Edukacja historyczna w miejscach pamięci. Zarys problematyki.* Lublin: Stowarzyszenie „Dialog i Współpraca", 2009, p. 19.

[47] OKOŃ, Wincenty. *Słownik pedagogiczny.*.Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1981, p. 349.

Krzysztof Banach, on the other hand, stated that

> as a strategy of informal historical education about the Second World War, the pedagogy of remembrance may be classified as a progressive trend in education.[48]

According to WiesławWysok, the pedagogy of remembrance

> links remembrance of the victims of the Nazi dictatorship with the shaping of the behaviours and values valued in a democracy and postulates that the learning process initiated at places of remembrance is oriented towards visitors' activeness and occurs on the intellectual, practical, affective, and reflective levels.[49]

Among the important features of the pedagogy of remembrance is the shift from focusing on teaching to learning. Learning to learn is a key competence. Independent learning therefore plays an important role in developing the competences of the future. This competence can be defined as the process by which students acquire specific knowledge, skills, and habits through direct and indirect learning about reality. According to Wiesław Wysok,

> One of the necessary conditions [for self-education] is the individualisation of the learning process, understood as personally "living" and "experiencing" history, building new ways to approach the past, and forming one's own opinion about it.[50]

Museums of martyrdom are not only places of remembrance but also places of self-education; through their authenticity, they allow people to "live" and "experience" history.

Learning about the past through experience, that is, experiencing the authenticity of a place of remembrance, refers to the theory of American philosopher and educator John Dewey, who described a combination of cognition and action ("learning by doing").[51] The Dewey concept, upon which the pedagogy of remembrance draws, promotes teamwork and the acquisition of specific historical competences. Thus, the pedagogy of remembrance fosters the development of competences which are important for an individual to function in adult life, as it combines social and historical values. The emphasis on experience and experiential learning in the educational process is also characteristic of the pedagogy of remembrance. Tomasz Kranz has rightly pointed out that

> of key importance is [...] the development of problem-oriented thinking and the skills desired in classroom education, which in turn shape historical culture and the preferred cognitive attitudes, and thus contribute to equipping learners with specific competences and skills and support the development of teamwork skills as well as the acquisition of

[48] BANACH, *Muzeum martyrologiczne jako…*, p. 78.

[49] WYSOK, Wiesław. Edukacja w muzeach upamiętnienia in situ—postulaty, możliwości i granice oddziaływania dydaktycznego. In: WYSOK, Wiesław and STĘPNIAK, Andrzej (eds). *Edukacja muzealna w Polsce. Aspekty, konteksty, ujęcia*. Lublin: Muzeum Państwowe na Majdanku, 2013, p. 40.

[50] WYSOK, Wiesław. Wokół problematyki uwarunkowań i efektów edukacji w muzeach upamiętnienia. In: *Zeszyty Majdanka*, 26, 2014, pp. 3213–3222.

[51] Compare: DEWEY, John. *Experience and Education*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997.-

> specific historical habits and competences.[52]

The pedagogy of remembrance creates the opportunity for direct contact with authentic documents and monuments at the museums on the sites of former Nazi concentration camps. One element of the pedagogy of remembrance is to conduct the educational process so as to leave space for students to reflect on the past on the one hand, and to encourage them to reflect on their own views and attitudes on the other. According to Tomasz Kranz,

> In this view, the pedagogy of remembrance is an attempt to activate a moral and social dimension of the historical memory of totalitarian crimes and, at the same time, to stimulate future-oriented action in a spirit of emancipation and empathy.[53]

In the Official Journal of the European Union C189 of 4 June 2018, the *Council Recommendation of 22 May 2018 on key competences for lifelong learning* reads:

> everyone has the right to quality and inclusive education, training and lifelong learning in order to maintain and acquire skills that allow full participation in society and successful transitions in the labour market.[54]

In this regard, the following competences were identified:
1) literacy competence;
2) multilingual competence;
3) mathematical competence and competence in science, technology, and engineering;
4) digital competence;
5) personal, social, and learning to learn competence;
6) citizenship competence;
7) entrepreneurship competence;
8) cultural awareness and expression competence.[55]

It follows from the above that the key competences identified by the European Council include competences which can be developed at places of remembrance and through the educational activities of museums of martyrdom. All of the key competences listed above can be developed during the students' visits to museums of martyrdom. It is therefore worth pointing out a few examples. An educator's communication with students visiting the museum promotes the development of the literacy competence. Museums of martyrdom are located at the sites of Nazi concentration camps from the Second World War. During the tour, students encounter German words which require explanation from the educator—this should be combined with the development of the multilingual competence. Information on the area itself and the geography of the place of remembrance can in turn be linked to the development of the science, technology, and engineering competence. Any multimedia devices that the students

[52] KRANZ, *Pedagogika pamięci*…, pp. 171–178.
[53] Ibid., p. 8.
[54] *Council Recommendation of 22 May 2018 on key competences for lifelong learning. Official Journal of the European Union* C 189, p. 7, accessed on 4 February 2021, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=OJ:C:2018:189:FULL&from=EN.
[55] *Council Recommendations of 22 May 2018 on key competences*..., pp.71–73.

encounter during their visit to the museum may help develop the digital competence. A visit to the place of remembrance and its impact on students' emotions combined with an experiential education on the tragedies of the Second World War and the creation of didactic situations enabling independent education should be understood as developing the personal, social, and learning to learn competences. Educational activities at places of remembrance also foster the development of citizenship competences by highlighting the consequences of the failure to respect human rights. The image of prisoners' life in the camp and the need to adapt to the reality of the camp and develop the ability to cope with the conditions of the camp can be used in the analysis of skills included in entrepreneurial competences. The museum exhibition, on the other hand, fosters the development of the cultural awareness and expression competence.

Based on the considerations above, we may conclude that museums of martyrdom and the pedagogy of remembrance foster the development of particular key competences, although—it should be clearly noted—to an unequal extent. Among the key competences, we may identify those to which the educational activities of museums of martyrdom may offer significant support. The key competences that can be developed at places of remembrance include literacy competence, personal, social, and learning to learn competence, and citizenship competence. It is citizenship competence that museums of martyrdom and the pedagogy of remembrance foster particularly strongly. This competence is defined as the ability to act and participate fully in civic and social life based on an understanding of social, economic, legal, and political concepts and structures, as well as global events and sustainable development.[56] As a competence for the future, active citizenship means not only being a member of a political party, being active in non-governmental organisations, and participating in decision-making processes, but also cultivating democratic values such as human rights, multiculturalism, tolerance, etc.[57]

The ability to acquire axiological, social, and civic competences plays an important role in the educational process; according to the idea of lifelong learning, these competences should be constantly developed and defined. According to Krystyna Chałas, these competences are essential in preparing students to be effective in the future.[58] Historical and civic education is responsible for their development. These competences include developing students' social and civic awareness, developing critical thinking, shaping attitudes, and instilling values. The role of modern education is not only to share knowledge, but also to improve practical skills and shape socially acceptable attitudes, such as tolerance, patriotism, and respect for other cultures and traditions. Museums of martyrdom are therefore good places to develop the skills and attitudes mentioned above.

We live in a dynamically changing reality and an uncertain future, and therefore shaping the citizenship competences that are included among the key competences should be afforded an appropriate place in the educational process. Thus, fostering students' interest in history based on the pedagogy of remembrance, cooperation between schools and museums of martyrdom,

[56] BORGENSZTAJN, Joanna, KARCZEWSKA-GZIK, Agnieszka, MILEWSKA, Marta, WITKOWSKA, Elżbieta, and MALINOWSKI, Michał. *Wytyczne wraz z aneksem do tworzenia programów nauczania i scenariuszy zajęć*. 2018, p.50, accessed 14 December 2020, https://www.ore.edu.pl/wpcontent/uploads/2018/08/wytyczne_wraz_z_aneksem_do_tworzenia_programow_nauczania-1.pdf .

[57] NAPIONEK, Olga. Kompetencje społeczne i obywatelskie—czym są i w jaki sposób można je rozwijać dzięki projektom edukacyjnym? In: TOŁWIŃSKA-KRÓLIKOWSKA, Elżbieta (ed), *Dzieci obywatele*. Warszawa: Fundacja Inicjatyw Oświatowych, 2013, p. 19.

[58] CHAŁAS, Krystyna. Przyszłość należy do świadomych i aktywnych obywateli. Jakie kompetencje są im niezbędne? Jak skutecznie je kształtować? (Perspektywa aksjologiczna). In: KWIATKOWSKI, Stanisław (ed), *Kompetencje przyszłości*. Warszawa: Fundacja Rozwoju Systemu Edukacji, 2018, p. 48.

and experiential learning are essential elements in the process of developing key competences, that is, the knowledge, skills, and attitudes necessary for students to function properly in adult life. Education at places of remembrance creates a wide range of possibilities in terms of educational content, from historical knowledge, to moral value systems, to issues which shape the attitudes that are important for an individual to function in a society, such as a respect for human rights, tolerance, fighting discrimination, and responding to violence and aggression.[59] Human rights, a sense of national identity, and openness to the achievements of other nations are shaped by reference to various historical events, including the difficult events of the Second World War, places of remembrance, and Nazi concentration and extermination camps.[60]

Museums of martyrdom not only provide knowledge, but also allow direct contact with the scene of the crime, enabling us to analyse the causes and effects of events, synthesise the information obtained, and draw the right conclusions. Education at memorials is based on their authenticity, which enables students to be emotionally involved, to form attitudes, and to develop interest in the past, and which teaches independent thinking and encourages active participation. A readiness to act, acceptance of differences, and respect for others' values and privacy are essential skills for the future.[61] It is important that educators who conduct classes at museums of martyrdom use a variety of didactic methods, especially those methods that foster the development of key competences, and in particular the literacy, personal, social and learning to learn, citizenship, and cultural awareness and expression competences.

The need to develop key competences and the ability to use our knowledge in practice has meant that traditional teaching methods based mainly on the verbal delivery of information are now inadequate, for obvious reasons.[62] A museum of martyrdom's activities should be based on methods which involve the pupils in the process of cognition and discovery, making them active participants in the learning process. In this respect, contemporary didactics point to activating methods which affect the effectiveness of the learning process and which motivate students to acquire knowledge independently and to develop interdisciplinary skills.[63] When selecting didactic methods, places of remembrance should take into account the recommendations for methods that activate students' learning and creativity and the social dimension of education, as well as active and experiential education.

The methods that can be used by educators at museums of martyrdom and that have a positive impact on shaping attitudes and developing key competences include discussion, debate, negotiation, decision trees, projects, brainstorming, case analysis, and group work.[64]

---

[59] Compare: HAUG, Verena. *Am „autentischen" Ort. Paradoxien der Gedenkstätten pedagogik*. Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2015; KRANZ, *Pedagogika miejsc pamięci*…, p. 7.

[60] MILEWSKA, Marta. Prawa człowieka w edukacji historycznej w gimnazjum. In: JASKIERNIA, Jerzy and SPRYSZAK, Kamil (eds). *Ochrona praw człowieka w Polsce. Aksjologia—instytucje—nowe wyzwania—praktyka,* vol. IV. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2017, p. 35.

[61] MAZUR-RAFAŁ, Monika and SZAROTA, Magdalena. Edukacja na rzecz praw człowieka. Zarys metodologiczny. In: MILCZARSKI, Radosław, MAZUR-RAFAŁ, Monika, SZAROTA, Magdalena, LIPKA, Monika, and CZAJKA, Katarzyna (eds). *Historia a prawa człowieka. Podręcznik*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Ośrodek Karta, 2013, p. 34.

[62] TOTT, Samuel (ed). *Teaching Holocaust Literature*. Boston: Macmillan, 2001.

[63] PANIMASZ, Katarzyna and LEWANDOWSKI, Grzegorz (eds). *Historia i społeczeństwo. Planowanie—realizacja—ewaluacja*. Warszawa: Ośrodek Rozwoju Edukacji, 2012, p. 7. The publication was created as part of the project "Implementation of the core curriculum of general education in kindergartens and schools".

[64] STAWOWY, Ewa**.** Edukacja o prawach człowieka. Strategia dla organizacji pozarządowych i placówek kulturalno-oświatowych. In: KOBA, Laura and WACŁAWCZYK, Wiesław (eds), *Prawa człowieka. Wybrane zagadnienia i problemy*. Warszawa: Oficyna a Wolters Kluwer Business, 2009, p. 574.

In using activating methods, an educator works similarly to a teacher who only introduces the students to the issues of the day, who skilfully directs and motivates them, but who largely leaves the students to work on their own.[65] The pedagogy of remembrance uses various forms of learning, including group work, discussion, storytelling, drama, etc. As they involve teamwork, these methods account for the social aspect of education. Being oriented towards practical action and experiential learning, they are therefore conducive to the formation of future competences. In the pedagogy of remembrance, the search for knowledge and understanding takes precedence over more traditional didactic methods, which also undoubtedly favours the development of key competences. However, developing the competences of the future at museums of martyrdom requires an appropriate organisational and time framework. A visit to a place of remembrance lasting several hours provides visitors with only general historical information, while projects, workshops, and seminars offer greater learning opportunities but also require greater organisational effort.

In addressing issues related to the martyrology of the place of remembrance, the project method is the gold standard.[66] A project is a planned activity based on a division of labour whose aim is to produce a specific product, for example, a multimedia presentation, exhibition, film report, etc. Projects may deal with general issues related to the culture of remembrance or may be strictly related to a particular museum of martyrdom; they may be integrated in the curricula or directly related to a place of remembrance. The diversity of the issues related to museums of martyrdom and the wide range of available themes mean that such projects should be given the appropriate time. Students can create remembrance projects individually or in groups. In each case, the project should have the same stages—selecting a topic, defining objectives, agreeing with students, developing a plan and a schedule, and implementing, presenting, and evaluating the project.[67] Projects whose final product is, for example, a multimedia presentation, may be implemented in both primary and secondary schools. However, we should adapt the project methodologies to students' psychological and physical development, and to account for students with special educational needs.[68]

An educational project conducted at a place of remembrance is therefore a form of education oriented towards applying knowledge in practice and fostering the development of conceptual and teamwork skills.[69] The project method allows students to interact with artefacts and documents, that is, to directly experience history—something which traditional classroom education cannot provide. A project conducted on the premises of a museum of

---

[65] Compare: BRUDNIK, Edyta, MOSZYŃSKA, Anna, and OWCZARSKA, Beata. *Ja i mój uczeń pracujemy aktywnie. Przewodnik po metodach aktywizujących.* Kielce: Wydawnictwo Jedność, 2000.

[66] There are numerous studies devoted to the Project method, such as: NEIRICH, Uwe. *Erinneren hei*ßt *wachsam vleiben. Pädagoische Arbeit in uns NS-Gedaenkstätten.* Mülheim an der Ruhr: AK Ruhr, 2000, pp. 42–77.; ZAJĄC, Bożena. *Metoda projektów jako strategia postępowania dydaktycznego w liceum profilowanym.* Łódź: Łódzkie Centrum Doskonalenia Nauczycieli i Kształcenia Praktycznego, 2002; GŁOWACKI, Stanisław. *Metoda projektów jako narzędzie integracji.* Kielce: Wojewódzki Ośrodek Metodyczny, 1999; KRÓLIKOWSKI, Jacek. *Projekt edukacyjny—materiały dla zespołów międzyprzedmiotowych.* Warszawa: Centralny Ośrodek Doskonalenia Nauczycieli, 2000; MIKINA, Agnieszka. *Metoda projektów w kreowaniu przedsiębiorczych postaw uczniów.* Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 1997.

[67] JADCZAK, Maria. Metoda projektów w nauczaniu historii i wiedzy o społeczeństwie. In: ROSZAK, Stanisław, STRZELECKA, Roszak Malgorzata, and WIECZOREK, Agnieszka (eds). *Miejsca pamięci w edukacji historycznej*, vol. VI. Toruń: Stowarzyszenie Oświatowców Polskich, 2009, pp. 2522–2555.

[68] *Rozporządzenie z dnia 9 sierpnia 2017 roku w sprawie zasad udzielania i organizacji pomocy psychologiczno -pedagogicznej w publicznych przedszkolach, szkołach i placówkach* (Dz. U. 25 August 2017 pos. 1591).

[69] KRANZ, *Edukacja w miejscach pamięci*…, p. 21.

martyrdom requires a lot of effort on the part of museum educators, teachers, and students; at the same time, it can also be a source of satisfaction for all participants.[70] Interdisciplinary projects based on the cross-curricular teaching model, showing various levels and perspectives of the relationship between the past and the present, are extremely valuable in the process of developing key competences. As Volkhard Knigge writes,

> If we want to strengthen civic consciousness through historical exhibitions, we must leave space for viewers to reflect, to ask their own questions, and to build analogies between history and the present by referring to their own experience.[71]

The educational activity of museums is considered as non-formal education, that is, a voluntary form of learning that occurs outside the formal education system. This type of education is seen as supporting the development of competences to which sufficiently large amounts of time cannot be devoted in the education system. Non-formal education is characterised by a free choice of place and time to study, non-compulsory teaching content, the use of various teaching and learning methods, a multi-directional process of interactions and relations between people participating in this form of education, and the lack of formal recognition of the acquired knowledge and competences.[72] Non-formal education is also defined as a lifelong process, including not only expanding knowledge and skills, but also shaping attitudes and values using innovative and active teaching methods. Martyrdom museums, despite the fact that they conduct informal education, more and more often become institutions open to the needs of the education system. This statement points to the need to constantly create new forms of cooperation between schools and museums of martyrdom. Among the forms of informal education provided by martyrdom museums in Poland, the dominant ones are those that allow direct contact with the historical heritage, that is: tours, lessons at the museum, exhibitions, workshops (including therapeutic workshops for people with disabilities and those who are socially excluded), and educational projects.

However, this cooperation requires the involvement of both institutions—museums of martyrdom as well as schools, teachers, and educators. Cooperative activities should be conducted at various levels, ranging from developing curricula and lesson plans to academic competitions and educational projects. According to those who study historical education:

> A well-prepared lesson in a museum, developed in accordance with the curriculum and in cooperation with a history teacher, promotes a better assimilation of knowledge, teaches observation and comparison, and finally allows for the concretisation of ideas that are the basis for the formation of historical concepts.[73]

---

[70] NEIRICH, Uwe. *Erinnernheißt wachsambleiben. Pädagogische Arbeit in und mit NS-Gedenkstätten*. Mülheim; Verlag an der Ruhr, 2000.

[71] WÓYCICKA, Zofia. Zofia Wóycicka spoke to Professor Volkhard Knigge on the occasion of the planned opening of an exhibition devoted to forced labourers in Warsaw in January 2013. In: *Zagłada* Żydów. Studia *I Materiały*, 8, 201, p. 492; BANACH, Krzysztof. Exhibiting Violence or Teaching Values? Historical Exhibitions at a Modern Museum of Martyrdom. In: *Przegląd Historyczny*, 107, 1, 2016, p. 94.

[72] KURZĘPA, Jacek. O potrzebie komplementarności w edukacji formalnej i nieformalnej: aplikacje teoretyczno-praktyczne. In: KACZANOWSKA, Jagna (ed). *Doświadczać uczenia. Materiały konferencyjne*. Warszawa: Fundacja Rozwoju Systemu Edukacji, pp. 45–52.

[73] CHORĄŻY, Ewa, KONIECZNA-ŚLIWIŃSKA, Danuta, and ROSZAK, Stanisław. *Edukacja historyczna w szkole—teoria i praktyka*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2008, p. 258.

Museums of martyrdom "combine the power of the real thing and the real place",[74] so that by visiting these places, students have the opportunity to interact with both history and the memory of the place. In practice, this learning process is based on the students' activity, on creating situations that foster an independent understanding of history, the "discovery" of historical truth, and the drawing of appropriate conclusions.

Informal education provided by martyrdom museums is an activity aimed at the future. This education is not about direct teaching, but first and foremost about learning. In practice, this means that more attention in the education process is paid to the activity of participants in pedagogical projects carried out by martyrdom museums, creating opportunities for independent research, discovering historical truth and thus reaching conclusions, rather than transmitting only historical facts. The theorists of the pedagogy of remembrance also emphasise other attributes of martyrdom museums, such as interdisciplinarity and empiricality.[75] Martyrdom museums are carriers of memory and are based on universal values; therefore they are a good starting point for a lively dialogue and are places that encourage people to draw the right conclusions. The pedagogy of remembrance is therefore an attempt to activate historical memory of totalitarian crimes and at the same time to stimulate actions for the future in the spirit of emancipation and empathy. As a form of extracurricular historical and social education, it is an important element in teaching history and developing the competences of the future.

The Polish educationalist Jerzy Maternicki recognised that "inquiry into historical truth by students is, of course, possible only if they are properly prepared for it".[76] A visit to a museum of martyrdom is intended to consolidate, systematise, and deepen knowledge previously acquired during history lessons in the classroom, as well as to acquire new knowledge through direct contact with the place of remembrance. It is noteworthy that after visiting such a memorial, students often emphasise its emotional impact.[77] Respecting the principle of subjectivity at places of remembrance, that is, the right to ask questions, to obtain reliable answers, to decide collectively, to cooperate, to express one's opinion, and to criticise, plays an important role in the process of shaping the competences of the future.[78] These skills should also be seen as competences of the future.

In conclusion, it should be noted that museums of martyrdom, which are places of atrocity, barbarism, suffering, and mass extermination, also have an educational function focused on cognitive processes, and are a support for schools in developing key competences.[79] These museums not only shape historical awareness, but also foster the development of social competences included in the competences of the future, such as tolerance, respect for human rights, negotiation, conflict resolution, teamwork, empathy, courage, ethics, and non-chauvinist attitudes. Thus, the pedagogy of remembrance is a form of education with great didactic

[74] ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, Anna. Estetyki reprezentacji śmierci w ekspozycjach historycznych. In: FABISZAK, Malgorzata and OWSIŃSKI, Marcin (eds). *Obóz-muzeum Trauma we współczesnym wystawiennictwie.* Kraków: Towarzystwo Autorów i Wydawców Prac Naukowych, 2013, p. 32.

[75] GRUNEWALD, Dawid. *The Best of Both Worlds: A Critical Pedagogy of Place.* In: *Educational Researcher*, 4, 2003, p. 7.

[76] MATERNICKI, Jerzy. Prawda historyczna jako zadanie dydaktyczne. In: RULKA Janusz (ed). *Wartości w edukacji historycznej.* Bydgoszcz: Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna, 1999, pp. 29–42.

[77] STEC, Katarzyna. Symbolika i znaczenie miejsc pamięci utworzonych na terenach byłych obozów koncentracyjnych i zaglady z perspektywy współczesnego młodego człowieka. In: KUCIA, Marek. (ed). *Antysemityzm, Holocaust, Auschwitz w badaniach społecznych.* Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2011, pp. 37–54.

[78] KRANZ, *Edukacja w miejscach pamięci…*, p. 20.

[79] SZPOCIŃSKI, Andrzej. Wyłamanie się nowego ładu edukacyjnego we współczesnej Polsce. In: *Kultura Współczesna,* 3, 2003, pp. 51–57.

and pedagogical potential. The authenticity of the crime scene itself evokes emotions, fosters experiential learning, and makes one reflect on the past and draw inferences, and as a result supports the formation of appropriate attitudes and key competences. The pedagogy of remembrance is a

> reflection on the experience of others, which leads to self-reflection; it is the development of historical thinking, which helps us to better understand the present, as well as an attempt to shape non-conformist attitudes and behaviours, based on a sense of empathy and responsibility for the fate of others.[80]

Museums of martyrdom can therefore be seen as a form of extracurricular historical education which, by familiarising pupils with the tragic events of the Second World War, supports the process of shaping the key competences necessary for the proper functioning of the individual in the future.

References

ADAMSKA, Jolanta (1998). Pamięć i miejsca pamięci w Polsce po II wojnie światowej. In: *Przeszłość I Pamięć*, 1, pp. 4–11. ISSN 14283662.

ADORNO, Theodor W. (1970). *Erziehung zur Mündigkeit*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp; 1st. Ed. ISBN 9783518365113.

AUGE, Marc (1995). *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*. New York–London: Verso. ISBN 1-8-5984-956-3.

BAKER, Alan R. H. (2003). *Geography and History: Bridging the Divide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ISBN 0521246830.

BANACH, Krzysztof (2016). Exhibiting Violence or Teaching Values? Historical Exhibitions at a Modern Museum of Martyrdom. In: *Przegląd Historyczny*, 107,1, pp. 77–100. ISSN 0033-2186.

BANACH, Krzysztof (2017). Muzeum martyrologiczne jako muzeum konstruktywistyczne. In: KRANZ Tomasz (ed.), *Muzea w poobozowych miejscach pamięci. Tożsamość, znaczenia, funkcje*. Lublin: Państwowe Muzeum na Majdanku, pp. 691–05. ISBN 9788362816361.

BORGENSZTAJN, Joanna, KARCZEWSKA-GZIK, Agnieszka, MILEWSKA, Marta, WITKOWSKA, Elżbieta, and MALINOWSKI, Michał (2018). *Wytyczne wraz z aneksem do tworzenia programów nauczania i scenariuszy zajęć*, accessed 14 December 2020, https://www.ore.edu.pl/wpcontent/uploads/2018/08/wytyczne_wraz_z_aneksem_do_tworzenia_programow_nauczania-1.pdf.

BRINKMANN, Annette (ed.) (2000). *Learning from History. The Nazi Era and the Holocaust in German Education*. Bonn: American Association of Teachers of German. ISBN-3-930395-23-1.

BRIX, Emil, BRUCKMüLLER Ernst, and STEKL, Hannes (eds.) (2004–2005). *Memoria Austriae*, vol. 1–3. Wien-München: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik. ISBN 3486568388.

[80] KRANZ, *Pedagogika pamięci jako forma edukacji...*, p. 24.

BRUDNIK, Edyta, MOSZYŃSKA, Anna, and OWCZARSKA, Beata (2000). *Ja i mój uczeń pracujemy aktywnie. Przewodnik po metodach aktywizujących*. Kielce: Wydawnictwo Jedność, ISBN 9788376604435.

CASEY, Edward (1997). *The Face of Place. A Philosophical History*. Berkeley: University of California Press. ISBN 052092200X, 9780520922006.

CHAŁAS, Krystyna (2018). Przyszłość należy do świadomych i aktywnych obywateli. Jakie kompetencje są im niezbędne? Jak skutecznie je kształtować? (Perspektywa aksjologiczna). In: KWIATKOWSKI, Stanisław (ed.), *Kompetencje przyszłości*. Warszawa: Fundacja Rozwoju Systemu Edukacji, pp. 30–66. ISBN 978365591524.

CHORĄŻY, Ewa, KONIECZNA-ŚLIWIŃSKA, Danuta, and ROSZAK, Stanisław (2008). *Edukacja historyczna w szkole—teoria i praktyka*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN. ISBN 9878301154431.

COUNCIL RECOMMENDATION OF 22 MAY 2018 on key competences for lifelong learning. Official Journal of the European Union C 189, p. 7, accessed on 4 February 2021, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=OJ:C:2018:189:FULL&from=EN.

CZERNER, Anna and NIEROBA, Elżbieta (2017). *Na styku historii i codzienności. Społeczność lokalna wobec miejsc pamięci*. Opole: Centralne Muzeum Jeńców Wojennych. ISBN 9788361801306.

DEWEY, John (1997). *Experience and Education*. New York: Simon & Scuster. ISBN 0684838281.

EHMANN, Annegret, (ed.) (1995). *Praxis der Gedenkstättenpädagogik. Erfahrungen und Perspektiven*. Opladen: Leske und Budrich. ISBN 3810013935.

FAULKNER, William (1951). *Requiem for a Nun*. New York: Random House. ISBN 009958591X.

FOLGA-JANUSZEWSKA, Dorota (2008). Muzeum: definicja i pojęcie. Czym jest muzeum dzisiaj? In: *Muzeologia*, 49, pp. 200–204. ISSN 0464-1086.

FOUCAULT, Michael (1975). *Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Random House. ISBN 0679752552.

FRANCOIS, Etienne and SCHULZE, Hagen (eds.) (2001–2003). *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte*, vol. 1–3. München: Verlag C.H. Beck. ISBN 3406472249.

GŁOWACKI, Stanisław (1999). *Metoda projektów jako narzędzie integracji*. Kielce: Wojewódzki Ośrodek Metodyczny. ISBN 8387260460.

GOLKA, Marian (2008). *Pamięć społeczna i jej implanty*. Warszawa: Scholar. ISBN 9788373834002.

HARTMUT, John and DAUSCHEK, Anja (eds.) (2008). *Museen neu denken. Perspektiven der Kulturvermittlung und Zielgruppenarbeit*. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, Landschaftsverband Rheinland, Rheinisches Archiv—und Museumsamt. ISBN 978-3-89942-802-5.

HAUG, Verena (2015). *Am „autentischen" Ort. Paradoxien der Gedenkstätten pedagogik*. Berlin: Metropol Verlag. ISBN 9789186261689.

HEIN, G. (1998). *Learning in the Museum*. London: Routledge. ISBN 9780415097765.

JADCZAK, Maria (2009). Metoda projektów w nauczaniu historii i wiedzy o społeczeństwie. In: ROSZAK, Stanisław, STRZELECKA, and Małgorzata, WIECZOREK, Agnieszka (eds.), *Miejsca pamięci w edukacji historycznej*. Toruń: Stowarzyszenie Oświatowców Polskich, t. VI, pp. 252–255. ISBN 9788373521896.

KAHLS, Heike (1996). *Erinnern lernen? Pädagogische Arbeit in Gedenkstätten*. Münster: Agenda Päda-gogik. ISBN 3-929440-80-6.

KLIMOWICZ, Anna (ed.) (2004). *Edukacja międzykulturowa. Poradnik dla nauczyciela*. Warszawa: Ośrodek Rozwoju Edukacji. ISBN 8387958492.

KMIEC, Sonja, MAJERUS, Bonoit, MARGUE, Michel, and PEPORTE, Pit (2007). *Lieux de mémoire au Luxembourg. Usages du passé et construction nationale. Erinnerungsorte in Luxemburg. Umgang mit der Vergangenheit und Konstruktion der Nation*. Luxembourg: Éditions Saint-Paul. ISBN 9782879637051.

KRANZ, Tomasz (2005). Pedagogika miejsc pamięci. In: PILCH, Tadeusz (ed.), *Encyklopedia pedagogiczna XXI wieku*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademickie Żak, 2005, vol. 4, pp. 170–173. ISBN 8389501414.

KRANZ, Tomasz (2012). Pedagogika pamięci jako forma edukacji muzealnej. In: KRANZ, Tomasz (ed.), *Wizyty edukacyjne w Państwowym Muzeum na Majdanku. Poradnik dla nauczycieli*. Lublin: Muzeum Państwowe na Majdanku, pp. 11–26. ISBN 9788-62816040.

KRANZ, Tomasz (2003). Uwagi na temat rozwoju działalności pedagogicznej muzeów upamiętnienia w Polsce i Niemczech. In: *Zeszyty Majdanka*, 22, pp. 401–415. ISSN 05147409.

KRANZ, Tomasz (2004). Pedagogika miejsc pamięci. In: *Obyczaje*, 16, pp. 5–8. ISSN15068331.

KRANZ, Tomasz (2009). *Edukacja historyczna w miejscach pamięci. Zarys problematyki*. Lublin: Stowarzyszenie „Dialog i Współpraca". ISBN 839251873X.

KRANZ, Tomasz (2010). Pedagogika pamięci. In: *Nigdy więcej*, 18. ISSN14280884.

KRANZ, Tomasz (2015). Einleitung. In: KRANZ, Tomasz (ed.), *Zur Pädagogik der Erinnerung. Bedingungen, Ziele und MethodenhistorischerBildung in Gedenkstätten*. Lublin: Państwowe Muzeumna Majdanku, pp.7–9. ISBN 9788362816262.

KRIES, Georg (2010). *Schweizer Erinnerungsorte. Aus dem Speicher der Swissness*. Zürich: Verlag Neue Zürcher Zeitung. ISBN: 978-3- 03823-591-0.

KROH, Jens (2006). *Transnatiionale Erinnerung. Der Holocaust im Fokus geschichtspolitischer Iniciativen*. Frankfurt–New York: Amazon.de: Bücher. ISBN 3593385988.

KRÓLIKOWSKI, Jacek (2000). *Projekt edukacyjny—materiały dla zespołów międzyprzedmiotowych*. Warszawa: Centralny Ośrodek Doskonalenia Nauczycieli. ISBN83-879558158.

KUPISIEWICZ, Czesław (2000). *Dydaktyka ogólna*. Warszawa: Graf-Punkt. ISBN 838798857X.

KURZĘPA, Jacek (2003). O potrzebie komplementarności w edukacji formalnej i nieformalnej: aplikacje teoretyczno-praktyczne. In: KACZANOWSKA, Jagna (ed.), *Doświadczać uczenia. Materiały konferencyjne*. Warszawa: Fundacja Rozwoju Systemu Edukacji, pp. 45–52.

KWIATKOWSKI, Stanisław (2018). Kompetencje przyszłości. In: KWIATKOWSKI, Stanisław (ed.), *Kompetencje przyszłości*. Warszawa: Fundacja Rozwoju Systemu Edukacji, pp.14–29. ISBN 978365591524.

MAJEWSKI, Piotr. *Muzeum jako instytucja komunikacji społecznej, Narodowy Instytut Muzealnictwa i Ochrony Zabytków*, accessed 8 December 2020, https://docplayer.pl/7438611-Muzeum-jako-instytucja-komunikacji-spolecznej-1.html.

MALPAS, Jodi Ellen (1999). *Place and Experience: A Philosophical Topography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ISBN 0512642175.

MATERNICKI, Jerzy (1999). Prawda historyczna jako zadanie dydaktyczne. In: RULKA Janusz (ed.), *Wartości w edukacji historycznej*. Bydgoszcz: Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna, pp. 29–42. ISBN 8370962777.

MATHIJSEN, Marita (2012). *Plaatsen van herinnering. Nederland in de negentiende eeuw*. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker. ISBN 9789035129504.

MAYER, Jack and SALOVEY, Peter (1999). Czym jest inteligencja emocjonalna? In: SALOVEY, Peter and SLUYTER, Dawid (eds.), *Rozwój emocjonalny a inteligencja emocjonalna. Problemy edukacyjne*. Poznań: Dom Wydawniczy Rebis, pp. 23–69. ISBN 837120695X.

MAZUR-RAFAŁ, Monika and SZAROTA, Magdalena (2013). Edukacja na rzecz praw człowieka. Zarys metodologiczny. In: MILCZARSKI, Radosław, MAZUR-RAFAŁ, Monika, SZAROTA, Magdalena, LIPKA, Monika, and CZAJKA, Katarzyna (eds.), *Historia a prawa człowieka. Podręcznik*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Ośrodek Karta, pp. 315–2. ISBN 9788361283782.

MIKINA, Agnieszka (1997). *Metoda projektów w kreowaniu przedsiębiorczych postaw uczniów*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne. ISBN 8302065714.

MILEWSKA, Marta (2017). Prawa człowieka w edukacji historycznej w gimnazjum. In: JASKIERNIA, Jerzy and SPRYSZAK, Kamil (eds.). *Ochrona praw człowieka w Polsce. Aksjologia—instytucje—nowe wyzwania—praktyka*. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, vol. IV, pp. 263–6. ISBN 9788380196292.

NAPIONEK, Olga (2013). Kompetencje społeczne i obywatelskie—czym są i w jaki sposób można je rozwijać dzięki projektom edukacyjnym? In: TOŁWIŃSKA-KRÓLIKOWSKA, Elżbieta (ed.), *Dzieci obywatele*. Warszawa: Fundacja Inicjatyw Oświatowych, pp. 182–2. ISBN 9788391518465.

NEIRICH, Uwe (2000). *Erinnern heißt wachsam bleiben. Pädagogische Arbeit in und mit NS-gedenkstaätten*. Mülheim: Verlag an der Ruhr. ISBN 9783000299810.

NIETZSCHE, Friedrich (1980). *On the Advantage and Disadvantage of History for Life*. Indianapolis: Hackett. ISBN 0915144948.

NORA, Pierre (1984–1992). *Les lieux de mémoire*. Paris: Gallimard, pp. 1–7. ISBN 23-05-1997.

NORA, Pierre (2006). *Rethinking France. Les Lieux de memoire*, *Volume 2: Space*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. ISBN 0226591336.

NORA, Pierre (1989). Between Memory and History. Les Lieux de mémoire. In: *Representation*, 26, pp. 72–4. ISBN 0734-6018.

OKOŃ, Wincenty (2001). *Nowy słownik pedagogiczny*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademickie Żak. ISBN 8388149415.

PANIMASZ, Katarzyna and LEWANDOWSKI, Grzegorz (eds.) (2012). *Historia i społeczeństwo. Planowanie—realizacja—ewaluacja*. Warszawa: Ośrodek Rozwoju Edukacji.

POMIAN, Krzysztof (2009). Muzeum: kryteria sukcesu. In: *Muzealnictwo*, 50, pp. 576–4. ISSN 0464-1086.

PRAK, Maarten (2006). *Plaatsen van herinnering. Nederland in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw*. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker. ISBN 9789035129900.

RATHENOW, Hanns-Fred (1999). Gedankstättenpädagogik. In: RICHTER, Dagmar and WEIβENO, Georg (eds.) *Lexikon der politischen Bildung*, BD. 3 (*Didaktik Und Schule*). Schwalbad: Wochenschau Verlag, pp. 798–2. ISBN 3879200432.

RICOEUR, Paul (2004). *Memory, History, Forgetting*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. ISBN 0-226-71342-3.

Rozporządzenie z dnia 9 sierpnia 2017 roku w sprawie zasad udzielania i organizacji pomocy psychologiczno -pedagogicznej w publicznych przedszkolach, szkołach i placówkach (Dz. U. 25 August 2017 pos. 1591).

SCHEURICH, Imke (2010). NS-Gedenkstätten als Orte kritischer historisch-politischer Bildung. In: THIMM, Barbara, KŐβLER, Gottfried, and ULRICH. Susanne (eds.), *Verunsichernde Orte, Selbstverständnis und Weiterbildung in der Gedenkstättenpädagogik*. Frankfurt am Main: Brandes + Apsel Verlag Gm, pp. 38–44. ISBN 103860996304.

SIKORSKA-MICHALAK, Anna and WOJNIŁKO, Olga (eds.) (1996). *Słownik współczesnego języka polskiego*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Wilga. ISBN 8371560680.

SKRIVER, Ansgar (1962). *Aktion Suehnezeichen. Bruecken ueber Blut und Asche*. Stuttgart: Walter de Gruyter. ISBN 978-3-11-066108-8.

SMITH, Anthony (2000). *Myths and Memories of the Nation*. Oxford–New York: Oxford University Press. ISBN 0198296843.

STAWOWY, Ewa (2009). *Edukacja o prawach człowieka. Strategia dla organizacji pozarządowych i placówek kulturalno-oświatowych*. In: KOBA, Laura and WACŁAWCZYK, Wiesław (eds.). *Prawa człowieka. Wybrane zagadnienia i problemy*. Warszawa: Oficyna a Wolters Kluwer business, pp. 5595–5592. ISBN 9788376013343.

STEC, Katarzyna (2011). Symbolika i znaczenie miejsc pamięci utworzonych na terenach byłych obozów koncentracyjnych i zagłady z perspektywy współczesnego młodego człowieka. In: KUCIA, Marek (ed.). *Antysemityzm, Holocaust, Auschwitz w badaniach społecznych*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, pp. 37–42. ISBN 9788323332275.

SZPOCIŃSKI, Andrzej (2003). Wyłamanie się nowego ładu edukacyjnego we współczesnej Polsce. In: *Kultura Współczesna,* 3, pp. 51–7. ISSN 12304808.

TOTT, Samuel. (ed.) (2001). *Teaching Holocaust Literature*. Boston: Macmillan. ISBN 0230019366.

VON HENTIG, Hartmut. (1993). *Die Schule nue denken*. München: Beltz; Lizenzausgabe Edition. ISBN 3407221193.

WEBER, Norbert H. and RARHENOW, Hanns-Fred (1996). Education at the memorials: an asesament. In: *Kwartalnik Pedgogiczny*, Wydział Pedagogiczny Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2, pp. 376–379 ISSN: 00235938.

WEBNER, Norbert and RATHENOW, Hanns-Freud (1996). Pedagogika miejsc pamięci—próba bilansu. Translated by SZYMAŃSKI, Mirosław and LEWANDOWSKA, Izabela. In: *Kwartalnik Pedagogiczny,* 2, pp. 33–36. ISSN 9788362816392.

WYSOK, Wiesław (2013). Edukacja w muzeach upamiętnienia in situ—postulaty, możliwości i granice oddziaływania dydaktycznego. In: WYSOK Wiesław and STĘPNIAK Andrzej. (eds.), *Edukacja muzealna w Polsce. Aspekty, konteksty, ujęcia*. Lublin: Muzeum Państwowe na Majdanku, pp. 396–398. ISBN 9783628161251.

WYSOK, Wiesław (2014). Wokół problematyki uwarunkowań i efektów edukacji w muzeach upamiętnienia. In: *Zeszyty Majdanka*, 26, pp. 3113–3140. ISSN 05147409.

YVONNE, Leonard (ed.) (2012). *Kindermuseen, Strategien und Methoden eines aktuellen Museumstyps*. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag. ISBN 3837620786.

ZACHARIAS, Wolfgang (1990). *Zeitphänomen Musealisierung. Das Verschwinden der Gegenwart und die Konstruktion der Errinerung*. Essen: Klartext. ISBN-13: 9783884746042.

ZAJĄC, Bożena (2002). *Metoda projektów jako strategia postępowania dydaktycznego w liceum profilowanym*. Łódź: Łódzkie Centrum Doskonalenia Nauczycieli i Kształcenia Praktycznego. ISBN 9788323228967.

ZIĘBIŃSKA-WITEK, Anna (2013). Estetyki reprezentacji śmierci w ekspozycjach historycznych. In: FABISZAK, Małgorzata and OWSIŃSKI, Marcin (eds.). *Obóz-muzeum Trauma we współczesnym wystawiennictwie*. Kraków: Towarzystwo Autorów i Wydawców Prac Naukowych Universitas, pp. 315–314. ISBN 9788324223619.

WÓYCICKA, Zofia (2013). Zofia Wóycicka spoke to Professor Volkhard Knigge on the occasion of the planned opening of an exhibition devoted to forced labourers in Warsaw in January 2013. In: *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, 8, p. 492. ISSN1895247X.

On Defining the Participatory Museum: The Case of the Museum of the Second World War in Gdansk

Ewa Manikowska – Andrzej Jakubowski

Ewa Manikowska
PhD, Associate Professor
Institute of Art
Polish Academy of Sciences
Warsaw, Poland
e-mail: ewa.manikowska@ispan.pl
ORCID: 0000-0001-6633-823X

Andrzej Jakubowski
PhD, Assistant Professor
Institute of Legal Studies
University of Opole
Opole, Poland
e-mail: andrzej.jakubowski@uni.opole.pl
ORCID: 0000-0002-4914-7068

Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo, 2021, 9:4:41-55
DOI: 10.46284/mkd.2021.9.4.3

On Defining the Participatory Museum: The Case of the Museum of the Second World War in Gdansk
This article seeks to contribute to the current debate on the new definition of the "museum" – a debate which led to turmoil at the 2019 ICOM General Assembly in Kyoto. With reference to the case study of the Museum of the Second World War in Gdansk (MSWW), it analyses the new and very successful genre of the narrative museum, a genre which arguably fulfils the core elements of the definition currently being discussed by ICOM. In this regard, it brings into focus the paramount importance of community involvement in creating and managing narrative museums – an aspect that has been virtually absent in the academic and media debates over the nature of the MSWW and its programme. By pointing out the fragility of the foundations for such participation, based solely on trust between communities, the museum, and state authorities, this article calls for and provides guidance for an academic and institutional redefinition of the narrative museum and the institution of a museum in general.

Keywords: narrative museum, participation, community, human rights, Museum of the Second World War in Gdansk

Introduction

On 23 March 2017, an unusual inauguration ceremony took place for the Museum of the Second World War (MSWW). While the grand openings of other important Polish museum institutions of the twenty-first century – the Warsaw Rising Museum (WRM) in 2004, or the Museum of the History of Polish Jews (Polin) in 2014 – were conceived of as true spectacles, held outdoors in order to accommodate the officials, invitees and crowds of onlookers, the MSWW's inauguration gathered together only an intimate group of its donors and some school students. In his short speech, Paweł Machcewicz, the Museum's Director, expressly referred to the participatory significance of this institution: "The first to cross [the MSWW's] threshold will be those for whom and thanks to whom it was built: prisoners of concentration camps, deportees, veterans, the museum's donors. Young people are also with us; museums shape

historical awareness."[1] The opening ceremony was truly touching, and the image of Machcewicz guiding Joanna Muszkowska-Penson, a war veteran and survivor of the concentration camp in Ravensbrück,[2] became iconic. However, this image and its universal message were quickly overshadowed by political disputes regarding the public memory aspect of the Second World War in Poland.[3]

In this article, we do not intend to engage in the debates over the conflicting visions of history and the politics of memory of the Second World War in contemporary Poland, or in Eastern Europe more generally. Instead, we focus on the particularities of the MSWW's institutional and societal design by analysing its community and participatory grassroots. We argue that this inclusiveness is of paramount importance, as it will constitute the essence of museums as institutions in the twenty-first century. We further enquire as to why this aspect has been neglected in the vast media coverage, scholarly studies, and popular and academic discussions surrounding the MSWW since its foundation in 2008.[4] In our analysis, we first point to and tackle the core shortcomings in the academic and legal definition of "narrative museums" in Poland, of which the MSWW is an excellent example. By analysing this case study, we seek to demonstrate the inherent value of community involvement for the establishment and activity of such institutions. Not only do we refer to participation as an element of museums' interaction with the audience, but we also seek to outline the relevance of participatory governance for the present-day museum sector. We examine the MSWW in the larger legal and policy framework of international cultural heritage. In this regard, we also recall the recent definition of the museum proposed on the occasion of the 2019 ICOM General Assembly in Kyoto. While acknowledging the shortcomings of this new definition, we argue that it should nevertheless serve as a starting point for considering the very essence of the narrative museum, both in the Polish legal and institutional framework and in the larger academic and public debates.

Imagining the narrative museum

Narrative museums are considered a key element of the "museum boom" in Poland, a phenomenon dating back to 2004, that is, to the year marked by Poland's accession to the European Union (EU) and by the inauguration of the WRM, the first Polish institution defined as a narrative museum.[5] The WRM, due to its exceptional popularity, has become an important reference point for many other new museums in Poland. The EU structural funds, as well as grants from the EEA and Norway, have significantly contributed to the modernisation of many existing museums, the founding of new ones, and support for their educational programmes. In fact, a significant share of these funds has been allocated for establishing narrative museums and to finance their activities. To name just a few of the best-known institutions which have recently opened in Poland, we could list the European Solidarity Centre (ESC) (2014), the Emigration Museum in Gdynia (2015), the Pan Tadeusz Museum in Wrocław (2016), and the

---

[1] *Otwarcie Muzeum II Wojny* [The Inauguration of the MSWW], accessed February 2, 2021, https://muzeum1939.pl/otwarcie-muzeum-ii-wojny-swiatowej/aktualnosci/146.html,

[2] Ex.: *WWII Museum Opens in Gdańsk*, accessed February 2, 2021, https://www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/pawel-machcewicz-the-second-world-war-museum-director-and-news-photo/656816138.

[3] See: MACHCEWICZ Paweł. *The War That Never Ends. The Museum of Second World War in Gdańsk*. Berlin/Boston: DeGruyter 2019, pp. 154–172.

[4] WNUK Rafał. Wojna o wojnę. Spór o wystawę Muzeum II Wojny Światowej [A War about War. The Conflict Surrounding the Exhibition of the MSWW]. In: *Res Historica* 2018, pp. 335–50.

[5] For more on the museum boom in Poland, see among others: FONTANA Erica. Meanings of the "Museum Boom" in Poland and Elsewhere. In: *Museum Anthropology,* vol. 43, 2020, pp. 45–59.

Sybir Memorial Museum in Białystok (2021).

Narrative museums stand out in today's Polish museum landscape, in that they reflect both the new social, cultural, economic and political environment brought about by democratisation and Poland's EU membership, and the current global trends in museology and heritage management. At the same time, however, they demonstrate a distinctive regional focus. In Poland, the narrative museum is identified in the first instance with a historical museum. By displaying and "narrating" phenomena and events of the recent Polish past (such as the Holocaust, the Warsaw Uprising and the Solidarity Movement) they have become important and appealing spaces of public history. Narrative museums are also among the main tourist highlights, and they annually record a growing number of visitors, both from Poland and abroad.

But generally speaking, the two-pronged question still remains: What *is* a narrative museum, and how should it operate?

Undoubtedly, this term was originally coined in relation to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM), today considered as the model of and inspiration for narrative museums worldwide, in particular of several Polish ones (the WRM, the Polin, and the MSWW). At the time of the inauguration of the USHMM's permanent exhibition, Jeshajahu Weinberg, its co-author and the first Director of this institution, described the USHMM as "a narrative rather than a collection based museum."[6] He also stressed that "the museum had to expose the universal implications hidden behind the appearance of ethnic specificity", offering a universal metaphor.[7] In other words,

> The dialectical tension between … the two poles – historical and metaphorical – is the essence of the museum…. One can actually say that the museum's educational work is taking place in the space created between one pole and the other, and it is only in this way that its educational mission can be realized. [8]

In Poland, Weinberg's definition has been adopted only to a certain extent. In fact, one gets the impression that scholars and journalists have taken the "narrative" character of the USHMM's permanent exhibition to heart, while paying less attention to his emphasis on the evidence-based, objective and universal nature of such an educational "narration." The term "narrative museum" is a label denoting a unique institution, distinguished by its appealing and interactive methodology of display – based on multimedia and interactive scenography – which is distinct from the traditional object-centred museum.[9] Accordingly, narrative museums are seen through the prism of such narrative exhibitions, whereas the educational functions appear to be reduced to a mere interaction with new forms of display and visitors' engagement.

---

[6] WEINBERG Jeshajahu. A Narrative History Museum. In: *Curator. The Museum Journal,* vol. 37, 1994, p. 232.
[7] WEINBERG, A Narrative…, pp. 238–239.
[8] WEINBERG, A Narrative..., pp. 238–239; EDKINS Jenny. *Trauma and the Memory of Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2002, pp. 153–164.
[9] See among others: WOLSKA-PABIAN Karolina, KOWAL Paweł (eds.). *Muzeum i zmiana. Losy muzeów narracyjnych* [Museum and Change. The Fate of Narrative Museums]. Warszawa-Kraków: Universitas 2019; KOSTRO Robert, WÓYCICKI Kazimierz, WYSOCKI Michał (eds.). *Historia Polski od-nowa. Nowe narracje historii i muzealne reprezentacje przeszłości* [A New Polish History. New Historical Narrations and Representation of the Past in Museums]. Warszawa: Muzeum Historii Polski 2014; KOBIELSKA Maria (ed.) *Muzea na widoku* [Museums on View]. Special issue of *Teksty Drugie* 2020, no. 4.

Significantly, the academic and public debate surrounding narrative museums in Poland has been shaped by scholars and professionals from outside the traditional museum field and museology. In particular, the number, popularity, and importance of narrative museums addressing recent events and phenomena have made these institutions a fascinating research field for a variety of scientific disciplines: history, political science, cultural studies, memory studies, sociology and even psychology. With the field of enquiry reduced to exhibition – the story that it tells, the means of display, and its persuasiveness and interactivity – the narrative museum is considered in the first instance as an important element shaping public memory in contemporary Poland. This is not surprising. Narrative museums are focused on landmark – but often controversial – events and phenomena from Poland's recent history. At the same time, however, the narrative museum is generally perceived as a top-down institution, and its close link with politics is not only acknowledged but is taken for granted. Therefore, it appears that most of the scholarly debate in Poland on narrative museums relates to official public history-making, and official public history practices.

An important challenge one faces when trying to define the "narrative museum" is also its lack of an underlying formal, legal notion. In fact, the narrative museum does not constitute a distinct category of museum or any other cultural institution under Polish law. In other words, the law does not separately regulate their organisation and functioning, nor does it refer specifically to "narrative" exhibitions.[10] In practice, the founding statutes (charters) of all institutions defined as "narrative museums" in the literature and in the media follow a nearly uniform model and similar wording. These documents do not mention the "narrative" exhibition. Instead they address the tasks typical for a "traditional" museum. Hence, contrary to the aforementioned doctrinal views, the statutory activity of narrative museums is centred around a collection which they are obliged to form, register and research, as well as engage in the preservation of exhibits and provision of access to them. What is new vis-à-vis "narrative" museums – when compared to traditional museums – is the emphasis on their wide-ranging commemorative, educational and community-focused activities and programmes. For instance, the WRM conducts "activities related to the integration of veterans' and soldiers' communities, and activities aimed at educating the young generation of Poles in the spirit of patriotism and respect for national traditions."[11] In turn, Polin "support[s] the activities meant to educate the young generation in the spirit of mutual tolerance and respect for the Jewish tradition and culture."[12]

Taking into account Poland's historical, legal and institutional context, it is also important to stress the novelty of community engagement in narrative museums. In fact, the post-war nationalisations of cultural heritage and the centralisation of memory institutions greatly undermined the strong nineteenth-century civic and participatory tradition which stood at their origins. Narrative museums, by involving direct witnesses and participants of the events in the focus of their exhibitions and activities (war veterans, Holocaust survivors, the Solidarity movement's leaders etc.), and by addressing their programmes to other – in particular to

---

[10] JAGIELSKA-BURDUK Alicja, JAKUBOWSKI Andrzej, "Narrative Museums" and Curators' Rights: The Protection of a Museum Exhibition and Its Scenario under Polish Law. In: *Santander Art and Culture Law Review*, vol. 6, 2020, pp. 159–166.

[11] *Statut Muzeum Powstania Warszawskiego* [Statute of the WRM], Chapter 2 par. 4, accessed January 20, 2021, http://starastrona2015.1944.pl/img/mainImages/file/XXXVI_886_2012%20załącznik%20-%20aktualna.pdf.

[12] *The Statute of POLIN, Museum of the History of Polish Jews,* Chapter 2 par. 3.1, accessed January 20, 2021, https://www.polin.pl/en/about-museum/statute.

younger – generations, contribute to the re-establishment of the broken ties between museums as institutions and the wider society (individuals, communities and groups). Hence, the public-history-making role of Polish narrative museums is more complex than the straight-forward, centralised, top-down official processes as described in the mainstream research and public debate. It also goes far beyond the interactive narrative of permanent exhibitions. Based on curatorial and community engagement, and on the balance between historic expertise and individual experience – accomplished both via the narrative exhibition and a rich array of educational activities and programmes – new narrative museums apparently fulfil what Weinberg described as a "universal metaphor", or to put it more generally, they pursue a broader educational objective and mission. In this context, it is worth quoting the following lines in the MSWW's short mission statement, which precisely illustrates such an educational and inclusive scope of the narrative museum: "We want the experiences of different nations to come together in one place. This will give us a chance to understand each other better, without crossing out the differences that have shaped us. After all, the effects of the Second World War in many dimensions continue to this day, affecting the course of borders, relations between nations, and ways of thinking."[13]

Defining participation

There is no doubt that the operationalisation of narrative museums in Poland extends beyond both their legal regulation, which fails to recognise their specificity, and the doctrinal voices, which primarily address the interactive character of permanent exhibitions or refer to the role of such institutions in public memory-building. Instead, as has already been highlighted, the objectives and functions of narrative museums go far beyond the traditional approaches. This raises the question of how these new functions and fields of action can be defined and substantiated by law.

Manifestly, the key context in which the contemporary social functions of narrative museums needs to be discussed is that of participation. Indeed, since the first decade of the twenty-first century participation has become an important topic in both the Polish scholarship on museums and in museum practice. Significantly, this term has particularly been used with regard to "narrative museums",[14] and its meaning is inspired primarily by Nina Simon's influential book on the participatory qualities of an interactive and engaging museum design and techniques.[15] In this guise, the term "participation" refers to the methodologies for making visitor participation and community engagement more dynamic and relevant.[16] In this article, however, we intend to address a distinct, broader meaning of participation. Indeed, Simon herself has recently admitted that her original vision did not truly capture the substance of participation: "If *participation* was my mantra from 2007–2011, *community* has been my mantra since then."[17] In this regard, we refer to participation as community engagement in all aspects

[13] *Raport z działalności Muzeum II Wojny* Światowej *za 2010 rok* [Raport of the Activity of the MSWW in 2010], accessed February 1, 2021, https://muzeum1939.pl/u/pdf/af0876a7fcc8938f3361500922a60cfe285.pdf.

[14] JAGODZIŃSKA Katarzyna. Grancie partycypacji w muzeum? [The Limits of Participation in a Museum?]. In: *Muzealnictwo*, vol. 57, 2016, pp. 112–121.

[15] SIMON Nina. *The Participatory Museum*. Santa Cruz, CA: Museum 2.0 2010.

[16] PADIGLIONE Vincezo. "Let the Silent History Be Told": Museum Turn to Narratives. In: *Fractal: Revista de Psicologia* 28, 2016, p. 181.

[17] SIMON Nina. *The Participatory Museum, Five Years Later*, accessed February 2, 2021, http://museumtwo.blogspot.com/2015/03/the-participatory-museum-five-years.html.

of the museum's activity. Put differently, we view participation as not being confined only to peoples' interaction with the narrative exhibition. Yet at the same time we do not use the term "community museum", as this was coined in the 1970s to denote institutions whose primary responsibility is to meet the needs of local communities.[18] Such museums, particularly popular in Latin America, are "born in, created, run and managed by the community."[19] Moreover, they have often been created in opposition to official institutions, to express and reinforce the memories and identities of marginalised groups, often touching upon cultural justice agendas.

Our understanding of participation with regard to museums' social role is essentially rooted in a broader reading of human rights standards in relation to culture and heritage. In this regard, the *Recommendation concerning the protection and promotion of museums and collections, their diversity and their role in society*, adopted by the UNESCO General Conference in 2015 ("2015 UNESCO Recommendation"),[20] is of paramount importance. This document reaffirms that "museums and collections contribute to the enhancement of human rights." Moreover, it makes a clear reference to universally recognised and protected human rights: the right to participate in the cultural life of the community, and the right to education (Preamble, 6th Recital). Hence the social role of museums is seen as a method or means of realising cultural human rights, in both their individual and collective dimensions. Museums "can therefore play an important role in the development of social ties and cohesion, building citizenship, and reflecting on collective identities" (Paragraph 17). Accordingly, such institutions, defined as "spaces for cultural transmission, intercultural dialogue, learning, discussion and training, also play an important role in education". They also "have great potential to raise public awareness of the value of cultural and natural heritage and of the responsibility of all citizens to contribute to their care and transmission" (Paragraph 2). This participatory scope of museums should also be mirrored in their communication policies, as their "actions should also be strengthened by the actions of the public and communities in their favour" (Paragraph 11).

Such a broad understanding of participation also lies in the core of the ongoing debate on the new definition of the museum launched by ICOM in 2017. This alternative definition was selected by ICOM's executive board and initially scheduled for a vote on whether to be included in the ICOM Statutes at the 2019 Extraordinary General Assembly of ICOM in Kyoto.[21] It states that: "Museums are democratising, inclusive and polyphonic spaces for critical dialogue about the pasts and the futures." Moreover, they

> safeguard diverse memories for future generations and guarantee equal rights and equal access to heritage for all people. … They are participatory and transparent, and work in active partnership with and for diverse communities to collect, preserve, research, interpret, exhibit, and enhance understandings of the world, aiming to contribute to human dignity and social justice, global equality and planetary wellbeing.

---

[18] TERUGGI Mario E. The roundtable of Santiago (Chile). In: *Museum International,* vol. 25, 1973, pp. 129–133.

[19] BROWN Karen, MAIRESSE François. The definition of museum through its social role. In: *Curator. The Museum Journal,* 2018, p. 530.

[20] *Recommendation concerning the protection and promotion of museums and collections, their diversity and their role in society*, accessed March 1st 2021, http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=49357&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html.

[21] *ICOM announces the alternative museum definition that will be subject to a vote*, accessed March 1, 2021, https://icom.museum/en/news/icom-announces-the-alternative-museum-definition-that-will-be-subject-to-a-vote.

Hence, notwithstanding the criticism of the definition from ideological perspectives and the postponement of the vote on it until the next ICOM General Assembly in 2022, the new definition nevertheless reflects an array of important changes in museum practices around world.[22]

In relation to this initiative by ICOM, it is also necessary to highlight another key dimension of participation, namely, transparent governance in active partnership with and intended for diverse stakeholders. Indeed, the nexus between participation and governance is longstanding, and essentially linked to the concept of good governance, substantiated in international policy since the late 1980s in terms of ensuring respect for human rights, openness, transparency, and the accountability of public institutions.[23] It has also been recognised that good governance should encompass culture and heritage governance, and that the human right to participate in the cultural life of the community should also be extended to include the right to participate in decision-making processes and the right to consultation and information-sharing with reference to the cultural life of a given community.[24] In this regard, the value of participatory governance vis-à-vis culture is particularly enhanced at the European regional level, both by the EU and the Council of Europe (CoE). Insofar as concerns treaty law, the participatory governance of cultural heritage has been best substantiated by the CoE Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society of 2005 ("Faro Convention"),[25] which posited and consolidated a clear regulatory bridge between the human right to participate in cultural life and cultural heritage governance. This international law instrument exercises a significant impact on cultural policies throughout the EU and the wider Europe. It specifies the issue of public and democratic participation in the governance of cultural heritage, emphasising "the necessity for involving all members of society in a rationale of democratic governance in all matters connected with the cultural heritage."[26] In such a guise, participatory governance and/or management is one of the main objectives of the CoE's European Cultural Heritage Strategy for the 21st Century, adopted in 2017. In this respect it is referred to as

a shortcut for openness to the needs and expectations of stakeholders, readiness of the holders of public authority to listen to them and to provide responses to their expectations or queries, delivering public policies in a spirit of openness, accountability and shared ownership.[27]

Participatory governance also constitutes one of the pillars of the EU's agenda for cultural heritage. Importantly, in 2014 the Council of the EU issued its Conclusions on the participatory governance of cultural heritage.[28] This instrument, presenting the EU's political position and joint objectives towards heritage, recognises that participatory governance in this policy area "offers opportunities to foster democratic participation, sustainability and social cohesion and to face the social, political and demographic challenges of today" (Paragraph 8). Hence it calls

---

[22] BROWN, MAIRESSE, The definition …, pp. 531–534.

[23] See, ex. ANNAN Kofi. The Quiet Revolution. In: *Global Governance*, vol. 4, 1998, pp. 123–138.

[24] ROMAINVILLE Céline. Defining the Right to Participate in Cultural Life as a Human Right. In: *Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights,* vol. 33, 2015, pp. 405–436.

[25] *Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society*, accessed March 2, 2021, https://www.coe.int/en/web/culture-and-heritage/faro-convention.

[26] *Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society – Explanatory Report*, accessed March 2, 2021, http://www.worldlii.org/int/other/COETSER/2005/5.html.

[27] *Recommendation of the Committee of Ministers to member States on the European Cultural Heritage Strategy for the 21st Century*, accessed March 2, 2021, https://rm.coe.int/16806f6a03.

[28] *Council's conclusions on participatory governance of cultural heritage*, accessed March 2, 2021, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52014XG1223%2801%29.

for joint efforts on the part of the European Commission and Member States to engage a variety of stakeholders in the realm of cultural heritage. These policy objectives are further developed in Decision (EU) 2017/864 of the European Parliament and of the Council, establishing a European Year of Cultural Heritage (2018).[29] In its Preamble, while acknowledging that people and human values need to be put "at the centre of an enlarged and cross-disciplinary concept of cultural heritage" (Paragraph 13), it also states that "In order to realise fully the potential of cultural heritage for European societies and economies, the safeguarding, enhancement and management of cultural heritage require effective participatory (i.e. multi-level and multi-stakeholder) governance" (Paragraph 16).

In light of the above, a more holistic understanding of participation in relation to the social role, institutional design, and practical operationalisation of present-day museums appears fully justified, in particular with regard to those institutions which can be labelled as "narrative". Therefore, in the following section we enquire more closely into the participatory grassroots initiatives of narrative museums in Poland, while referring to the case of the MSWW. We focus on the formative years of this institution, from its foundation in 2008 until the inauguration of its permanent exhibition in 2017.

The MSWW: narrative museum as a participatory museum

The MSWW was founded as a state cultural institution in September 2008 amidst the ongoing academic and political Polish–German historical controversies centred around assessment of the post-war expulsions of Germans from the territories annexed to Poland.[30] At that time, Donald Tusk, the then Polish prime minister, took up the idea launched in a press article by Machewicz (the future first Director of the MSWW) of establishing a Polish museum aimed at presenting the Polish and Central European experience of the Second World War to a wider international audience. According to Machewicz, such an institution would not only form a constructive response to the plans for establishing an educational centre and museum dedicated to the history and heritage of German expellees, but also constitute an occasion to make an important multi-faceted contribution to the shared European memory. So while the original idea for such a new institution was essentially linked to a certain "regional memory rivalry", the plans were far more ambitious, aimed at offering a universal message. In this regard however, two rather opposing questions arise: Why and to what extent is it legitimate to consider such a state-founded institution to be a truly participatory museum? And would it not be a just another official political project?

In response to these questions, we attempt here to demonstrate that even state museums with universal ambitions, such as the MSWW, can bring communities together (both on the local and transnational levels) and develop innovative, inclusive models of engagement, provided that a high degree of institutional autonomy is secured and that participatory models of governance are properly implemented.

The first dimension of the MSWW's activity that can be analysed in terms of enhanced public participation and participatory governance is that of the creation of its conceptual design. In 2008, this newly founded institution was entrusted with the task of planning and organising the future large-scale museum, and of deciding upon its location, construction,

[29] *Decision (EU) 2017/864 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 17 May 2017 on a European Year of Cultural Heritage (2018)*, accessed March 2, 2021, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX-%3A32017D0864.

[30] MACHCEWICZ, *The War …,* pp. 7–12.

program and activities. Importantly, from the start the museum was accorded a broad autonomy. The establishment of a Board of Trustees constituted a novel solution in the Polish centralised museum system, adopted at that time in only two other memory institutions. Consisting of eleven members nominated by the Minister of Culture and National Heritage, the MSWW's Board of Trustees was given the responsibility to "oversee whether the museum fulfils its responsibilities towards the collection and the wider society."[31] Arguably, this wide autonomy and institutional framework allowed for building social capital and trust, as the newly established museum based all of its activities on public consultations and community involvement. The MSWW programme concept (2008) was first discussed with the major Polish historians of the Second World War and museum professionals, then made public on the institution's website and widely debated in important press titles.[32] Despite its universal global ambitions, the museum's authors also sought to respond to the sensitivities, memories and needs of Polish society. To this end they conducted a survey (commissioned from Pentor Research International, an opinion polling institute) concerning the Polish collective memory of the Second World War. Its results, interpreted by a group of eminent sociologists specialised in collective memory, served as an important roadmap in the conceptual works of the main exhibition and of the museum's educational and scientific activity.[33] The survey's results, showing that the Polish collective memory of the war concerned individual and collective experiences rather than warfare itself, confirmed the key assumption of the programme concept: the focus of the future museum and its main exhibition would be on the war-time and post-war sufferings and experiences of civilians. In addition, the actual choice of Gdansk as the museum's seat, its location within the city, the international competition for the building of the museum, and the scenography of the permanent exhibition were all subject to wide public consultations.

Importantly, the permanent exhibition was envisioned in the MSWW's programme concept as "narrative" and "interactive", with use of the most up-to-date multimedia and audio-visual tools, reconstructions and replicas. The jury of the competition for the permanent exhibition scenography consisted of distinguished artists, writers and journalists, and was presided over by the world-renowned Polish film-director, Andrzej Wajda (1926–2016). With his personal war memories and recollections, encompassing his family's tragic history (his father was executed in 1940 by the NKVD in the Katy*ń* massacre), Wajda evaluated the project not only through the eyes of an artist, but also of a witness.[34] The MSWW's Programme Board, established in 2009, was also based on a carefully designed balance between the highest expertise and the various national and personal sensibilities and experiences of those included. Thus, the appointed members, coming from Poland, Israel, Russia, Ukraine, the UK and the USA, included war and Holocaust Survivors, eminent historians of the Second World War, and directors of related memory and research institutions of world renown.[35]

---

[31] *Statut Muzeum II Wojny* Światowej *w Gdańsku* [Statute of the MSWW in Gdansk,] par 11.1, accessed January 20, 2021, https://sip.lex.pl/akty-prawne/dzienniki-resortowe/utworzenie-muzeum-ii-wojny-swiatowej-w-gdansku-34267678.

[32] MACHCEWICZ, *The War…*, pp. 7–12.

[33] KWIATKOWSKI Piotr T., NIJAKOWSKI Lech M., SZACKA Barbara, SZPOCIŃSKI Andrzej. *Między codziennością a wielką historią. Druga wojna światowa w pamięci zbiorowej polskiego społeczeństwa* [Between the Everyday and Great History. The Second World War in Collective Memory of Polish Society]. Gdańsk-Warszawa: Scholar 2010.

[34] MACHCEWICZ, *The War…*, p. 51.

[35] *Skład Kolegium Programowego Muzeum II Wojny* Światowej *w Gdańsku* [Membership of the Steering Committee of the MSWW in Gdanks] , accessed February 2, 2021, https://muzeum1939.pl/sklad-kolegium-programowego-muzeum-ii-wojny-swiatowej/aktualnosci/533.html.

Considering the political, social and cultural differences, the MSWW consultation and management process can be compared to that of the USHMM, which was the prototype of the narrative museum. In 1978, US President Jimmy Carter established – within a broader foreign policy agenda – the Presidential Commission on the Holocaust, consisting of Holocaust Survivors, lay and religious leaders of all faiths, scholars, and Senators and Congressmen, presided over by Elie Wiesel, a Holocaust Survivor.[36] The Commission was entrusted with the task of preparing a report on the following issues: the main lines for establishing a Holocaust memorial; the possibility of obtaining contributions of the American people for this project; and the recommended ways of commemorating the American Holocaust Remembrance Days. While preparing the report, the Commission engaged in wide civic consultations and public hearings involving thousands of interviewees. Meaningfully, the Commission concluded with a call for a museum–memorial in Washington DC and explained that, "In many respects, the recommendations and proposals of the Commission reflect the collective wisdom gleaned from discussion with a broad cross-section of individuals and groups."[37] It should be noted here that while the USHMM is strongly rooted in the well-grounded American tradition of public–private partnerships, the MSWW was founded in a completely different legal and social framework, in which museum institutions are managed and sponsored almost exclusively by the public sector. However, just like in the case of the USHMM, its authors attempted to listen carefully to the views of the communities whose past heritage was placed at the heart of this new institution. Moreover, the participatory design of the MSWW not only concerned its inception and conceptual model, but was reflected in the operations it pursued alongside the works on the permanent (narrative) exhibition.

The second dimension of the MSWW's participatory design relates to its collection-building process. The MSWW from its inception established contacts, both in Poland and abroad, with individuals, memory institutions, specialised antique shops and auction houses, scholars, collectors, and even treasure hunters, resulting in numerous acquisitions, gifts, long-term loans and replicas of museum objects, as well as digital witness accounts for the MSWW's collections and for its main exhibition. While working on the exhibition scenario, its authors realised that the best way to explain even the most fundamental concepts and historical facts was through tangible objects and personal stories, not necessarily linked to war heroes or famous persons. In 2011 they launched a nationwide collection initiative, asking for donations of historical documents and everyday objects relating, *inter alia*, to the fate of civilians in armed conflicts, occupations, genocide, and forced migrations.[38] The MSWW reassured the donors, who cherished the wartime memorabilia as family treasures, that in the new institution such objects and documents would be cared for and preserved for posterity. Furthermore, the donations and loans were accompanied by personal stories surrounding their origins and role in people's experience of the war. Sometimes such witnesses were recorded and included in the MSWW's collection, as a full and inseparable element thereof. In December 2016, at the dawn of the opening of the permanent exhibition, the MSWW's collection included over 40,000 artefacts

[36] LINENTHAL Edward T. *Preserving Memory. The Struggle to Create America's Holocaust Museum*. New York: Penguin Books 1997.

[37] *President's Commission on the Holocaust. Report to the President 29th September 1979*, accessed January 20, 2021, https://www.ushmm.org/m/pdfs/20050707-presidents-commission-holocaust.pdf.

[38] *Zbieramy pamiątki dla Muzeum II Wojny Światowej. Przyłącz się!* [We Are Collecting Memorabilia for the Museum of the Second World War. Join Us!], accessed January 20, 2021, https://histmag.org/Zbieramy-pamiatki-dla-Muzeum-II-Wojny-Swiatowej.-Przylacz-sie-5928.

from acquisitions, donations and long-term loans, as well as 237 digital notations.[39] The latter included witness testimonies recorded in various localities in Poland and abroad (Kazakhstan, Ukraine, Germany and South Korea, among others). More than 2,000 individuals and institutions have made a donation or a long-term loan to the MSWW.

Another participatory aspect of the MSWW's activity from its very inception is its wide and ambitious educational programme. In fact, long before the opening of the permanent exhibition, the "narrative" function of the museum was pursued through education. While initially addressed to the local communities of Gdańsk and the Pomerania region, the museum's educational initiatives also reached schools and groups in other regions of Poland and abroad. In particular, Westerplatte, a small peninsula in Gdansk where, on September 1, 1939, a battle between German and Polish forces marked the beginning of the Second World War, became an important space of such activity. Indeed, in the decision to locate the MSWW in Gdansk particular attention was attached to its linkage with this symbolic and important heritage site. The educational path and outdoor exhibition realised by the MSWW on Westerplatte became the focal point of outdoor educational programs, educational games and historical reconstructions involving amateur reconstruction groups. Several events were permanently inscribed in the Gdansk cultural calendar, such as the outdoor event organised on International Museum Day, the Pomeranian Science Festival, and workshops addressed to reconstruction groups Poland-wide. In collaboration with other Gdansk and Polish memory institutions and schools, the MSWW has organised numerous innovative competitions and workshops addressed to school students.

Finally, participation can also be analysed in relation to the MSWW's networking agenda. In fact, the museum's programme concept stipulated that the MSWW and its activities should be inscribed in the already-existing network of museums and memory institutions of a similar profile and with similar aims. Particular emphasis was given to collaboration with the ESC, a cultural institution in Gdańsk devoted to the history of Solidarity and other opposition movements throughout Communist Eastern Europe. Indeed, the MSWW and the ESC were seen as a complementary pair of institutions devoted to the contemporary history of Poland and Central and Eastern Europe. However, the network of collaborations built by the MSWW was much larger, including not only important public research and memory institutions in Poland and abroad but also various NGOs, professional associations, schools and local authorities. The scientific activity of the MSWW, which has resulted in important research projects, conferences, workshops and publications, was also based on collaboration with scholars and with academic and memory institutions in Poland and abroad.

The yearly reports of the MSWW, the daily news releases posted on the institution's webpage from the time of its founding up to the museum's inauguration, the press coverage of its acquisitions, and the range of educational and scientific projects offer a glimpse into the complex, rich and multi-layered process of making a museum institution in which various individuals, communities and other institutions have been involved on a daily basis. In this process, a meeting of the Programme Board, the recording of a witness notation, the historical staging of the Battle of the Bulge, the visit from the Peace Boat (an organisation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki survivors which brought 1,000 origami cranes as a symbol of peace) and the trial presentations of the main exhibition to groups of museum professionals were all equally

[39] *Raport z działalności Muzeum II Wojny* Światowej *za rok 2016* [Report of the Activity of the MSWW in 2016], pp. 57–69, accessed January 20, 2021, https://muzeum1939.pl/u/pdf/1e80e8dda304fb34520c9fbffb95fcf7298.pdf.

important. The number, variety and importance of the stakeholders involved in the MSWW's creation is also well evidenced in its collection, which besides gifts and loans from individuals, associations and institutions contains the recollections of the members of the museum's two boards and of its main authors.[40] The community-based character of the MSWW is one of the most visible elements of the exhibition, the narrative of which is built around human micro-histories shown together with the donated or loaned objects, photographs, documents and annotated witness accounts.

The aforementioned participatory features of the MSWW's design and activities make this institution a model example of a present-day narrative museum, bridging universal metaphor, community engagement, and innovative forms of communication with the visitors. Unfortunately, however, these participatory values remain virtually unnoticed in the public and academic debates. Instead, the discussion concerning the MSWW is almost entirely focused on the conflict between the museum's Directors and its International Programme Board on the one side, and Poland's Ministry of Culture and National Heritage on the other – a conflict which has led to the replacement of the members of the former group in a new institutional design. The conflict has been ongoing since 2015, and stemmed from harsh criticism on the part of the government of the content of the museum's permanent exhibition, and attacks on its broad scientific, management, and curatorship autonomy. More precisely, the universal message of the permanent exhibition – centred on the human rather than on purely national dimension and experience of the war – was perceived by ministerial experts as insufficiently reflecting the trauma suffered by Poles, and their martyrdom.[41] Hence the MSWW has become a battlefield of conflicting visions concerning both the public memory as well as the role of a publicly funded narrative museum.[42] Dominant voices in both the public and scholarly debate seem to accept this entirely politicised and ideologised language used in discussing the role of narrative museums, nearly ignoring the value of their participatory grassroots. In fact, Rafał Wnuk, the former MSWW deputy Director and one of its main authors, notes that the vast majority of voices have not in fact referred to the museum as such, but rather to the alleged mutually exclusive visions of Polish identity and Polish patriotism.[43] Springing from the dominant views on the narrative museum as a space of official public memory-making, the controversies have thus been seen as just a subsequent stage in this process.

However, beyond the dominant public and academic debate, various communities closely involved in the museum-making process and in its activities (war veterans, Holocaust Survivors, donors, educators, scholars, artists, memory, academic and local government institutions, as well as the public) have stood up in defence of the MSWW's autonomy. Such support was expressed in numerous letters addressed to the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage, both during civic protests and in the press and broadcast media. Particularly touching were the individual appeals from the war victims and veterans and their relatives who contributed to the MSWW with gifts and loans of cherished documents, objects and testimonies. In particular such individual appeals and statements pointed to the museum as a common good and to the

[40] WNUK Rafał, MACHCEWICZ Paweł, GAŁKA-OLEJKO Oliwia, JASIŃSKI Łukasz. *Museum of the Second World War. Catalogue of the Permanent Exhibition.* Gdansk: Museum of the Second World War 2016.
[41] JAGIELSKA-BURDUK, JAKUBOWSKI, "Narrative Museums" …, pp. 156–157.
[42] DONADIO Rachel. A Museum Becomes a Battlefield Over Poland's History. In: *The New York Times*", November 10, 2016, section C, p. 1.
[43] WNUK, *Wojna o wojnę* …

autonomy of the people's rights to preserve and share their memories with future generations.[44]

Concluding remarks

Indeed, the human rights aspect of the social role of the narrative museum is undoubtedly of paramount significance. In the case of the MSWW, the support for the institution's autonomy and its communal and citizen value and meaning came in fact from the human rights field. At the national level, action to protect the museum's autonomy and to defend freedom of research and expression has been undertaken by Poland's Commissioner for Human Rights. These issues have also been recently addressed at the international level. Karima Bennoune, Special Rapporteur of the United Nations in the field of cultural rights, in her 2020 report on her visit to Poland,[45] recommended that the government "[r]espect the artistic and scientific freedom of the directors and staff of cultural institutions and museum curators as well as the autonomy of universities and refrain from politicizing or exercising undue pressure on the content of their work", and "[s]upport the work of those seeking to display a complex vision of history and of past human rights abuses and atrocities, foster open debates about historical events and respect the integration of this complexity in school history curricula and in museums, as an important means of developing critical thinking and understanding and of shaping a tolerant and inclusive society" (Paragraph 94(b)(c)). There could hardly be a better conceptualisation of the meaning and social role of narrative museums.

Considering the above-discussed characteristics of narrative museums in Poland, it is clear that irrespective of their proliferation and success they are still very fragile entities. The foundations of their social functions – participation and participatory governance – are based solely on trust between a narrative museum and communities and state and local authorities. However, while recognising the importance of such institutions for the realisation of fundamental human rights, it also seems necessary to provide an appropriate legal and institutional framework for such participation. Moreover, it is crucial that scholars investigating contemporary museology and the phenomenon of narrative museums move away from the technological and political problems of current museum practice towards a deeper consideration of the meaning of participation, and its role in the cultural life of societies around the world.

Acknowledgment

This article was written within the framework of the research project "Digital Heritage in Cultural Con¬flicts", supported by Poland's Ministry of Culture, National Heritage and Sport under the JPICH Digital Heritage programme – support for scientific research on cultural heritage under the Joint Programming Initiative on Cultural Heritage (JPICH), No. 98/DSAP-JG/2018.

[44] Ex.: MUSZKOWSKA-PENSON, Joanna, *Odebrał mi Pan miejsce pamięci* [You Took Away my Memorial Site], accessed January 20, 2021, https://wyborcza.pl/7,75968,21625775,odebral-mi-pan-miejsce-pamieci.html.

[45] *Visit to Poland: Report of the Special Rapporteur in the Field of Cultural Rights*, accessed March 3, 2021, https://undocs.org/en/A/HRC/43/50/50/Add.1.

References

Policy and legal instruments:

Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, accessed March 2, 2021, https://www.coe.int/en/web/culture-and-heritage/faro-convention.

Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society – Explanatory Report, accessed March 2, 2021, http://www.worldlii.org/int/other/COETSER/2005/5.html.

Council's conclusions on participatory governance of cultural heritage, accessed March 2, 2021, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52014XG1223%2801%29.

Decision (EU) 2017/864 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 17 May 2017 on a European Year of Cultural Heritage (2018), accessed March 2, 2021, https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A32017D0864.

ICOM announces the alternative museum definition that will be subject to a vote, accessed March 1st 2021, https://icom.museum/en/news/icom-announces-the-alternative-museum-definition-that-will-be-subject-to-a-vote.

President's Commission on the Holocaust. Report to the President 29 September 1979, accessed January 20, 2021, https://www.ushmm.org/m/pdfs/20050707-presidents-commission-holocaust.pdf.

Recommendation concerning the protection and promotion of museums and collections, their diversity and their role in society, accessed March 1, 2021, http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=49357&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html.

Statut Muzeum II Wojny Światowej *w Gdańsku* [Statute of the MSWW in Gdansk], accessed January 20, 2021, https://sip.lex.pl/akty-prawne/dzienniki-resortowe/utworzenie-muzeum-ii-wojny-swiatowej-w-gdansku-34267678.

The Statute of POLIN, Museum of the History of Polish Jews, accessed January 20, 2021, https://www.polin.pl/en/about-museum/statute.

Statut Muzeum Powstania Warszawskiego [Statute of the WRM], accessed January 20, 2021, http://starastrona2015.1944.pl/img/mainImages/file/XXXVI_886_2012%20załącznik%20-%20aktualna.pdf.

Visit to Poland: Report of the Special Rapporteur in the Field of Cultural Rights, accessed March 3, 2021, https://undocs.org/en/A/HRC/43/50/50/Add.1.

Bibliography:

ANNAN, Kofi. (1998). The Quiet Revolution. In: *Global Governance*, vol. 4, pp. 123–138.

BROWN, Karen, MAIRESSE, François (2018). The definition of museum through its social role. In: *Curator. The Museum Journal*, vol. 61, pp. 525–539.

EDKINS Jenny. *Trauma and the Memory of Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2002. ISBN 978-05-1184-047-0.

FONTANA, Erica (2020). Meanings of the "Museum Boom" in Poland and Elsewhere. In: *Museum Anthropology* 43, pp. 45–59.

JAGIELSKA-BURDUK, Alicja, JAKUBOWSKI, Andrzej (2020). "Narrative Museums" and Curators' Rights: The Protection of a Museum Exhibition and Its Scenario under Polish Law. In: *Santander Art and Culture Law Review*, vol. 6, pp. 159–160.

JAGODZIŃSKA, Katarzyna (2016). Grancie partycypacji w muzeum? [The Limits of Participation in a Museum?]. In: *Muzealnictwo* 57, pp. 112–121.

KOBIELSKA, Maria (ed.) (2020). *Muzea na widoku* [Museums on View]. Special issue of *Teksty Drugie*, no. 4.

KOSTRO, Robert, WÓYCICKI, Kazimierz, WYSOCKI, Michał (ed.) (2014). *Historia Polski od-nowa. Nowe narracje historii i muzealne reprezentacje przeszłości* [A New Polish History. New Historical Narrations and Representation of the Past in Museums]. Warszawa: Muzeum Historii Polski. ISBN: 978-83-60642-93-1.

KWIATKOWSKI, Piotr T., NIJAKOWSKI ,Lech M., SZACKA, Barbara, SZPOCIŃSKI, Andrzej (2010). *Między codziennością a wielką historią. Druga wojna światowa w pamięci zbiorowej polskiego społeczeństwa* [Between the Everyday and Great History. The Second World War in Collective Memory of Polish Society], Gdańsk-Warszawa: Scholar. ISBN: 978-83-7383-455-2.

LINENTHAL, Edward T. (1997). *Preserving Memory. The Struggle to Create America's Holocaust Museum*. New York: Penguin Books.

MACHCEWICZ, Paweł (2019). *The War That Never Ends. The Museum of Second World War in Gdańsk.* Berlin/Boston: DeGruyter ISBN: 978-31-1065-460-8.

PADIGLIONE, Vincezo (2016). "Let the Silent History Be Told": Museums Turn to Narratives. In: *Fractal: Revista de Psicologia,* vol. 28, pp. 181–186.

ROMAINVILLE, Céline (2015). Defining the Right to Participate in Cultural Life as a Human Right. In: *Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights,* vol. 33, pp. 405–436.

SIMON, Nina (2010). *The Participatory Museum.* Santa Cruz, CA: Museum 2.0. ISBN: 978-06-1534-650-2

TERUGGI, Mario E. (1973). The roundtable of Santiago (Chile). In: *Museum International,* vol. 25, pp. 129–133.

WEINBERG, Jeshajahu (1995). A Narrative History Museum. In: *Curator. The Museum Journal* 37, pp. 231–239.

WOLSKA-PABIAN, Karolina, KOWAL, Paweł (ed.) (2019). *Muzeum i zmiana. Losy muzeów narracyjnych* [Museum and Change. The Fate of Narrative Museums]. Warszawa-Krakow: Universitas. ISBN: 97883-242-3498-1.

WNUK, Rafał (2018). Wojna o wojnę. Spór o wystawę Muzeum II Wojny Światowej [A War about War. The Conflict Surrounding the Exhibition of the MSWW]. In: *Res Historica*, pp. 335–350.

WNUK, Rafał, MACHCEWICZ, Paweł, GAŁKA-OLEJKO, Oliwia, JASIŃSKI, Łukasz (2016). *Museum of the Second World War. Catalogue of the Permanent Exhibition.* Gdansk: Museum of the Second World War. ISBN: 978-83-6302-965-4.

The Protection of Cultural Heritage vs. the Right to Private Property: The Extraordinary Case of the Portrait of Dr. Gachet by Vincent van Gogh

Kamil Zeidler – Aleksandra Guss

Prof. dr hab. Kamil Zeidler
University of Gdańsk, Faculty of Law and Administration
Department of Theory and Philosophy of the State and Law
Corresponding adress: ul. Jana Bażyńskiego 6, 80-952 Gdańsk
e-mail address: kamil.zeidler@ug.edu.pl
ORCID: 0000-0002-8396-3608

Aleksandra Guss, MA
University of Gdańsk, Faculty of Law and Administration
Department of Theory and Philosophy of the State and Law
e-mail address: aleksandra.guss@phdstud.ug.edu.pl
ORCID: 0000-0002-4157-6853

Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo, 2021, 9:4:57-68
DOI: 10.46284/mkd.2021.9.4.4

The Protection of Cultural Heritage vs. the Right to Private Property: The Extraordinary Case of the Portrait of Dr. Gachet by Vincent van Gogh
In 1890, Vincent van Gogh moved from Paris to Auvers-sur-Oise, where he met Dr. Paul-Ferdinand Gachet, who agreed to host and take care of the painter, especially regarding his mental health. However, he did not manage to save the artist, who committed suicide the same year. His hopeless mental health was seen in the famous portrait of Dr. Gachet, which radiated a distinct melancholy and sadness. The Portrait of Dr. Gachet was bought for $ 82.5 million by a Japanese millionaire and art collector, Ryoei Saito, who said that after his death it was to be burned along with his corpse. It raised loud objections in the art world, which recognised the common good and the legacy of our cultural heritage in the painting. This case is a classic example of a dispute between the ideals of liberalism and communitarianism and is seen as a hard case in law. The aim of the article is to present the history of The Portrait of Dr. Gachet and its place in the dispute between liberalism and communitarianism (in the context of cultural heritage law), which in turn means that this case can be seen as a hard case.

Keywords: Cultural Heritage Law, Art Law, Hard Cases, Liberalism vs. Communitarianism, Philosophy of Law

1. Introduction

Vincent van Gogh met Dr. Paul-Ferdinand Gachet in 1890 when he moved to Auvers-sur-Oise to be closer to his brother, Theo. The doctor then agreed to host and take care of the painter, especially regarding his mental health. However, he did not manage to save the artist, who committed suicide the same year. The stay in Auvers-sur-Oise resulted in many paintings, including a famous portrait of Dr. Gachet, which was painted in two versions. Both were very similar and they radiated a distinct melancholy and sadness, which could reflect van Gogh's hopeless mental health.

Not appreciated during his lifetime, van Gogh gained fame after his death and nowadays his paintings on the international art market, if they appear, reach dizzying, even record-breaking prices at auctions. This was also the case with The Portrait of Dr. Gachet, which was sold

for $ 82.5 million. The painting was bought by a Japanese millionaire and art collector Ryoei Saito, who said that after his death it was to be burned along with his corpse. It raised loud objections in the art world, which recognised the common good and the legacy of our culture in the painting. There was no doubt that it was a part of cultural heritage, which should be protected by law. This case is a classic example of a dispute between the ideals of liberalism and communitarianism and is seen as a hard case in law. The aim of the article is to present the history of The Portrait of Dr. Gachet and its place in the dispute between liberalism and communitarianism (in the context of cultural heritage law), which in turn means that this case can be seen as a hard case. Secondly, the article contains questions that a potential judge wishing to solve a case should answer by weighing values and principles.

2. The Portrait of Dr Gachet by Vincent van Gogh

In 1890, Vincent van Gogh moved from Paris to Auvers-sur-Oise, a town located an hour by train from Paris. While he was living there, Dr. Paul-Ferdinand Gachet, who was a friend of many Impressionist painters (including Cézanne and Pissarro), as well as a patron of the arts and an amateur painter, agreed to host and take care of Van Gogh. In the same year, on 29 July, the painter, tormented by anxiety of spirit and deepening depression, took his own life. Dr. Gachet, as a psychiatrist, tried many times to diagnose the artist's mental illness; however, he was unable to prevent him from committing suicide.

During his stay in Auvers-sur-Oise, Vincent van Gogh painted over 80 canvases (which is on average more than one a day), in particular picturesque houses, hills, and wheat fields (e.g., Champ de blé aux corbeaux, 1890). He also painted a portrait of Dr. Paul-Ferdinand Gachet—in two versions.[1]

Both paintings show a distinct melancholy. One may be tempted to say that the painting reflects two poor mental states—the painter himself, and, as might be suspected, also Dr. Gachet. As van Gogh wrote about the doctor's face, expressing sadness and grief: "he certainly seems to be suffering as seriously as I", and "he is sicker than I am".[2] Dr. Gachet was portrayed in a head-in-hand pose, with a sad gaze directed into the distance and with a face that Van Gogh described as a "heartbroken expression of our time".[3] The depressive nature of the painting is additionally emphasised by the gloomy colours used. The dark blue coat of the doctor and the blue undulating hills in the background accentuate his tired features, pale face, and the pain of his blue eyes. Colour undoubtedly plays a symbolic role here as a metaphor for sadness (according to, for example, the saying "to feel blue"). Moreover, many people see a similarity between Portrait of Dr. Gachet, and a Self-portrait of the painter in the expressions of the faces—as if van Gogh wanted to transfer "himself" to a portrait of a doctor. Therefore, this picture is not treated only as a depiction of a sad man, but is seen as a complex psychological case that raises many questions and prompts the viewer to seek answers. The emotions expressed in the

[1] 1890, oil on canvas, ca. 67 x 56 cm; the story concerns the first of them, although it should be mentioned that the second version of the portrait—considered to be weaker and even raising doubts as to its originality—is in the collection of the Museum d'Orsay in Paris; see also: SALTZMAN, Cynthia. *Portrait of Dr. Gachet: The Story of a van Gogh Masterpiece: Money, Politics, Collectors, Greed, and Loss*. New York: Viking, 1998; see also: HENLEY Jon. The Remarkable Dr Gachet. In: *The Guardian*, 28 January 1999, accessed 31 October 2020, https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/1999/jan/28/arttheft.art.

[2] ARONSON, Jeffrey K. and RAMACHANDRAN, Manoj. The diagnosis of art: melancholy and the Portrait of Dr Gachet. In: *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 2006, 99(7), p. 373.

[3] WALLACE, Robert. *The World of Van Gogh*. New York: Time-Life Books 1969, pp. 174–75.

painting and the mystery which it hides within itself undoubtedly contributed to its uniqueness, and thus aroused interest in the art market after the artist's death.

Fig. 1: *The Portrait of Dr Gachet by Vincent van Gogh, 1890, https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portret_doktora_Gacheta#/media/Plik:Portrait_of_Dr._Gachet.jpg*

During his lifetime, Vincent van Gogh sold only one painting—The Red Vineyard (today at the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow).[4] However, after his death, his fame began to grow rapidly, and nowadays on the international art market, Vincent van Gogh's paintings, if they appear, reach amazing, record-breaking prices at auctions. The most famous of over eight hundred works painted by the artist[5] have been a constant and important component of the best museum collections in the world for decades. These are the pride of those museums that can mostly be classified—colloquially speaking—in the champions' league of the world's museums.

At an auction in Christie's in New York, one of the two largest auction houses in the world (the other is Sotheby's), on 15 May 1990, Van Gogh's painting Portrait of Dr. Gachet was sold for $ 82.5 million. It was at that time an auction record that was subsequently not broken for fourteen consecutive years. To this day, is one of the most expensive works of art ever sold at auction and the most expensive painting by Van Gogh. The famous painting was bought by the Japanese millionaire and art collector Ryoei Saito.[6] The new owner liked the work so much that he announced that after his death it was to be burnt together with his corpse. It caused a veritable storm and loud opposition in the art world. However, when the owner died in 1996, there was no further information disclosed about the painting and it has not been seen in public since its purchase in 1990.[7] We still do not know what happened to the painting, and although eventually declarations were made that the painting was not burned, and that Ryoei Saito only joked when describing his love for art in this way, it is not certain whether the owner's last will was fulfilled or not. Although some theories about its fate appear in the press, it is a fact that

[4] CHILVERS, Ian and OSBORNE, Harold. *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, p. 281.

[5] Vincent van Gogh discovered a creative fascination with painting quite late in life, but as it happened, he worked extremely intensively; E.H. Gombrich wrote about him: "his career as a painter lasted less than 10 years. All the paintings thanks to which he became famous were created within three years marked by attacks of disease and despair". GOMBRICH, Ernst Hans. *O sztuce*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Arkady, 2009, pp. 545–546.

[6] Ryoei Saito bought another painting two days later, this time at Sotheby's in New York: Pierre-Auguste Renoir's *Au moulin de la galette* from 1877 for $ 78 million; see: MCCARTHY, T., Christie's New York auction, Tuesday, 15 May 1990. For sale: Van Gogh's Portrait of Dr Gachet… In: *The Independent*, 16 November 1993, accessed 31 October 2020, https://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/the-last-of-the-big-spender-ryoei-saito-last-week-under-arrest-and-in-deep-trouble-a-far-cry-from-1504552.html.

[7] CHARNEY, Nancy. Lost Art: When Works Disappear into Private Collections. In: *The Art Newspaper*, 8 November 2018, accessed 31 October 2020, https://www.theartnewspaper.com/feature/lost-art-when-works-disappear-into-private-collections.

the painting has not been shown to the public for the last thirty years.[8]

The above can be supplemented with two observations. First, the Japanese, whose national traits include sensitivity to beauty, highly value the achievements of European art; second, European art from that period, at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, drew inspiration from Japanese art in handfuls, especially from woodcuts. This fascination by no means excluded van Gogh and it had a visible impact on his work.[9] So the Japanese millionaire, although this is of course speculation, could find in the artist's work a resonance that was culturally close to him.

The mysterious fate of the painting, and the testator's will in particular, raise many doubts not only of a legal, but also social and moral nature. In fact, in the case of the portrait of Dr. Gachet, legal norms collide with the norms of other systems, creating the so-called hard case in law.

3. Hard Cases in Law

Although the problem of hard cases was raised by many other philosophers of law, including John Austin, in his concept of positivism, the theory of this issue emerged and gained fame, above all, in the course of a debate between Herbert L.A. Hart and Ronald Dworkin.[10] The concept of hard cases is associated primarily with the latter—it was Dworkin who published a comprehensive essay, Hard Cases[11], in the Harvard Law Review in 1975, which referred to his 1971 lecture at Oxford on the basis of the famous case of Riggs v. Palmer.[12]

Often the main axis of the Hart–Dworkin dispute is identified with the question of whether a law is just a set of "zero-one" rules, or whether it also includes rules that are graded and used to resolve the hard cases. Hart believed that a hard case arises when the rules of law do not themselves lead to the resolution of a legal problem, and its solution requires appeal to a non-legal system, thanks to the open texture concepts. This was connected with breaking the connection between the rule and the decision and relying on judicial discretion, going beyond the legal system (Hart also defends the idea that a judge's decision made in a hard case is a

[8] See: BAILEY, Martin. Where is the Portrait of Dr Gachet? The Mysterious Disappearance of Van Gogh's Most Expensive Painting. In: *The Art Newspaper*, 15 November, accessed 31 October 2020, https://www.theartnewspaper.com/blog/where-is-van-gogh-s-portrait-of-dr-gachet; as we read in this article, the reason that the painting—if it still exists—is not publicly displayed and its possible owner remains in the shadows is the potential restitution claim related to the confiscation of the van Gogh collection due to the work having been looted by the Nazis in the 1930s.

[9] See: GOMBRICH, *O sztuce*, p. 546.

[10] See: SHAPIRO, Scott J. The "Hart-Dworkin" Debate: A Short Guide for the Perplexed. In: *Ronald Dworkin*, ed. RIPSTEIN, Arthur. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 22–55; LEITER, Brian. Beyond the Hart/Dworkin Debate: The Methodology Problem in Jurisprudence. In: *The American Journal of Jurisprudence*, 2003, 48(1), pp. 17–51.

[11] DWORKIN, Ronald. Hard Cases. In: *Harvard Law Review*, 1975, 88(6), pp. 1057–1109.

[12] Riggs v. Palmer, Court of Appeals of New York, 115 NY 506 (1889); Dworkin describes the essence of the case as follows: "In 1889 a New York court, in the famous case of *Riggs v. Palmer* had to decide whether an heir named in the will of his grandfather could inherit under that will, even though he had murdered his grandfather to do so. The court began its reasoning with this admission: 'It is quite true that statutes regulating the making, proof and effect of wills, and the devolution of property, if literally construed, and if their force and effect can in no way and under no circumstances be controlled or modified, give this property to the murderer.' But the court continued to note 'that all laws as well as all contracts may be controlled in their operation and effect by general, fundamental maxims of the common law. No one shall be permitted to profit by his own fraud, or to take advantage of his own wrong, or to found any claim upon his own iniquity, or to acquire property by his own crime.' The murderer did not receive his inheritance"; see: DWORKIN, Ronald. *Taking Rights Seriously*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977.

law-making decision, because the standard of a correct judicial decision is determined by the semantic scope of a rule containing open-texture expressions).[13]

Dworkin, in turn, pointed out that in the legal system there are also norms that are principles and policies. They differ from the rules in that they are not exhausted in the "zero-one" calculus. Thus, the judge weighs certain reasons without going beyond the legal system; on the contrary, a solution should be sought within the system on the basis of rules and policies. In accordance with the integral philosophy, Dworkin indicates that the judge should remain within the legal system and refer to the legal principles, thus bringing the standards out of the legal system.[14]

It is worth mentioning, however, that Hart pointed out in the Postscriptum that he treats the concept of a rule broadly enough to also include principles,[15] which in some way changes the further form of the dispute that continues today through the continuators of these two philosophers.

However, the debate significantly contributed to the development of the hard case concept, but it is emphasised that the approach to hard cases resulting from the dispute is narrow, and perhaps even too narrow, as it is limited only to the process of applying the law and possibly its interpretation. The legal system is not limited to these two phenomena and looking broadly, it can be seen that hard cases can occur on all five levels of law: the law-making process, the application of law, the interpretation of law, the validity of law, and compliance with the law[16]. This means that hard cases are not only within the domain of the judge, seeking a solution in a specific case where there is no clear legal rule, as it was presented by Hart. This may also apply to, for example, the legislator who decides to regulate or to refrain from regulating a specific sphere of social relations.[17] Therefore, a hard case does not necessarily have to do with the law in force and sometimes arises in the context of a lack of regulation, giving rise to the question of whether to regulate the issue or not.

It should also be noted that Dworkin emphasized that in hard cases there is only one right answer, but in fact, paradoxically, such a situation would result in an easy case – because it would not be necessary to conduct the entire argumentative discourse. This means that the determining factor for a hard case in law is the multiplicity of possible solutions to a given case and many correct findings.[18] A hard case occurs where law collides with itself or with other normative systems or values, for example, with morality (most often), religion, customs, politics, economy, etc.[19] That is why the solution of a hard case does not proceed clearly from the legal rules applied, and most frequently in such a situation it is necessary to appeal to norms other than legal ones and to assessments and evaluations—this appears in the case of a conflict of legal principles (internal conflict) or of the flagrant conflict of the law and another

[13] ZAJADŁO, Jerzy. Co to są hard cases? In: *Fascynujące ścieżki filozofii prawa*, ZAJADŁO, Jerzy (ed.), Warsaw: LexisNexis, 2008, pp. 7–19.

[14] Ibidem.

[15] See: HART, Herbert. Postscript. In: *The Concept of Law*, 2nd ed., BULLOCH Penelope A. and RAZ, Joseph (eds.). Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.

[16] ZAJADŁO, Co to są hard cases…, pp. 9–10.

[17] See ZEIDLER, Kamil. Czy w prawie prywatnym występują trudne przypadki? In*: Państwo i Prawo*, 2018, 9, pp. 75–76.

[18] ZEIDLER, Kamil. *Restitution of Cultural Property. Hard Case, Theory of Argumentation, Philosophy of Law*. Gdańsk-Warsaw: Gdansk University Press, 2016, p. 19.

[19] For example, David Lyons sees a hard case in the collision of law and moral decisions. See: LYONS, David. *Ethics and the Rule of Law*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984; KRAMER, Matthew H. *Where Law and Morality Meet*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

important and recognised normative order (external conflict).[20]

The lack of one right answer results in the necessity to constantly weigh rules and values in order to give precedence to one of them in a given case. Occasionally it is the subject of the dispute that makes the case a hard case. This is the situation with cultural property, which is particularly visible in the case of Dr. Gachet's portrait, where two interests collide—the interest of the individual, relating to property rights and fulfillment of the testator's will; and public interest, relating to the possibility of limitation of property rights in order to protect common goods, which are in this case a part of cultural heritage.

4. The Case of Dr. Gachet's Portrait as a Hard Case

As can be seen from the above, we deal with a hard case in law, especially when, in a decision-making situation, it is necessary to weigh the values so as to give one of them priority over the other. The case presented here is related to the problem of a dispute between individual rights and the general interest. On the one hand, we have the right of ownership at stake, here the owner of a unique work of art, and on the other hand, this work of art is a common good whose protection is in the public interest. This is because one of the main assumptions of the cultural heritage law is based on the fact that it consists of items of exceptional value (historical, artistic, scientific, etc.) that justify their protection. This protection goes beyond the ordinary protection of a thing in civil or even criminal law, which results from the right to property. This is protection of a public-law nature, using mainly instruments of public international law, very often constitutional law, administrative law, and finally also criminal law. The justification for such extensive protection of individual components of cultural heritage—cultural property, monuments, works of art, etc.—is the goal of preserving them in the best possible condition for future generations. The keynote of Derek Gillman's book The Idea of Cultural Heritage is that, on the one hand, works of art belong to a specific owner, whether it is a public entity, such as a museum or a private collector; on the other hand, however, they belong, as an element of cultural heritage and the common good, to all mankind.[21] And here arises the question about the possibility of universal access to them and their use by more people than just the owner of a given work of art.

It is worth recalling the words of Hippocrates, which were later repeated in translation by Seneca—ars longa vita brevis. So life is fleeting, and art "lives" long. In other words, "eternal life is the natural destiny of art".[22] A special feature of monuments is that they were created in a more or less distant past, they were created by the hands of an often brilliant, exceptional artist, and often survived for many generations. However, there is no chance that once lost or destroyed, they will be restored to us, because time will not go backwards and the creators will not be revived. So they are sanctified by successive generations, as memorials to people who have passed away and were only "episodes in the life of things"; and to past historical events that these cultural goods fortunately survived. Thanks to this, they can serve us today. However, at the same time we, living today, are burdened with the obligation to care for them and to pass them on to the next generations in the best possible condition. And, first and foremost, it is justified to treat cultural property as a common good that should be protected independently, sometimes even against the will of its owner or holder.

---

[20] ZEIDLER, *Restitution of Cultural*… pp. 19–20.

[21] See: GILLMAN, Derek. *The Idea of Cultural Heritage*. Cambridge–New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

[22] SCHWARTZ, Gary. Ars Moriendi: The Morality of Art. In: *Art in America*, 1996, 11, pp. 72–75.

The right to property, as the broadest subjective right, contains several elements, and traditionally consists of: ius possidendi (the right to own things), ius utendi (the right to use things), ius fruendi (the right to receive benefits from things), ius disponendi (the right to dispose of a thing), and ius abutendi, that is, the right to use up or even destroy things. However, today the right to property is subject to various restrictions. In democratic states, these rights are provided for by law and may not be arbitrary in any way, and in particular may not infringe the essence of the right to property.

In the facts described here, we are dealing with a dispute that arose on the line between two concepts: property rights versus protection of the common interest. The owner legally acquired van Gogh's painting, paying a record price for it at the auction. He could therefore dispose of the subject of his property rights. But is it certain that these rights should also include the right to destroy the work, or, perhaps due to its uniqueness and special values, should the ownership right be limited? The mere fact that someone is rich enough to afford to buy works of art of the highest value should in no way allow him to destroy the work, especially when we are dealing with the most valuable and preserved works of art. Moreover, the fact of the exceptional value of such works implies special obligations on the part of the owner—taking care of them, their proper and safe storage, and, if necessary, conservation. But is it really so? The problem described here is quite new, because previously, for centuries, it was the commissioner who decided what would happen to the work made for him by the artist, and in this respect he had full ownership rights.

We should not reduce the considerations here to seeking answers on the basis of a specific law in force in a particular country, be it the United States, Japan, or any other. In many countries, in particular those belonging to the broadly understood European legal culture, we find regulations on the protection of cultural heritage, which directly exclude the possibility of destroying an item considered a monument. However, that does not make the matter at hand an easy case. It remains hard, because this constantly occurring dispute of values—between the variously understood interests of an individual and the common good—is independent of any attempt to regulate it by law. Similarly to the normative-legal regulation of other hard cases, such as the admissibility of the death penalty, abortion, euthanasia, and others, it does not make them an easy case. Moreover, an improper attempt to regulate a given issue may turn it into a hard case in law, or may make a hard case in law even harder. The same will be true of the problem of the value dispute analysed here and the related questions about the permissible scope of interference with the right to property in contemporary democratic states of law.

The matter discussed here can be even more general. The most pressing dispute of modern times, not only in legal sciences, is that known as liberalism versus communitarianism. It also concerns the law of protection of cultural heritage.[23] In the aforementioned book, Derek Gilliam writes that one of the two most important debates on cultural heritage in recent decades has been one that fits directly into the conflict between liberalism and communitarianism.[24] Representatives of both positions not only present various alternatives and compromise proposals, but also propose specific political, economic, and social solutions, and prefer different positions in the field of social morality. They also treat the law and its role differently, as well as the meaning and functions of these in contemporary societies. While much has

[23] See: ZEIDLER, Kamil and ŁĄGIEWSKA, Magdalena. Liberalism Versus Communitarianism in Cultural Heritage Law. In: *International Journal for the Semiotics of Law – Revue internationale de Sémiotique juridique*, 43(1), 2020, pp. 657–668.
[24] GILLMAN, *The Idea of Cultural Heritage…,* pp. 1–2.

already been written about both liberalism and communitarianism and the ongoing dispute, one can still only guess at their different positions with regard to cultural heritage and its protection. Therefore, it is important to ask about the position of representatives—of liberal and communitarian thought, respectively—on the issue of the protection of cultural heritage in general, and the admissibility and scope of interference with property rights in particular; and of course when considering the ownership of cultural property. The problem presented here is by no means new. The same question about the limitation of the owner's right in a case when the object of his right is a cultural property, although framed in a slightly different way, was posed by Joseph L. Sax in Playing Darts with a Rembrandt: Public and Private Rights in Cultural Treasures.[25]

Ultimately, however, it is necessary to do justice to the owners of cultural property, emphasising that it is they who most often make efforts and care for the protection of their monuments and works of art. Thus, they are the most effective "component" of the system for the protection of cultural heritage in general. Ideas that this role could be taken over by the state did not work, as many examples from the second half of the twentieth century in communist and socialist countries show. Therefore, it is important to try to reconcile potentially conflicting interests wherever and whenever possible. However, in those cases where it occurs, we are most often dealing with hard cases in law.

5. Weighing Values in Search of a Solution

In light of the facts cited here and the problem posed, consisting in a dispute of interests, goods, and values, one can put oneself in the role of a judge who is to decide on the performance of or refusal to comply with the deceased's last will. Therefore, let us formulate the three main questions that this judge will have to deal with in order to pass judgment: Firstly, can the ownership of a work of art be unlimited? Secondly, is recognising things, in this case works of art, as the common good a justification for interference with property rights? And if so, what are the limits of this interference and is it possible to deprive the owner of ownership for the sake of protection? Regarding this point, one must remember the problem of compensation in such cases. And thirdly, could Ryoei Saito expect his will for a favourite work of art to be executed?

The right to property comes from ancient times, and is considered to be a natural or fundamental human right.[26] Concepts of natural law emphasise that human and civil liberties and rights, including the right to private property, have a legal and natural character, and therefore are not established or granted by state bodies, but are only declared and guaranteed by them in the form of positive law. Hugo Grotius treated property as one of the fundamental principles of the whole law of nature, which was a system of norms that were unchanging, permanent, and independent of the will of any legislator,[27] and thus perceived that property was unfettered. John Locke, on the other hand, applied the concept of appropriation to goods of nature, animals, and land—with his law of nature forbidding such appropriation that could lead to harm to other people.[28] Property was perceived differently by Max Weber, giving it an

[25] See: SAX, Joseph L. *Playing Darts with a Rembrandt: Public and Private Rights in Cultural Treasures*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2004.

[26] See: MACK, Eric. The natural right of property. In: *Social Philosophy and Policy*, 27(1), 2010, pp. 53–78.

[27] See: NEFF, Stephen C. (ed). *Hugo Grotius on the Law of War and Peace*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2013, pp. 13–35.

[28] See LOCKE, John. *Second Treatise of Government*. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 1980.

absolute character, independent of the will and interests of non-owners and keeping it also in the modern social state, introducing numerous restrictions on ownership activities.[29]

The general concept of ownership includes the owner's right to treat things in any way. Currently, the right to property is the systemic basis and constitutional principle of all modern democratic states. The legal practice of democratic states determines in what circumstances property is individual or collective property, and whether and in what form the sovereignty over a thing may be limited. It should be emphasised that the interference with this right, and in particular its limitation, cannot be arbitrary and cannot be left out of any control. As mentioned earlier, most often the right to property will be limited by the aforementioned "common good" or "public interest". It should be noted, however, that the conflict of the interests of the individual with the interests of the community will not always justify the interference with the right to property, and even if it does, it cannot be arbitrary and not subject to any control.[30]

Ownership is not only a legal category, but an interdisciplinary issue that covers the field of economics and social sciences, including, primarily, sociology and psychology. The latter treats property as part of human nature. A human strives for possession, and this is often his main form of motivation to work, especially in recent years—we work harder to have more, which has given rise to a negative and growing phenomenon of consumerism. Ownership, therefore, has an overwhelming impact on almost every sphere of life, it gives people the motivation to action, and at the same time is a kind of promise of their success in life, as well as strengthening social positions.[31] Hence, possession of works of art is associated with a certain prestige. This is the more so because as well as the entire process that accompanies the purchase of works of art, e.g., during an auction, such a work is characterised by its rarity, usually existing only as one copy, and its high economic value. Moreover, ownership is associated with the creation of an emotional bond between the owner and the item. This is particularly visible in the ownership of works of art—the reasons for buying a given work are very often the emotions it arouses or its meaning. In the case of Van Gogh's painting, such a bond must have been strong, since Ryoei Saito wanted the work to burn with his corpse, that is, to be with him until the last moment of his physical existence. It all makes the possession of a work of art different from the possession of an ordinary thing. However, it should be considered whether the work's high economic value and the emotional attitude of the owner towards the work may exceed its priceless cultural value, manifesting in its meaning for society.

As we already know, the most important prerequisite for interference with the right to property is the protection of the common good. The Latin root of "common", communis, is the same as the root of "community"; it evokes "general", "free" and "public" all at the same time. Alternatively, the common good can be called "public interest" or "public goods", as the main subject of all three concepts are goods that serve all members of the community and its institutions. It is a normative concept that comes from ancient times, as is the case with the concept of property.

---

[29] See DUSZA, Karl. Max Weber's Conception of the State. In: *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, 3(1), 1989, pp. 71–105.

[30] ZEILDER, Kamil. Ograniczenie prawa własności w świetle sporu liberalizmu z komunitaryzmem. In: *Gdańskie Studia Prawnicze*, 36, 2016, p. 541.

[31] ZALEWSKI, Zbigniew. *Psychologia własności i prywatności.* Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Żak 2003, pp. 15–112. See also KLINE Linus W. and FRANCE, C. J. The Psychology of Ownership. In: *The Pedagogical Seminary*, 6(4), 1899, pp. 421–470.

The fact that cultural heritage is perceived as a common good can be inferred from the UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, adopted in Paris on 16 November 1972. This is evidenced by the emphasis that the safeguarding of cultural heritage, this unique and irreplaceable property, is important to all the peoples of the world, whichever people to whom it may belong. Thus, the Convention commits the international community as a whole to participate in the protection of the cultural heritage, which is of outstanding interest and therefore needs to be preserved as part of the world heritage of mankind as a whole. Article 1 provides a catalogue of goods that make up the cultural heritage, among which are mentioned: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, all of which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art, or science.

Francesco Francioni indicates that: "cultural property today can be seen as the object of individual rights, property rights, but also as 'communal property' or public patrimony, which is essential to the sentiment of belonging to a collective social body and to the transmission of this sentiment to future generations.[32] Heritage is protected not as a thing with "its own intrinsic value—aesthetic, historical, archaeological—but rather because of its association with a social structure of a cultural community which sees the safeguarding of its living culture as part of its human rights claim to maintain and develop its identity as a social body beyond the biological life of its members."[33]

So should The Portrait of Dr. Gachet be considered as such a good, and consequently as a common good? It cannot be denied that Vincent van Gogh is seen as one of the greatest revolutionaries in the history of painting, who, unaware of his genius, changed the fate of art.[34] The unique style of his works, manifested in the technique (quick, short, and rhythmic brush strokes) and the color palette (full of shades of yellow and blue), brought him enormous fame after his death. However, these are not the only factors that make Van Gogh's works rare, because the interpretation of his paintings is accompanied by the history of the artist's life, and his mental illness, loneliness, and sadness. The Portrait of Dr. Gachet is one of the last paintings by Van Gogh, and the mystery and sadness emanating from the painting reflects the artist's mental state just before his suicide attempt, perhaps even being its foreshadowing. Hence, Van Gogh's paintings cannot be denied an artistic as well as a historical value, and thus they constitute a cultural heritage that is a common good. It seems that the importance attached to the protection of cultural heritage as a common good, which is emphasised by the international community and is reflected in many acts of international and national law, justifies the infringement of property right to a work of art, which is a component of this heritage, in particular if this is to protect against its destruction or damage.[35]

As emphasised earlier, a property right consists of several elements; it includes ius possidendi, ius utendi, ius fruendi, and ius disponendi. Among the rights of the owner we distinguish the right to dispose of the thing, including its destruction. In the case of a work of art characterized by a specific value, this part of the owner's right is excluded.[36] For if a work ofart—even though

[32] FRANCIONI, Francesco. Public and Private in the International Protection of Global Cultural Goods. In: *European Journal of International Law*, 23(3), 2012, p. 722.
[33] Ibidem, p. 726.
[34] See: ZUFFI, Stefano. *Artist: Van Gogh.* Milano: Motta 24 ore Cultura, 2014.
[35] SAX, *Playing Darts with a Rembrandt…*, pp. 8–9.
[36] ZEIDLER, *Ograniczenie prawa własności…,* p. 544.

it is an object of property of a given subject—falls within the category of the common good, or if even more directly it is a common good, then its free disposal turns out to be significantly limited.[37] It all depends, then, on whether the work of art represents values which imply a public interest in its preservation, and this is so in the case of The Portrait of Dr. Gachet.

However, everything is complicated by the fact that the disposal of the painting was made in a testament, expressing the last will of Ryoei Saito. The millionaire, under his property rights, wanted Van Gogh's painting, generally perceived as a common good, to be burned along with his corpse. Upon his death, he can no longer change his mind and, in view of morality and customs, his will should be respected and fulfilled. However, this is in conflict with the public interest.

So we have a clear-cut conflict between liberal democratic principles and communitarian ideals. It should be emphasised that this dispute is not based on extremely opposing positions and an attempt to implement its concept, but has currently a discursive character, in the sense that none of the ideas and principles is absolute. And such a compromise would have to be made by the judge, weighing the values and principles, in search of a solution to our hard case—whether to allow the fulfilment of Ryoei Saito's last will or not.

Conclusion

The case of The Portrait of Dr. Gachet shows us that the issue of hard cases is still relevant, in particular in cultural heritage law. A characteristic feature of hard cases is the lack of one right answer and the necessity to constantly weigh the rules in order to give priority to one of them in a specific case. The decision will always depend on a specific factual state. We can also deal with hard cases by simply referring to the rules of prudence and so-called common sense. It seems that this could be applied in the case of The Portrait of Dr. Gachet, because the dispute between the interest of the individual, expressed in the ownership of the work of art and the possibility of its disposal, and the common interest, treating the painting as a common good, will never be unequivocally resolved.

References

ARONSON, Jeffrey K. and Ramachandran, Manoj (2006). The diagnosis of art: melancholy and the Portrait of Dr Gachet. In: *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 99(7), pp. 373–374.

CHILVERS, Ian and OSBORNE, Harold (2004). *The Oxford Dictionary of Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. ISBN 978-0198604761

DUSZA, Karl (1989). Max Weber's Conception of the State. In: *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, 3(1), pp. 71–105.

DWORKIN, Ronald (1975). Hard Cases. In: *Harvard Law Review*, 88(6), pp. 1057–1109.

DWORKIN, Ronald (1977). *Taking Rights Seriously*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. ISBN 0-674-86710-6

FRANCIONI, Francesco (2012). Public and Private in the International Protection of Global Cultural Goods. In: *European Journal of International Law*, 23(3), pp. 719–730.

GILLMAN, Derek (2010). *The Idea of Cultural Heritage*. Cambridge–New York: Cambridge University Press. ISBN 9780521122573.

[37] Ibidem.

GOMBRICH, Ernst Hans (2009). *O sztuce*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Arkady. ISBN 9788375102161.

HART, Herbert (1994). Postscript. In: *The Concept of Law*, 2nd ed., BULLOCH Penelope A. and RAZ, Joseph (eds.) Oxford: Clarendon Press. ISBN 978-0198761228.

HAUPT, Simon (2007). *Muzeum zaginionych dzieł. Historia kradzieży dzieł sztuki*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Arkady.

KLINE Linus W. and FRANCE, C. J. (1899). The Psychology of Ownership. In: *The Pedagogical Seminary*, 6(4), pp. 421–470.

KRAMER, Matthew H. (2004). *Where Law and Morality Meet*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. ISBN: 978-0199274192.

LEITER, Brian (2003). Beyond the Hart/Dworkin Debate: The Methodology Problem in Jurisprudence. In: *The American Journal of Jurisprudence*, 48(1), pp. 17–51.

LOCKE, John (1980). *Second Treatise of Government*. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Co., Inc. ISBN 978-0915144860.

LYONS, David (1984). *Ethics and the Rule of Law*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ISBN 9780521277129.

MACK, Eric (2010). The natural right of property. In: *Social Philosophy and Policy*, 27(1), pp. 53–78.

NEFF, Stephen C. (ed.) (2013). *Hugo Grotius on the Law of War and Peace*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ISBN 9781139031233.

SALTZMAN, Cynthia (1998). *Portrait of Dr. Gachet: The Story of a van Gogh Masterpiece: Money, Politics, Collectors, Greed, and Loss*. New York: Viking. ISBN 978-0140254877.

SAX, Joseph L. (2004). *Playing Darts with a Rembrandt: Public and Private Rights in Cultural Treasures*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press. ISBN 978-0-472-08784-6.

SCHWARTZ, Gary (1996). Ars Moriendi: The Morality of Art. In: *Art in America*, 1996(11), pp. 72–75.

SHAPIRO, Scott J. (1997). The "Hart-Dworkin" Debate: A Short Guide for the Perplexed. In: Ronald Dworkin (ed.). *RIPSTEIN, Arthur*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ISBN 9781139167109.

WALLACE, Robert (1969). *The World of Van Gogh*, New York: Time-Life Books. ISBN 0316510807.

ZAJADŁO, Jerzy (2008). Co to są hard cases? In: *Fascynujące ścieżki filozofii prawa*, ZAJADŁO, Jerzy (ed.). Warsaw: LexisNexis. ISBN 978-83-7334-869-1.

ZALEWSKI, Zbigniew (2003). *Psychologia własności i prywatności*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Żak. ISBN 8388149946.

ZEILDER, Kamil (2016). Ograniczenie prawa własności w świetle sporu liberalizmu z komunitaryzmem. In: *Gdańskie Studia Prawnicze*, 36, pp. 535–551.

ZEIDLER, Kamil (2016). *Restitution of Cultural Property. Hard Case, Theory of Argumentation, Philosophy of Law*. Gdańsk-Warsaw: Gdansk University Press. ISBN 978-83-7865-462-9.

ZEIDLER, Kamil (2018). Czy w prawie prywatnym występują trudne przypadki? In: *Państwo i Prawo,* 9, pp. 69–77.

ZEIDLER, Kamil and ŁĄGIEWSKA, Magdalena (2020). Liberalism Versus Communitarianism in Cultural Heritage Law. In: *International Journal for the Semiotics of Law – Revue internationale de Sémiotique juridique*, 34(1), pp. 657–668.

ZUFFI, Stefano (2014). *Artist: Van Gogh*. Milano: Motta 24 ore Cultura. ISBN 978-8866482161.

Islamic architecture in Tbilisi and Batumi: Muslim heritage in Georgia

Aldona Piwko

Aldona Piwko
Prof. Aldona Piwko, PhD
Vistula University in Warsaw
e-mail: a.piwko@vistula.edu.pl
ORCID: 0000-0003-2300-4306

Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo, 2021, 9:4:69-83
DOI: 10.46284/mkd.2021.9.4.5

Islamic architecture in Tbilisi and Batumi: Muslim heritage in Georgia
Georgia's cultural wealth is the result of the country's centuries-old history and complex ethnic, religious and political relations. Islam, present in these areas since the seventh century, was of significant importance for the shaping of Georgian architecture. Architectural elements characteristic of Middle Eastern art were thus transferred to a Christian country. Arabs and Persians left behind buildings and ornamental details. The article is the result of field research carried out in Georgia, the purpose of which was to identify the issues of shaping and preserving memory and cultural and religious identity in the Muslim community. Georgian Muslim architecture is heavily neglected and requires increased protection, and above all significant financial resources that are difficult to obtain from a small number of Islamic communities. On the other hand, contemporary trends in Georgian architecture are realized and financed by Muslim businesses.

Keywords: Christianity, Islam, cultural heritage, architecture, Georgia

Introduction

Georgia is the second country in the world, after Armenia, to have adopted Christianity, recognizing it as a state religion. This happened in 337, thanks to the activity of the female apostle, Nino, who is canonized as a saint in the Catholic, Armenian and Orthodox churches, and is also the main patron saint of Georgia.[1]

Throughout its history, Georgia has been a state of many nations, different religions and several languages. Christianity is represented by the largest number of believers, with 87% of the inhabitants identifying as Christian. In Georgia, a commonplace statement is that "to be Georgian means to profess Orthodoxy".[2] At the same time, being an Orthodox Christian does not only have a religious dimension, it is also, and often above all, an expression of national identity. The second religion in terms of number of followers is Islam, adhered to by nearly 11% of the population, while other religious traditions' followers number less than 0.1% of the population.[3]

[1] CHERKASOV, Aleksandr, KOROLEVA, Larisa, BRATANOVSKII, Sergei. SMIGEL, Michal. Sacred pagan temples in the Caucasus region: characteristic features. In: *Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo*, 6, 2018, pp. 59–60.
[2] CORSO, Molly. Georgia: What's the Definition of Tolerance? https://eurasianet.org/s/georgia-whats-the-definition-of-tolerance (accessed 22 January 2021).
[3] COUNTRY WATCH. *Georgia. 2018 Country Review*. Houston: CWInc., 2018, p. 277; SUNY, Ronald. The mother of cities: Tbilisi/Tiflis in the twilight of empire. In: VAN ASSCHE, Kristof. SALUKVADZE, Joseph (Ed.). *Urban culture and urban planning in Tbilisi: Where west and east meet*. Lewiston: Mellen Press, 2009, pp. 17–58.

Islam has a long history in Georgia. The first Muslims arrived in Tbilisi as early as the first half of the seventh century, with the Arab conquest. Georgia was conquered by the Arab Army in 654, but only in 735 did they gain a clear control over a large part of the country, thereby establishing Muslim rule in Tbilisi. During their initial reign, the Arabs oppressed the Georgian community. Adult men were killed, women were abducted and sold at slave fairs, while young boys were castrated and prepared to serve as eunuchs in Arab harems.[4]

At the same time, subsequent emirs who ruled over the region cared for the economic and cultural development of the country. For this reason, Georgia gained in importance as a major scientific and literary centre. The exchange of ideas and views fuelled scientific debate and led to the emergence of numerous and, above all, valuable treaties. Tbilisi was perceived as one of the most intensively developing and richest cities of the Middle East. Its development also took place on the infrastructural level. Monumental public buildings were erected, inspired by the traditions of Islam. It was in this period that mosques, caravanserai, bazaars, bathhouses, palaces for the Arab aristocracy and houses for wealthy burghers were built.[5]

Until the end of the eleventh century, in Tbilisi there was an emirate, from which the Arabs ruled the Caucasus. However, Georgian aspirations for liberation from Arab rule and a return to independence rule were very strong and motivated the local rulers to engage in battle. King David IV defeated the Seljuk Turks, and in 1122 the Georgian army regained control over Tbilisi, which was Muslim at that time. This put an end to the 400-year rule of Islam.[6] Muslims again enslaved Georgia at the beginning of the sixteenth century, with the reign of the Ottoman Empire. The Persian invasion led by Aga Muhammad Khan toward the end of the 18th century, along with the lack of help from Tsarist Russia, caused the devastation of Georgia, and ultimately led to its absorption by Russia.[7] Georgia gained full independence with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, but to this day the state faces aggression from the Russian Federation, which controls Abkhazia and South Ossetia.

The centuries-old presence of Muslims in Georgia has left numerous traces that can be found in architecture. Well-preserved monuments of Islamic tradition can be admired primarily in the capital of the country, Tbilisi. However, also of note is the mosque in Batumi, the capital of Adjara, where the majority of Muslims in Georgia live. Currently, Islam is treated as a traditional religion of a minority of Georgian society, but it is also followed by people from the Caucasus,[8] mainly Azeris and Chechens, who live in Georgia.[9]

The literature on Islam and Muslims, as well as Muslim art and architecture in Georgia, is not extensive, probably because for many decades Georgia was part of the Soviet Union.[10] Research on Georgian Islam did not develop intensively until the t century. One person whose

[4] BARANOWSKI, Bogdan, BARANOWSKI, Krzysztof. Historia Gruzji [History of Georgia], Warszawa: Ossolineum, 1987, pp. 36–37.

[5] Ibidem, pp. 37–38.

[6] ASATRIAN, Garnik, MARGARIAN, Hayrapet. The Muslim community of Tiflis (8th–19th Centuries). In: *Iran and the Caucasus*, 8(1), 2004, pp. 29–30.

[7] MATERSKI, Wojciech. *Gruzja* [Georgia]. Warszawa: Trio, 2000, pp. 19–24.

[8] SMIGEL, Michal, CHERKASOV, Aleksandr, KMET', Miroslav. Life and traditions of Caucasian Circassians: historical-comparative probe of travelogues of European travellers from the beginning of the 16th century to the half of the 19th century. In: *Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo*, 5, 2017, pp. 32–34.

[9] PRASAD, Connor. *Georgia's Muslim Community: A Self-Fulfilling Prophecy?* Flensburg: European Centre for Minority Issues, 2012, p. 4.

[10] ANANIEV, Vitaly. Fyodor Shmit's "Social Museum": On the Theorization of the Form and Purposes of Museums in Early Soviet Russia. In: *Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo*, 6, 2018, pp. 33–35.

work has made a significant contribution to the development of research on Georgian Islam is Giorgi Sanikidze, a Professor and Director at Giorgi Tsereteli Institute of Oriental Studies at the Ilia State University, Tbilisi.

The presentation of Muslim architecture in Georgia in this article is the result of interdisciplinary scientific research conducted in Batumi and Tbilisi, in collaboration with Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani Teaching University, Tbilisi. The study is based on qualitative research conducted by means case studies of selected buildings associated with Georgia's Islamic heritage. The research was carried out by means of personal observations of the buildings, taking and analysing photographs, and archival research. An important element of the research was personal conversations with the curator of the mosque in Tbilisi and Georgian students during a scientific seminar.

Muslim architecture and art in Georgia

The Communist era significantly contributed to the degradation of many monuments in Georgia. The architectural traces of Arabs, Turks and other followers of Islam shared the same fate. Many examples disappeared forever as a result of various battles, the passage of time, or simply destructive human activity aimed at eliminating traces of another religious tradition. Two female architects – Suzanne Harris-Brandts, a Canadian architect and PhD student in urban studies and planning at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Angela Wheeler, a PhD student in architecture at Harvard University's Graduate School of Design – with support from the Graham Foundation and Open Society Georgia, conducted research on wooden mosques in Adjara, which are in danger of ruin, and undoubtedly are of great historical value for the followers of Islam in the region.

Some architectural monuments have been restored, and Muslim art survives in Georgia to this day. Of particular note is the historic mosque in Batumi, crowned with a golden dome, with a slim pencil minaret towering over the city, referring in its architecture to the mosque towers inscribed on the Istanbul landscape. However, in the capital of the country, Tbilisi, in addition to the mosque, there are other monuments that follow traditional Arab–Muslim construction styles. In addition, mosques in various parts of the country also deserve attention, as their architecture draws upon local construction techniques.

Fig. 1: *Persian style sulfuric baths*

Islamic architecture in Tbilisi

Abanotubani is an ancient district of Tbilisi, famous for its sulphur springs. Legend has it that this historical part of the city was founded by King Wachtang Gorgasali. During a hunt, a royal falcon grabbed a pheasant and disappeared from the sight of the hunters. After a long search, the birds were found near a spring, scalded with hot water. Thus, the hot springs were discovered, and the king ordered a town

to be established there. He called it Tbilisi, which, in Georgian, means warm.[11] Persian-style sulfuric baths were built (Fig. 1), as well as the only mosque that survives to this day. Particularly noteworthy in this district is the cobbled Botanikuri Street, which leads to the mosque and on to the National Botanical Garden in Tbilisi.

Jumah Mosque

Fig. 2: *Jumah Mosque in Tbilisi*

Tbilisi is home to a mixture of various denominational and monotheistic religions. Jumah Mosque (Fig. 2) is a tangible example of this diversity and religious openness. It was located in the ancient district of Abanotubani, on the route leading from the churches and the synagogue. The exact address of the mosque is 32 Botanikuri Str. The first mosque in Tbilisi, it was built on the site of a destroyed Christian church in the sixteenth century. It belonged to the Shi'a religious community, and its founder was Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, in 1522.[12] The historic building, known as the Blue Mosque or the Shah Abbas[13] Mosque, has not survived, having been demolished in 1951 to make way for the construction of the Metekhi Bridge. However, there are theories suggesting different motives for the destruction of the Shi'a mosque, such as the communist Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic authorities' disapproval of Shi'a religious practice, particularly in relation to the celebration of Ashura Day. This is the most important holiday in the Shi'a community since, it marks the death of the martyr Husayn, grandson of Muhammad, in the year 680, near the Iraqi Karbala. In memory of those tragic events, faithful men perform self-flagellation during the lamentation procession.[14]

Under Ottoman rule, on the outskirts of the Botanical Garden, a mosque intended for the Sunni community was erected in 1723–1735. This, however, was destroyed in the mid-seventeenth century.[15] Between 1846 and 1851, the architect Jovannie Scoudier undertook the task of restoring the building. However, this mosque was destroyed as well. The mosque which still exists and functions today in Tbilisi was built on the site of the previous one in 1895.

The existing mosque was built of red brick, on a rectangular plan. In the longer walls of the main part of the building there are ten narrow, arched windows. The entire building is covered with a gabled tin roof. The outstanding minaret is of particular note, constructed on a square plan with cut angles, thereby forming an octagon. The main part of the minaret, like the walls of the mosque, was built of red brick. Tall sharp-arched windows were incorporated into the wider walls. The highest part of the minaret is topped with a gallery with a balustrade. In the past, it was from this place muezzin summoned the faithful to pray. The whole construction is

---

[11] LEVINE, Joshua. Future shock. In: *Well*, 11, 2014, p.131.

[12] GACHECHILADZE, Revaz. Social-geographical problems of a metropolitan region within a Soviet republic (a case study of Tbilisi metropolitan region, Georgia). In: *Geoforum*, 21, 1990, pp. 475–482.

[13] NACHKEBIA, Maia. Theme of the original sin in Georgian baroque literature. In: *Pro Georgia* 29, 2019, p. 111.

[14] KIRSTE, Reinhard, SCHULTZE, Herbert. Święta *wielkich religii. Kalendarz międzyreligijny* [Holidays of great religions. Interreligious calendar]. Warszawa: Verbinum, 1998, pp.71–72.

[15] MATVEEVA, Anna. *The South Caucasus: Nationalism, Conflict and Minorities*. London: MRGInc., 2002, p. 7.

crowned with a roof with an onion-shaped turret above it, topped with a crescent.

Fig. 3: *Musalla, mihrab and mimbar in Jumah Mosque in Tbilisi*

The entrance to the mosque is from Botanikuri Street. Large rectangular wooden doors with the name of the mosque placed above them in Georgian, Arabic, English and Russian, lead to a spacious corridor containing entrances to the mosque offices and the main prayer room, known as the musalla. A characteristic feature of Tbilisi musalla are two mihrabs and two minbars, separated by two arches supported on columns. A mihrab is a semicircular niche in the wall of a mosque, often richly ornamented, that indicates the qibla, that is, the direction of the Kaaba in Mecca. Muslims must face the holy city of Mecca when praying. A minbar is elevation in a mosque, a kind of pulpit from which the chairman of the prayer gives a sermon.[16] At present, this musalla space is open, but in the past it was separated into Sunni and Shia prayer areas.[17] The walls of the prayer room are richly decorated, in a manner typical of Muslim culture, filled with floral and calligraphic ornaments. The interior decorations are in white and shades of blue, with yellow accents that blend well with the wooden furniture of the mosque, namely, the minbar and shelves for Qur'ans and prayer books. Religious texts, placed in the upper part of the walls on ceramic tiles, refer to the Qur'an, reminding readers of the Muslim confession of faith, proclaiming that Allah is God, and Muhammad his prophet.[18] Above the prayer room there is a balcony which serves as a gallery for women or youth (Fig. 3).

The last significant transformation of the mosque took place in its spiritual dimension. Due to the fact that the Shi'a community of Tbilisi and the surrounding area do not have their own mosque, they pray here alongside the Sunnis, without a trace of mutual animosity, which makes it one of the few mosques in the world where both communities pray side by side. Until 1996, the Sunni and Shia communities prayed in separate musalla, but this practice has since been abandoned.

In the vicinity of the city, there are other places of worship where followers of Islam gather. One is the new Ahli Bayt Shia Mosque, located in the village of Ponichala, in the suburbs of Tbilisi. Its construction began in 2008, and the opening took place on July 17, 2011. The venture was feasible thanks to the financial support of the Iraqi Ayatollah.[19] The building was constructed on a square plan and occupies 1,000 square meters; it can accommodate 450 people. The whole construction is crowned with a dome. The two-story structure has

[16] CURATOLA, Giovanni. *Islam. Visual Encyclopedia of Art.* Florence: SCALA Group. 2009, pp. 312–313.

[17] KILICASLAN, Hare. AKTUMSEK, Hulya. The creative drama method in cultural heritage education: Bursa Grand Mosque. In: *Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo*, 8, 2020, pp. 5–7.

[18] SMIGEL, Michal, CHERKASOV, Aleksandr, KMET', Miroslav. Life and traditions..., pp. 38–42.

[19] LILES,Thomas, BALCI, Bayram. Georgia. In: SCHARBRODT, Oliver. AKGÖNÜL, Samim (ed.) *Yearbook of Muslims in Europe*. Leida: Brill, 2018, p. 271.

numerous semicircular windows, reminiscent of traditional Muslim architecture. The décor of the interior of the prayer room is simple: white walls decorated with subtle calligraphies, and the floor adorned with green carpets. The mihrab is integrated into the wall.[20]

Balconies

Fig. 4: *Mosque and balconies in Tbilisi*

Fig. 5: *Mashrabiyas on balconies*

In Old Tbilisi many ancient elements of architecture have been preserved. Noteworthy are the renovated colourful tenement houses situated along the winding streets, characterized by asymmetrical roofs. However, what really deserves the attention are the balconies with wooden structures complemented with decorative bars by the Ottoman Turks (Fig. 4). In architecture, they refer to well-known balconies typical of Eastern Islam, known in Arabic as mashrabiyas. In Muslim construction, they were a kind of veil, comparable to the principles of hijab, that is, the manner of dressing of the faithful, with the house serving as a strengthened hijab, serving as a special protection for women. The Easterners' hospitality and their eagerness to welcome strangers made it necessary to designate private rooms in the home, called haram, to which visitors have no entry. Most often, these private rooms were placed on the first floor of the house, and it was in these rooms that mashrabiyas (Fig. 5) were built. A mashrabiya is a kind of decorative wooden blind surrounding the balcony or window. Such a construction ensured intimacy and protection from strangers, especially for women.[21]

Bathhouses

The primary remnant of Persian rule in sixth-century Tbilisi is the still functioning sulfur baths. The oldest and, in addition, architecturally most interesting baths are located in Abanotubani district, which, from the very beginning was inhabited by the Muslim community. Probably for this reason, the Georgian baths were modelled on Middle Eastern hammams. The Turkish hammam style of public bath has long been popular throughout the Muslim world, and it came to Europe with Islam. It is typically a spacious building with many rooms, each dedicated to a different ritual, starting from moistening the body, then massage with exotic oils, and finishing with an ordinary bath. The interiors of hammams are characterized by rich decorations. The colorful mosaics decorating the walls, almost identical to Turkish and Iranian ornamentation,

[20] CAGARA, Dominik. Neighbours Struggle to Deal with Religious Tension in Tbilisi's Muslim Settlement. http://dfwatch.net/neighbours-struggle-to-deal-with-religious-tensionin-tbilisis-muslim-settlement-40344 (accessed 22 January 2021).

[21] SULIMA, Magdalena. Miejsca swoje i miejsca obce w przestrzeni domowej w wierzeniach religijnych [Familiar and unfamiliar places in the space of the home in religious beliefs]. In: *Architecturae et Artibus*, 1, 2009, p. 74.

make the interior design of the Tbilisi's baths very oriental in style. [22]

Fig. 6: *The facade of the historical bathhouse with a glazed mosaic*

Of particularly note is the eighteenth-century Orbeliani bathhouse (Fig. 1). It owes its name to the Orbeliani family, who owned the building as early as 1700. This respected Georgian family, which gave the world many writers, politicians and military leaders, including generals, had a significant influence on Georgia and its development. Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani was the author of the first Georgian dictionary. The building is characterized by an oriental facade, referring to the Iranian iwan – an element of Persian architecture, located in the front wall of the building, opening to the courtyard. Usually, it is the main entrance to a landmark building such as a palace, mosque or madrassa. It can also act as a gallery from which there are numerous doors to the interior of the building. The Orbeliani bathhouse is entered through three tall carved wooden doors. The second floor of the iwan is a balcony, secured by a simple balustrade, allowing visitors to admire the intricate mosaic of the front wall. The facade of the historical bathhouse in Tbilisi is lined with a glazed mosaic in shades of blue and yellow (Fig. 6). Also of note are the two bath towers, reminiscent of miniature minarets, characteristic of Persian architecture, located in the front wall. An oft-cited fact is that in 1829 Aleksander Pushkin stayed there, once sneaking into a bathhouse disguised as a woman. Later he said: "I have never experienced anything more luxurious than Tiflis baths."[23] It was commemorated with an appropriate plaque placed in the bathhouse. Alexandre Dumas philosophically asked: "Why doesn't Paris, the city of physical pleasures, have such baths?"[24]

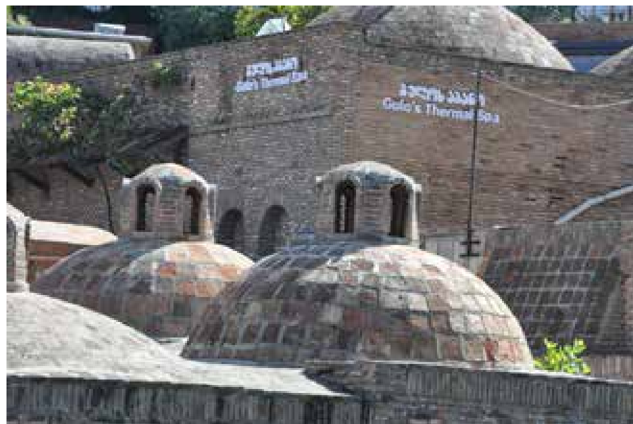

Fig. 7: *Royal Baths*

Next to the spectacular Orbeliani bath are the extensive Royal Baths. They are located underground, and one of the characteristic features is the mult-domed vault, which extends above ground level. Light reaches the interior of the bathhouse through the openings in the domes (Fig. 7). Persian documents mention that in the thirteenth century Tbilisi there were nearly 70 bathhouses with water

[22] CICHOCKI, Nina. Continuity and change in Turkish bathing culture in Istanbul: The life story of the Çemberlitaş Hamam. In: *Turkish Studies*, 6, 2005, pp. 93–112.

[23] *Łaźnie siarkowe w Tbilisi* [Tbilisi Sulfur Baths]. http://veturo.pl/article/3021/laznie-siarkowe-w-tibilisi-atrakcje-ciekawe-miejsca-gruzja/ (accessed 22 January 2021).

[24] Tbilisi Sulfur Baths. The best place for a soak in winter. https://www.bestgeorgian.com/tbilisi-sulfur-baths/ (accessed 22 January 2021).

at temperatures of up to 27°C. Currently, the water temperature in Tbilisi baths ranges between 32°C and 46°C. The water has an intense sulfur smell, reminiscent of rotten eggs. The owners of the baths offer their clients numerous attractions, such as a peculiar massage involving fairly strong stokes with wet cloths, as well as local dishes and a wide selection of spirits.

Caravanserai

Fig. 8: *Caravanserai*

Located where Europe meets Asia, Tbilisi was an important city on the trade route between the two continents. Long caravans of camels, donkeys and horses carrying various exotic goods were constantly passing through the city.[25] Caravanserai provided a resting point for caravan owners and wandering traders, offering large roofed halls which served as shelters for animals and warehouses for the caravans and their contents, along with rooms for the fatigued travellers. In the second half of the nineteenth century, there were 17 caravanserai in the capital of Georgia.[26] Today, the historic caravanserai erected in 1894–95, located at Kote Afkhazi, still deserves attention (Fig. 8). It has been partially restored, returning the main entrance to its former glamour. The floral ornamentation that decorates the façade was revitalized and the façade was tiled with sandstone. At that point, the restoration works stopped. Ultimately, the intention is that the building should house a shopping centre.[27]

One of the former Tbilisi caravanserais, located at 8/10 Erekle Str. was adapted as a residential building, with a ground-floor commercial space – currently a bar with the intriguing name *KGB Still Watching You*. In the inner courtyard of the caravanserai, despite much damage and the negligence of its tenants, one can still admire unique nineteenth-century decorative elements expressive of the artistry and the ancient beauty of the building.

The eighteenth-century caravanserai located at 8 Sioni Street was rebuilt to serve the needs of the Historical Museum of Tbilisi. There is a high probability that in the years 1911–12, the reconstruction of the façade of the building, renamed Artsrunis by the municipal museum, was managed by the Polish architect Aleksander Stanisław Rogojski, who was the city architect of

[25] SALUKVADZE, Joseph, GOLUBCHIKOV, Oleg. City as a geopolitics: Tbilisi, Georgia. A globalizing metropolis in a turbulent region. In: *Cities*, 52, 2016, p. 39–40.

[26] About History. Camels in 19th Century Tiflis. https://georgiaabout.com/2014/08/13/camels-in-19th-century-tiflis/ (accessed 22 January 2021).

[27] FREDERIKSEN, Martin. A gate, but leading where? In search of actually existing cosmopolitanism in post-Soviet Tbilisi. In: HUMPHREY, Caroline, SKVIRSKAJA, Vera (Eds.). *Post-cosmopolitan cities: Explorations of urban coexistence*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2012, pp. 120–140.

Tblisi in the early twentieth century. He oversaw many architectural projects in the capital and other cities of Georgia.[28]

Fig. 9: *Inside the dome mosque Batumi*

Batumi

The seaside city of Batumi is the capital of the autonomous republic of Ajara in Georgia. The centuries-old presence of Islam in this area is no longer clearly visible. In the past, the city was home to three mosques, all built in the nineteenth century – two brick and one wooden. The only one to survive to this day is Orta Jame (jame meaning mosque).

The Batumi Aziziye Mosque was founded in 1861 on the initiative of Perteva Walide Sultana, the wife of Sultan Mahmud II and mother of Sultan Abdul Aziziye, hence the name of the mosque. The building was built on a hexagon plan, with a slender minaret next to it. Despite being Batumi's oldest monument, and an extremely valuable one at that, it was dismantled in Soviet times to make way for Lenin Square.

Fig. 10: *Minaret of Orta Jame Mosque in Batumi*

The small wooden Mufti Maglasin Jame was located on the coast. The causes and date of its destruction are unknown.[29]

Undoubtedly, the Orta Jame, located in Kutaisi Street, built in 1886, is well worth a visit. Founded by Aslan Beg Khimshiashvili, a Muslim and Georgian nobleman, it is one of the finest examples of Islamic art in Adjara. The construction was co-funded by the nobleman's mother. The interior of the mosque was decorated by artist brothers from Lazia (Fig. 9). The Laz are an indigenous ethnic group who mainly live along the Turkish and Georgian Black Sea coast. The building was constructed on a rectangular plan and appears similar to an ordinary residential building. However, its Muslim character arises from its tall white pencil-like minaret (Fig. 10) which towers over the city, as well as the dome over the main part of the building. The minaret was destroyed in Soviet times and was not rebuilt until 1992. In 2012, a gilded dome was built over the mosque. The mosque is popularly called the Jamia in the Middle because it was previously located between two other places of worship. Unfortunately, as a result of

[28] OPASKA, Janusz. Działalność polskich architektów w Tbilisi w XIX i początkach XX wieku [Activities by polish architects in Tbilisi in the nineteenth and early twentieth century]. In: *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki*, 57, 2012, p. 15.

[29] Batumi Mosques. https://abeonatravel.ge/history-and-facts/autonomous-republic-of-adjara/religious-places-of-adjara/batumi-mosques/?lang=en (accessed 22 January 2021).

historical turmoil, the other buildings were destroyed.[30] From 1932 to 1946, the mosque was closed. Currently, the main prayer room of the Orta Jame can accommodate nearly 1,500 people. According to Mufti Avtandil Kamashidze, it is frequented daily by approximately 200 people who come for the daily prayer, with numbers reaching up to 400 on Fridays. Followers of Islam living in Batumi usually gather at the mosque on religious holidays.[31]

Other selected mosques of Georgia

Apart from the impressive mosque in Batumi, in the Adjara region there are many small, usually wooden mosques which provide places of prayer for local communities. They are usually modest and neglected. Founded mainly in the nineteenth century, the mosques and other spiritual institutions were closed during the difficult times of the Soviet regime of the 1930s and, consequently, suffered slow decay and destruction. Minarets were demolished and mosques were adapted to serve social and economic purposes. Religious changes in Georgia began only in 1980. Wooden mosques still exist in the villages of Kokotauri, Gulebi, Chinkadzeebi, Kolotauri, Makhuntesti and Gegelidzeebi.[32] Architecturally interesting mosques can also be found in other regions of Georgia, such as in the Lower Kartli region in the south of Georgia, along the border with Armenia and Azerbaijan. In Algeti, there is a mosque with a tall cylindrical minaret; it provides a space for prayer and meetings for the Azeri community. There is a mosque with six domes in Imiri; the largest dome is above the prayer room, and there are four smaller domes in the corners of the building's roof. The tall cylindrical minaret is crowned with a small dome.[33]

Marneuli is a town in Lower Kartli inhabited mainly by Azeris, who constitute 83% of the 24,000 inhabitants. In 1793, the Imam Ali Mosque was built, but it was gradually destroyed in the Soviet era. It was only in 1998 that the local Muslim community, using its own financial resources, restored the building to its former glory. Services were resumed in 2000, and the mosque was managed by an independent shura, a type of Muslim council. The mosque was built from red brick on a square plan and covered with a dome. Daylight reaches the interior through tall arched windows. The mosque in Marneuli is one of the largest in Georgia. In 2014, a dispute arose between the local Azeri Muslim community and the Georgian Muslims Department about the Imam who was appointed as a supervisor by the state authority. The dispute centred around the authority of the State Agency for Religious Affairs, established in 2011 to manage the buildings of religious institutions in Georgia. Under the agency's auspices, the Imam Ali Mosque was entered into the register as a state property, which the local community disagreed with. At the same time, the Georgian administration leased the building to the Muslims community for 49 years. The Muslim representatives of the agency took the stance that the situation in Marneuli was not exceptional, as similar situations had arisen in other parts of the country. The matter has been exaggerated to provoke tensions in the Azeri Muslim communities.[34]

[30] LILES, Thomas. *Islam and Religious Transformation in Adjara*. Flensburg: ECFM, Working Paper, 2012, pp. 18–20.
[31] SANIKIDZE, George, WALKER, Edward. *Islam and Islamic Practices in Georgia*. Berkeley: UCBerkeley, 2004, p. 13.
[32] About Sights – 19th Century Mosques in Ajara. https://georgiaabout.com/2013/08/20/19th-century-mosques-in-ajara/comment-page-1/ (accessed 22 January 2021).
[33] ZELKINA, Anna. Islam and politics in the North Caucasus. In: *Religion, State and Society*, 21, 1993, pp. 115–124.
[34] The Marneuli Mosque Dispute. http://georgiatoday.ge/news/7937/The-Marneuli-Mosque-Dispute (accessed 22 January 2021).

In May 2016, the new Mosque of Imam Hussain was opened in Marneuli, founded by the office of the Grand Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Sistan. The grand opening was attended by numerous Iranian, Azeri and Georgian politicians. The new mosque was inspired by the traditional architecture of Iran. The Persian style is expressed through specific spatial concepts and in the decorative multi-coloured ceramic cladding which features printed fragments of Arabic and quotations from the Qur'an. An interesting architectural element is the dome that tops the building. Its shape refers to the domes that crown the largest and most famous mosques of Iran, such as the Imam Mosque in Isfahan. Buildings in Iran and in Persian-influenced areas are characterized by a special type of arch and vault profile. This architectural element, known as the Persian arch, arose from the combination of various geometries, featuring both a semicircular arc and a sharp arch, with a profile consisting of two sections of a circle, morphing into curves which converge into a pointed peak. Although the construction of a dome based on such an arch presents numerous technical problems, and requires a special scaffolding to cover the dome, the aesthetic impact is great. The Persian arch, realised in three dimensions in pointed-arched barrel vaults or domes, creates light and elegant buildings. It is one of the most characteristic means of expressing the Persian style.[35]

The dome of Imam Hussain Mosque in Marneuli is covered in marine blue terracotta tiles. The elevation of the mosque also refers to the Persian style. It is decorated with glazed tiles decorated in shades of blue. The art of making this kind of wall covering dates back to ancient times, while the peak of production was in the times of the Safavidi dynasty, in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.[36] The new mosque in Marneuli is 350 square meters and has three floors. The tall Persian arched windows, glazed with panes with carved overlays, give the building a light appearance. There are six windows in each of the longer walls and four in the façade. The main entrance to the building resembles an iwan, as the niche opens to three sides.

Conclusions

Muslims represent Georgia's second largest religious community. Islam has influenced the community not only in spiritual, but also in cultural terms, the most vivid example of which is the architecture that references the heritage of Islam. The many centuries throughout which Muslims have been present in Georgia mean that Islamic culture, art and architecture has been deeply engraved on the landscape. The difficult and often painful history of Georgia as a multicultural society is intertwined with the peaceful coexistence of representatives of various religions. An example of the peaceful life of communities with different beliefs is undoubtedly the mosque in Tbilisi, which is a common place of prayer for Sunni and Shi'a Muslims. Cultural diversity is also reflected in art. The presence of Arabs and Persians is expressed through beautiful buildings with architectural details brought over from the Middle East. However, attention should also be given to local peculiarities, buildings serving as mosques which refer in their own way to local construction practices. Such buildings can be seen as a symbol of the perseverance of the Georgian Muslim community in cultivating a local religious tradition. IIn many cases, people's homes served as mosques. This side of Georgia's Islamic heritage highlights two main problems that the country's Muslim communities had to face. The first was the lack of financial resources for the construction of grand mosques that would provide not

---

[35] STIERLIN, Henri. *Oriental Treasures in the Mediterranean: From Damascus to Granada.* New York: Rizzoli, 2005, pp. 44–45.

[36] STIERLIN, Henri. *Islam.* Berlin: Taschen, 2002, pp.140–141.

only places of prayer but centres of Muslim culture. The second was the struggle to preserve the religious tradition for subsequent generations.

Fig. 11: *Hotels in Batumi*

In the past, Muslim architecture in the Christian land of Georgia was a symbol of the dominance of occupying forces and the suppression of local culture and religion. But today, a new trend can be seen in Georgian architecture, offering a symbol of modernity. This trend is especially visible in Batumi, where it consists of massive commercial buildings, dominated by hotels and apartment buildings with flats for rent, located along the seaside promenade. The offer is undoubtedly directed at tourists and those who profit from the tourism industry. However, attention should be paid to the investors who fund these architectural enterprises. Increasingly, these investments are made by Turkish businessmen who see opportunities in the Black Sea resort. In this way, modern architecture, financed by foreign capital, is introduced into the landscape of Georgia. There are hotels which host casinos, which are prohibited by Islam. At the same time, a significant group of tourists coming to Batumi are Turks and Iranians. Muslim tourists in the characteristic costumes of the Middle East region can be found throughout the city. An exclusive hotel (Fig. 11) financed by investors from Turkey was also built in Tbilisi. It seems, however, that in the Georgian capital, modern buildings do not collide with the historic district of the city, as it is clearly separated from the developing city. In any case, Old Tbilisi is protected by cultural heritage laws and no reconstruction is allowed in the district.[37] Of course, modern utility architecture financed by Turkish investors does not make any reference to traditional Turkish styles from the Golden Age of Ottoman rule, epitomised by the rule of Suleiman II the Magnificent, who reigned from 1520 to 1566,[38] or the court architect Sinan, who served four Turkish sultans.[39] The buildings in question, such as the aforementioned exclusive hotels on the promenade in Batumi, follow modern global architectural trends. They are characterised by a taste for monumentalism, being 40 or even 50 storeys high. They often do not comply with conservation rules, damaging the historical and cultural identity of many areas. Georgian building law allows developers to purchase additions to the normal height restrictions specified in zoning regulations.[40]

Monumentalism was obviously an element in the history of Turkish architecture, indicating the power of the ruler. A ruler who could erect a powerful structure – such as the Sultan Ahmed

[37] VAN ASSCHE, Kristof, SALUKVADZE, Joseph. Tbilisi reinvented: Planning, development and the unfinished project of democracy in Georgia. In: *Planning Perspectives*, 27, 2011, pp. 1–24; GOLUBCHIKOV, Oleg. PHELPS, Nicholas. The political economy of place at the post-socialist urban periphery: governing growth on the edge of Moscow. In: *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 36, 2011, pp. 425–440.

[38] ATIL, Esin. *The Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent*. New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., 1987, p. 17–27.

[39] RABB, Peter. We are all servants here!" Mimar Sinan –architect of the Ottoman Empire. In: *Periodica Polytechnica Architecture*, 44, 2014, pp. 17–37.

[40] SALUKVADZE, Joseph, GOLUBCHIKOV, Oleg. City as a geopolitics..., p. 48.

Mosque,[41] also known as Blue Mosque in Istanbul – would be perceived as a powerful military force, no doubt in command of a strong and numerous army. And although this principle may have been appropriate in the Renaissance era, it raises questions of particular importance to researchers of cultural heritage, museologists and art historians today. How much can the cultural heritage of the local community be allowed to intervene in the name of political and economic gains? Does an overly liberal construction policy marginalize architectural cultural heritage? Is the price for intensive urban development too high?

The 2015 *Doing Business* survey ranked Georgia third in the world for ease of obtaining a building permit and the first for property registration.[42] Such liberalism poses a threat to the protection of cultural heritage. It is easier to demolish an old building than to revitalize it and build a modern building in its place. Many examples can be found in the streets of Tbilisi: Barnovi, Paliashvili, Piqris Gora and Sairmis Gora to name but a few. Is consent to the growing interference of overseas capital in the Georgian state an appropriate political strategy? Development is a natural stage of humanity, but it seems that each step into the future should be marked with special care for the past.

References

About History. Camels in 19th Century Tiflis. https://georgiaabout.com/2014/08/13/camels-in-19th-century-tiflis/ (accessed 22 January 2021).

About Sights – 19th Century Mosques in Ajara. https://georgiaabout.com/2013/08/20/19th-century-mosques-in-ajara/comment-page-1/ (accessed 22 January 2021).

ANANIEV, Vitaly. (2018). Fyodor Shmit's "Social Museum": On the Theorization of the Form and Purposes of Museums in Early Soviet Russia. In: *Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 33–41. ISSN 2453-9759.

ASATRIAN, Garnik, MARGARIAN, Hayrapet. (2004). The Muslim community of Tiflis (8th-19th Centuries). In: *Iran and the Caucasus*, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 29–52. ISSN 1609-8498.

ATIL, Esin. (1987). *The Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent*. New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc. ISBN 0894680986.

BARANOWSKI, Bogdan, BARANOWSKI, Krzysztof. (1987). *Historia Gruzji* [History of Georgia], Warszawa: Ossolineum. ISBN 9788304023451

Batumi Mosques. https://abeonatravel.ge/history-and-facts/autonomous-republic-of-adjara/religious-places-of-adjara/batumi-mosques/?lang=en (accessed 22 January 2021).

CAGARA, Dominik. Neighbours Struggle to Deal with Religious Tension in Tbilisi's Muslim Settlement. http://dfwatch.net/neighbours-struggle-to-deal-with-religious-tensionin-tbilisis-muslim-settlement-40344 (accessed 22 January 2021).

CHERKASOV, Aleksandr, KOROLEVA, Larisa, BRATANOVSKII, Sergei. SMIGEL, Michal. (2018). Sacred pagan temples in the Caucasus region: characteristic features. In: *Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo*, vol. 6, no. 2, pp. 59–69. ISSN 2453-9759.

[41] GOODWIN, Godfrey. *A History of Ottoman Architecture*. New York: Thames & Hudson, 1987, pp. 215–245.

[42] THE WORLD BANK, *Doing Business 2015: Going beyond efficiency (12th ed.)*. Washington: The World Bank, 2014, p. 187.

CICHOCKI, Nina. (2005). Continuity and change in Turkish bathing culture in Istanbul: The life story of the Çemberlitaş Hamam. In: *Turkish Studies*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 93–112. ISSN 1468-3849.

CORSO, Molly Georgia: What's the Definition of Tolerance? https://eurasianet.org/s/georgia-whats-the-definition-of-tolerance (accessed 22 January 2021).

COUNTRY WATCH. (2018). *Georgia. 2018 Country Review*. Houston: CWInc. ISBN:1605236799.

CURATOLA, Giovanni. (2009). *Islam. Visual Encyclopedia of Art*. Florence: SCALA Group. pp. 312–313. ISBN 978-88-8117-808-7.

FREDERIKSEN, Martin. (2012). A gate, but leading where? In search of actually existing cosmopolitanism in post-Soviet Tbilisi. In: HUMPHREY, Caroline. SKVIRSKAJA, Vera (eds.). *Post-cosmopolitan cities: Explorations of urban coexistence*. New York: Berghahn Books, pp. 120–140. ISBN 978-0857455109.

GACHECHILADZE, Revaz. (1990). Social-geographical problems of a metropolitan region within a Soviet republic (a case study of Tbilisi metropolitan region, Georgia). In: *Geoforum*, vol. 21, no. 4, pp. 475–482. ISSN 0016-7185.

GOLUBCHIKOV, Oleg, PHELPS, Nicholas. (2011). The political economy of place at the post-socialist urban periphery: governing growth on the edge of Moscow. In: *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, vol. 36, no. 3, pp. 425–440. ISSN 0020-2754.

GOODWIN, Godfrey. (1987). *A History of Ottoman Architecture*. New York: Thames & Hudson. ISBN 9780500274293.

KILICASLAN, Hare, AKTUMSEK, Hulya. (2020). The creative drama method in cultural heritage education: Bursa Grand Mosque. In: *Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo*, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 5–17. ISSN 2453-9759.

KIRSTE, Reinhard, SCHULTZE, Herbert. (1998). Święta wielkich religii. *Kalendarz międzyreligijny* [Holidays of great religions. Interreligious calendar]. Warszawa: Verbinum. ISBN 8371920431.

LEVINE, Joshua. (2014). Future shock. In: *Well*, vol. 11, no. 2, p. 131–135.

LILES, Thomas. (2012). *Islam and Religious Transformation in Adjara*. Flensburg: ECFM, Working Paper.

LILES, Thomas, BALCI, Bayram. (2018). Georgia. In: SCHARBRODT, Oliver. AKGÖNÜL, Samim (eds.) *Yearbook of Muslims in Europe*. Leida: Brill, p. 271–299. ISBN 9789004386907.

Łaźnie siarkowe w Tbilisi [Tbilisi Sulfur Baths]. http://veturo.pl/article/3021/laznie-siarkowe-w-tibilisi-atrakcje-ciekawe-miejsca-gruzja/ (accessed 22 January 2021).

MATERSKI, Wojciech. (2000). *Gruzja* [Georgia]. Warszawa: Trio. ISBN 8385660909.

MATVEEVA, Anna. (2002). *The South Caucasus: Nationalism, Conflict and Minorities*. London: MRGInc. ISBN 1-85383-952-3.

NACHKEBIA, Maia. (2019). Theme of the original sin in Georgian baroque literature. In: *Pro Georgia*, vol. 29, no. 1, p. 109–118. ISSN 1230-1604.

OPASKA, Janusz. (2012). Działalność polskich architektów w Tbilisi w XIX i początkach XX wieku [Activities by polish architects in Tbilisi in the nineteenth and early twentieth century]. In: *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki*, vol. 57, no. 1, p. 3–18. ISSN 0023-5865.

PRASAD, Connor. (2012). *Georgia's Muslim Community: A Self-Fulfilling Prophecy?* Flensburg: European Centre for Minority Issues.

RABB, Peter. (2014). We are all servants here!" Mimar Sinan – architect of the Ottoman Empire. In: *Periodica Polytechnica Architecture*, vol. 44, no. 1, pp. 17–37. ISSN 0324-590X.

SALUKVADZE, Joseph, GOLUBCHIKOV, Oleg. (2016). City as a geopolitics: Tbilisi, Georgia. A globalizing metropolis in a turbulent region. In: *Cities*, vol. 52, no. 3, p. 39–54. ISSN 0264-2751.

SMIGEL, Michal, CHERKASOV, Aleksandr, KMET', Miroslav. (2017). Life and traditions of Caucasian Circassians: historical-comparative probe of travelogues of European travellers from the beginning of the 16th century to the half of the 19th century. In: *Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo*, vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 29–50. ISSN 2453-9759.

SULIMA, Magdalena. (2009). Miejsca swoje i miejsca obce w przestrzeni domowej w wierzeniach religijnych [Familiar and unfamiliar places in the space of the home in religious beliefs]. In: *Architecturae et Artibus*, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 67–76. ISSN 2080-9638.

SUNY, Ronald. (2009). The mother of cities: Tbilisi/Tiflis in the twilight of empire. In: VAN ASSCHE, Kristof, SALUKVADZE, Joseph (eds.). *Urban culture and urban planning in Tbilisi: Where west and east meet*. Lewiston: Mellen Press, pp. 17–58. ISBN 9780773448285.

SANIKIDZE, George, WALKER, Edward. (2004). *Islam and Islamic Practices in Georgia*. Berkeley: UCBerkeley.

STIERLIN, Henri. (2002). *Islam*. Berlin: Taschen. ISBN 9783822817865.

STIERLIN, Henri. (2005). *Oriental Treasures in the Mediterranean: From Damascus to Granada*. New York: Rizzoli. ISBN 978-8854400870.

Tbilisi Sulfur Baths. The best place for a soak in winter. https://www.bestgeorgian.com/tbilisi-sulfur-baths/ (accessed 22 January 2021).

The Marneuli Mosque Dispute. http://georgiatoday.ge/news/7937/The-Marneuli-Mosque-Dispute (accessed 22 January 2021).

THE WORLD BANK. (2014). *Doing business 2015: Going beyond efficiency (12th ed.)*. Washington: The World Bank. ISBN 9781464803512.

VAN ASSCHE, Kristof, SALUKVADZE, Joseph. (2011). Tbilisi reinvented: Planning, development and the unfinished project of democracy in Georgia. In: *Planning Perspectives*, vol. 27, no. 1, pp. 1–24. ISSN 0266-5433.

ZELKINA, Anna. (1993). Islam and politics in the North Caucasus. In: *Religion, State and Society*, vol. 21, no. 1, pp. 115–124. ISSN 0963-7494.

Greek Catholic and Orthodox shrines in the Polish People's Republic as examples of destroying and saving the cultural heritage of the frontier

Roman Drozd

Prof. dr hab. Roman Drozd
Pomeranian University in Słupsk
Institute of History
Arciszewskiego 22 a
76-200 Słupsk
Poland
e-mail: roman.drozd@apsl.edu.pl
ORCID: 0000-0003-0169-7295

Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo, 2021, 9:4:85-97
DOI: 10.46284/mkd.2021.9.4.6

Greek Catholic and Orthodox shrines in the Polish People's Republic as examples of destroying and saving the cultural heritage of the frontier
The shrine constituting the centre of spirituality was inseparable from the religious life of the Ukrainian people. The deportations of Ukrainians from the south-east of Poland in 1944–1947 exposed their churches to intentional and unintentional devastation. The communist authorities aimed to erase the traces of Ukrainian people in that area therefore they were not interested in preserving the abandoned Greek Catholic shrines. What is more, they even encouraged their demolition. One way to save them was allowing them to be taken over by the Roman Catholic Church. However, it often involved a change to their interior décor. The best solution was allowing them to be taken over by the Orthodox Catholic Church, or transferring them to open-air museums as museum objects.

Keywords: Greek Catholic Church, Orthodox Catholic Church, shrines, Ukrainian people, Poland 1944–1989.

The resettlement of some Ukrainian people from Poland to the Russian Ukraine in the years 1944–1946, followed by the resettlement of the rest of them within "Operation Vistula" to the east and north of Poland, had a great impact on their spiritual and material culture.[1] Shrines, cemeteries, roadside shrines, and buildings of cultural and educational Ukrainian organisations, as well as farm buildings, were left behind. They constituted a permanent element of the town's landscape and served the inhabitants in their daily lives. The resettlement of the inhabitants changed the meaning of these structures. They ceased to be public facilities and became a symbol of the spiritual bond between the deported and their lost homeland. They were a sign of the multinational and multi-denominational nature of that land. However, the absence of an owner made it easier for them to be ruined, both by people and nature. Their fates varied: some were destroyed, others were saved.

[1] For details see: DROZD, Roman. *Ukraińcy wobec swojej przeszłości (1947–2005)*. Słupsk-Warszawa: Zakład Wydawniczy Tyrsa, 2013; short version of the article: DROZD, Roman. Losy cerkwi greckokatolickich i prawosławnych w Polsce w latach 1944–1989. In: Łemkowie, Bojkowie, Rusini—historia, współczesność, kultura materialna i duchowa, t. V, red. B. Halczak, S. Dudra, R. Drozd and others, Słupsk-Zielona Góra-Svidnik:Oficyna Wydawnicza Uniwersytetu Zielonogórskiego, 2015, pp. 409–420.

For Ukrainian people the most important bonding symbol was the shrine with its characteristic architecture and iconostasis. The previous users of these had been relocated, together with the clergy, which foredoomed their fates. The abandoned buildings were subject to devastation and consequently to destruction and those that were taken over by new owners were adapted to their needs. Resumption of Orthodox religious services and activity by the Greek Catholic Church would have been the best solution for them. However, it was impossible in the political and ideological climate of that time, the more so because the authorities aimed to consolidate the situation caused by Operation Vistula. After 1946, the Polish authorities ceased to acknowledge the existence of the Greek Catholic Church as a consequence of the Lviv Sobor in 1946, which formally liquidated it in the USSR. Moreover, the Polish authorities counteracted the establishment of Orthodox parishes in the areas where Ukrainians had been deported from. Liberalisation of the policy towards those religious communities occurred after 1956, together with the political thaw in Poland caused by the June events in Poznań and changes in the top authorities, which were linked to Władysław Gomułka resuming the leadership as the first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR).

Fig. 1: *Greek Catholic Church of St. Paraskewy in Kwiatoń* (https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/23/Kwiato%C5%84%2C_cerkiew_%C5%9Bw._Paraskewy_%28HB1%29.jpg)

The recovery of the Greek Catholic Church after 1956 and the establishment of new Orthodox parishes for Ukrainian people took place mainly in western and northern Poland. This meant that the shrines were left without supervision and their fates depended on many factors including the attitudes of the Roman Catholic Church, the local Polish community, and the authorities. During the resettlements of Ukrainian people to the Russian Ukraine, the authorities and the Roman Catholic Church made every effort to take over the Greek Catholic

properties, which soon led to disputes.[2] The state and the Roman Catholic Church taking over Greek Catholic shrines was not well perceived by the Ukrainian people. On the one hand, they felt robbed, and on the other hand, they felt convinced that there was a "collusion of all the Polish forces aiming to destroy the Ukrainian minority in Poland" because the authorities and a part of the Roman Catholic clergy impeded the provision of religious services, especially the Greek Catholic ones.[3] Therefore, all information about the demolition or destruction of a shrine was perceived in this way, as it indicated the erasure of all traces of a centuries-old way of life in this area.

Disagreements between the Roman Catholic Church and the authorities about Church property were also perceived in a negative way as the property was not considered to belong to either party. On 5 September 1947, the authorities issued a decree which enabled the state to take over property owned by a legal person or entity whose existence or activity became inoperative as a result of resettlement of their members to the USSR. It was amended on 28 September 1949. Although there was no act de-legalising the Greek Catholic Church, and the Orthodox Church still existed in Poland, their property was taken over by the authorities by decree. The Roman Catholic Church did not agree to that solution as they strove to take over the property of the Greek Catholic Church themselves. They assumed that the property of the Greek Catholic Church, as part of the Catholic Church, belonged to the common Catholic Church, that is, the Roman Catholic Church.

The negative attitude of the authorities led the Roman Catholic Church to arbitrarily take over the Greek Catholic shrines, mostly in towns inhabited by Roman Catholics. Takeovers also occurred in Tarnów diocese from 1946. Similarly, Bishop Jan Stepa was able to establish 22 parishes in Lemkivshchyna in December 1951. A few more shrines were joined to them as auxiliary churches. In some cases, several shrines were assigned to one parish church, thus obtaining a new owner and host. The Ukrainian community disapproved of such action. They perceived it as taking over their property and did not consider the fact that finally there was someone to take care of the shrines and protect them from decay. At the beginning, the relocated Ukrainians were constantly thinking about return and waiting for the right moment. On their return, the buildings and shrines were to serve their needs again. Their takeover by the Church limited such a possibility or even made it impossible. Only after the Ukrainians ceased to think about returning did they begin to see the other side of the issue. They realised that being taken over by the Church was the only way their shrines would survive. In western Lemkivshchyna, only one shrine in Kamianna, built in 1805, was not taken over, but instead was moved to Bukowiec in the Rożnów Foothills. However, its character as a historical relic and a shrine was destroyed during its reconstruction. Unfortunately, this was done with the permission of a historic preservation expert. In eastern Lemkivshchyna, not many shrines were taken over and those left unattended soon went into decline.[4]

The situation was similar in Przemyśl diocese. There were 70 shrines in use in March 1962. Bishop Ignacy Tokarczuk, the successor of Przemyśl bishop Franciszek Barda, became

[2] MISIŁO, E. (ed). *Repatriacja czy deportacja. Przesiedlenie Ukraińców z Polski do USRR 1944–1946,T. II. Dokumenty 1946*. Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza „Archiwum Ukraińskie", 1999, doc. 9. p. 22; see also: WOJEWODA, Zbigniew. *Zarys historii Kościoła greckokatolickiego w Polsce w latach 1944–1989*. Kraków: Zakład Wydawniczy Nomos, 1994, pp. 53–62; *Losy cerkwi w Polsce po 1944 roku*. Rzeszów: Stowarzyszenie Historyków Sztuki, 1997.

[3] SKÓRKA, Mirosław. Wspólne sąsiedztwo czy nie chciani intruzi? In: *Więź*, no. 3, 1998, p. 74.

[4] KORNECKI, Marian. Losy cerkwi i zabytków sztuki cerkiewnej w dawnym województwie krakowskim 1945–1975. In: *Losy cerkwi w Polsce po 1944 roku*, Rzeszów: Stowarzyszenie Historyków Sztuki, 1997, pp. 106–107.

infamous for taking them over, both legally and illegally.[5] Nonetheless, the authorities preferred to demolish them rather than to allow them to be used for religious purposes. On 20 June 1963, the Board of the Provincial People's Council (PWRN) in Rzeszów passed a resolution on demolishing the shrines in Pawłokoma and Wołodź (Brzozów County[6]), and on 17 August a year later those in Myszków (Lesko County), Dubieck, Iskań, Orzechowce, Ujkowice, and Żurawica (Przemyśl County[7]). In 1967, the authorities intended to demolish the shrine in Nakło (Przemyśl County) but the demolition crew were stopped by the residents of the village, led by Mikołaj Owczar, the village head, who was soon removed from office.[8] In April 1967, bishop I. Tokarczuk notified the PWRN of his wish to take over 46 shrines. After receiving a negative reply, he ordered the local priests to take over some of the shrines without permission and presented a list of 17 of them in 1969. Talks with the authorities resulted in getting permission to take over 13 shrines while the rest were occupied without permission. Overall, Przemyśl Diocese used 167 Greek Catholic shrines in the years 1945–1985[9].

Fig. 2: *Ruins of the Greek Catholic Church of St. Paraskewy in Krive* (https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/0/09/Krywe_%28%D0%9A%D1%80%D0%B8%D0%B2%D0%B5%29_-_ruins_of_the_church.jpg/640px-Krywe_%28%D0%9A%D1%80%D0%B8%D0%B2%D0%B5%29_-_ruins_of_the_church.jpg)

Obviously, it would be an oversimplification to claim that this taking over of shrines was what saved them. Although it was true in many cases, there were exceptions as well. Priest Franciszek Stopa, who settled in Polańczyk (Lesko County) in 1948, supervised 18 shrines. Because they were situated in a large area, he was not able to protect them. As a consequence, 9 of them had ceased to exist by 1956 and two of them had begun to decay. Yet, it must be

[5] BOBER, Sabina. Spór o cerkwie greckokatolickie w diecezji przemyskiej za rządów biskupa Ignacego Tokarczuka. In: *Biuletyn Ukrainoznawczy*, no. 6, 2000, pp. 118–124.

[6] Archiwum Akt Nowych (AAN), f. Urząd do spraw Wyznań (Ud/sW), sygn. 67/46.

[7] AAN, f. Ud/sW, sygn. 68/39.

[8] Archiwum Państwowe w Przemyślu (APPrz) f. Prezydium Powiatowej Rady Narodowej w Przemyślu (PPRNPrz), sygn. 1157.

[9] WOJEWODA, *Zarys historii Kościoła...*, p. 64.

emphasised that it was the result of the authorities' policy to a large extent, as they treated the Church as a political enemy and aimed to eviscerate it. There was no permission to build new places of worship, and shrines were demolished or devastated. Moreover, measures were taken to remove Greek Catholic shrines formerly taken over by the Church.[10]

> In many towns—as Ryszard Brylowski said—the padlocks on the shrine doors changed from "church" to "state" ones and back again. The 'management' of the uniate shrines (by the state) involved their profanation, devastation and demolishing or changing them into warehouses, which in no way protected them. They were improperly used for years (e.g., as warehouses for artificial fertilisers or sheepfolds) and never renovated and when they were dilapidated, they were simply abandoned and demolished. Some of the churches were thoroughly redeveloped by new owners, which erased their style and liturgical character.[11]

The takeover of a shrine by the Roman Catholic Church often entailed necessary changes to its décor. The changes often involved the iconostasis. Several methods were used. Some of the shrines were completely or partly dismantled and others were preserved, especially those which served as auxiliary churches, while in others an altar was placed in front of the iconostasis.[12] Some iconostases were destroyed, such as those in the shrines in Lubaczów, Liski, and Szepiatyń (Hrubieszów County), inter alia. Also, some shrines were abandoned after many years of exploitation without repairs such as those in Korczmin, Tarnoszyn (Tomaszów County), and Miękisz Stary (Jarosław County).[13] In the former Orthodox cathedral in Chełm, currently the Church of Virgin Mary, all traces of its eastern past were removed. Cyrillic inscriptions were even removed from the bells.[14] Orthodox Church works of art, especially icons, were destroyed or they were stolen and passed on to specially created repositories for icons in Sanok, Biecz, and Łańcut in order to protect them. Barbara Tondos, enthusiastically involved in the protection of shrines and icons, who participated in exploratory expeditions in 1957–1959 said: "During the exploratory expedition [...] many shrines still had their complete décor from tablecloths on the altars, candles in the candelabra to the remains of incense in the thuribles". It was then that intensive exploration of the Bieszczady and the Beskidy Mountains was begun by the seekers of icons and figures of saints. Sometimes interiors left unspoilt for some time were one day found to be ruined, with only the faces of saints cut out from the icons scattered around. Such was the case in Ustianowa Dolna, in Nowe Sady.[15]

The issue of taking over the Greek Catholic Church property sparked conflicts right from the beginning and became even more controversial for two reasons. The first was the more and more active Greek Catholic clergy and the second was the Orthodox Church, which aimed to set up a network of places of worship. The complexity of this issue is reflected in the case

[10] BRYKOWSKI, Ryszard. W sprawie architektury cerkiewnej województwa rzeszowskiego po 33 latach. In: *Losy cerkwi w Polsce po 1944 roku*. Rzeszów: Stowarzyszenie Historyków Sztuki, 1997, pp. 144–147.

[11] Ibidem, pp. 146–147.

[12] KORNECKI, Losy cerkwi..., pp. 107–108.

[13] CZECH, M. (ed). *Ukraińcy w Polsce 1989–1993. Kalendarium. Dokumenty. Informacje.* Warszawa: Zakład Wydawniczy Tyrsa, 1993, doc. 9, pp. 86–98.

[14] Nasze Słowo, 17 November 1991.

[15] TONDOS, Barbara. Ochrona cerkwi na granicach legalności. In: *Losy cerkwi w Polsce po 1944 roku*, Rzeszów: Stowarzyszenie Historyków Sztuki, 1997, p. 125.

of the Orthodox Church's takeover of the Greek Catholic cathedral and the building of their Chapter in Przemyśl. The Roman Catholic, the Greek Catholic, and the Orthodox Churches, as well as the central and local authorities, were all involved in this case. Eventually, the authorities accepted the takeover of the cathedral by the Carmelite Brothers after the intervention of Józef Cyrankiewicz, the prime minister.[16]

The attitude of the authorities towards the activity of the Greek Catholic Church in Rzeszów Province changed after 1956 because the local Greek Catholics demanded religious services conducted in accordance with their own rite. It constituted a real danger for the authorities as there were already Greek Catholic priests in the area such as Jan Wysoczański and Zenon Złoczowski. They were permitted to start pastoral activity in that region based on the Roman Catholic Church. Moreover, the authorities wanted to prevent their major ideological enemy, the Roman Catholic Church, from getting stronger. Therefore, they chose the lesser evil and agreed to establish Orthodox parishes, which fit with the policy of the Orthodox Church taking over from the Greek Catholics. It was the best possible solution for the churches at that time, as it secured them, but did not require a change of their décor.

For the Orthodox Church, it was an opportunity to strengthen their position and resume activity. One must remember that there had been Orthodox shrines, separate from the Greek Catholic ones, in Lemkivshchyna until 1947. Macarius, the metropolitan bishop, ordered priest Jan Lewiarz to make a few inquiries as to whether it would be possible to establish Orthodox parishes in Rzeszów Province. Then, they set out to establish such parishes, mainly in that province. They made a breakthrough in the years 1958–1959 when 14 parishes were established (Bartne, Blechnarka, Bodaki, Bóbrka, Hańczowa, Hłomcza, Kalników, Kłokowice, Kwiatoń, Młodowice, Regetów Niżny, Sanok, Wysowa, and Zagórz), which was possible thanks to the return of a substantial number of Ukrainians. In 1958, a mission committee was set up in the archdiocese and Rzeszów Deanery was established a year later. However, the action by the Orthodox Church to take over the Greek Catholic establishments (the so-called mission action) encountered numerous difficulties. Most Polish people and the local authorities opposed it, especially in Rzeszów Province, as neither of them wanted to see Greek Catholic or Orthodox institutions in the area. On the other hand, the central and local authorities did not agree to strengthen the Greek Catholic Church in Lublin Region. The Ukrainian people in this area were Greek Catholics and establishing new parishes could have only encouraged Ukrainians from the west and east to return. Therefore, the Department of Religious Denominations of the PWRN in Lublin opposed the establishment of new places of worship and suggested that the Greek Catholic establishments, which had been taken over by various institutions, should be "demolished or rebuilt so that they lose their former appearance".[17] Following this order, the authorities demolished shrines in Siedliska (Zamość Province) and Tymoszewice (Tomaszów Province).[18] Nevertheless, the structure of the Orthodox Church was slowly but methodically restored in Lublin Region. In 1969, there were 14 parishes, six of which had their own branches, and the congregation was estimated at 5,300 followers.[19]

---

[16] See: DROZD, Roman. Problem własności byłej katedry greckokatolickiej w Przemyślu w latach 1946–1996. In: *Scripta Historica*, 2018, pp. 237–253.

[17] AAN, f. Ud/sW, sygn. 24/18.

[18] WYSOCKI, Jacek. *Ukraińcy na Lubelszczyźnie w latach 1944–1989*. Lublin: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej Oddział Lublin, 2011, p. 180.

[19] WYSOCKI, *Ukraińcy na Lubelszczyźnie...*, p. 176.

The Orthodox Church's growth in strength must have sparked a response from the Roman Catholic Church and the Greek Catholic clergy. The latter were afraid of losing their followers, which would result in the elimination of the liturgical rite in the area. On the other hand, the Roman Catholic Church perceived it as a threat to their property in south-east Poland. Establishing Orthodox institutions posed the danger of losing the taken-over Greek Catholic Church property, especially their places of worship. Because of that, both liturgical rites tried to prevent the development of the Orthodoxy. The Greek Catholic clergy wanted to provide pastoral services for their followers on the basis of the Roman Catholic parishes as soon as possible. In contrast, the Roman Catholic Church used the Greek Catholic clergy for this purpose, allowing them to hold services occasionally just to prevent the establishment of new Orthodox parishes.

The activities of the Greek Catholic and Roman Catholic clergy in this area made the actions of the authorities in supporting the Orthodox Church more determined. On 5 July 1961, the functionaries of the Security Service cunningly manoeuvred matters to close the shrine in Komańcza. After numerous protests by the Greek Catholics as well as Cardinal Wyszyński, the shrine was reopened but as an Orthodox one. Amidst fears that people would switch to Orthodoxy, the Greek Catholic services were moved to the local Roman Catholic church.[20] The shrine in Krempna was also closed on 4 July 1962.[21] The authorities were also planning to close the shrine in Szczawne (Sanok County) and then pass it on to the Orthodox Church. The Department of Religious Denominations (Ud/sW) planned a similar action concerning the Garrison church in Przemyśl where Greek Catholic services were held.[22]

Archbishop Stefan, the new Orthodox metropolitan, was interested in the Orthodox matters in Rzeszów Region. In November, he sent a list of 23 shrines to the Chairman of the PWRN in Rzeszów together with a request to pass them on to the Orthodox Church. These included shrines in Bielanka, Dziurdziów, Hołuczkowo, Chotyniec Konieczna, Krempna, Kulaszne, Lesko, Leszczyny, Olechowiec, Pikulice, Polany, Posada Rybotycka, Turzańsk, Zapałów, Siemuszowa, Zdynia, and Przemyśl.[23] Obviously, handing over shrines to the Orthodoxy led to conflicts with the Catholics of both liturgical rites which soon became ethnic conflicts stoked by the local authorities. Several well-known conflicts occurred: Hłomcza (Sanok County), Kalników (Przemyśl County), Kunkowa, Rozdziel (Gorlice County), and the best-known in Polany (Jasło County). The last of these, lasting for a few years, led to direct correspondence between the primate of Poland and the Orthodox metropolitan bishop and even became known internationally, casting a shadow over the authorities' policy towards the Ukrainian people.[24]

Unfortunately, the shrines' situation deteriorated in the 1970s and 1980s as they were abandoned, left unattended and sometimes used for economic purposes. In 1972, the authorities decided to resolve the problem. By the order of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR), the Department of Religious Denominations (Ud/sW) prepared a "note on the shrines situated in south-east provinces". According to incomplete data, 206 shrines followed the Latin rite, 31 shrines followed the Orthodox rite, 39 shrines were used by national and cooperative institutions, and 65 shrines were not used at all. In Cracow

[20] See: AAN, f. Ud/sW, sygn. 131/283.
[21] See: AAN, f. Ud/sW, sygn. 45/567.
[22] See: AAN, f. Ud/sW, sygn. 127/56.
[23] AAN, f. Ud/sW, sygn. 127/56.
[24] See: AAN, f. Ud/sW, sygn. 131/421; URBAN, Kazimierz. *Kościół prawosławny w Polsce 1945–1970*. Kraków: Zaklad Wydawniczy Nomos, 1996, p. 316.

Province, the Roman Catholic Church took over 32 out of 35 existing Greek Catholic shrines (including one in Cracow) whereas the other three were deserted and deemed not fit for use.[25] In Lublin Province, the Latin liturgical rite used 35 Orthodox shrines, while four others (former warehouses) were destroyed. Ud/sW petitioned for the immediate demolition of those ruined shrines which were not historical monuments, and also to delete devastated shrines from the register of class III and IV historical monuments. The shrines which were fit for use were to be transferred to open air museums and ten of them were to be passed on to the Roman Catholic Church.[26] The next several years of that plan led to the disappearance and destruction of more shrines from the landscape of south-east Poland. Also, the proceedings on destroying historical shrines were discontinued by the Attorney General in 1957 due to the "insignificant harm to society" of the acts. As early as 1980, the shrine in the village of Rajskie (Lesko County) was blown up, while one in Paniszczewo (Lesko County) was destroyed during its transport from Lutowiska to Dwernik (Bieszczady County). The shrine in Lipie (Bieszczady County) was burnt down as well.[27] Understandably, the information about destroying the shrines reached the Ukrainians and strengthened their conviction that the Poles aimed to erase the traces of material Ukrainian culture in this area. Their conviction was not unfounded. In August 1977, the Ministry of Administration, Economy, and Environment Protection changed the names of about 120 Ukrainian villages and towns, which was met with opposition not only from the Ukrainian community but also from the Polish Science Academy and the Polish Writers' Union. For the next few years, the words of opposition were left unheard, but in 1981 the authorities decided to bring back most of the old Ukrainian names of these towns and villages.[28]

According to research conducted in the Roman Catholic Przemyśl diocese there had been 552 shrines before the war. In the years 1939–1947 nine of them were destroyed, and four burnt down as a result of unintentional fires after 1956. Thus, after Operation Vistula, 240 shrines were destroyed (140 before 1956 and the other 53 later). The destruction dates of the other 47 shrines are not known. Two hundred and fifty-three of the remaining shrines served religious purposes while ten became museums. Thirty-nine shrines were not used and 11 of them fell into decay. The local people took care of one shrine, one served as a theatre, and three as warehouses, and there is no available data about the other three. Nine shrines were completely transformed, which is why the number of shrines decreased to 269. Many valuable historical relics were lost irrevocably, including two shrines from the sixteenth century, nine shrines from the seventeenth century, 40 shrines from the eighteenth century, 141 shrines from the nineteenth century and 60 shrines from the twentieth century. It was impossible to determine the time of construction for one of the buildings. Nevertheless, it was shocking that intentional destruction of the shrines continued until the end of the Polish People's Republic (PRL).[29] Unfortunately, the data concerning Orthodox shrines in the area covered by Operation Vistula is not available. That is because there is not enough knowledge about the number of shrines demolished or taken over by the Roman Catholic Church in the inter-war period. According to the pre-war Provincial Office in Lublin, the Roman Catholic Church had taken over 144 shrines

---

[25] KORNECKI, Losy cerkwi..., p. 106.

[26] AAN, f. Ud/sW, sygn. 131/283.

[27] BRYKOWSKI, W sprawie architektury..., pp. 151–155.

[28] ZABROWARNY, Stefan. Polityka narodowościowa polskich władz komunistycznych w kwestii ukraińskiej. In: *Polityka narodowościowa państw Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*, pod red. J. Pietrasia i A. Czarneckiego, Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 1993, p. 147.

[29] BRYKOWSKI, W sprawie architektury..., pp. 155 and pp. 158–161.

including the Sobor Narodzenia Bogurodzicy na Górce in Chełm. However, according to the data from the Orthodox Metropolis in Chełm Region and Southern Podlasie, there were 67 active Orthodox shrines, while 165 were transformed into churches, 96 were closed down, 24 were burnt down, 25 were demolished, four were transformed into schools and one was turned into a house. After 1929, another stage of the demolition of Orthodox shrines began. The plan was to demolish 97 Orthodox shrines but only 23 were actually demolished because of protests by the local people.[30] From the middle of May to the middle of July 1938, a subsequent operation to demolish Orthodox shrines on a massive scale began. One hundred and twenty-seven shrines were demolished at that time.[31] It is not known how many shrines were recovered by the Orthodoxy in the period of German occupation. According to the map developed by Jerzy Tur included in the book *Losy cerkwi w Polsce po 1944 r.*, it is difficult to determine the year of destruction or even the fate of many destroyed Orthodox shrines except during the inter-war period. The seventeenth-century shrine in Lubycza-Kniazie (Tomaszów County) and the eighteenth-century shrine in Teniatyski (Tomaszów country) were in a very bad state and it practically impossible to save.[32] The study says that there were 123 shrines and 209 buildings in the shrine complexes in the region of Lublin in 1997. The Orthodox Church used 16 of them while the Greek Catholic Church used one of them. The rest were used by the Roman Catholic Church.[33] On the other hand, Jacek Wysocki claims that in 1967 the Roman Catholic Church used 59 historical Orthodox shrines, including 12 non-historical ones, while 24 were

Fig. 3: *Greek Catholic Church of the Nativity of the Mother of God in Ropki, currently in the open-air museum in Sanok*
(https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/d/de/Ropki%2C_cerkiew_Narodzenia_Bogurodzicy%3B_obecnie_Park_Etnograficzny_w_Sanoku.jpg)

[30] KUPRIANOWICZ, Grzegorz. *1938. Akcja burzenia cerkwi prawosławnych na Chełmszczyźnie i Południowym Podlasiu.* Chełm: Prawosławna Diecezja Lubelsko-Chełmska, 2008, pp. 19–21.
[31] Ibidem*,* p. 61.
[32] *Ukraińcy w Polsce*, doc. 9. pp. 86–98.
[33] SENIUK, Bronisław. Cerkwie w regionie lubelskim. In: *Losy cerkwi w Polsce po 1944 roku*, Rzeszów: Stowarzyszenie Historyków Sztuki, 1997, pp. 362–363.

transformed into churches. The Orthodox Church used 20 shrines.[34]

One cannot forget about people and institutions that made efforts to save and protect the shrines from destruction. Historic preservation officers acknowledged the problem, but the possibilities to secure the Orthodox and Greek Catholic shrines were limited due to lack of means, transport difficulties, and depopulation of the area. According to available information, in 1945 the Provincial Historic Preservation Office in Cracow took up administrative measures to secure abandoned buildings; however, there is no concrete data on this. In the years 1947–1949, the Historic Preservation Office took up action in the area of Cracow Province in order to secure works of church art, mainly icons from buildings which had not been taken over by the Roman Catholic Church yet were exposed to looting and destruction. Dr Hanna Pieńkowska was entrusted with that task. The recovered icons were placed in the repository in Muszyna. After this was closed down, they were taken to the Regional Museum in Nowy Sącz, where they constitute a permanent exposition. Renovations conducted under a preservation officer's supervision took place in shrines used by the Roman Catholic Church since the 1960s. This activity was initiated by Jerzy Ablewicz, the Ordinary of the Tarnów Diocese. Nearly all shrines had been renovated to some extent by 1975. The shrines in Owczary, Męcino Wielkie, and Ropica Górna (Gorlice County) had been thoroughly renovated. Moreover, priest Mieczysław Czekaj had a picturesquely located brick shrine in Bieliczna (Gorlice County) renovated with the help of the local community. In the 1970s, the Historical Monuments Registry Office (Zespół Dokumentacji Zabytków) carried out an inventory of all shrines in Cracow Province. They developed a broad photographic documentation and made filing cards for historical works of church art. Also, comprehensive conservation works were carried out in the Greek Catholic shrine in Powroźnik (Nowy Sącz County), and the icons in Berest (Nowy Sącz County), collected by a local priest, were renovated as well.[35]

In Rzeszów Province, icon repositories were set up during the 1940s and 1950s. One was set up in Sanok, another one in Biecz (Gorlice County), and one in the shrine in Kotań (Jasło County). The idea was initiated by Bogdan Treter, Hanna Pieńkowska, and Józef Dutkiewicz. Unfortunately, some of their co-workers were more interested in the financial aspect than actual preservation of the icons. In 1957–59, explorations were organised in all the counties where Greek Catholic and Orthodox shrines were found. These were mainly conducted by students of Slavic studies from Jagiellonian University, initially supervised by Feliks Wolski, an art historian, and then by Barbara Tondos. Their tasks were to describe everything they had seen in the shrines and chapels and to make drawings in some cases. The whole enterprise was organised by Jerzy Tur, the Provincial Historic Preservation Officer, in cooperation with Aleksander Rybicki, who was setting up the Museum of Folk Architecture in Sanok at that time. In 1969, an icon repository was established in the Museum in Łańcut. Individual icons and also whole iconostases were brought there under the supervision of B. Tondos, mentioned above. As a result, a lot of icons were saved from dilapidation and theft. In the 1960s and 1970s, many icons were stolen from both unused and active shrines, as interest in icons was growing because of their artistic and historical value[36].

In 1965, Stanisław Latałło created a short film for the newsreel. This was the first dramatic public voice defending Greek Catholic and Orthodox shrines. An idea considered in 1968–1972

[34] WYSOCKI, *Ukraińcy na Lubelszczyźnie*..., p. 181.
[35] KORNECKI, Losy cerkwi..., pp . 108–111.
[36] WYSOCKI, *Ukraińcy na Lubelszczyźnie*..., p. 179.

was to set up an open-air museum of Greek Catholic and Orthodox shrines in the Bieszczady Mountains. The idea was abandoned and in the following years the issue of saving Greek Catholic and Orthodox shrines was passed over in silence due to the attitude of the central and local authorities.[37] Olgierd Łotoczko took up the cause of saving the Greek Catholic shrine in Łopienka (Lesko County) in the 1970s. However, the collateral security turned out to be insufficient and the shrine underwent another renovation by Zbyszek Kaszuba in 1986, albeit with many difficulties. Finally, Zofia Szanter saw to the complete renovation of the shrine in Przyslupie (Gorlice County).[38]

Unfortunately, not all people responsible for securing historical monuments discharged their tasks properly. Due to a lack of a historic conservator's supervision, the historical shrine in Kamianna lost its liturgical character and thus its historical value after it was transferred to Bukowiec in Pogórze Rożnowskie with the consent of the historic preservation officer. The same happened to the shrine in Klimkówki (Gorlice County) whose transfer was necessary because of the construction of a dam.[39] In 1968, during the filming of the fire scene in Raszków for the film "Colonel Wolodyjowski" (Polish: Pan Wołodyjowski), there was a plan to burn down the church in Chmiel (Bieszczady district). This concept was approved of by the Voivodeship Conservator of Monuments in Rzeszów, Jan Górak. Only the intervention by Maria Ziębińska, the County Historic Preservation Officer from Przemyśl, B. Tondos, and Professor Jerzy Szablowski, the film consultant, prevented such barbarity. Nevertheless, J. Górak's tenure, albeit short, led to the destruction of several historical monuments.[40] The most glaring examples of destroying shrines are:

- in 1980, the nineteenth-century shrine in Lutowiska was destroyed under the pretence of transferring it and the material was used to build a church in Dwernik (Bieszczady County);
- a year later, the shrine in Lipie, dating from 1900, burnt down (Przemyśl County);
- in 1984, the shrine in Załuże (Lubaczów County), dating from 1700, burnt down together with very valuable equipment, as well as the belfry in Machnowo Stare (Tomaszów County);
- in 1985, the shrine in Kościaszyn (Hrubieszów County) was destroyed;
- in 1986, the oldest freestanding wooden belfry in Myscowa, dating from 1760, was dismantled (Jasło County);
- in 1987, the shrines in Dyniska (Tomaszów County) and in Łukawiec (Lubaczów County) burnt down;
- in 1988, the shrine in Majdan Sieniawski (Przeworsk County) was burnt down.[41] Also, the shrine in Bobrówka (Jarosław County) was dismantled by the parish in Ryszkowa Wola under the pretence of its renovation, with the "total indifference" of Marek Gosztyła, the provincial historic preservation officer from Przemyśl.[42] According to the Ukrainian Social and Cultural Association (a licenced and legally operating Ukrainian association in the PRL), most renovations of Greek Catholic and Orthodox shrines performed by Roman Catholic parishes were not done with the consultation of historic preservation officers, which led to the degradation of the shrines in Sulimów (Hrubieszów Couny) and Bihale (Lubaczów County). In the area of Zamość Province, only two shrines in Hrubieszów and Tomaszów Lubelski owned

[37] TONDOS, Ochrona cerkwi..., pp. 122–131.
[38] Ibidem, pp. 132–133.
[39] KORNECKI, Losy cerkwi..., pp. 106–107.
[40] TONDOS, Barbara: Ochrona cerkwi..., pp. 129–130.
[41] *Ukraińcy w Polsce*, doc. 9.pp. 86–98.
[42] BRYKOWSKI, W sprawie architektury..., p. 155.

by the Orthodox Church were renovated under the supervision of a historic preservation officer. In the area of Zamość Province at that time, only two Orthodox shrines—in Hrubieszów and Tomaszów Lubelski—were renovated under the supervision of a conservator. In the 1980s in Przemyśl Province, only the renovations of the sixteenth-century shrine in Posada Rybotycka (Przemyśl County) and the nineteenth-century shrine in Przemyśl in Wilczańska Street did not lead to the destruction of the body and interior of the shrines. Also, the Greek Catholic parish in Komańcza got permission to transfer the wooden shrine from Dudyńce (Sanok County) to Komańcza. Consequently, a three-level brick shrine was built and the material from the shrine in Dudyńce was used to build its last level.[43]

Evaluating the destruction of shrines, it is impossible to deny the words of R. Brykowski who said:

> It is hard to clearly establish how much real and how much 'political', in-line-party-action ignorance there was and who was the more ignorant: the political party comrade in office encouraging and allowing the destruction of the shrines and the executor of his orders, the State Agricultural Farm (PGR) director or the highlander *right from the Tatra Mountains* who kept his flocks of sheep in the deserted churches covering the windows with icons from the fifteenth or sixteenth century. However, the actions of the primitive shepherd may be explained though not justified by his lack of education, his religious upbringing and archaic, adverse, even hostile attitude to everything that is different and unknown, which provokes him with its otherness to destroy.[44]

Summing up, it is important to say that the fate of the Greek Catholic and Orthodox shrines in Poland was the result of the nationalistic policy of the Polish communist authorities which aimed to convert Poland into a one-nation state on the one hand, and to give only Polish character to the areas from which the Ukrainian people had been deported on the other. Such an attitude led to the complete destruction of several hundred shrines as their existence evidenced the multinational and multi-denominational character of the lands. Only a few, which were transferred to open-air museums or were declared to be themselves museums, survived, and constitute one of the most beautiful types of museum attraction. On the other hand, the takeover of the shrines by the Roman Catholic Church saved most of them from being destroyed and ruined but their décor was frequently adjusted to the needs of the Roman Catholic rite. Nevertheless, several hundred shrines survived, especially in Lemkivschyna, thanks to this. The best solution was when they were taken over by the Orthodox Church. The similarity of the two denominations did not require changes to the external or internal appearance of the shrines. The preserved shrines evidence the deep spirituality of the believers and multi-cultural character of the south-east Poland.

References

Archive sources

AAN - Archiwum Akt Nowych

f. Urząd do spraw Wyznań (UdsW)

[43] BRYKOWSKI, W sprawie architektury..., pp. 156–157.

[44] BRYKOWSKI, W sprawie architektury..., p. 149.

APPrz - Archiwum Państwowe w Przemyślu
f. Prezydium Powiatowej Rady Narodowej w Przemyślu (PPRNPrz),

Literature

BOBER, Sabina (2000). Spór o cerkwie greckokatolickie w diecezji przemyskiej za rządów biskupa Ignacego Tokarczuka. In: *Biuletyn Ukrainoznawczy*, no. 6, pp. 118–124.

BRYKOWSKI, Ryszard (1997). W sprawie architektury cerkiewnej województwa rzeszowskiego po 33 latach. In: *Losy cerkwi w Polsce po 1944 roku*. Rzeszów: Stowarzyszenie Historyków Sztuki, 1997.

CZECH, M. (ed.) (1993). *Ukraińcy w Polsce 1989–1993. Kalendarium. Dokumenty. Informacje.* Warszawa: Zakład Wydawniczy Tyrsa.

DROZD, Roman (2015). Losy cerkwi greckokatolickich i prawosławnych w Polsce w latach 1944–1989. In: Łemkowie, Bojkowie, Rusini—historia, współczesność, kultura materialna i duchowa, t. V, red. B. Halczak, S. Dudra, R. Drozd and others, Słupsk-Zielona Góra-Svidnik: Oficyna Wydawnicza Uniwersytetu Zielonogórskiego, pp. 409–420.

DROZD, Roman (2018). Problem własności byłej katedry greckokatolickiej w Przemyślu w latach 1946–1996. In: *Scripta Historica*, pp. 237–253.

DROZD, Roman (2013). *Ukraińcy wobec swojej przeszłości (1947–2005).* Słupsk-Warszawa: Zakład Wydawniczy Tyrsa.

KORNECKI, Marian (1997). Losy cerkwi i zabytków sztuki cerkiewnej w dawnym województwie krakowskim 1945–1975. In: *Losy cerkwi w Polsce po 1944 roku,* Rzeszów: Stowarzyszenie Historyków Sztuki, pp. 93–120.

KUPRIANOWICZ, Grzegorz (2008). *1938. Akcja burzenia cerkwi prawosławnych na Chełmszczyźnie i Południowym Podlasiu.* Chełm: Prawosławna Diecezja Lubelsko-Chełmska.

Losy cerkwi w Polsce po 1944 roku (1997). Rzeszów.

MISIŁO, E. (ed.) (1999). *Repatriacja czy deportacja. Przesiedlenie Ukraińców z Polski do USRR 1944–1946*. T. II. Dokumenty 1946, Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza "Archiwum Ukraińskie".

Nasze Słowo (1991). 17 November 1991.

SENIUK, Bronisław (1997). Cerkwie w regionie lubelskim. In: *Losy cerkwi w Polsce po 1944 roku.* Rzeszów: Stowarzyszenie Historyków Sztuki, pp. 347–350.

SKÓRKA, Mirosław (1998). Wspólne sąsiedztwo czy nie chciani intruzi? In: *Więź,* no. 3, pp. 70–81.

TONDOS, Barbara (1997). Ochrona cerkwi na granicach legalności. In: *Losy cerkwi w Polsce po 1944 roku.* Rzeszów: Stowarzyszenie Historyków Sztuki, pp. 121–138.

URBAN, Kazimierz (1996). *Kościół prawosławny w Polsce 1945–1970.* Kraków: Zakład Wydawniczy Nomos.

WOJEWODA, Zbigniew (1994). *Zarys historii Kościoła greckokatolickiego w Polsce w latach 1944–1989.* Kraków: Zakład Wydawniczy Nomos.

WYSOCKI, Jacek (2011). *Ukraińcy na Lubelszczyźnie w latach 1944–1989*. Lublin: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej Oddział Lublin.

ZABROWARNY, Stefan (1993). Polityka narodowościowa polskich władz komunistycznych w kwestii ukraińskiej. In: *Polityka narodowościowa państw Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*, ed. J. Pietraś and A. Czarnecki. Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, pp. 126–148.

Local history and museology in Dagestan: trends and prospects of interrelated development

Eldar Eldarov – Murtazali Gadzhiev

Professor Eldar M. Eldarov, Doctor of Geographical Sciences.
Faculty of Management, Daghestan State University.
Chairman of the Daghestan branch of the Russian Geographical Society,
Makhachkala, Russian Federation
e-mail: geodag@mail.ru
ORCID: 0000-0002-9873-4437

Professor Murtazali S. Gadzhiev, Doctor of Historical Sciences.
Head of the Department of Archeology, Institute of History,
Archeology and Ethnography, Daghestan Federal Research Centre of RAS,
Makhachkala, Russian Federation
e-mail: murgadj@rambler.ru
ORCID: 0000-0002-4592-0527

Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo, 2021, 9:4:99-113
DOI: 10.46284/mkd.2021.9.4.7

Local history and museology in Dagestan: trends and prospects of interrelated development
The article describes the historical periods of development two closely related fields of activity in Daghestan (Russia) – local history and museology. Within each period, the authors highlight the stages of the local history and museum initiative of the local intellectuals and educators. The spatio-temporal dynamics of the network of local history museums in the context of the republic's municipalities is analysed. The features of the evolution of local lore and museum affairs are revealed in the light of the prospects for the popularisation of the rich natural and cultural heritage of the "Country of the Mountains". The issues surrounding the formation of effective museum and tourist clusters on this territory are discussed.

Keywords: local lore studies, local history museums, cultural tourism, museum and tourist cluster, Daghestan

Introduction

Daghestan, the name of which translates as the "Land of Mountains", is located in the north-east of the Caucasus and the western coast of the Caspian Sea. The Republic of Daghestan occupies a little more than 50,000 square kilometers – an area that exceeds that of such countries as the Netherlands, Denmark, and Switzerland. The "Land of Mountains" is a tiny corner of our world, which is diverse and beautiful both in its nature and the original cultures of numerous ethnic groups living in it. Due to its geographical location between Europe and Asia, between the Caucasus Mountains and the Caspian Sea, Daghestan has had close and various ties with many peoples since ancient times, acting as a kind of "crossroads of cultures and civilizations", the bridge between two continents – Europe and Asia.[1]

Objects of the historical, cultural, and natural heritage of Daghestan have long been in the focus of experts in various fields – historians, geographers, ethnographers, biologists, linguists, and geologists. However, amateur study of such heritage has also long been a hobby for many

[1] GAMZATOV, G. (ed.). *Dagestan na perekrestke kul'tur i civilizacij*. Moscow: Nauka, 2011, p. 5.

people. The interest of Russian and foreign tourists in the unique monuments of nature, history, and ethnic culture of Daghestan has been growing.[2] This process is greatly facilitated on the one hand by the stabilisation of the socio-political situation in the national regions of the South of Russia, and, on the other, by the noticeable increase in the flow of cultural tourists from all over the world.

In the modern age of the tourist boom, local history museums, located both in cities on the plain and in remote mountain villages of Daghestan, are of particular importance. Targeted funding from the federal and municipal budgets, which previously served as the only source of financial support to the museum institutions of the republic, is now complemented with investments made by businessmen interested in profit from the flow of tourists and leisure industry. Increased attendance of Daghestan's local history museums by both the local population and visiting tourists has been recorded.

Experience and methodology

The knowledge about the natural, ethnocultural and socio-economic environment of a particular state or its region, which has been developing over the centuries, ultimately serves, firstly, in forming school and university courses for studying the geography, history, and culture of these territories, and secondly, to justify the content of exhibitions at state, district, and local museums.[3] The Russian regional knowledge aimed at improving the theory and practice of museum activities is traditionally referred to as "*kraevedenie*" (local lore studies), and the institution itself, being the repository of objects and information about the natural history and material and spiritual culture of the people of a particular territory – "*kraevedchesky museyi*" (local lore museum).[4]

Due to the rapid growth of recreational travel, local history museums are becoming a real segment of the tourist market and one of the ways to achieve success in the economic development of a tourist destination.[5] This trend leads to an increase in museum employees' responsibility in terms of adequately responding to recreational demand and employing appropriate strategies for the development of museology.[6] Equally important is the introduction of innovations, including multimedia forms of museum exhibits, the creation of appropriate advertising products, the digitisation of rare text manuscripts, as well as the protection of historical and architectural

---

[2] AMUTINOV A.M. et al. *Rynok i upravlenie turizmom v regione*. Makhachkala: Delovoy Mir, 2003, p. 28.

[3] TILBURY, D. & WILLIAMS, M. (eds.) *Teaching and learning geography*. London and New York: Routledge, 1997; HURREN, W. School Geography and Academic Geography: Spaces of Possibility for Teaching and Learning. In: SEARS, A. and WRIGHT, I. (eds.). *Challenges & Prospects in Canadian Social Studies*. Vancouver: BC, Pacific Educational Press, 2004; PERERA, K. The Role of Museums in Cultural and Heritage Tourism for Sustainable Economy in Developing Countries. In: *International Conference on Asian Art, Culture and Heritage*. August, 2013. Accessed 20 January 2021, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/237099471

[4] SCHMIDT, S., ed. *Kraevedenie v Rossii. Istoriya, sovremennoe sostoyanie, perspektivy razvitiya*. Moscow: Moskvovedenie, 2004.

[5] MCLEAN, F.C. A marketing revolution in museums? In: *Journal of Marketing Management*, Vol. 11, No. 6, 1995; KIRSHENBLATT-GIMBLETT, B. *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998; MCKERCHER, B., DU CROS, H.. *Cultural Tourism: The Partnership Between Tourism and Cultural Heritage Management*. New York: The Haworth Hospitality Press, 2002; *Getting cultural heritage to work for Europe. Report of the Horizon 2020 Expert Group on Cultural Heritage*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2015.

[6] KOTLER, N. G., KOTLER, Ph. & KOTLER, W. I. *Museum marketing and strategy: designing missions, building audiences, generating revenue and resources*. 2nd ed. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 2008; GIRARD, L.F., NIJKAMP, P. *Cultural Tourism and Sustainable Local Development*. Ashgate, 2009.

landscapes.[7] Such smart technologies are currently being mastered by museum staff in Daghestan.[8]

The need of residents of highly urbanised areas for wildlife and loci of a different ethnic culture leads to the "compression" of geographical space, which is largely facilitated by modern high-speed and cheap transportation.[9] A special contribution to reducing the parameters of recreational space–time relations is also made by local history museums, which satisfy tourists' interest in the history and geography of the destination with attractive mythology.[10] The use of geographic models of Daghestan is especially effective in demonstrating the physical-geographical "compression" of recreational space–time relations due to the formation of museum institutions in remote areas of the territory, as if "compressed" in the direction from East to West into three distinct altitudinal climatic stages – plane, foothills, and mountains.[11]

The analysis of the peculiarities of the development of the local lore and the territorial structure of the museum system of Daghestan is primarily aimed at establishing possible ways and means of economic activation of underdeveloped mountain areas through the rise of cultural tourism in them. Rural museums of local lore may well be considered promising centres of the future museum and tourist clusters on local and regional scales. The methods of logical, statistical, historiographical, and economic-geographical analysis are applied; foreign and domestic experience in studying the issues and prospects of cultural tourism as a factor of socio-economic growth of depressed agricultural territories is used.

Milestones in the history of local lore and museology

When studying the history of geographical discoveries, research, and museum activities in Daghestan, it is crucial to take into consideration not only Russian-language sources, but also earlier Arabic ones. The latter were of practical importance mainly in the pre-war (before the beginning of the Caucasian War in the nineteenth century) period and are represented by numerous informational pieces in Arabic, revealing, among other things, the historical, ethnographic and natural heritage of Daghestan.[12] For example, a semblance of a local history museum of the mountain peoples of Daghestan was a historical and ethnographic gallery that functioned for decades at the central mosque of the mountain village of Gimra – the birthplace of the famous Imam Shamil. Although it ceased to exist during the Caucasian War, the memory of it is still preserved in the legends of the inhabitants of Gimra and the surrounding villages of mountainous Daghestan.

---

[7] EATH, C., VOM LEHN, D. & OSBORNE, J. Interaction and interactives: collaboration and participation with computer-based exhibits. In: *Public Understanding of Science,* Vol. 14, No. 1, 2005; ROGERIO-CANDELERA, M.A. (ed.). *Science, Technology and Cultural Heritage*. London: CRC Press, 2014; TALAMO, M., VALENTINI, F., DIMITRI, A. & ALLEGRINI, I. Innovative Technologies for Cultural Heritage. Tattoo Sensors and AI: The New Life of Cultural Assets. In: *Sensors*, Vol. 20, No. 7, 2020; GEORGOPOULOU P., KOLIOPOULOS, D. & MEUNIER, A. The dissemination of elements of scientific knowledge in archaeological museums in Greece: socio-cultural, epistemological and communicational/educational aspects. In: *Scientific culture,* Vol. 7, No. 1, 2021.

[8] GADZHIEV, M.S., MUGADOVA, M.V. & ELDAROV, E.M. Razvitie kraevedeniya i muzejnogo dela v Dagestane: ocherk istorii. In: *Nasledie vekov,* No.1, 2018.

[9] *Getting cultural heritage to work*…, p. 6.

[10] VEDENIN, Y.A., ELDAROV, E.M. *Rol' N.S. Mironenko v gumanizacii rossijskoj rekreacionnoj geografii. Nikolaj Mironenko. Stranicy zhizni. Nauchnye idei i raboty. Pedagogicheskaya deyatel'nost'. Vospominaniya*. Moscow: MSU, 2015.

[11] OSMANOV, A.M. *Moj kraj Dagestan*. Moscow: Mysl, 1979; MUDUEV, Sh.S., ELDAROV, E.M. *Severnyj Kavkaz i Dagestan: social'no-geograficheskie problemy gornyh regionov*. Makhachkala: Dagestan Scientific Center RAS, 2002.

[12] SHIKHSAIDOV, A.R. *Dagestan v X–XIV vv. Opyt social'no-ekonomicheskoj harakteristiki*. Makhachkala: Dagknigoizdat, 1975.

The pre-Soviet period of the formation of the Russian-language local history can be divided into two stages: a scientific-intelligent stage and a missionary-educational stage. The first comprehensive studies of the social and natural "fabric" of Daghestan in the Russian language are already evident in the fifteenth century, when representatives of the military, diplomatic, and commercial institutions of tsarist Russia started to collect and summarise "intelligence" about the nature, economy, and population of the "Land of Mountains". One of the first of such "local historian-scouts" was Afanasy Nikitin, whose information about the possible ties and expansions of the Russian Empire in the South is now considered a historical monument of intelligence and analytical information.[13] Fedot Kotov, Mikhail Tikhonov, Efim Myshetsky, Artemy Volynsky, Ivan Brekhov, Grigory Shakhmatov, Fedor Leontiev, Mikhail Baryatinsky, Fedor Volkonsky, Artemy Sukhanov, Boris Pazukhin, and others are among these "local historian-scouts", who made quite a definite contribution to the comprehensive geographical and historical-cultural study of Daghestan.

Fig. 1: *Ivan Kostemerevsky (1813–1891) – the founder of the Russian-language study of local lore in Daghestan (Photo courtesy of the Central State Archive of Dagestan)*

The missionary-educational stage in the history of Daghestan's local lore and museum studies was most clearly manifested in the work of Ivan Kostemerevsky (1813–1891) (Figure 1) and Yevgeny Kozubsky (1851–1911) (Figure 2). The former is rightfully considered the founder of the Russian-language local lore in Daghestan. Kostemerevsky expended his life savings on the education and healthcare of the highlanders. According to his will, "around 3,000 rubles were allocated to support artisanal industries in Daghestan through the formation of the museum". By 1910, the capital doubled, and the military governor of the Daghestan region personally assumed control over the execution of Kostemerevsky's will. The governor allocated additional funds and created a special committee overseeing the foundation of a local history museum. To fulfil the needs of this institution, a part of the building of the governor's house was allocated to the former capital of the region, the city of Temir-Khan-Shura (renamed to Buinaksk after the October Revolution), where the first museum of local Daghestan lore was opened in 1913.[14]

Fig. 2: *Yevgeny Kozubsky (1851–1911) – the founder of the Russian-language museology of Daghestan (Photo courtesy of the Central State Archive of Dagestan)*

After the death of Kostemerevsky in 1891, the Head of the Statistical Department of the region, Yevgeny Kozubsky, picked up the conduction of active local history museum and educational activities in Daghestan. It should be noted that the leadership of the region, if necessary, widely used the intellectual potential of Kozubsky, involving him in major scientific and analytical research, particularly statistical,

[13] KARPENKO, A.V. *Kem byl tverskoj kupec Afanasij Nikitin?* In: Prose.ru 2012. Accessed 20 January 2021, https://proza.ru/2012/10/18/1470

[14] ELDAROV, M.M. Otkrytyj arhiv I.S. Kostemerevskogo. *Sovetsky Daghestan,* No. 1, 1991.

economic, and demographic studies. In 1901, he participated in the organisation of the First Caucasian Congress of Artisanal Industry workers, where he made a report on the feasibility of organising museums in the region, defined their goals, and gave a description of various types of future Daghestan museums. E. Kozubsky did not live to see the official opening – just one year later, in 1913 – of the first republican museum, named "Kostemerevsky Handicraft Museum". The museum collected photographs dedicated to the unique objects of nature and culture of the Land of Mountains, rare documents, books, traditional Daghestani weapons, clothing, and objects of decorative and applied arts and crafts.[15]

The Soviet period of the development of local history and museum studies in Daghestan begins with the October Revolution of 1917 and ends in the 1980s. It can be divided into three stages – formation (1920s), stagnation (1930s–1940s) and active growth (1950s–1980s).)

During the Civil War in Daghestan (1917–1920), the funds of the Kostemerevsky museum were almost completely looted. Only the items that its employees managed to hide in their homes survived. From the huge collection of more than a thousand items, less than 400 exhibits were saved. In 1920, on the decision of the Daghestan Revolutionary Committee, the "National Museum of Daghestan" was established on the basis of the existing Kostemerevsky museum. By the beginning of 1921, it a significant number of exhibits had been collected, including rare objects of decorative-applied arts and crafts of the peoples of Daghestan. Soon the museum was closed, and all its exhibits were moved to the new capital – the city of Petrovsk (renamed Makhachkala in 1921) for the formation of the republican museum. The decision to do this was taken by the first People's Commissar of Education and Justice of the Daghestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (DASSR), Alibek Takho-Godi (1892–1937).

In November 1923, A. Takho-Godi was elected Chairman of the Daghestan Museum Committee. On his initiative, the exhibits for the republican museum were selected from the State Museum Funds of Moscow and Leningrad with the help of art historians. It is thanks to the activity and enthusiasm of this revolutionary that the modern Daghestan museums now have a rich collection of Western European art from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries and Russian art from the nineteenth to early twentieth centuries.

In 1925, the museum received the gift of a valuable collection from the Caucasian Military History Museum in Tbilisi consisting of more than 100 items, including original paintings by Francois Roubaud ("The Capture of Gunib", "The Capture of Shamil", "The Storming of the village of Gimry", "The Capture of Akhulgo", a portrait of Imam Shamil, and portraits of participants in the Caucasian War), as well as historical relics: banners of prominent figures of the Caucasian war imams Gazi-Muhammad, Shamil, naib Hadzhi Murad, and others. In 1926, the Daghestan Museum received 182 paintings from the Museum Fund of Moscow and the Leningrad Museums, including those of such prominent painters as I. Levitan, V. Serov, I. Shishkin, V. Perov, S. Svyatoslavsky, F. Bronnikov, S. Vinogradov, and others.[16]

In addition to the work on the identification and return of Daghestan exhibits stored outside the republic, the museum committee of the DASSR carried out the collection of items in Daghestan itself. Expedition work, individual searches, and purchases were actively conducted. Alibek Takho-Godi's huge contribution to the formation of Soviet culture in the DASSR did not save him from political repression. In 1937, he was arrested and the Military Board of the

[15] MANYSHEV, S.B. S chuvstvom glubokogo pochteniya k pamyati shtab-lekarya I.S. Kostemerevskogo. (Iz istorii sozdaniya muzeya v Dagestane v nachale XX v.) In: KLYCHNIKOV, Yu. (eds.). *Russian statehood in the fate of the peoples of the Caucasus* [*Rossiyskaya gosudarstvennost' v sud'bakh narodov Kavkaza*]. Pyatigorsk, 2016.

[16] KAIMARAZOV, G.Sh. *Obrazovanie i nauka v Dagestane v XX veke*. Makhachkala: Dagknigoizdat, 2007.

Supreme Court of the USSR sentenced him to death.

An equally sad fate befell the main associate of Takho-Godi – the first head of the Daghestan Museum of Local Lore Dmitry Pavlov (1884–1931), on whose initiative the Association of North Caucasian Mountain Local Lore Organisations was established in Makhachkala. D. Pavlov was arrested and died in the NKVD's prison in April 1931.[17] Dmitry Pavlov lived only 47 years, but managed to contribute significantly to the development of museology and local history in Daghestan (Figure 3).

Fig. 3: *Dmitry Pavlov and Alibek Takho-Godi (on the right) on vacation in the main recreational area of the North Caucasus, Kislovodsk, late 1920s. (Photo courtesy of the Central State Archive of Dagestan)*

By the decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the Republic of Daghestan, the Museum was reorganised into the Central Museum of the DASSR in 1940. The staff of the museum numbered 25 people. The structure of the museum included the Republican Museum of Local Lore in Makhachkala, the Stalin Historical and Revolutionary Museum in Buinaksk, the Local History Museum in Derbent, the Suleiman Stalsky Literary Museum in the village of Asha-ga-Stal, as well as the local history museum in the village of Akhty. By that time, more than 27,000 exhibits were stored in the Central Republican Museum.

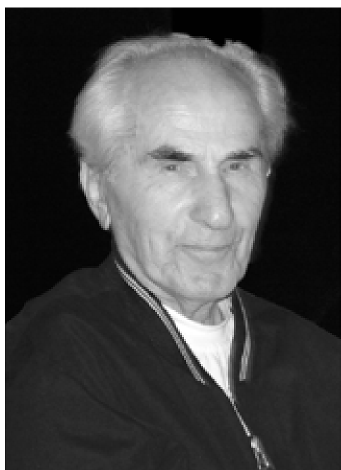

Fig. 4: *Bulach Gadzhiev (1919–2007) – founder of the mass local lore movement in Daghestan (Photo from the family archive of Murtazali Serazhutdinovich Gadzhiev)*

In 1942, due to the danger of a breakthrough of the fascist forces to Makhachkala, all the exhibits of the Central Museum were evacuated to the southernmost city of Daghestan, Derbent, and the museum's premises were allocated to accommodate the military. It was reopened in May 1943 in Makhachkala, when the defense of the Caucasus ended in victory. Unfortunately, a number of exhibits were lost or damaged during the move; the museum's research activities were suspended, and its staff numbers were significantly reduced.[18]

It should be noted that in the 1930s and 1940s, representatives of the Daghestani intelligentsia felt a real threat of being dishonored by the state's ideological and punitive services, of being branded "bourgeois nationalists" and, moreover, "the agents of foreign intelligence". This factor limited their creative initiatives in terms of the deployment of local lore, museum, and general cultural and educational activities on the territory of the Daghestan ASSR.

The self-devotion of the Daghestani intelligentsia in the field of local history and museology became widespread in the

[17] LYSENKO, Y.M. Dmitrij Mihajlovich Pavlov–pervyj direktor Dagestanskogo nauchno-issledovatel'skogo instituta: shtrihi k portretu. In: *Bulletin of the Daghestan Scientific Center.* No. 44, 2012.

[18] NAGIEVA, M.K. K voprosu o vozniknovenii i razvitii muzejnogo dela v Dagestane v konce XIX–pervoj polovine XX v. In: *Questions of museology*, No. 2, 2010.

1950s. Since that time, a mass local history movement was born in the schools of the republic. Thus, in 1952, in one of the schools of Buinaksk, on the initiative of the history teacher Bulach Gadzhiev (1919–2007), the first school local history club was created (Figure 4). The members of the circle made numerous trips to various corners of Daghestan noted for their history and natural environment. B. Gadzhiev is the author of perhaps the most popular local history books in the republic, dedicated to the history and culture of the peoples of Daghestan. During his devoted activity in the field of local historical lore, he published more than 30 books.[19] The brilliant local history innovations of Bulach Gadzhiev were picked up by other teachers of the republic, especially in rural areas. For many reasons, Daghestan now has a relatively large number of school museums, on the basis of which several branches of the National Museum of the Republic were later formed.

Fig. 5: *Magomed Eldarov (1921–1992) – founder of the geographical direction of Daghestan local lore (Photo from the family archive of Eldar Magomedovich Eldarov)*

In the 1950s, Magomed Eldarov discovered his pedagogical talent [Figure 5]. Being one of the most famous geographers-educators, he was the first to apply scientific evidence and methods to the practices of geographical and patriotic education of schoolchildren, based on local material. The consecutive implementation of M. Eldarov's ideas in the pedagogical process started immediately after his time at the post-graduate Institute of pedagogic methods of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the RSFSR, wherein 1952 he upheld his candidate thesis on the subject of "Regional principle of the geography of the USSR in Daghestan schools".[20] As the staff of the Institute noted in their review article, the work of M. M. Eldarov "has quite a significant value".[21]

In the mid-1950s, on the initiative of Vadim Himmelreich, head of the Local History Department of the Central Republican Library (Makhachkala), a library circle of local historians and geographers was created. In 1959 in the Ministry of Public Education of the DASSR, as well as in the Institute for Advanced Training of Teachers and the Pedagogical Institute, a decision was made to establish the Daghestan branch of the All-Union Geographical Society. V. Himmelreich was appointed as the society's head.[22]

A collective monograph published in 1956 under the editorship of the famous writer Dmitry Trunov (1913–1973), devoted to the results of the work of the Daghestan Museum of Local Lore for 30 years of its existence, can be considered a major milestone in the historiography of Daghestan's museology. The book reflects various types of work on the identification, collection, and preservation of important materials of the historical, cultural, and natural

---

[19] DAVYDOV, A.N. *Uchitel'*. Makhachkala: Epokha Publishing House, 2014.

[20] ELDAROV, M.M. *Kraevedcheskij princip prepodavaniya geografii SSSR v sed'myh klassah dagestanskih shkol.* Abstract of the dissertation thesis of the candidate of pedagogical sciences. Moscow: Institute for Teaching Methods of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the RSFSR, 1951.

[21] GERASIMOVA, T.P., KORINSKAYA, V.A. Iz opyta kraevedcheskoj raboty. In: MATRUSOV, I. (ed.). *Kraevedenie i kraevedcheskij podhod v prepodavanii geografii: Sbornik statej.* Moscow: APN RSFSR, 1963.

[22] ELDAROV, E.M. Osobennosti formirovaniya Dagestanskogo otdeleniya Russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva. *Voprosy geographii,* No. 151, 2020.

heritage of the republic.[23]

In 1968 the Daghestan Museum of Local Lore was relocated to a new building on the central square of Makhachkala. The staff of the museum, under the direction of Davud Kazhlaev (1913–1999), launched new expositions dedicated to the nature, history, and culture of Daghestan in the pre-Soviet and Soviet periods. It should be highlighted that D. Kazhlaev belongs to the cohort of those outstanding Daghestani museum and local historians whose brilliant research and writing talent enriched the 1960s and 70s. He is the author of the famous book, "Monuments of History and Culture of Daghestan".[24]

In 1977, by the resolution of the Council of Ministers of the DASSR, in order to further improve the scientific and methodological management of museum work, and improve the leisure services for tourists and the local population, the Republican Museum of Local Lore was turned into a United Historical and Architectural Museum. The museum administered the following branches: Buynakskiy Historical-Revolutionary Museum, the Derbent and Akhtynsky Local History Museums, the Memorial Museum of Suleyman Stalsky in the village of Ashagi-Stal, the State Literary-Memorial Museum of Gamzat Tsadasa in the village of Khunzakh, and the Pyotr Bagration Local Lore Museum in the city of Kizlyar. By 1990, the network of branches expanded to include the Museum of Military Glory and the Theatre Museum in Makhachkala, and the Museum of Military Glory in Buinaksk; the Derbent Museum was converted into the State Derbent Museum-reserve.

The 1970s and 1980s were the period of formation for small museum expositions of local lore (zoological, geological, historical, archaeological, etc.) at the largest faculties of Daghestan's universities and research institutes of the Daghestan branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences. In the mid-1970s, a mini-museum of local lore was founded at the Faculty of Natural Geography of the Daghestan Pedagogical Institute, the fund of which would expand mainly due to regular expeditions by students and teachers of the faculty to remote areas of the republic.[25]

Post-Soviet period. Oddly enough, it was in the 1990s that, despite the serious difficulties that arose in the activities of almost all institutions of social and cultural profile in the region, scientific, local history, and museum studies nevertheless broke new ground. To a great

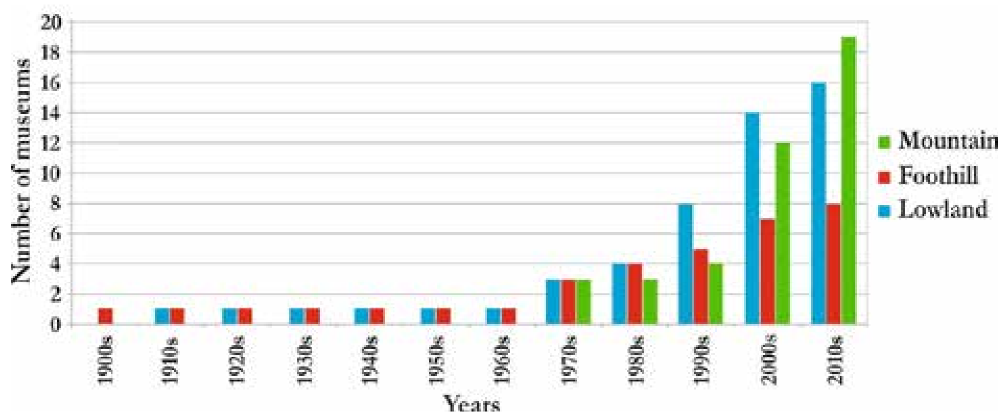

Fig. 6: *Changes in the number of museums in highland areas of Daghestan over the last century (Compiled by the authors)*

[23] TRUNOV, D., ed., *Dagestanskij respublikanskij kraevedcheskij muzej*. Makhachkala, Dagknigoizdat, 1956.
[24] KAZHLAEV, D.G. *Pamyatniki istorii i kul'tury Dagestana*. Makhachkala: Dagknigoizdat, 1967.
[25] MAGOMEDOV, I.M. *Dobryj sled na rodnoj Zemle*. Makhachkala: DGPU, 1997.

extent, this was the result of a significant increase in national consciousness and people's interest in their own history and culture. It is worth noting that three-quarters of all modern museums in Daghestan were established in the period starting from 1990. However, the most encouraging thing about this trend is that half of all the museums formed at this time became the property of numerous rural areas of Mountainous Daghestan (Figure 6).

Fig. 7: *Takho-Godi National Museum of the Republic of Daghestan, Makhachkala (Photo courtesy of the Takho-Godi National Museum of Daghestan)*

The market economy has made significant adjustments to the work of local history structures in Daghestan. Being real estate objects, many cultural, historical, archaeological, and architectural monuments that had not yet undergone the necessary institutionalisation were privatised by entrepreneurs. By this, we mean by people who often have nothing to do with either the sphere of culture or local history. At the same time, there have also been major positive changes in the development of museum studies. Thus, for instance, the Daghestan State United Historical and Architectural Museum, which was named after Alibek Takho-Godi in 2006, was planned to be relocated to a new, more spacious and historically significant building by 2017 – the pre-revolutionary merchant house-palace, located in perhaps the most comfortable area of the Daghestan capital (Figure 7). On the decision of the Head of the Republic, Ramazan Abdulatipov, the Daghestan State United Historical and Architectural Museum was renamed the Takho-Godi National Museum of the Republic of Daghestan.

Currently, there are 42 museums in the republic, 41 of which are branches of the National Museum of the Republic of Daghestan. Of these, 28 museums, or 65%, have a historical and local history profile, and 7 museums are memorial house-museums. There are also two museums of Military Glory (in Makhachkala and Buinaksk), a historical-life museum in the village of Sulevkent, and industrial and theatrical museums (both in Makhachkala). An important event took place in 2003, when the monuments of Derbent – the Naryn-kala citadel (Figure 8), and the Ancient City and Fortress Buildings – were added to the UNESCO World Heritage List (criteria: III, IV).[26] Another joyful event in the cultural life of the republic and the whole country was the celebration of the 2000th anniversary of Derbent in 2015.

Fig. 8: *Derbent citadel Naryn-Kala (Photo from source: https://livingheritage.ru/brand/respublika-dagestan/krepost-naryn-kala)*

[26] *Citadel, Ancient City and Fortress Buildings of Derbent.* Accessed 20 January 2021, https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1070/

Innovations in museology

One of the most essential directions in museum work is the popularisation of the important monuments of nature, history, and culture with the help of art projects. These include thematic exhibitions of printed publications, photographs, artifacts, and relics, displayed in museums and libraries, which reveal significant moments in the history of Daghestan, and the fate and exploits of its notable representatives. Thus, in November 2016, the Museum of the History of the city of Makhachkala organized the exhibition "Evgeniy Gvozdev: The Solo Mariner" dedicated to the Daghestani solo mariner who completed two circumnavigations of the globe on mini-yachts.[27] Moreover, two years later, with the assistance of the Daghestan Geographical Society, a permanent exhibition dedicated to E. Gvozdev (1934–2008), "Russia is my history", was created in the new Makhachkala Museum Park (Figure 9).

Fig. 9: *Yevgeny Gvozdev's mini-yacht in the museum park, "Russia is my history", Makhachkala (Photo courtesy of the Dagestan Branch of the Russian Geographical Society)*

Immersion in national traditions has become a common method of attracting visitors to Daghestan's restaurants. Among these, the restaurant-museum "On Lermontov street" in Makhachkala stands out the most. The restaurant brings a rich ethnic flavor to both the food and the staff's clothing, which is combined with a wide collection of museum and ethnographic exhibits that make up the interior of this gastronomic place.

Fig. 10: *Private museum of paleontology owned by Omar Khapisov, Lower Chugli (Photo courtesy of the Takho-Godi National Museum of Daghestan)*

Thanks to the Internet, many professional paleontologists have learned about the domestic museum of fossilised remains of pre-historic animals, founded in the mountainous Daghestan village of Nizhny Chugli by a local beekeeper and passionate amateur paleontologist, Omar Khapisov. The museum's main exhibit is the well-preserved remains of an ichthyosaur – a reptile that lived in the waters of the Tethys Ocean more than a hundred million years ago (Figure 10).

---

[27] ELDAROV, E.M., SHMERLING, G.V. *Krugosvetnye plavaniya Evgeniya Gvozdyova.* Beau Bassin, Mauritius: LAMBERT Academic Publishing, 2018.

The exchange of information via the global network has become a new norm for professional museologists and amateur local lore historians. While amateur local lore historians limit their research to regional scales, the professionals usually aim at a more extensive and multifaceted Internet environment. At the same time, as experts rightly note, not only local history and museum studies are enriched by the latest scientific achievements in the fields of geography, history, and cultural studies; there is also a general "spatial turn" in museology.[28]

Currently, the number of republican, district and village websites, as well as personal accounts on global social platforms such as Facebook, VKontakte, Twitter, etc., full of information about the monuments of nature, history, and culture in Daghestan, is noticeably increasing. This trend reflects people's growing interest in local history, which is mainly implemented spontaneously and, unfortunately, not always in a scientifically based way. Sadly, a large amount of local history and museum work is still carried out with a limited understanding of what belongs to the sphere of proper professional scientific knowledge.[29]

The current surge in the museum and local history activity of the population reflects the general trend of the revival of Daghestan's national culture and national identity. However, this process is mostly chaotic and disorganised, and has significant flaws in its scientific and methodological plan. Therefore, it seems appropriate to combine the efforts of disparate enthusiasts and scientists for better scientific and methodological support of museums, and to turn the local history movement in a constructive direction towards protecting and popularising the monuments of natural and cultural-historical heritage of Daghestan.

Conclusion

The wide network of museums that exists in Daghestan is in urgent need of modernisation and professional scientific provision. Museums need to be provided with modern equipment, and innovative technologies for lighting stands and exhibits. The task of creating special repositories for numerous archaeological materials, most of which are not represented in the expositions, is important. At the same time, there is an acute shortage of professional museum workers and specialist curators, tour guides, museologists, museum managers, designers, etc.

Modern technologies provide opportunities for museums to move forward, making unique artifacts – or copies of them – available far beyond the museum halls and pavilions. On the one hand, travelling exhibitions from the capital's museums, and on the other, rural fairs and ethnocultural maydans in the cities of the republic, are invariably accompanied by the active participation of local residents. This contributes to the familiarisation of the urban youth with national traditions and relics, and the inhabitants of villages with the achievements of urban culture.

On today's agenda, one of the major tasks is to increase the level of museum work that meets the modern tourist's needs. Solving these problems will allow the creation of an attractive museum environment for cultural tourists. In this aspect, it is necessary to make greater use of the experience of leading museum experts from both Russia and abroad.

As foreign experience has shown, cultural tourism is gradually turning museums into the main centres of information support for the leisure industry. In turn, museum employees face the specific tasks of determining their institution's cultural and tourist specialisation, forming a

[28] GEOGHEGAN, H. Museum Geography: Exploring Museums, Collections and Museum Practice in the UK. In: *Geography Compass,* Vol. 4, No. 10, 2010.

[29] GADZHIEV, M.S., KUZNETSOV, V.A. & CHECHENOV, I.M. *Istoriya v zerkale paranauki: Kritika sovremennoj etnocentricheskoj istoriografii Severnogo Kavkaza.* Moscow: IEA RAS, 2006.

constant flow of tourists to museums, drawing up appropriate programs and routes, developing a package of advertising products, etc. This applies not only to complex local history museums, but also to specialised museums that reflect certain types of material and intangible heritage of the peoples of the "Land of Mountains".

Local museums act as the main accumulators of all significant cultural, historical, and natural heritage within rural tourist destinations. That's why the cooperation of tourism and museum institutions can be considered one of the real mechanisms for the socio-economic recovery of the backward territories of mountainous Daghestan, contributing to the formation of a relatively comfortable social and industrial infrastructure in rural areas, improving the well-being and cultural level of the villagers.

It is quite obvious that the strengthening of cooperation between the museum sector and tourism, and the formation on this basis of the museum-tourist clusters, will contribute to the protection and promotion of the natural and cultural heritage, and improve the image and overall socio-economic growth of the "Land of Mountains".

Acknowledgment

The authors express their deep gratitude to the chief curator of the funds of the Takho-Godi National Museum of Daghestan, *Zaira Kildeeva*, for providing statistics on the latest stages of the development of museology in the republic and director of the Central State Archives of Dagestan, *Olga Bekaeva*, for biographical information about the founders of Dagestan local history.

References

AMUTINOV A.M., ALIEV Sh.M., CHERGIZBIEV M.I., ELDAROV E.M. (2003). *Rynok i upravlenie turizmom v regione* [Market and tourism management in the region]. Makhachkala: Delovoy Mir. [In Russian] ISBN 5-7310-1271-8

Citadel, Ancient City and Fortress Buildings of Derbent. Accessed 20 January 2021, https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1070/

DAVYDOV, A.N. (2014). *Uchitel'* [A Teacher]. Makhachkala: Epokha Publishing House, p. 270. [In Russian]

EATH, C., VOM LEHN, D. & OSBORNE, J. (2005). Interaction and interactives: collaboration and participation with computer-based exhibits. In: *Public Understanding of Science,* No. 14, pp. 91–101. ISSN 0963-6625

ELDAROV, E.M. (2020). Osobennosti formirovaniya Dagestanskogo otdeleniya Russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva [Features of the formation of the Daghestan branch of the Russian Geographical Society]. In: *Voprosy geographii,* No. 151, pp. 491–512. [In Russian] ISSN 0372-5758

ELDAROV, E.M., SHMERLING, G.V. (2018). *Krugosvetnye plavaniya Evgeniya Gvozdyova* [Evgeny Gvozdev's circumnavigation of the world]. Beau Bassin, Mauritius: LAMBERT Academic Publishing. [In Russian] ISBN 978-613-9-58037-8

ELDAROV, M.M. (1991). Otkrytyj arhiv I.S. Kostemerevskogo [Public archive of I.S. Kostemerevsky]. In: *Sovetsky Daghestan,* No. 1, pp. 11–12. [In Russian]

ELDAROV, M.M. (1951). *Kraevedcheskij princip prepodavaniya geografii SSSR v sed'myh klassah dagestanskih shkol* [The principle of local lore teaching of geography of the USSR in the seventh grades of Daghestan schools]. Abstract of the dissertation thesis of the candidate of pedagogical sciences. Moscow: Institute for Teaching Methods of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the RSFSR. [In Russian]

GADZHIEV, M.S., KUZNETSOV, V.A. & CHECHENOV, I.M. (2006). *Istoriya v zerkale paranauki: Kritika sovremennoj etnocentricheskoj istoriografii Severnogo Kavkaza* [History in the mirror of parascience: a critique of contemporary ethnocentric historiography of the North Caucasus]. Moscow: IEA RAS. [In Russian] ISBN 5-201-00837-2

GADZHIEV, M.S., MUGADOVA, M.V. & ELDAROV, E.M. (2018). Razvitie kraevedeniya i muzejnogo dela v Dagestane: ocherk istorii [Development of local history and museology in Daghestan: a historical study]. In: *Nasledie vekov,* No. 1, pp. 13–29. [In Russian] ISSN 2412-9798

GAMZATOV, G., ed. (2011). *Dagestan na perekrestke kul'tur i civilizacij* [Daghestan at the crossroads of cultures and civilizations]. Moscow: Nauka. [In Russian] ISBN 978-5-02-037403-4

GEOGHEGAN, H. (2010). Museum Geography: Exploring Museums, Collections and Museum Practice in the UK. In: *Geography Compass,* Vol. 4, No. 10, pp. 1462–1476. ISSN 1749-8198

GEORGOPOULOU P., KOLIOPOULOS D. & MEUNIER A. (2021). The dissemination of elements of scientific knowledge in archaeological museums in Greece: socio-cultural, epistemological and communicational/educational aspects. In: *Scientific culture,* Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 31–44. ISSN 2407-9529

GERASIMOVA, T.P., KORINSKAYA, V.A. (1963) Iz opyta kraevedcheskoj raboty. In: MATRUSOV, I. (ed.). *Kraevedenie i kraevedcheskij podhod v prepodavanii geografii: Sbornik statej* [From the experience of local history work. In: Local history and local history approach in teaching geography: Collection of articles]. Moscow: Academy of Pedagogical Sciences RSFSR, pp. 133–148. [In Russian]

Getting cultural heritage to work for Europe. Report of the Horizon 2020 Expert Group on Cultural Heritage (2015). Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union. ISBN 978-92-79-46046-3

GIRARD, L.F., NIJKAMP, P. (2009). *Cultural Tourism and Sustainable Local Development.* Ashgate. ISBN 9781315258720

HURREN, W. (2004). School Geography and Academic Geography: Spaces of Possibility for Teaching and Learning. In: SEARS, A. and WRIGHT, I. (eds.). *Challenges & Prospects in Canadian Social Studies.* Vancouver: BC, Pacific Educational Press, pp. 118–125. ISBN 1895766729

KAIMARAZOV, G.Sh. (2007). *Obrazovanie i nauka v Dagestane v XX veke* [Education and Science in Daghestan in the XX century]. Makhachkala: Dagknigoizdat. [In Russian] ISBN 978-5-297-01010-0

KARPENKO, A.V. (2012). *Kem byl tverskoj kupec Afanasij Nikitin?* [Who was the Tver merchant Afanasy Nikitin?] In: Prose.ru. Accessed 20 January 2021, https://proza.ru/2012/10/18/1470 [In Russian]

KAZHLAEV, D.G. (1967). *Pamyatniki istorii i kul'tury Dagestana* [Monuments of history and culture of Daghestan]. Makhachkala: Dagknigoizdat. [In Russian]

KIRSHENBLATT-GIMBLETT, B. (1998). *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*. Berkeley: University of California Press. ISBN 0-520-20467-0

KOTLER, N. G., KOTLER, Ph. & KOTLER, W. I. (2008). *Museum marketing and strategy: designing missions, building audiences, generating. Revenue and resources*. 2nd ed. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers. ISBN 978-0-7879-9691-8

LYSENKO, Y.M. (2012). Dmitrij Mihajlovich Pavlov – pervyj direktor Dagestanskogo nauchno-issledovatel'skogo instituta: shtrihi k portretu [Dmitry Mikhailovich Pavlov – the first head of the Daghestan Research Institute: details of the portrait]. *Bulletin of the Daghestan Scientific Center*. No. 44, pp. 115–118. [In Russian] ISSN 1684-792X

MAGOMEDOV, I.M. (1997). *Dobryj sled na rodnoj Zemle* [A good trace on the native land]. Makhachkala: DGPU. [In Russian]

MANYSHEV, S.B. (2016). "S chuvstvom glubokogo pochteniya k pamyati shtab-lekarya I.S. Kostemerevskogo…". (Iz istorii sozdaniya muzeya v Dagestane v nachale XX v.) ["With a sense of deep respect, in the memory of the head physician I.S. Kostemerevsky ...". (From the history of the creation of a museum in Daghestan at the beginning of the 20th century)]. In: KLYCHNIKOV, Yu., ed., *Russian statehood in the fate of the peoples of the Caucasus* [*Rossiyskaya gosudarstvennost' v sud'bakh narodov Kavkaza*]. Pyatigorsk, pp. 128–137. [In Russian] ISBN 978-5-4220-1030-1

MCKERCHER, B., DU CROS, H. (2002*). Cultural Tourism: The Partnership Between Tourism and Cultural Heritage Management*. New York: The Haworth Hospitality Press. ISBN 0-7890-1106-9

MCLEAN, F.C. (1995). A marketing revolution in museums? In: *Journal of Marketing Management*, Vol. 11, No. 6, pp. 601–616. ISSN 2333-6080

MIRONENKO, N.S., ELDAROV, E.M. (2016). Development tendencies and future prospects of recreation geography in Russia. In: *Geography and Natural Resources,* Vol. 37, No. 2, pp. 100–105. [In Russian] ISSN 1875-3728

MUDUEV, Sh.S., ELDAROV, E.M. (2002). *Severnyj Kavkaz i Dagestan: social'no-geograficheskie problemy gornyh regionov* [North Caucasus and Daghestan: Socio-geographical problems of mountainous regions]. Makhachkala: Daghestan Scientific Center RAS. [In Russian]

NAGIEVA, M.K. (2010). K voprosu o vozniknovenii i razvitii muzejnogo dela v Dagestane v konce XIX – pervoj polovine XX v. [On the question of the emergence and development of museum work in Daghestan at the end of the XIX to the first half of the XX century]. In: *Questions of museology*, No. 2, pp. 41–45. [In Russian] ISSN 2219-6269

OSMANOV, A.M. (1979). Moj kraj Dagestan [My region is Daghestan]. Moscow: Mysl. [In Russian]

PERERA, K. (2013). The Role of Museums in Cultural and Heritage Tourism for Sustainable Economy in Developing Countries. In: *International Conference on Asian Art, Culture and Heritage* (August, 2013). Accessed 20 January 2021, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/237099471

ROGERIO-CANDELERA, M.A. (ed.). (2014). *Science, Technology and Cultural Heritage*. London: CRC Press. ISBN 9780429226540

SHIKHSAIDOV, A.R. (1975). *Dagestan v X–XIV vv. Opyt social'no-ekonomicheskoj harakteristiki* [Daghestan in the X-XIV centuries. Experience of socio-economic characteristics]. Makhachkala: Dagknigoizdat. [In Russian]

SCHMIDT, S. (ed.). (2004) *Kraevedenie v Rossii. Istoriya, sovremennoe sostoyanie, perspektivy razvitiya* [Local lore in Russia. History, current state, development prospects]. Moscow: Moskvovedenie. [In Russian] ISBN 5-7853-0406-6

TALAMO, M., VALENTINI, F., DIMITRI, A. & ALLEGRINI, I. (2020). Innovative Technologies for Cultural Heritage. Tattoo Sensors and AI: The New Life of Cultural Assets. In: *Sensors*, Vol. 20, No. 7. ISSN 1424-8220

TILBURY, D., WILLIAMS, M., eds. (1997). *Teaching and learning geography*. London and New York: Routledge. ISBN 10-041514244X

TRUNOV, D., ed. (1956). *Dagestanskij respublikanskij kraevedcheskij muzej* [Daghestan Republican Museum of Local Lore] Makhachkala: Dagknigoizdat. [In Russian]

VEDENIN, Y.A., ELDAROV, E.M. (2015). Rol' N.S. Mironenko v gumanizacii rossijskoj rekreacionnoj geografii. [Role of N.S. Mironenko in the humanisation of Russian recreational geography]. In: KOLOSOV, V., MILANOVA, E., eds., *Nikolaj Mironenko. Stranicy zhizni. Nauchnye idei i raboty. Pedagogicheskaya deyatel'nost'. Vospominaniya* [*Nikolay Mironenko. Pages of life. Scientific ideas and works. Pedagogical activity. Memories*]. Moscow: Moscow State University, pp. 101–111. [In Russian] ISBN 978-5-19-011089-0