



Heritage and Development

The Heritage Forum of Central Europe is a series of peer-reviewed volumes addressing contemporary matters of cultural heritage, with a special emphasis on Central Europe. Each volume encompasses articles written by renowned scholars and specialists in the field, as well as emerging researchers and heritage practitioners. Leading themes of the books coincide with biennial conferences organised under the auspices of the Visegrad 4 Cultural Heritage Experts' Working Group and held in the International Cultural Centre in Kraków.

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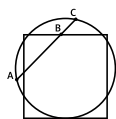


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Heritage and Development

Edited by Agata Wąsowska-Pawlik and Jacek Purchla

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Foreword

Agata Wąsowska-Pawlik

The present volume is the outcome of the 6th Heritage Forum of Central Europe: Heritage and Development, which took place on 16–18 June 2021. Heritage Forums of Central Europe constitute a platform for exchanging ideas by experts, academics, and practitioners engaged in a broad reflection on cultural heritage philosophy, protection, and management, as well as its relationships with various aspects of social and economic life. The conferences stem from the collaboration between four partner institutions in the Visegrad Group countries, which together select Forums' themes. Biannual conferences are held at the International Cultural Centre in its headquarters in Krakow's Main Square.

The 6th Forum was organised during the difficult time of the COVID-19 pandemic; hence, it was decided that it should be an online event. It was a tough call to make, since face-to-face meetings and free discussions between sessions unquestionably constitute the essence of any conference. Exchanging views and opinions via computer screens, in constant danger of connection breakdowns due to technical difficulties, is much more difficult. Nevertheless, many participants were willing to adapt and the conference brought together nearly a hundred speakers, with several hundred participants listening to presentations over three consecutive days. Apart from thematic sessions, keynote lectures were delivered by: Sneška Quaadvlieg-Mihailović, Secretary General of Europa Nostra; Professor Jerzy Hausner, Chairman of the Open Eyes Economy Summit Program Council; Professor David Throsby from Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia; and Dr Laimonas Briedis, Lithuanian cultural geographer based in Canada. There were also panel discussions. The debate on the future of mega-events in historic cities presented the results of the HOMEE project that scrutinised the relation between mega-events

and cultural heritage protection policy. Another discussion referred to ILUCIDARE project addressing the question: What innovation can bring to heritage and how heritage can inspire innovation? Since both projects have now been completed, their results can be found on the icc website. As mentioned earlier, the Forums are the result of long lasting cooperation with partners from the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Hungary. The 6th Forum coincided with the 30th anniversary of the Visegrad cooperation; consequently, one of the panels focused on evaluating the effects of this partnership with regard to cultural heritage. Finally, the conference involved a discussion on the predicted consequences of the pandemic and its various challenges.

The main goal of the 6th Forum was to survey the relationship between cultural heritage and growth. The aim of such juxtaposition was not merely to state that heritage can have a direct impact on development. Rather, we asked several questions on the nature of development and its components. The period of political and economic transformation in Central European countries has given rise to a vast utilisation of heritage assets, both tangible and intangible, for the purpose of economic development. However, among others, the current global context highlights the importance of understanding heritage resources as means of a deeper and more sustainable development – not merely material, but also socio-cultural, transgressing the hitherto prevalent economy-oriented viewpoint. By means of addressing such issues as, for example, the role of heritage in sustainable development, civic engagement, and social integrity, the Forum's objective was to demonstrate new implementable approaches required by the unprecedented challenges Europe is currently facing.

The book consists of thirty-one articles addressing many significant challenges faced by the cultural heritage sector. Their topics include: considering the importance and role of cultural heritage in spatial planning and urban renovation, exploring the potential of tangible and intangible heritage in achieving the goals of sustainable growth, the New European Bauhaus, the necessity – but also inevitability – of cooperation with civic society representatives, acknowledging grassroots initiatives and social participation with a view to reclaim and revive historic monuments, opening up to new interpretations of heritage. It is my great hope that the insights, conclusions, and recommendations presented in these contributions will prove instrumental in addressing further research topics.

I would like to use this opportunity to express gratitude to our Visegrad partners for such a long cooperation which, we hope, has contributed to

building and maintaining friendly regional relations between our respective countries. Our partners are: the Ministry of Culture of the Czech Republic, Prime Minister's Office, Hungary, The Monuments Board of the Slovak Republic, and Ministry of Culture of Slovakia. The strategic partner of the Forum was Europa Nostra. My gratitude also goes to the Polish Ministry of Culture and National Heritage for supporting our activity.

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Is Heritage Management a Barrier for (Economic) Development? The Example of the Fertő/Neusiedlersee UNESCO World Heritage Cultural Landscape

Melinda Harlov-Csortán

Apor Vilmos Catholic College, Vác (Hungary)

Theoretical approach with a focus on actors within heritage management

People construct, cultivate, and preserve both their personal and collective characters as they remember and forget, commemorate and repress the past and present narratives. Everybody contributes their own individual share to the heritagisation¹ of a place. This individually added value allows us to shape the character of a given territory and our relationships with it. Such personalised perception promotes the given location to the position of a unique destination, which may generate pride and let it become cherished, managed, and protected as heritage.² Accordingly, both personal and community involvement can be defined in the identification, evaluation, utilisation, and safeguarding steps connected to cultural heritage. Linking the social construction of the location and time with the manner in which they are experienced to the practices

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- 1 Heritagisation is the complex process of achieving and maintaining heritage status that is related to the identification, maintenance, safeguarding, and popularisation of any example named heritage. The process is realised in territorially and chronologically defined steps. Heritagisation leads to a change in the understanding of a given site and also points to its certain representation-building and reinforcing role as well. See Susan Ashley, "Re-Telling, Re-Cognition, Re-Stitution: Sikh Heritagization in Canada," [in:] *Cultura - International Journal of Philosophy of Culture and Axiology*, vol. 11, no. 2 (2014), pp. 39–58; Per Åke Nilsson, "Impact of Cultural Heritage on Tourists: The Heritagization Process," [in:] *Athens Journal of Tourism*, vol. 5, no. 1 (2008), pp. 35–54.
 - 2 Daniela Szymańska, Elżbieta Grzelak-Kostulska, and Beata Hołowicka, "Polish Towns and the Changes in Their Areas and Population Densities," [in:] *Bulletin of Geography Socio-Economic Series*, vol. 11, no. 11 (2009), pp. 15–30.

undertaken by diverse agents³ allows us to look at the location (in a physical and metaphorical sense) where social, economic, and cultural values are communicated. Among others, actors can play a role as participants or targeted audience in the heritagisation process and also as the subject of a given heritage site. More importantly, without these active participants the sustainability of any cultural site would be impossible.

According to Sandra Lustig, who has researched (former) Jewish neighbourhoods in Central and Eastern Europe, the representation of diverse communities incorporates numerous possibilities but also threats due to the varied expectancies and the actors formulating these requirements.⁴ Homi K. Bhabha offers a possible solution through the notion of translation. This new self- or community understanding construction, on the one hand, connects it strongly to the past and traditions, but on the other hand, it incorporates no intention of turning back to the past because such a notion is impossible.⁵

A human-focused research approach, which has to be interdisciplinary as well, can also combine personal and community values with which it can promote mutual understanding and settlement reinforcement. The latter ones are some of the most crucial tasks for heritage sites. The human research perspective is also justified by everyday people's increasing interest in the past, and accordingly, many cultural heritage sites can serve this interest. Raphael Samuels introduced the notion of the social role of heritage,⁶ which is "served to make the past more democratic through an emphasis on 'ordinary' people."⁷ This kind of democratic share of the past incorporates the share of the benefits from its utilisation as well. International organisations have been focusing more

3 Nigel Rapport and Joanna Overing, *Social and Cultural Anthropology: The Key Concepts*, London 2000, p. 1.

4 The described possibilities and threats can be exemplified with the category of shared heritage and dissonant heritage, which point out one aspect of the advantageous and disadvantageous consequences of the described scenario. See Sandra Lustig, "Alternatives to 'Jewish Disneyland': Some Approaches to Jewish History in European Cities and Towns," [in:] *Reclaiming Memory: Urban Regeneration in the Historic Jewish Quarters of Central European Cities*, eds. Monika Murzyn-Kupisz and Jacek Purchla, Krakow 2009, pp. 81–99.

5 Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, London 1994.

6 Raphael Samuels, *Theatre of Memory: Uses of Heritage*, Abingdon 1994.

7 Rodney Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, New York 2013, p. 100.

and more explicitly on this human aspect. The UNESCO World Heritage Convention's Budapest Declaration on World Heritage expressed the intention: "to ensure the active involvement of our local communities at all levels in the identification, protection and management of our World Heritage properties."⁸ At this event only four "Cs" were accepted:⁹ Credibility, Conservation, Capacity Building, and Communication. Three years after the Budapest session, the UNESCO World Heritage Operational Guideline incorporated the mentioned needs, namely: "Each nominated property should have an appropriate management plan or other documented management system which should specify how the outstanding universal value of a property should be preserved, preferably through participatory means."¹⁰ These points and further publications about the realisation of such management processes also emphasise, on the one hand, the necessary interconnectedness of development and cultural heritage, and on the other hand, the involvement of diverse actors.¹¹ The Committee was added as the fifth important C: Community in 2007, at its Christchurch session (New Zealand).¹²

By enforcing the participatory action of the "heritage owners" in the heritagisation process, community regeneration can be supported as well, which is an especially crucial task.¹³ Different participating actors might have different connections to heritagisation. Among others, one

8 UNESCO, Budapest Declaration on World Heritage, 2002, p. 5, <https://whc.unesco.org/archive/2002/whc-02-conf202-5e.pdf> [access: 10 December 2021].

9 UNESCO, 26th Session of the World Heritage Committee, 2002, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/sessions/26COM> [access: 10 December 2021].

10 UNESCO, Operational Guideline, 2005, § 108, <https://whc.unesco.org/archive/op-guide05-en.pdf> [access: 10 December 2021].

11 See Lee Thomas and Julie Middleton (eds.), *Guidelines for Management Planning of Protected Areas*, Best Practice Protected Areas series, ed. Adrian Phillips, vol. 10, Cambridge 2003; Anna Leask and Alan Fyall, *Managing World Heritage Sites*, Oxford 2006; Birgitta Ringbeck, *Management Plans for World Heritage Sites: A Practical Guide*, Bonn 2008.

12 UNESCO, 31st session of the World Heritage Committee, 2007, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/sessions/31COM/documents/> [access: 10 December 2021].

13 The human aspect of heritagisation and the empowerment of the general public in that process are also reflected in various international heritage initiatives besides the already mentioned UNESCO, Nara Document on Authenticity in 1994, <https://whc.unesco.org/archive/nara94.htm> [access: 10 December 2021], such as ICCROM, *Promoting People Centre Approaches to Conservation: Living Heritage*, 2000, <http://www.iccrom.org/priority-areas/living-heritage/> [access: 10 December 2021]; ICOMOS, *The World Heritage List. Filling the Gaps: An Action Plan for the Future*, Paris 2005, <https://www>.

might form the representation of the heritage site to project a certain message, while another would focus more on its capitalisation. Heritage can be seen as political in a way that certain members or groups of society have the power to suppress or emphasise certain elements of the past and therefore certain values.¹⁴ Nuala Johnson, in her discussion of Irish tourism, highlights the threat of this political understanding of cultural heritage by saying: “the state’s tourism policy is reshaping popular understandings of the Irish past in ways that challenge orthodox chronological approaches but that may simultaneously lose sight of the complexity of historical interpretation.”¹⁵

Along these lines, many understand heritage as a knowledge which is generated, transmitted, and accepted by certain actors. Heritage as knowledge is dependent on many circumstances and subject to change over time and in different communities or locations.¹⁶ The same heritage site can have different meanings for different communities and unquestionably there are always segments of the population who are lacking this knowledge called heritage.¹⁷ Often, inhabitants are locals but not owners of the given heritage element, which plays a very unique role in the contemporary heritage management. The visitors’ significance in monument protection activities and the related local development aspects are also continuous and important.¹⁸ Accordingly, actors related to the notion of cultural heritage and sustainable development can be categorised in numerous ways.¹⁹ For instance, actors can be differenti-

[icomos.org/en/about-icomos/image-menu-about-icomos/116-englishcategories/resources/publications/258-monumentsasites-xii](https://www.icomos.org/en/about-icomos/image-menu-about-icomos/116-englishcategories/resources/publications/258-monumentsasites-xii) [access: 10 December 2021].

- 14 Robert S. Peckham, *Rethinking Heritage: Cultures and Politics in Europe*, London 2003.
- 15 Nuala C. Johnson, “Framing the Past: Time, Space and the Politics of Heritage Tourism in Ireland,” [in:] *Political Geography*, vol. 18, no. 2 (1999), p. 189.
- 16 Brian Graham and Peter Howard, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, Bodmin 2008.
- 17 Gregory J. Ashworth and Brian J. Graham, “Heritage, Identity and Europe,” [in:] *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, vol. 88, no. 4 (1997), pp. 381–388.
- 18 Matthias Ripp and Dennis Rodwell, “Governance in UNESCO World Heritage Sites: Reframing the Role of Management Plans as a Tool to Improve Community Engagement,” [in:] *Aspects of Management Planning for Cultural World Heritage Sites*, ed. Simon Makuvaza, New York 2017, p. 243.
- 19 Sarah J. Barber, Supama Rajaram, and Ethan B. Fox, “Learning and Remembering with Others: The Key Role of Retrieval in Shaping Group Recall and Collective Memory,” [in:] *Social Cognition*, vol. 30, no. 1 (2012), p. 124.

ated according to whether they formulate, regulate, utilise, or consume the given heritage site. The subject of these roles can change over time. Moreover, people form their notion and interest concerning cultural heritage depending on time and other circumstances; accordingly, actors themselves can consciously choose their roles regarding the given heritage site. Thus, the subjective or intersubjective relationship between people and heritage sites should be a crucial element of any research about local sustainable management and even development.

The Fertő/Neusiedlersee UNESCO World Heritage cultural landscape

The Fertő/Neusiedlersee UNESCO World Heritage cultural landscape is a cultural landscape containing both natural and cultural outstanding universal values. It is located on the Hungarian–Austrian border. Its core area is the most western saline lake in Europe with rich flora and fauna (especially by being a resting place for numerous migratory bird species). People have occupied the territory since the ancient Roman times²⁰ and it has had a multiethnic population since the 10th century onwards. Accordingly, its rich tangible heritage values show multiple connections to the local groups. Around the lake, archaeological findings (such as a Mithras altar from the ancient Roman times) protected vernacular architectures and noble palaces can also be found. The lake is literally on the border since the end of World War I and has seen deportations and population changes during and after World War II. It is important to point out that less than two years passed between the elimination of the local Jewish and German-speaking communities in the researched case study.

In the second half of the 20th century the Iron Curtain changed the life and reputation of the area still further. Both Hungarian and Soviet soldiers resided in the area and military camps existed there from the end of World War II onwards. Mainly trained soldiers were stationed in Hungary as the back-up unit for a possible Western attack, so their main task was to maintain the status of the equipment, and not to act as military police forces.²¹ Nevertheless, it seems that even psychological

20 José M. de Navarro, “Prehistoric Routes between Northern Europe and Italy Defined by the Amber Trade,” [in:] *The Geographical Journal*, vol. 66, no. 6 (1925), pp. 481–503.

21 Magdolna Baráth, “Adalékok a határvédelem/határőrség második világháború utáni újjászervezéséhez,” [in:] *Betekintő*, vol. 4 (2013), http://www.betekinto.hu/2013_4_barath [access: 10 December 2021].

control was exercised in the researched territory. The inhabitants also suffered from the image of their area created during the Cold War period. It was depicted in propaganda as not just an alienated, closed area, but also as the hot spot of the inner and foreign enemy. Accordingly, not only was the researched location considered unattractive, but the people living there were seen as suspicious by the rest of society.²²

The reconfiguration of the region and the local communities happened after 1989, when the borders became open again, and even more in 2004 when Hungary entered the European Union and in 2007 the Schengen Area. People from different national backgrounds could form new local communities. Nowadays, Hungarians work daily in Austria, and Austrians have been settling on the Hungarian side of the border. Some new border-crossing points were also established after the political change and with international financial support, such as in Sopronkövesd in 2005.²³ Specialised organisations (such as National Parks and local heritage institutions) and individuals have been managing different aspects of the case study and it is also member of numerous supranational networks (such as EUROPARC, RAMSAR, IUCN TBPA). The increasing traffic through the researched location and the restrictions regarding the agricultural and industrial activities due to the membership of diverse international organisation further decreased the feeling of former isolation. Accordingly, the Fertő/Neusiedlersee UNESCO World Heritage cultural landscape serves as a great example to discuss sustainable development and heritage protection.

The time frame of the research is between the 1970s, when the first onsite protection initiative was formulated, and 2015, when the first European Heritage Label location in the country was awarded next to the Fertő/Neusiedlersee UNESCO cultural landscape. The historical moments and political periods at national and international level are investigated based on their influences on the research question – whether heritage management is a barrier for (economic) development. The article focuses on the Hungarian site, but addresses Austrian aspects and

22 Ferenc Jankó and Imre Tóth, “Az osztrák-magyar határtérség történelme és politikai földrajza,” [in:] *Ausztria a 20. Században: Az “életképtelen” államtól a “boldogok szigetéig”: Tanulmányok*, eds. István Németh and Róbert Fiziker, Budapest 2011, pp. 377–403.

23 MTI [Hungarian Telegraphic Office], “Új osztrák-magyar határátkelők,” [in:] *Kisalföld*, 1 July 2005, p. 4.

challenges as well. This research concentrates on the interaction, transfer, and interconnection of those actors and institutions that play a role in the utilisation and management of the Fertő/Neusiedlersee cultural heritage region. Indicator examples for such actors could be the political (both national and local) leadership that unquestionably participates in the valorisation process of heritage elements. Professionals (on supranational level as well), locals, and heritage owners alike can also define the narration based on their knowledge or experience that can be adopted in the cultural-based development projects. Tourists form one of the main target audiences of the UNESCO World Heritage sites and they also play a key role in the sustainability and future of the local heritage elements. Accordingly, the article investigates the connections between heritage protection and economic development by looking at the related actors' goals, challenges, and connections through the example of the Fertő/Neusiedlersee cultural landscape.

Actors in the protection and management of the Fertő/Neusiedlersee cultural landscape

There are only a handful private initiatives that intend to connect and empower both heritage management and local development. The very few heritagised vernacular architecture examples (such as in the settlements of Sarród and Fertőszéplak) have been renovated and operated as exhibition spaces of the local past. They are run by locals thanks to the support of the European Union. Another interesting initiative has been taking place since 2006 in Fertőrákos, where a local family started to run a tourism enterprise. They arrange guiding tours as well as operate an info point, a small tourist train within the city, and the website of the local archaeological heritage, the Mithras altar.²⁴ However, the economic sustainability of these examples is questionable due to the lack of proper management²⁵ and the fact that they support the involvement of a very limited and small segment of the local community. Even though some regional and local decisionmakers, entrepreneurs, and researchers

24 Examples for the complex project run by the family can be found on the websites: <http://www.fertorakosikirandulas.hu/kapcsolat.html> and <http://www.mithras.hu/kapcsolat.html> [access: 10 December 2021].

25 Tünde Minorics, "Az Ormánság átváltozása," [in:] *Ki van itthon?: XVIII. Népi Építészeti Tanácskozás*, ed. Anna Dobosyné Antal, Budapest 2012, pp. 178–185.

who are open to innovation and sustainability can be found,²⁶ unfortunately, it is either outside the researched territory or mainly only on the Austrian side of the UNESCO World Heritage site.

Based on the case study investigation, locals (or at least a segment of them) in Fertő/Neusiedlersee area actively preserve their past, but none of them want to live in (under the conditions of) the past. The local communities intend to participate in contemporary, economically beneficial developments as well. It is important to note that after the political change, Austrians often bought empty houses in the settlements of the researched case study and used them as summer residences. Based on onsite interviews²⁷ it has been established that this practice did little to boost the settlements' economic situation or local cultural and community life.

Even though academic interest in the location (both its natural and cultural aspects) was continuous, representatives could not establish an institutional centre there during the Cold War period. They could only conduct shorter onsite research projects while the Iron Curtain existed. The first step, namely the environmental protection of the location, was legally ensured in 1965 in Austria and in 1977 in Hungary. As a result, scholars managed to collect rich research data and conduct analyses. By 1980, comparative monitoring work was launched that further increased the cooperation across the border. Austrian professionals initiated the idea of a unified natural park in the late 1970s with publications and conferences²⁸ after a meeting in Sopron in 1976.²⁹

After the political transformation, when transnational and international cooperation and acknowledgement were achieved, the presence of the environment protection professionals became increasingly visible. Mainly due to their long time onsite presence, the same natural protection organisation (the Fertő-Hanság National Park) was assigned

26 Maria C. Forlani, "Sustainability and Strategies for Rebuilding 'Abandoned' Territories," [in:] *Techné Journal of Technology for Architecture and Environment*, vol. 1 (2011), pp. 88–95.

27 For instance, at the open-air museum in Sarród in July 2021 and with local mayors of Fertőhomok in August 2018.

28 The idea was verbalised, among others, in Mattersburg in 1978, where the theme of the conference was: *Neusiedlersee National Park: The Model of an Interstate Cooperation*.

29 Zoltán Rakoncay, *A természetvédelem története Magyarországon, 1872–2002*, Budapest 2009, pp. 428–430.

numerous heritage management tasks,³⁰ for which they have no capacity.³¹ Environment protection professionals have earned more direct influence also on the utilisation of natural goods since the political change and under the new institutional establishments. For instance, the right to fish on the Hungarian side of the Fertő/Neusiedlersee is granted by the Fertő-Hanság National Park and the North-Transdanubian Water Directorate. At the same time, even though the central state monument protection agency (under different names and institutional structure) has supervised projects in the researched case study since 1989, different entities have been formed with specialised tasks.³² In addition, various levels and types of institutions oversee the cultural regions and the public administration of the settlements, which prevents the sustainable management or even utilisation of these cultural assets.³³

Local municipalities and county institutions, both cultural and public service ones, have expressed interest in, and had the possibility of, playing a role in protecting and managing certain heritage elements of the area after the political transformation. However, in the last ten to fifteen years, they have seemingly lost these opportunities either due to numerous institutional and personal changes or because of the increasing social and economic tasks on which they had to focus.³⁴ Moreover, based on the onsite research, many local municipalities that are located in the protected area of the Fertő/Neusiedlersee UNESCO World Heritage cultural landscape saw the international acknowledgement only as a burden and did not identify any positive outcome of the World Heritage status at the local level: “We have had our own way of managing and organising the life and wellbeing of our communities for many decades

30 As a heritage management task, the colleagues at the Fertő-Hanság National Park have been obliged to, among others, raise awareness and motivate participatory actions.

31 Interview with István Goda, the head of the Ecotourism and Public Relations Department of the Fertő-Hanság National Park, was conducted during the three-week onsite research period in January 2020.

32 The diversity of protection can be exemplified, for instance, by managing natural heritage, the internationally acknowledged heritage territory, national and local values, and the border.

33 Stadtlán and VÁTI, *Fertő-táj kulturtáj – világörökség kezelési terve*, 2003, http://www.fertotaj.hu/document/kezelesi_terv.pdf [access: 10 December 2021].

34 Interview with the colleagues from the archival collection about the area in Sopron was conducted in December 2020.

now; there is no need for an outsider to instruct us how to protect what we have.”³⁵

Still, the Fertő-Hanság National Park participates in numerous national and international consortia. For example, in order to harmonise and increase the touristic capacity of the region, the National Park together with thirteen local settlements mainly to the South from the Lake Fertő established a consortium between 2010 and 2012.³⁶ At the international level, the National Park, as the leading partner cooperated with Slovakian partners in the Hungary–Slovakia Cross-border Cooperation Programme. This project had the aim of “conscious education and collective development for the values of nature.”³⁷ The cooperation continued within the frame of the Interreg V-A Slovakia–Hungary Cooperation Programme in the 2014–2020 period.³⁸ These examples show not only the increasing number of actors and requirements regarding the researched case study, but also the through cooperation and expansion of its territorial unit.

At the national level, there was significant support regarding mainly the cultural heritage values of the researched territory, but it involved quite focused, top-down initiatives that did not recognise and manage the complexity of the Fertő/Neusiedlersee cultural landscape. Hence it did not provide significant economic development for the local communities. The need to utilise the region of the Lake Fertő/Neusiedlersee was being addressed from the 1960s. The project was acknowledged at the highest level of government³⁹ and had the aim to stimulate economic, health, and touristic developments. The emphasis was placed on the establishment and improvement of accommodation facilities, transportation

35 From an interview conducted with one mayor in the Hungarian part of the Fertő/Neusiedlersee UNESCO World Heritage cultural landscape.

36 Fertő-Hanság Nemzeti Park, *Turisztikai fejlesztések a Fertő/Neusiedlersee kultúrtáj, a Rábaköz és Hanság területein*, 2009.

37 DUNA/DUNAJ-NAT, *Hungary–Slovakia Cross-border Co-operation Programme*, 2020, <https://keep.eu/projects/9499/> [access: 10 December 2021].

38 Interreg V-A Slovakia–Hungary Cooperation Programme, 2020, <http://www.skhu.eu/programme/cooperation-programme> [access: 10 December 2021].

39 The national level acknowledgement can be exemplified, for instance, by the 1030/1967 (IX.17) governmental decree and its amendment 2051/1967 (IX. 17). See Róbert Garád, “20 éves a Magyar Hidrológiai Társaság Soproni Területi Szervezete,” [in:] *Hidrológiai tájékoztató*, vol. 21, no. 1 (1981), p. 47.

possibilities, local cultural assets (such as monument protection), and environment protection. Due to such a complex project, numerous specialised organisations started to focus on the researched location and its media coverage increased as well. After the development of the specialised plans,⁴⁰ two phases of the project and their funding sources were defined. The first part was planned to be realised between 1973 and 1985, and the second phase was planned to be fulfilled between 1986 and 2000. The entire plan was never fully realised, however there is even an ongoing project regarding the regeneration of the sport and recreation industry on the Lake Fertő by direct state initiative. The contemporary – and still ongoing as of 2021 – project has been challenged due to its threatening factor on the environmental heritage values of the territory.⁴¹

The territory was inscribed in the RAMSAR area list⁴² and received support from the Council of European Committee via its PHARE programme⁴³ in 1989. The area has been acknowledged by numerous other international organisations as well, which proved crucial in the process, especially right after the political transformation, when international support helped to harmonise the status of the two sides of Lake Fertő/Neusiedler and led to further cooperation. In 2014 the European Union provided one billion Hungarian forint financial support for the rehabilitation of the channel system on the Hungarian side of the lake. Even though this sum was enough to complete the task only for seventy-six kilometres out of the 300-kilometre-long channel system, the process resulted in the increase of the biological status of the entire channel system

40 Such as János Pichler, “A Fertő-táj üdülővidékké alakítása és tudományos feltárása,” [in:] *Soproni Szemle*, vol. 26, no. 2 (1972), pp. 99–115; idem, “A Fertő-táj tudományos kutatási terve,” [in:] *Soproni Szemle*, vol. 35, no. 1 (1981), pp. 32–40.

41 Plamen Petrov, “Lake Fertő Project under Fire,” [in:] *The Mayor.eu*, June 10 2021, <https://www.themayor.eu/en/a/view/lake-fert-project-under-fire-8118> [access: 10 December 2021].

42 RAMSAR is the organisation for Wetlands of International Importance. For more information on the international membership see RAMSAR, *Ramsar site of Neusiedlersee, Seewinkel & Hanság*, 2016, <http://www.ramsar.org/wetland/austria> [access: 10 December 2021].

43 PHARE is the abbreviation for Poland and Hungary Assistance for the Reconstruction of the Economy. For more information about the international membership in the PHARE programme see: European Parliament, *Briefing No. 33: The PHARE Programme and the Enlargement of the European Union*, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/enlargement/briefings/33a2_en.htm [access: 10 December 2021].

in the Hungarian territories.⁴⁴ These processes and cooperation require long and detailed coordination in advance, which has already identified as one obstacle regarding the case study.

After 2001, when the researched location became acknowledged as a UNESCO World Heritage cultural landscape, new international recommendations and suggestions had to be fulfilled, which are regularly monitored through submitted reports (in 2004, 2009, and 2014) and onsite investigations (in 2007). Similarly, the most recent commemoration of the tragedy of the working camps during World War II in the researched period was the result of the cooperation between numerous Hungarian and international institutions, such as European Union, the Holocaust Public Foundation, and the local municipalities.⁴⁵ The problem of such kind of plurality is that each designated protection type requires partially different management.⁴⁶ Moreover, the task is not only the protection, but also utilisation and fruitful integration of the cultural landscape into the regional network. The plurality⁴⁷ of these professional and scientific organisations⁴⁸ is also mentioned in the UNESCO World Heritage Committee's documentation: "There is hardly any other region in Europe which has collected so many designations as a protected area of primary importance."⁴⁹ These numerous designations allude to the heritage type – cultural landscape – that emphasises the harmonious coexistence of humanity and nature.

44 Attila Cséfalvay, "Egy milliárdból lassítják a Fertő tó elöregedését," [in:] *Kisalföld*, 1 October 2014, p. 5.

45 Mihály Vargha, "Balfi Kőtáblák," [in:] *Élet és Irodalom*, 28 August 2009, <https://www.es.hu/cikk/2009-08-31/vargha-mihaly/balfi-kotablak.html> [access: 10 December 2021].

46 Martin Heintel, Norbert Weixlbaumer, and Barbara Debre, "Védett területek mint a határon átnyúló együttműködés tényezői? Reflexiók az osztrák-magyar határ mentén lebonyolított ETE-projekt tapasztalatai alapján," [in:] *Tér és Társadalom*, vol. 29, no. 4 (2015), pp. 117–138.

47 Plurality was present not just quantitatively but qualitatively as well. Some of these organisations are more specialised, while others are focusing on management issues and hence combine tourism, regional development, and heritage issues.

48 The mentioned scientific organisations were active both on regional, national, and international level.

49 UNESCO, *Mission Report on the ICOMOS/UNESCO/IUCN Reactive Monitoring Mission to Fertő/Neusiedlersee Cultural Landscape (Austria And Hungary)*, 2007, p. 3, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/772/documents/> [access: 10 December 2021].

Diverse organisations have been formed to increase the touristic valorisation of the researched territory and its cultural and natural values on diverse levels. There are representatives of certain settlements who are responsible for local tourism. The Hungarian Committee of the Fertő/Neusiedlersee World Heritage site used to operate a tourist office at its headquarter in Fertőd, and although the office was closed, the committee still participates in the organisation and propagation of diverse tourist programmes. Among others, the Alpokalja – Fertőtáj Regional Development Association as well as the Sopron-Fertő Touristic Development Nonprofit Ltd⁵⁰ also work for the improvement of regional tourism. Despite the multiple efforts, the data collected by the Central Statistical Office of the country regarding the touristic potential of the researched territory shows that both the number of visitors and the length of stay was relatively low in comparison to Lake Balaton, the major tourist attraction in Hungary, during the first decade after the acknowledgement of UNESCO World Heritage Committee (see the data at the end of this section).

The difficulties in transportation, the ineffectively connected and offered touristic programmes, and even the multiplication of actors might be elements of the result shown in the data below. Another issue is that while the Austrian part of the researched UNESCO World Heritage site had a central organisation focusing and managing the tourism around Neusiedlersee (the NeusiedlerSee Tourismus GmbH) during the researched period, there was no Hungarian counterpart. The lake was part of the Western Transdanubian tourist region,⁵¹ and the focus was on specific destinations; there was no possibility of exploring the researched location holistically.⁵² One of the main findings of the investigation is the lack of cooperation among the multiple actors that threatens the sustainable development and heritage management of the researched location.

50 None of these organisations focuses strictly on the location of the researched World Heritage site.

51 For more information on the Western Transdanubian tourist region see: <https://hunmix.hu/turisztikai-regio/nyugat-dunantul.html> [access: 10 December 2021].

52 University of Vienna, University für Bodenkultur Wien, and University of Western Hungary, *Man & Biosphere Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services as Scientific Foundation for the Sustainable Implementation of the Redesigned Biosphere Reserve "NeusiedlerSee,"* 2012, p. 47, <http://www.austriaca.at/oxc1aa5576%20ox002af7aa.pdf> [access: 10 December 2021].

Table 1. Main touristic data from Lake Balaton and the Hungarian part of Fertő/Neusiedlersee cultural landscape in 2011

	Location	
	Lake Balaton	Hungarian part of Fertő/ Neusiedlersee cultural landscape
Accommodation capacity	44,061	6269
Total number of visitors	525,954	226,230
Number of foreign visitors	179,657	64,926
Total number of nights spent in the area	2,176,008	593,560
Number of nights spent in the area by foreign visitors	1,036,499	172,204
Average length of stay	4.1	2.6

KSH, Tourism in Western Part of Transdanubia, 2012, <http://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xftp/idoszaki/regiok/gyorturizmus.pdf> [access: 10 December 2021]

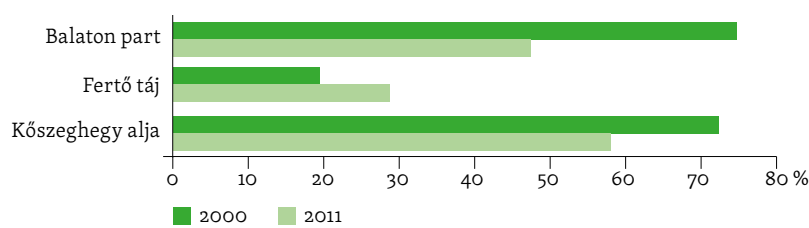


Figure 1. Ratio of nights spent by foreign visitors in the researched area in comparison to Lake Balaton in 2000 and 2011 (KSH, *Tourism in Western Part of Transdanubia*, 2012, <http://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xftp/idoszaki/regiok/gyorturizmus.pdf> [access: 10 December 2021])

Conclusion

The analysis shows well the diversity of actors involved in heritage management and local economic development. There are numerous possibilities how these actors can be categorised, based on the relation with the case study. One could name locals, professional and scientific experts, visitors, political representatives, and international organisations. Based on the analysis, it can be stated that their roles in heritage management and local economic development processes can vary in different time periods and under different circumstances. For example, the inhabitants’ recent and still vivid memories together with the connecting actors (such

as the presence of the military units) did not become part of the heritagised narrative and the sustainability of their initiatives in culture-based economic development is very unstable. Conversely, the supranational heritage organisation, UNESCO World Heritage Committee, and its Advisory Body, ICOMOS, as well as other international organisations and transnational cooperation, have played an increasing role also in the economic development of the region. For instance, in 1989 Hungary received 1.4 million euros' worth of assistance through the PHARE programme to establish the infrastructure of a national park, hence establishing the basis of the protection and touristification of the region. At the same time, many actors were prevented from effective valorisation of certain heritage aspects of the researched site due to financial limitations.

These diverse but related groups of actors perceive and evaluate the case study differently; for this reason, besides identifying the actors, their relationship was investigated as well. The analysis showed that locals and the scientific and professional experts at numerous times pay attention to different aspects of the same location. In this way, locals can feel that they are being used as museum objects in their protected settlement or landscape, and therefore modernisation⁵³ cannot be realised.⁵⁴ Similarly, the relationship can be unequal between locals and state or for-profit organisations who have the power to formulate the utilisation of the heritage site. It is impossible to miss the national and international level of the heritagisation process in UNESCO World Heritage research. This is expressed by William Logan, heritage researcher, professor, and former president of Australia ICOMOS:

It is the States Parties that ultimately determine identification, nomination, and conservation plan implementation. UNESCO's World Heritage Centre can push where it can, but it is a fine line to tread between bringing the States Parties along with it and being accused of interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states.⁵⁵

53 Modernisation was envisaged, for instance, in agricultural processes or based on individual preferences such as regarding their living environment.

54 Heike C. Alberts and Mark R. Brinda, "Changing Approaches to Historic Preservation in Quedlinburg, Germany," [in:] *Urban Affairs Review*, vol. 40, no. 3 (2005), pp. 390–401.

55 William Logan, "Heritage Rights: Avoidance and Reinforcement," [in:] *Heritage and Society*, vol. 7, no. 2 (2014), p. 158.

Laurajane Smith expresses this kind of relation with the term “authorised heritage discourse.”⁵⁶ Even though tourism was introduced as a top-down initiative to overcome local economic and social problems even before the nomination process for the UNESCO World Heritage status, tourists and visitors are still active participants in the forming of the narration about the given heritage site and by consuming it (expressing their needs⁵⁷ and preferences in the process), they partake in its development as well.

This complex mixture of actors, aims, and approaches makes the management challenging on numerous levels, as it is not just the diverse ownerships and institutional circumstances that hinder sustainable and effective processes and cooperation. From the investigation, it can be concluded that the roles of these groups of actors changed throughout the researched period and the overrepresentation of any of them within the heritagisation process can cause bias or negative impacts on the local development as well. For instance, in the case study analysis, it can be noted that the role of the inhabitants in the heritagisation process was not (always or at all) present irrespectively of the political system. The heritagisation process was preceded by professional and scholarly activities that did not involve the locals as co-creators but as sources and targets for the outcome.

The natural and cultural protection must be supported by sustainability on both local and regional level. For that, promotional activities, tourism, employment, and the appreciation as well as consumption of the local products should be supported as well.⁵⁸ A possible indicator of the challenge posed by the complex task of harmonisation can be the fact that in 2014 the proposed management plan was not accepted⁵⁹ by the UNESCO World Heritage Committee. Similarly, the fact that there were two significant decreases in the GDP data of the region (in 2009 and

56 Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, New York 2006, p. 4.

57 One of the visitors’ and locals’ shared needs in the case of Fertő/Neusiedlersee cultural landscape was better transportation.

58 Bernadett Gálosi-Kovács and Gergely Horváth, “Határokon átnyúló természetvédelmi területek lehetőségei és problémái,” [in:] *Földrajzi Közlemények*, vol. 142, no. 4 (2018), pp. 309–327.

59 László Kollányi and Péter Schuchmann, “A Fertő/Neusiedlersee kultúrtáj világörökségi helyszínre és védőövezetére készült kezelési terv és aktualitása,” [in:] *Mócsényi Mihály Kertművészeti és Kerttörténeti Műhely konferencia*, Fertőd, 1 October 2020.

2013)⁶⁰ shows the sensitivity and instability of the local economy. Thomas Hammer and his collaborators name, among others, the lack of the harmonisation of the numerous initiatives and of a central coordinating unit as reasons for the hindered regional development of the heritagised sites.⁶¹

60 KSH, *GDPs/person, counties and regions*, https://www.ksh.hu/stadat_files/gdp/hu/gdp0078.html [access: 10 December 2021].

61 Thomas Hammer et al., “Protected Areas and Regional Development in Europe: Towards a New Model for the 21st Century,” [in:] *Protected Areas and Regional Development in Europe: Towards a New Model for the 21st Century*, ed. Ingo Mose, Aldershot 2007, pp. 233–246.

Comfortable Numbness: The Case of Karlovo's Heritage¹

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The article discusses the case of Karlovo's undeveloped, crumbling heritage – the result of a staggering state and public “comfortable numbness.” During the 19th century, Karlovo was among the leading proto-industrial centres in the Balkans with an impressive textile production. The article comments on the missed economic development opportunities and collective responsibility regarding the town's heritage, using two very emblematic examples. First, it examines the case of an Ottoman mosque, built in 1485. Currently, it remains the oldest preserved heritage site in the town and one of the oldest and most well-preserved Ottoman buildings in Bulgaria, and yet it has remained closed and empty for decades. Second, it discusses a unique textile factory that was built in 1891 and donated to the town of Karlovo in 1897 and consequently lost to private interests with culpable negligence in 1998. Currently, the site is in real danger of oblivion and demolition. The article addresses the questions of “whose heritage?” while also asking if these sites can be viewed as examples of contested heritage; it comments on the collective responsibility and numbness, as well as examines the role of the public and private interest, and future development strategies. Finally, it asks the question: where will that lead us?

To begin with, a short discussion of the historical background should be presented. The town of Karlovo is situated in the very center of Bulgaria, at the foothill of the highest part of the Stara Planina mountain

¹ This research was realised thanks to the National Programme “Young Scientists and Postdoctoral Fellows” at the Bulgarian Ministry of Education and Science, implemented at the Sofia University St. Kliment Ohridski, Faculty of History.

range (also known as the Balkan mountain range). The town is located in the northern part of the Karlovo Valley, part of the so-called Rose Valley, often referred to in the past as the “Rose Garden of Europe.” The altitude is 450 metres and it is crossed by the cold and limpid river of Stara Reka, springing from the mountains. Through the centuries the town of Karlovo was the successor of several settlements and fortresses – Thracian, Roman, and Bulgarian. Two important Roman roads passed near Karlovo. The first of them, Oescus–Philippopolis road, crossed the Balkan mountains and the second one went along the foothill of the Balkan mountains, from the Black Sea towards Serdica (today’s Sofia, capital of Bulgaria).

After the beginning of the Ottoman invasion of medieval Bulgaria at the end of the 14th century, the entire region of Karlovo was completely conquered by the Ottomans as early as in the second half of the 15th century.² Due to its strategic location, albeit not overlapping with some of the main Ottoman roads in the Ottoman province of Rumelia, in the 16th century Karlovo became the centre of the newly formed Ottoman administrative unit, which included about fifty settlements.³ At that time, the old Bulgarian name of the settlement (Sushitsa) was changed to today’s Karlovo, an eponym of the Ottoman dignitary Karlızâde ‘Ali Bey, since the entire region was given to him in *mülk* by the Sultan. The *mülk* was similar to some extent to the freehold land.

Ali Bey mosque in Karlovo

The first heritage site discussed in the present article dates back precisely to that period. The first massive building that the Ottoman dignitary Karlı Ali Bey built was a mosque, erected in 1485. The carved inscription (*kitab*) above the building’s entrance, still visible today, states the following:

This sacred mosque was built with the help of God the Gracious
by Ali, son of Karlı, tutor of Cem Sultan, son of Sultan Mehmed,

2 Константин Иречек, *Княжество България, II част: Пътуване по България*, Пловдив 1899, pp. 368–369; Христо Фъргов, *Карлово: Минало, настояще, бъдеще*, Карлово 1995, pp. 15–18.

3 Григор Бойков, “Град Карлово и карловският вакъф,” [in:] *История*, vol. 26, no. 5, p. 480; Дамян Борисов, *Справочник за селища в Северна Тракия през XVI в., Част I*, Асеновград 2014.

son of Sultan Murad Han, in the year 890.
Let it be standing till the end of time.⁴

The inscription gives us valuable information that the dignitary Ali Bey was a tutor to the Cem (1459–1495), the son of Sultan Mehmed II (1432–1481), and that the mosque was finished in 1485, probably a couple of years after Ali Bey received the region to rule. Around the new Muslim temple, which became a central place, the old Bulgarian settlement began its new urban and socio-economic development in the late 15th century. Ali Bey's mosque became also known as *Kurşunlu Camii* (the “lead mosque”) since its dome was covered with lead.

The mosque is the oldest building in the town of Karlovo preserved to this very day. A substantial part of the mosque's building materials came from the Bulgarian Christian monastery or temple, which existed before the Ottoman invasion.⁵ Some researchers even suggest that the mosque was built above an older Christian sanctuary, but with no conclusive evidence to support it.⁶ In recent years, some archeological excavation within Ali Bey's mosque was done, discovering the presence of artifacts from the 4th century BC and the 13th century CE.⁷ From the architectural perspective, the building is from the so-called “Sultan's type” mosque with an entrance with an antechamber open from three sides. The large vestibule measuring 9.8 × 16.3 m and 4.8 m high is supported by four rows of six columns each, a total of twenty-four columns. Of these, twenty are wooden and four of stone, the latter, probably sourced, as mentioned above, from an old Christian church in Karlovo, which existed before the Ottoman conquest. The stone columns have specific carved elements for icons or sacred images. The crucial part of the mosque, or the prayer room, is square in shape and has external dimensions of 12.5 × 13 m and

4 Гылыб Гылыбов, “Турецкие документы по истории города Карлово,” [in:] *Восточные источники по истории народов Юго-Восточной и Центральной Европы*, vol. 1, Москва 1964, p. 164; Grigor Boykov, “Karlizade Ali Bey: An Ottoman Dignitary's Pious Endowment and the Emergence of the Town of Karlova in Central Bulgaria,” [in:] *Journal of Turkish Studies*, vol. 39 (2013), p. 248.

5 Х. Фъргов, *Карлово...*, op. cit., p. 17; Иван Снегаров, *Принос към биографията на Райно Попович*, София 1959, pp. 220–222.

6 Христо Фъргов, *Карлово: Историко-географски речник*, Карлово 2013, pp. 97–98.

7 “Ценни находки от IV век пр. Хр. открити в Куршум джамия – Карлово,” <https://bnr.bg/plovdiv/post/101041708> [access: 22 May 2023].



Figure 1. The Ali Bey's mosque today, 1929.
Photo: public domain / author's archive

internal dimensions of 10.4×10.4 m. The internal space is unified. The four solid walls of this space support the once-massive lead dome. The total height of the temple is 11.4 m. The overall perception of the mosque is that of a rather massive structure.⁸

In 1496, eleven years after the mosque was erected, Ali Bey established a pious foundation, or *vakıf*,⁹ for its support and maintenance, donating all of his estates, given to him in full proprietorship by Sultan Bayezid II. A copy of the official document from the endowment (*vakfiye*) is preserved in the Historical Museum of Karlovo. The endowment act describes very minutely the borders of Karlovo, which in fact extend to a vast area of around 500 square kilometers.¹⁰ Thus, the administration of the foundation must be passed down on a hereditary basis, to his sons

8 Димитър Попов, *Архитектурното наследство на Карлово*, София 1967, pp. 45–47.

9 For the origins and management of the *vakıf* see: *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, vol. 11, eds. P. J. Bearman et al. Leiden 2002, pp. 59–63, 87–92; Vera Moutafchieva, *Agrarian Relations in the Ottoman Empire in the 15th and 16th Centuries*, New York 1988, pp. 61–138.

10 Александър Златанов, “Локализиране на границите на Карлово според вакфието на Карлъзаде Лала Али бей от 1496 г.,” [in:] *Известия на Регионален исторически музей – Габрово*, vol. 4, ed. P. Petkov et al., Габрово 2016, pp. 27–38.



Figure 2. The Ali Bey's mosque today.
Photo: Aleksandar Zlatanov

and their descendants. In the next few centuries, Ali Bey's mosque became a central place in the urban development of the town. Not only was the building situated in the town's centre, but it also established itself as the starting point of the main market street (*Çarşı*), leading to the large marketplace. The local crafts, craftsmen, and traders flourished there during the 18th and 19th centuries. In the vicinity of Ali Bey's mosque there was also an Ottoman school (*medrese*). In that period, the external and internal façades of the mosque were richly decorated with calligraphic letters. Unfortunately, almost none of these have been preserved.

The Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878, also known as the Liberation War for the Bulgarians, turned a completely new page for Ali Bey's mosque and the town of Karlovo. After the Bulgarian liberation under the Ottoman rule, with the war's rough aftermath and the destruction of Karlovo, the local inhabitants probably demolished the minaret of the old mosque, making it non-functional. There are suggestions that the minaret was demolished during the Balkan Wars of 1912–1913. Understandably, the local people associated the old mosque with the long Ottoman rule of the Bulgarian lands. It could be said that the trend to some extent continues until this very day. Although Ali Bey's building is one of the very few extremely well-preserved Ottoman mosques from the 15th century in today's Bulgaria, its importance

as a heritage site is, to say the least, undervalued in every aspect. Basically, for the last 130 years, the building has been closed, unused, and empty. Through that time, for a short period, it was used as storage, but nothing else. A couple of minor restorations of the mosque were carried out by the authorities in the 1970s and 1980s. Ali Bey's mosque was included as a heritage site in the list of heritage sites with local importance in the region of Karlovo by the National Institute of Heritage Sites for the first time in 1964 – with an architectural statute. In 1970 the building was included once again in the list of heritage sites with local importance, but this time with an art statute. Lastly, in 1976 the National Institute of Heritage Sites listed the oldest building in Karlovo as a heritage site with both architectural and art statutes of local importance.¹¹

Only recently, in September 2018, the building was finally recognised as a heritage site of national importance, which granted it a certain level of official state protection according to Bulgarian law.¹² Unfortunately, the latter was not a result of a national heritage policy or recognition of the heritage value of the building itself. Instead, it stemmed from a rather scandalous, politically motivated attempt in 2013 by the Muslim denomination in Bulgaria to seize Ali Bey's mosque and its surroundings without any legal basis. The scandal invoked some public unrest in Karlovo and across Bulgaria, and after resolving the issue legally, the local authorities were forced to take at least some action.¹³

11 *List of Heritage Sites in the Region of Plovdiv, According to the Bulgarian Cultural Heritage Law*, <http://ninkn.bg/documents/download/49> [access: 22 May 2023]; Държавен вестник, бр. 101, 1964 г.; бр. 38, 1970 г.; бр. 70, 1976 г.

12 *Ibidem*.

13 “Карловци: Куршум джамия да е паметник, мюфтийството не иска напрежение,” <https://bnr.bg/plovdiv/post/100387291/karlovc-kurshum-djamiya-da-e-pametnik-muftiistvoto-ne-iska-naprejenie> [access: 22 May 2023]; “Скандал: Главно мюфтийство иска реституция на Куршум джамия,” <http://www.karlovo.tv/novinaArch.php?alias=skandal-glavno-myuftijstvo-iska-restitutziya-na-kurshum-dzhamiya> [access: 22 May 2023]; “Карлово въстана срещу решение бившата Куршум джамия да бъде дадена на Мюфтийството,” <https://btvnovinite.bg/bulgaria/obshtestvo/karlovo-vastana-sreshtu-reshenie-bivshata-kurshum-dzhamiya-da-bade-dadena-na-myuftiistvoto.html> [access: 22 May 2023]; “В ‘Още от деня’ кметът на Карлово: Никоой не може да отнема Куршум джамия от карловци,” https://bntnews.bg/bg/a/111592-v_oshte_ot_denja_kmetyt_na_karlovo_nikoj_ne_moje_da_otnema_kurshum_djamiya_ot_karlovc [access: 22 May 2023]; “Страстите около ‘Куршум джамия’ (ОБОВЩЕНИЕ),” <https://bntnews.bg/bg/a/202238-strastite-okolo-kurshum-dzhamiya-obobshtenie> [access: 22 May 2023]; “Куршум джамия остава на карловци, Мюфтийството загуби,” <https://www.marica.bg/region/>

Nevertheless, it seems as if the local population and the local authorities did not recognise the heritage site as such, disclaiming the responsibility. In that, as I call it, “numb” state, the public and the authorities still link the old mosque with the Ottoman invaders. In other words – it continues to have negative connotations, and thus obviously the local inhabitants do not perceive this cultural heritage site as “their own.” Arguably, this is a rather similar example to the so-called “contested heritage” cases. The missed opportunities, in my view, are enormous.

Should the situation change, a good model for a future development strategy can be found in the nearby city of Stara Zagora. Stara Zagora assumed the exactly opposite approach and embraced a different development strategy regarding the very same issue and cultural heritage site. There too a largely similar Ottoman mosque, built even a few decades earlier than the one in Karlovo, is the oldest preserved heritage monument in the city. That’s the *Eski Camii* or Hamza Bey mosque, built in 1409 by the Ottoman dignitary Hamza Bey. The archeological excavations conducted inside the mosque revealed a staggering overlaying of religious practices and buildings accumulated in that site, including a pagan sanctuary from the 2nd–3rd century BC, a medieval Christian church from the 10th–13th century, and the Muslim temple itself, spanning the 15th–20th century. Not only was the mosque in Stara Zagora fully and meticulously restored by the local authorities, but it was also transformed and officially opened as the “Architectural Complex Museum of Religions” on 16 September 2011 with official ceremony, attracting much interest until this very day.¹⁴ The approach was very successful since (1) the old mosque, architecture, and archeological remains of Christian and Pagan temples were restored and displayed together; (2) the mosque was open

karlovo/kurshum-djamiq-ostava-na-karlovci-myuftijstvoto-zagubi [access: 22 May 2023]; “Признаха Куршум джамия за паметник от национално значение,” <https://www.marica.bg/region/karlovo/priznaha-kurshum-djamiq-za-pametnik-ot-nacional-no-znachenie> [access: 22 May 2023]; “Архитектурната перла Куршум джамия става национален паметник на културата,” <https://plovdivnow.bg/obshtina-karlovo/arhitekturnata-perla-kurshum-dzhamiia-stava-istoricheska-4530> [access: 22 May 2023].

- 14 “Архитектурен комплекс ‘Музей на религиите,’” <https://www.rimstz.eu/архитектурен-комплекс-«музей-на-религиите»> [access: 22 May 2023]; “Музей на религиите в Стара Загора,” https://www.peika.bg/statia/Muzeyat_na_religiite_v_Stara_Zagora_l.a_i.89633.html [access: 22 May 2023]; “Откриване на Музей на религиите в Стара Загора,” <http://85.187.180.153/bg/archiv-novini/otkrivane-na-muzey-na-religiite-v-stara-zagora> [access: 22 May 2023].

to the public; (3) it housed a museum of not one particular religion, but all of them, which met with a lot of acceptance, bridging the existing gaps and overcoming the negative and destructive public discourse. That successful example from the nearby city could prove very effective and positive for Karlovo's mosque, the public, and local businesses, if only the local "numbness" can be overcome.

As of the beginning of 2023, some positive changes to Ali Bey's mosque have been started. The heritage site is now under reconstruction and renovation, initiated by the local authorities, using EU operational programme "Regions in Growth." It remains to be seen what exactly will turn out from this initiative, but it must be said that the idea points in the right direction. The oldest preserved heritage site in Karlovo would be renovated and open to the public as a museum, exhibiting various historical artifacts discovered in the region.¹⁵

Evlogi Georgiev textile factory in Karlovo

The second example considered in the present article dates back to the 19th century. In that period, Karlovo experienced a sharp socio-economic and demographic rise, which lasted until the end of the century, after the Liberation in 1878, when a significant decline in its economic potential could be observed, and hence the demographic situation deteriorated as well. In the first half of the 19th century, the sub-Balkan settlements, led by the regional centre Karlovo, formed a popular centre of proto-industrial development of the textile industry in the European part of the Ottoman Empire through several crafts, but mostly through braiding. For example, in the third quarter of the 19th century, there were about 2000 braid machines in Karlovo, producing more than 340,000 kg of braid per year. Together with the neighboring villages, the region occupied the leading position in the production of braid

15 "От Куршум джамия започва ремонт на три обекта в община Карлово," <https://bnr.bg/post/101764590/ot-kurshum-djamia-zapochva-remont-na-tri-obekta-v-obshchina-karlovo> [access: 22 May 2023]; "Куршум джамия и още две уникални сгради стават туристическа атракция," <https://www.marica.bg/region/karlovo/kurshum-djamiq-i-oshte-dve-unikalni-sgradi-stavat-turisticheska-atrakciq> [access: 22 May 2023]; "Започна реставрацията на сградата на 'Куршум джамия' в Карлово; превръщат я в лапидариум и зала за артефакти от региона," <https://www.bta.bg/bg/news/lik/390780-zapochna-restavratsiyata-na-sgradata-na-kurshum-dzhamiya-v-karlovo-prevrashtat> [access: 22 May 2023].

products in the Ottoman Empire during the 1860s and 1870s.¹⁶ The end of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878 found the region of Karlovo in a difficult socio-economic situation. The war and the atrocities of the *bashi-bozouks* resulted in destruction and mass emigration in the main craft centre of Karlovo. Within a few months of the war in 1877 more than 1200 people from Karlovo were killed, almost all of them prominent members of society – merchants, craftsmen, priests, teachers, doctors, and many others.¹⁷

In the new postwar economic reality, crafts, especially textiles, started to decline rapidly. Deprived of their experienced craftsmen, artisans, and leaders in the proto-industrial town, with withered workshops, deserted shops, and closed centuries-old trade routes, the region of Karlovo began the new historical period in a difficult financial and demographic situation. Socio-economic and geopolitical realities already required a completely new style of production and consequently the placement of products in entirely new markets, where the ordinary Bulgarian craftsman and trader had to compete with experienced Central and Western European entrepreneurs and industrialists.

In this complex situation, around 1887, the powerful Bucharest-based Bulgarian merchant and banker Evlogi Georgiev (1819–1897) came up with the idea to support the population of his native Karlovo, which had fallen into despair after the Bulgarian Liberation. At the beginning of 1888, the banker from Karlovo told his right hand in Bulgaria, Ivan E. Geshov (1849–1924), that he wanted to provide a means of subsistence for the population of Karlovo. The original idea was to import machines for the so-called “home textile industry,” or rather proto-industry. Later the idea changed to building a water-powered textile factory. In August 1888, Geshov informed Georgiev that Karlovo needed a factory for spinning woolen yarn. On this occasion, Georgiev agreed to build such a factory as soon as it was needed and instructed Geshov to research the topic in detail. From that time, Geshov took over the management

16 Васил Александров, “Из историята на един западнал поминък (Гайтанджийството в Карлово),” [in:] *Списание на Българското икономическо дружество*, vol. 9 (1905), pp. 1–14; X. Фъргов, *Карлово: Минало...*, op. cit., p. 19.

17 Иван Унджиев, *Карлово: История на града до Освобождението*, София 1968, pp. 199–208.

of all issues related to the construction of the future woolen factory on behalf of his principal.¹⁸

In 1889 the location of the future factory in Karlovo was carefully chosen – it was to be placed in the northern part of the town, right in the foothill of the Stara Planina mountains, close to a mountain river which could power the machines. The land was purchased and in 1890 construction work began. Georgiev and Geshov hired a British architect from the “Thornton Brothers” company. The cornerstone of the “Evlogi Georgiev” wool factory was officially laid on 10 April 1890. Despite rainy weather, the event was attended by many people from Karlovo and the surrounding area. During the ceremony, Ivan Geshov read the “Act of Founding the Factory,” written by Georgiev himself:

I, the undersigned Evlogi Georgiev, born in Karlovo (Bulgaria) on 19 October 1819, and living in Bucharest (Romania), erected this Factory for spinning wool and making woolen fabrics in my hometown with my funds and the loving memory of my father, mother, and brother.

The purpose of this industrial establishment is to facilitate the livelihood of some of the children who suffered during the Russo-Turkish Liberational War of 1877, and its net income is to be used for the maintenance of Karlovo’s schools and other benevolent establishments in the town, which I will later determine. May the Almighty bless this initiative and grant it lasting success and good fruits.

This Act will be laid in the cornerstone of this Factory by my representative Ivan Ev. Geshov, who will mark in it the day of its laying.

Bucharest, 29 March 1890

Evlogi Georgiev¹⁹

The construction was carried out at a fast pace. All subcontractors and workers were from Karlovo, and likewise all the building materials. The stones came from the nearby mountain river, the bricks were made

18 Александър Златанов, “Историята на едно дарение: Текстилната фабрика на Евлогий Георгиев в Карлово,” [in:] *Дарителство и предприемачество на Балканите през XIX в. по примера на братята Евлоги и Христо Георгиеви*, София 2020, pp. 141–142.

19 БИА, ф. 272, оп. 1, а. е. 4480, ff. 17–19; Балканска зора, I, No. 34, 12.IV.1890, p. 3.



Figure 3. Evlogi Georgiev's Woolen Factory, 1929.
Photo: public domain / author's archive

close by, and so were all wooden materials. The following year, on 10 February 1891, less than a year after the laying of the cornerstone, the official consecration of the Evlogi Georgiev Factory took place. The event was extremely solemn and it was attended by the entire town of Karlovo. On the façade of the beautiful building, under the pediment, the following inscription was proudly placed:

1891, WOOL PRODUCTS FACTORY BUILT BY EVLOGI GEORGIEV FOR THE
BENEFIT OF HIS HOMETOWN KARLOVO

Soon after the official ceremony, with imported machines from England, the factory started to operate. Soon the new wool production managed to create an assortment of over thirty-five varieties of wool yarn, as well as different types of wool fabrics. And most importantly – it gave jobs to many families in the town.²⁰

Architecturally, the wool factory is a typical example of an English industrial building from the second half of the 19th century. It is interesting

²⁰ А. Златанов, "Историята...", *op. cit.*, pp. 147–148.

to note that the measures and distances in the building were calculated in the British metric system too. Over the following decades, the beautiful building became an emblem of Karlovo and its inhabitants, which is evidenced on dozens of postcards, issued a hundred or more years ago. Thus, in the first half of the 20th century, the wool factory became known among the people of Karlovo simply as “the Factory.”

In mid-1892, Karlovo’s merchant and benefactor Evlogi Georgiev added in his will that upon his death the Factory should be donated to the Karlovo municipality, together with its land, buildings, and machines. On the other hand, Georgiev obliged Karlovo’s municipal administration to take care of the management of the enterprise, as half of the revenues were to be donated for the maintenance and development of the schools in Karlovo, and the other half of the revenues was to be capitalised until a significant fund is raised in order to build a hospital in Karlovo.²¹ Here it should be mentioned that Evlogi Georgiev and his late brother Hristo (1824–1872) were not only the biggest benefactors in Bulgarian history, but also counted among the biggest in history at all. They donated all of their enormous wealth to Bulgaria. With that donation, for example, the first Bulgarian University (today Sofia University) was built, as well as many other institutions for the public.

After the death of Evlogi Georgiev, the town’s municipality came into possession of the Factory. In 1898, the municipality decided to lease the operation of the enterprise, with the buildings and the machines, for a period of ten years. That practice continued until the new communist regime came into power in Bulgaria in 1945. Two years later Karlovo’s Factory was nationalised during the mass nationalisation. In 1947, the wool factory was incorporated into the newly established State Industrial Textile Enterprise – Karlovo. Shortly after a stamping workshop was set up in the former woolen factory building to stamp and dye silk fabrics. The workshop became a major and integral part of the new enterprise in Karlovo and continued to give work to many families in the town.²²

The stamping workshop in the former woolen factory remained in operation until 1998. After the fall of the communist regime in 1989, and with

21 Сава Велев, *Златна книга на дарителите за народна просвета*, vol. 1, Пловдив 1907, p. 18.

22 Иван Герасимов, *100 години текстилен комбинат “Теодосий Марков” Карлово, 1883–1983*, Карлово 1986, pp. 89–90.



Figure 4. Evlogi Georgiev's Woolen Factory ground floor, 2019.
Photo: Aleksandar Zlatanov



Figure 5. Evlogi Georgiev's Woolen Factory, 2021.
Photo: Aleksandar Zlatanov

the following surge of neoliberal policies in the country, a couple of waves of mass privatisation were enacted. In one of them, in 1997, Karlovo's State Textile Enterprise was privatised too. The former woolen factory of Evlogi Georgiev, part of the State Enterprise, was returned to the Karlovo Municipality in 1996, since it was originally a donation to the town of Karlovo. The will of the donor Evlogi Georgiev was irrevocable. Two years later, however, in 1998, a criminal and disgraceful act was done. On behalf of the Karlovo municipality he ruled, the then-mayor Nikolay Enchev violated the sacred will of the donor and transferred the former woolen factory, surrounding buildings, and its terrain back to the shady privatiser of Karlovo's State Textile Enterprise. Consequently, the State Textile Enterprise was bankrupted after the privatisation, then dismantled and sold out piece by piece. As such, the donated Factory of Evlogi Georgiev has remained in the possession of that shady privatiser until today. There was no public reaction to that criminal act back then;²³ neither did the next administrations of the Karlovo Municipality challenge or dispute the criminal act of giving away the donated Factory without any right to do so. Yet again, both the public and the authorities were in the state of "comfortable numbness." The collective responsibility for the town's heritage seems to be not just "comfortably numb," but almost missing.

Karlovo's Factory is a unique example of industrial architecture since there are only a few such buildings from the 19th century in today's Bulgaria. The missed economic development opportunities are truly manyfold. Hypothetically, a future development strategy might include the plan of repurchasing the Factory and developing it from a purely economic perspective to serve whatever function would be profitable – that would be a successful outcome. But since the location of the site is a bit problematic and the condition of the building is very bad, that would mean an investment worth millions of euros. So far no one has expressed such interest.

As the Factory and the building itself performed its functions for 107 years, the building was erected, as discussed above, from the town's chest, with the work and hands of the people of Karlovo; sadly, it is now rapidly collapsing. Only a few years ago, when the building was nearing complete oblivion, some public and media reaction began.²⁴ Recently a mi-

23 A. Златанов, "Историята...", *op. cit.*, pp. 150–152.

24 "Предвиждат ремонт за текстилната фабрика в Карлово," <https://btvnovinite.bg/predavania/tazi-sutrin/predvizhdant-remont-na-tekstilnata-fabrika-v-karlovo.html>

nor emergency reinforcement of the roof was done.²⁵ But I fear it is too little and too late. There is no genuine political or any other will in the local and state authorities to take action regarding this issue. In similar cases across Bulgaria, municipal and state politicians are often in cahoots with shady figures like the abovementioned privatiser. But even if this is the case, there should be a corrective to that – an active public reaction, grassroots movement, or at least some counteraction. Contrary to the first example, the mosque, the Factory can hardly be considered as a “contested” heritage with some negative connotations among the public. Just the opposite – it evokes positive associations, and yet again the public and state altogether cannot linger back from their “numbness.”

If one can assume that the first case with the Ottoman mosque is a form of contested heritage because, presumably, the locals find it difficult to take pride in the site, or are unwilling to assume the management of it since it would require confronting their past or local history, the same cannot hold true for the second case – the textile factory. The factory was the main economic engine in the most difficult period of the town’s new history and the pride of the locals.

Yet the most important question that should be raised – “Whose heritage is it?” – cannot find any answer or resonance with the locals. When there is no responsibility and recognition of heritage sites as something worth saving by the public majority, as in the case of Karlovo, it is worth considering whether, should these sites be preserved, they would indeed serve anyone in these challenging times. And where will that lead us? Most likely to the place where the citizens of Karlovo will slowly lose their local identity, as well as their historical and social consciousness.

[access: 22 May 2023]; “Руши се първата текстилна фабрика в Карлово,” <https://bntnews.bg/news/rushi-se-parvata-tekstilna-fabrika-v-karlovo-1172258news.htm> [access: 22 May 2023]; “Съживяват фабриката на Евлоги Георгиев в Карлово,” <https://www.24plovdiv.bg/novini/article/8275517> [access: 22 May 2023]; “Карлово на нокти! Фабрика ‘Евлоги Георгиев’ рухва и отвътре,” <https://www.marica.bg/region/karlovo/karlovo-na-nokti-fabrika-evlogi-georgiev-ruhva-i-otvatre-snimki> [access: 22 May 2023]; “От Евлоги Георгиев до Димитър Тадаръков: Тъжният път на карловската текстилна фабрика,” https://www.capital.bg/politika_i_ikonomika/ikonomika/2022/12/01/4408861_ot_evlogi_georgiev_do_dimitur_tadarukov_tunjiiat_put [access: 22 May 2023].

25 “Ремонтират аварийно бившата фабрика ‘Евлоги Георгиев’ в Карлово,” <https://www.marica.bg/region/karlovo/remontirat-avariyno-bivshata-fabrika-evlogi-georgiev-v-karlovo> [access: 22 May 2023].

Heritage Awareness and Sustainability of Built Environment between Theory and Practice: An Insight from ERASMUS+ Project

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Introduction

Research context: introducing the HERSUS project

The Erasmus+ project titled Enhancing of Heritage Awareness and Sustainability of Built Environment in Architectural and Urban Design Higher Education (HERSUS) is being realised within the Strategic Partnerships for higher education action type. Its realisation started in 2020 and ever since the project has been gradually implementing and proposing numerous activities in cooperation between the research, private, and public sector, hence targeting both local and regional support towards higher education and practical arena cooperation. The intention of this article is to present the results of the first six months of the project implementation and to highlight specific conclusions which can contribute to threefold perspectives – educational, practical, and policy framework and contextual conditions.

In order to provide a multicontextual research platform, HERSUS brings together five Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) from five different European countries: (1) the University of Belgrade, Faculty of Architecture (Serbia) as the Lead organisation; (2) Iuav University of Venice (Italy); (3) the University of Cyprus, Department of Architecture (Cyprus); (4) the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, School of Architecture (Greece); and (5) the University of Seville, UNESCO Chair on Built Urban Heritage CREHAR in the digital era (Spain). The consortium partners follow the geographical line of the Southern European Schools of architecture, but still allow the provision of different reflections and contextual knowledge that derives from unique socio-economic characteristics and cultural backgrounds. Through establishing high-level expert groups, the project aims to analyse critical topics for the modernisation and

development of higher education in the field of architectural and urban design across Europe, with special focus on the social and educational value of European cultural heritage.

The main objective of the project is to contribute towards creating and piloting new innovative courses and extracurricular activities within existing study programmes of participating schools, which can contribute to bridging the gap between sustainability and heritage. In that order, HERSUS aims: (1) to enhance existing study programmes at the postgraduate/master level, and (2) to achieve a stable and sustainable education framework complementary to the globally established goals in the field of architectural and urban studies education.

A key innovative value of the HERSUS project is perceived in a multi-conceptual framework that includes three main pillars to achieve an integrated and sustainable architectural and urban heritage. These 3 “RE” pillars were recognised within the initial project survey and are further strategically defined in order to create educational tracks in the form of courses through which knowledge and design skills are acquired: (1) RE-construction in the sense of urban heritage redevelopment applied to address urban decay in cities; (2) REuse in the sense of the process of reusing an existing architectural heritage for a purpose other than that which it was originally built or designed for; (3) RESilience in the sense of designing flexible structures that can learn from their environments and create transformable and sustainable space frameworks.

Research motivation: theoretical background

The project motivation derives from the recognition that the practice and education related to the awareness with reference to the sustainability of the built environment and heritage face numerous challenges such as social transformation, climate change, globalisation, urbanisation, and different social infrastructure and housing issues. Consequently, in order to cope with these challenges, teachers, trainers, tutors, and students in the field of architecture and urbanism need specific training and teaching activities within the framework of heritage sustainability. On the one hand, there is a need for a new profile of an architect/urban designer trained in the broad architectural domain who possesses technical, technological, socio-humanistic, and artistic skills; on the other hand, a new profile of the architectural educator is searched for – one who would be capable of accepting the responsibility for the improvement of education and training of future architects, enabling them to meet the expectations

of 21st-century societies worldwide for sustainable human settlements in every cultural milieu.

Heritage higher education is, first, an interdisciplinary approach directed towards learning the historical and cultural values of heritage on a multiscale level – from artifacts to landscapes; second, it includes a spectrum of knowledge fields performed within a range of heritage-based disciplines, which in addition to architecture and urbanism also include archaeology, art history, anthropology, history, legal studies, and environmental studies. In this educational framework, architectural higher education requires connection and dialogue with other disciplines since “architectural research therefore is fertile for trans- and inter-disciplinary endeavours.”¹

The new era for architectural heritage education has been in effective development in the last two decades under the significant influence of (1) ICT, through reflecting on the pedagogical impact that may derive from exploiting ICT potentialities;² (2) new academic experiments in the digital perspective of education and emerging technologies such as architectural photogrammetry,³ augmented reality,⁴ and serious games;⁵ as well as (3) bottom-up initiatives based on involvement and empowerment of communities in recognising and creating cultural values.⁶

In addition to the introduction of thematic innovations in the curricula, special attention in the examination of heritage education in

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- 1 EAAE, *Principles and Practices of Architectural Education: A Position Paper of the EAAE Education Academy*, Porto 2018.
 - 2 Michaela Ott and Francesca Pozzi, “Towards a New Era for Cultural Heritage Education: Discussing the Role of ICT,” [in:] *Computers in Human Behavior*, vol. 27, no. 4 (2011), pp. 1365–1371.
 - 3 Ahmad Baik and A. Alitany, “From Architectural Photogrammetry toward Digital Architectural Heritage Education,” [in:] *International Archives of the Photogrammetry, Remote Sensing & Spatial Information Sciences*, vol. 42, no. 2 (2018), pp. 49–54.
 - 4 Raynel Mendoza, Silvia Baldiris, and Ramón Fabregat, “Framework to Heritage Education Using Emerging Technologies,” [in:] *Procedia Computer Science*, vol. 75 (2015), pp. 239–249.
 - 5 Michela Mortara et al., “Learning Cultural Heritage by Serious Games,” [in:] *Journal of Cultural Heritage*, vol. 15, no. 3 (2014), pp. 318–325.
 - 6 Caterina Valiante and Annunziata Maria Oteri, “The Role of Heritage Communities in Local Development Processes through the Reuse of Architectural Heritage: Some Examples in Italian Rural Areas,” [in:] *HERITAGE 2022 – International Conference on Vernacular Heritage: Culture, People and Sustainability*, conference papers, Valencia 2022, pp. 687–694.

the postmodern curriculum is also paid to the examination of different learning formats and learning environments that are adequate for the perception and consideration of various aspects of heritage. The leading position in this context is occupied by the development and critical evaluation of educational methodologies for design studios as a central format of contemporary architectural study programmes.⁷ Having in mind that the heritage as a construct is not only considered as the general research object but it is also perceived as a pedagogical resource and platform for dealing with important aspects such as “the consideration of cultural and symbolic dimensions, training in the built environment and its technical, constructional, programmatic and methodological offshoots,”⁸ the study of heritage values should be engaged in both problem- and inquiry-based context, which is provided within design studio and other formats with a high level of interactivity and variability of learning modes (group work, field work, laboratory work, etc.).

This new era for architectural heritage education corresponds to the emerging umbrella initiatives such as New European Bauhaus,⁹ which highlights the importance of high-quality adaptive reuse of built heritage within the proposals for focus areas and actions in the coming period. The notion of high-quality built environment directly corresponds to the vision of high-quality *Baukultur* as an “aspect of cultural identity and diversity, [which] holistically embraces every human activity that changes the built environment” highlighted within Davos Declaration.¹⁰ Moreover, within the vision section of NEB Concept Paper,

7 Mohga E. Embaby, “Heritage Conservation and Architectural Education: An Educational Methodology for Design Studios,” [in:] *HBRC Journal*, vol. 10, no. 3 (2014), pp. 339–350; Nicholas Clarke, Marieke Kuipers, and Sara Stroux, “Embedding Built Heritage Values in Architectural Design Education,” [in:] *International Journal of Technology and Design Education*, vol. 30, no. 5 (2020), pp. 867–883.

8 María Inés Lapadula and Carolina Quirogab, “Heritage as a Pedagogical Resource and Platform for Exploration in Architectural Design Education,” [in:] *The Journal of Architecture*, vol. 17, no. 4 (2012), pp. 591–607.

9 *The NEB High-Level Round Table: New European Bauhaus Concept Paper*, https://europa.eu/new-european-bauhaus/system/files/2021-07/2021-06-30_New_European_Bauhaus_Concept_Paper_HLRT_FINAL.pdf#:~:text=The%20goal%20of%20the%20New,of%20the%20European%20Green%20Deal [access: 3 May 2022].

10 Conference of Ministers of Culture, Davos Declaration 2018: Towards a High-Quality *Baukultur* for Europe, Davos 2018, <https://baukultur-production-storage.s3.amazonaws.com/baukultur/2022-06-09-081317-davos-declaration.pdf> [access: 3 May 2022].

education is recognised as the key to both social and environmental sustainability. These notions indicate the need for further enhancement of heritage within education processes, as well as fostering the relationship between heritage and sustainability.

Article outline

Based on the presented research motivation (theoretical background) derived from the perspectives on umbrella EU initiatives (New European Bauhaus and *Baukultur* concept) and current research, two main gaps which correspond to current HERSUS insights were identified: (1) lack of evidence-based studies which provide a review of representative practices and role models in the field of architectural heritage education, and (2) the necessity of need analysis implementation for understanding the actual condition of student and expert perception of the current state-of-the-art techniques of teaching and learning heritage within the scope of architectural and urban design. In order to reflect on these issues, the article presents ongoing process of the HERSUS project through two completed intellectual outputs which pinpoint the aforementioned gaps: (1) *Review: Best Practices on Educating Sustainability and Heritage* and insights from the first Learning/Training/Teaching Activity Seminar on Teaching through Design for Sustainability of the Built Environment and Heritage Awareness (HERSUS Webinar), and (2) *STUDY: Questionnaire for the State of the Art*.

The first part of the article presents the research context. It provides insight into the Erasmus+ Strategic Partnership – Enhancing of Heritage Awareness and Sustainability of Built Environment in Architectural and Urban Design Higher Education (HERSUS). The second part presents the Intellectual Outputs and Activities in order to demonstrate the innovative approach of the HERSUS project. This part presents Intellectual Outputs 1 and 2 of the HERSUS project, as well as completed learning and teaching training activity. The third part of the article aims to provide a synthesis based on HERSUS six-month completed outputs. The Conclusion summarises the findings and highlights essential aspects for addressing sustainability and heritage in architectural higher education.

Intellectual outputs and activities: between general and innovative approach

The project is structured around five types of activities: (1) design and development of intellectual outputs (IO) – activities that result in tangible and meaningful outcomes, specifically publications, a book of courses,

an interactive platform and handbook; (2) learning, training, and teaching activities (LTT) – one seminar for teachers, three student workshops, and one training for teachers; (3) multiplier events (ME) – activities for the dissemination of intellectual outputs and overall results in the form of public presentations, open houses at participating HEIs, and launching a prize for modern heritage; (4) transnational project meeting (TPM) – design and development meetings of consortium members; and (5) project management and implementation activities (PMI) – communication, dissemination, and creating a sustainable framework for implementing results.

The HERSUS project is designed to have the intellectual outputs at the core of implementation, while all other activities support and supplement their design and development. To this end, LTTs provide a platform for testing principles and methodologies derived from all intellectual outputs and MEs serve as a platform for dissemination and public presentation of intellectual outputs, while TPMs are used for discussion, creative development, and critical reflection on the intellectual outputs.

The first intellectual output of HERSUS is *Review: Best Practices on Educating Sustainability and Heritage* envisioned to present data collected from each of the participating schools of architecture, listing the best examples of courses, best examples of built projects in participating countries, as well as a critical review of current policies. The second intellectual output of HERSUS is a study based on the Questionnaire for the State of the Art, aimed at creating an argumentative and critically analysed state-of-the-art solutions in the field of learning of sustainability and heritage, specifically in the domain of urban and architectural design of higher education. The purpose of the results of the questionnaire is to support the participating architectural schools in establishing high-quality standards connected to teaching in the field of built heritage sustainability, thorough understanding of specific standpoints (both of international experts and students) and creating an evidence-based platform for further design and development of courses. The third intellectual output of HERSUS is *Statements on Teaching through Design for Sustainability of the Built Environment and Heritage Awareness*. The fourth HERSUS intellectual output is the Sharing Platform designed as an open repository of educational resources. The fifth intellectual output is the *Book of Courses*, which will include new, competence-based courses, while the final, sixth intellectual output is the *International Handbook for Students on Research and Design for*

the Sustainability of Heritage that will be developed in the later phase of the project.

During the initial six months of the project, two intellectual outputs were developed: the review and the study, as well as one booklet as a result of the seminar for teachers (as a first LTR activity). These results are discussed in more detail in the remainder of this article.

Intellectual Output 1: Review: Best Practices on Educating Sustainability and Heritage

The Intellectual Output 1 titled *Review: Best Practices on Educating Sustainability and Heritage*¹¹ presents data collected from each of the participating HEIS. The leading institution for this IO was the University of Cyprus. The purpose of the Review was to support the participating architectural schools in establishing high-quality standards in terms of built heritage sustainability through cross-cultural communication and solving problems in an international environment. The output was designed and developed to encourage (1) teaching possibilities on the sustainability of the built environment, and (2) teaching possibilities on raising heritage awareness.

The Intellectual Output 1 consists of three parts: the analysis of built projects, educational courses, and policy reviews; it includes a number of examples illustrating the best practices in the domain of architectural and urban design, discussing various curricula for educating professionals of the highest quality educational profile, and documents (policies, laws, and strategies) that provide the general framework for interventions regarding heritage and direct actions in accordance with the principles of sustainability. This multilevel analysis has a fundamental importance in establishing a shared value framework on how heritage should be treated in practice, thought in academic institutions, and regulated in policy environment.

The presented cases of built projects can be classified according to the scale they imply: (1) landscape design, (2) urban design and planning, and (3) architecture, construction, and interior design.

11 Vladan Djokić et al. (eds.), *REVIEW: Best Practices in Educating Sustainability and Heritage*, Belgrade 2021, <https://hersus.org/io1-review-best-practices-in-educating-sustainability-and-heritage/> [access: 3 May 2023].

- The University of Belgrade analysed the detailed plan for a historical city centre (Zemun, Belgrade), a project that deals with industrial heritage within the mining industry (Senjski Rudnik), a design and adaptive reuse project done for one part of the Kalemegdan Fortress (Nebojša Tower), and one project focusing on the way a façade wall was improved while increasing energy efficiency standards (Office building – Bulevar 79).
- The University of Venice presented an intensive city reconstruction after the earthquake (Venezia), one redevelopment of a rural property (H-Farm and H-Campus), and two reconstructions of listed buildings within the city core (Ex-Panificio Santa Marta Area, Punta della Dogana).
- The University of Cyprus presented the project of retrofitting façades on a townscape level (Lefkara) and three built projects dealing with historical (Lefkara HYBUILD Multifunctional Centre), modernist (Alexandrou Demetriou Tower), and vernacular heritage (a house in Kapedes).
- The Aristotle University of Thessaloniki presented a project of city square reconstruction (Area of Hrimatistiriou Square), one urban block (a building block defined by Adrianou, Vrissakiou, Kladou, and Areos streets, Athens), an ex-military campus (historic barracks in the Pavlos Melas metropolitan park), and the project of reconstruction of a vernacular building (Kleious 24, Thessaloniki's Upper City).
- The University of Seville presented two projects on landscape scale: the rehabilitation of a wall (Nasrid Wall, Upper Albayzin) and walkways pinned along the steep walls of a narrow canyon (El Caminito del Rey, Malaga), adaptive reuse of old ceramic factory (Antigua Fábrica de Cerámica, Sevilla), and a house with historical values (Casa Diáñez, Alcalá de los Gazules).

All of the cases were analysed in detail, regarding general information, main values, state before the intervention, general design idea, and specificities regarding tools, techniques, and references that were used during implementation.

Regarding the educational courses, it is possible to recognise that:

- The University of Belgrade selected two studio designs courses (*Design Studio 06U* on master level and *Energy Rehabilitation and Certification of Existing Buildings* offered as part of specialist academic studies), one theoretical subject (*Green Construction: Lessons of the Past*) and one Workshop (*Among Scales: Programming the New Modernity of Belgrade*).
- The University of Venice presented one studio (*Studio 2 Sustainable City Project*), two theoretical subjects (*Restoration Theories and Techniques* and *Applied Petrography: Deterioration of Stone and Lithoid Building Materials*),

and one design lab (*Integrated Design Lab: Focus 3 – Regeneration and Conservation of Historic Buildings and Environments*).

- The University of Cyprus presented one design studio (*Capstone Design Project: Advanced Team Project*), two theoretical subjects (*Architecture and the Critical History of Ecology* and *History and Critical Theory of Conservation*), and one specialised course (*Special Topics on Recording and Documenting Buildings and Sites*).
- The Aristotle University of Thessaloniki presented four studio designs (*Architectural Design Studio II*, *Extended Design Studio 7: Architectural Design in Historical Context*, *Interdisciplinary Studio*, and *Urban Design Studio I and II*), realised within different study programmes and years.
- The University of Seville presented two theoretical projects (*Architectural History, Theory and Composition 3*, *Architectural History, Theory and Composition 4: City*) and two specialised courses (*Landscape, City and Architecture in Andalusia* and *Architecture and Heritage*).

Each of the presented courses was analysed regarding their relation to the overall study programme, staff and collaborators, content, methods, outcomes, references, and the relation to sustainability pillars. The publication showed that there are great differences among schools regarding teaching methods, scales, and tools, which enabled all consortium partners to identify the strengths of each school and to learn from one another's experience. The publication was also illustrated by selected examples of student projects.

Regarding the policy reports, all of the faculties reflected on the chronological aspects of the enactment of different laws and provided the reflection regarding regulations at the EU level in relation to the local ones. The reviews enabled the consortium to identify the terms that are used at the local level, including the existing laws and strategies, and also to observe and comment on the tradition of documents that regulate both sustainability and heritage.

Innovative elements that the Review produced consist of contemporary approaches to curricula development, with respect to the different cultural environments. These elements are combined in the analysis of three groups of architectural and urban design courses: (1) Sustainable Reconstruction in Urban Areas, (2) Adaptive Reuse, and (3) Resilience and Climate Change. In a long-term impact, it is expected that the Review will serve as a guide and offer new strategies for the future development of higher education courses, based on the experience of the universities involved in the HERSUS project, as well as on the overall experience of

practicing architects and offices that are recognised by the consortium members as examples of good practice.

Intellectual Output 2: STUDY: Questionnaire for the State of the Art in Educating Sustainability and Heritage

The second intellectual output is *STUDY: Questionnaire for the State of the Art*,¹² designed with the aim to create an argumentative and critically analysed state of learning of sustainability and heritage in the field of the urban and architectural design of higher education. The output lead HEI was the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.

The study consists of two parts: student questionnaire and expert questionnaire. Jointly, these two parts were designed to answer the following research questions:

- To what degree have students and experts developed an awareness of the importance of enhancing issues of the sustainability of the built environment and heritage in education and practice?
- What is the level of understanding the concepts of sustainability and heritage in the field of urban architectural design and where they are used?
- What would be the most effective way to include sustainability and heritage knowledge in the existing curricula?

The student questionnaire was intended for higher education students (fourth/fifth year integrated studies, master studies, specialist and doctoral studies), as well as young professionals who have recently completed their studies (alumni) at faculties in the countries participating in the HERSUS project. The questionnaire was developed in order to create a basis for argumentative and critical analysis of the state of education in the field of sustainability and heritage.

Student questionnaire resulted in (1) 174 collected responses from Serbia, 206 from Italy, 79 from Cyprus, 120 from Greece, and 187 from Spain, as well as (2) five individual analyses of collected data from each country and one analysis at the consortium level. Results were prepared for online publication which illustrates the findings related to the self-evaluation of skills and knowledge, perception on the importance of various skills and knowledge for the practice, applicability of different concepts

12 Vladan Djokić et al. (eds.), *STUDY: Questionnaire for the State of the Art in Educating Sustainability and Heritage*, Belgrade 2021, <https://hersus.org/io2-questionnaire-for-the-state-of-art/> [access: 3 May 2023].

regarding different scales, and applicability and usefulness of various types of learning.

The expert questionnaire, designed as a semi-structured one, aimed at providing specific views that come from specific expert fields: Academics, Practitioners, Policy-makers, Decision Makers in Public administration, and Decision-makers in non-governmental organisations or Professional Associations. The initial goal was to have two experts from each of the categories, but some of the experts recognised themselves as belonging to other groups, while in other cases it was hard to find a knowledgeable expert in a specific area. Expert questionnaire resulted in (1) 12 collected responses from Serbia, 9 from Italy, 12 from Cyprus, 10 from Greece, and 13 from Spain, as well as (2) five individual analyses of collected data from each country and one analysis on consortium level.

In order to strengthen the European architectural education area throughout the HERSUS project, it is highly important to familiarise the participants with the variety of different approaches both academically and pedagogically, but also to facilitate the exchange of practical and educational arena. Accordingly, the added value of IO2 is reflected in its recognised ability to help in identifying the key educational problems and perspectives that have the potential to assist architectural educators when developing their courses. It is expected that the impact of this study would create a connection between academia and the current professional needs through a tendency towards up-to-date learning possibilities. The added value of the study is the comprehensively designed questionnaire conducted in five languages (English, Italian, Spanish, Greek, and Serbian), providing a wider scope of respondents involved in the study. Regarding the experts' questionnaire, it is worth mentioning that the semi-structured interview is one of the ways of establishing contact with the professional arena and encouraging other ways of idea sharing and knowledge transfer in the further activities within the HERSUS project. Additionally, data visualisation in the form of diagrams and schemes demonstrated valuable methodological capacity in an analysis process.

Learning and teaching training activities: Seminar on Teaching through Design for Sustainability of the Built Environment and Heritage Awareness

As a parallel activity to the design and development of Intellectual Outputs 1 and 2, the first learning, training, teaching activity (LTT) entitled Seminar on Teaching through Design for Sustainability of the Built

Environment and Heritage Awareness¹³ was realised as a platform for the discussion and presentation of teaching methodologies, learning perspectives, and relevant topics. The main objective for organising a seminar for teachers is reflected in the need to (1) exchange different professional expertise, methodologies, and approaches between the partner organisations, and (2) discuss the direction of their development and implementation in the following project activities and existing study programmes.

In accordance with the Covid-19 restrictions, the LTT was organised online by the University of Belgrade – Faculty of Architecture, in the form of a two-day HERSUS Webinar, and consisted of two sessions:

(1) Teaching Methodologies session – five presentations of HERSUS participating HEIs, which highlighted elective subjects or studio designs as an important part of HEIs study programmes, interviews with representatives and management of the HEI, as well as general perspectives and learning methods that are employed in the existing study programmes.

(2) RE Lecture session – six invited lectures dealing with the topics of the relation of urban morphology and change, reuse of modernist heritage, the meaning of reconstruction, environmental conservation of vernacular buildings, the experience of two built projects, and the interrelation of education and sustainable future regarding the role of modern heritage.

A total of 191 unique viewers attended the seminar on the first day and 135 on the second day. Over two days, the event gathered participants from 26 countries, thus enabling the project to reach a wider international audience.

The seminar provided an opportunity for educators to share their unique views and advance towards a common approach to interdisciplinary teaching in the field of sustainability and heritage. According to their profile, teachers acquired an active role in developing their educational resources using different teaching methodologies and learning formats. The comprehensive agenda of the seminar (Teaching Methodologies and RE Lectures) followed by the round table discussion generated a platform for developing and adopting new theoretical methods and guidelines through an innovative and cross-disciplinary body of

13 Vlado Djokić and Ana Nikezić (eds.), *BOOKLET: Seminar for Teachers: Teaching through Design for Sustainability of the Built Environment and Heritage Awareness*, Belgrade 2021, <https://hersus.org/booklet-seminar-for-teachers-teaching-through-design-for-sustainability-of-the-built-environment-and-heritage-awareness/> [access: 3 May 2023].

knowledge shared by HERSUS partners. In terms of the long-term impact, the seminar – which is documented in two forms: as recorded videos and a unique booklet – is expected to increase the capacity of trained teachers from the faculties of architectural and urban design to use the potential of sustainability and heritage-oriented perspectives for a more attractive education approach to students, enhancing their capacities for designing inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable cities and human settlements. Following this kind of actions, teachers will be trained to develop their own education approaches with the aim to increase their students' interest, capacity for studio-based work, and critical thinking related to the current issue from the largest importance of sustainability – the challenges of urbanisation, climate change, and social transformation.

Synthesis

The previously mentioned activities can be organised in the matrix that enables the understanding of the “backend” process and to draw out conclusions. Illustration 1 shows the matrix of the first six months' results that can be read on two axes. The horizontal axis allows reading about specific elements of the 101 – Review (policy, scale of built projects, and type of educational courses), Seminar (important international figures, and titles of methodological lectures from partner countries), and 102 – Study (students sample from each country and type of experts included in the Study – academics, professionals, policymakers, decisionmakers and NGO representatives from each country). When reading on the vertical axis, it is possible to perceive the connections and dependencies present in the conducted analysis. Having this in mind, it is possible to trace the relationship between different activities and understand how the conclusions in specific domains were developed: (1) the integration of the knowledge derived from the analysis of local policies from five consortium partners, combined with international experts' views and local teaching methods, enabled the identification of conditions, both contextual and international; (2) the integration of the analysis of built case studies with experts' views enabled the consortium to gain important insight from practice; while (3) the analysis of specific courses and curricula in relation to the results from student questionnaires enabled both the insight into the student perspective regarding the issue of heritage and sustainability, and teachers' endeavours in this domain.

Through reflecting on the identified research gaps related to architectural heritage education, it could be recognised that the six months'

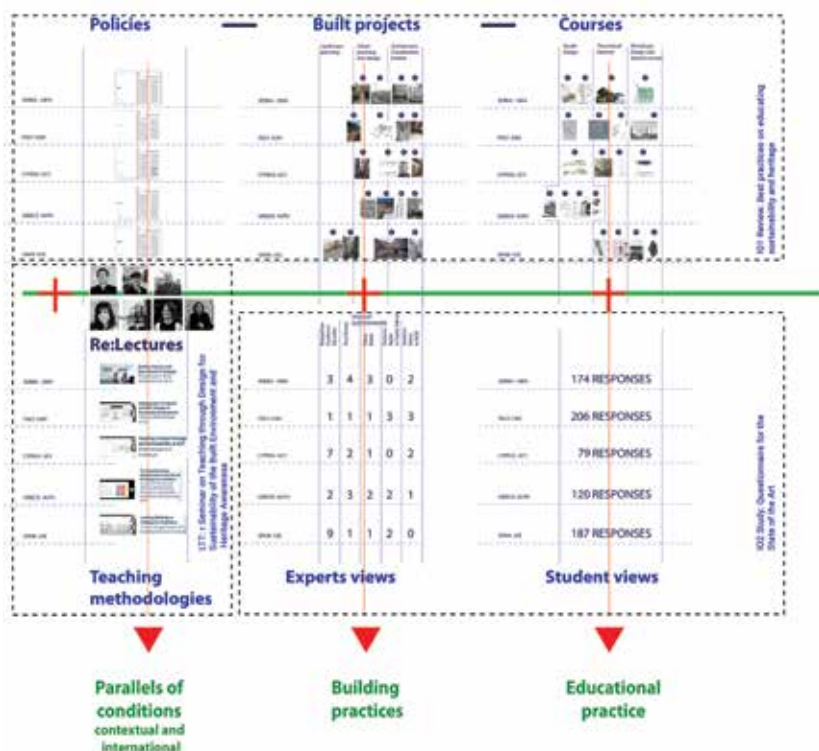


Figure 1. HERSUS: the first six months' results matrix © Authors

HERSUS results contributed to bridging these gaps as follows: (1) the Review of Best Practices provided strong evidence-based insights with representative practices and role models from all domains of architectural discipline – practice, education, and policy, and (2) the Questionnaire provided insights¹⁴ for understanding the real condition of both student and expert perception of the current state-of-the-art solutions in teaching and learning heritage within the scope of architectural and urban design. The Review of Best Practices indicated that the domain of education

14 For more information, see Konstantinos Sakantamis et al. (eds.), “The Role of Education on the Enhancement of Heritage Awareness and Sustainability of the Built Environment: Learning from Experts and Students,” *Proceedings of the IOP Conference Series*, vol. 899: Earth and Environmental Science, 2nd International Conference on Environmental Design, Athens 2021, <https://iopscience.iop.org/issue/1755-1315/899/1> [access: 3 May 2023].

largely follows the trends in the practical scope, although the presented courses do not include specialised knowledge (tools and methods) that correspond to the effective development of technologies and community-centred practices. The Questionnaire indicated evident mismatching between (1) students' self-evaluation regarding the skills and knowledge obtained through educational programmes, and (2) experts' perception of those skills – particularly higher rates from students' perspective on awareness-raising, specialist conservation skills, practical experience, analytic tools and methods, local and international context.

Conclusion

The first six months of HERSUS implementation, which included the realisation of Intellectual Outputs 1 and 2: *Review: Best Practices on Educating Sustainability and Heritage* (IO1) and *Questionnaire for the State of Art* (IO2), as well as one LTT activity – *Seminar on Teaching through Design for Sustainability of the Built Environment and Heritage Awareness* (LTT 1) provided a framework for deriving conclusions and challenges on three main levels: (1) Conditions, (2) Practice, and (3) Education.

Regarding the conditions that mostly relate to the regulatory framework of the country, there is a notable difference among countries in (1) jurisdictions in heritage management at different spatial levels (Ministries, Departments, etc.); (2) terminological inconsistency as a result of language barriers rather than incomprehension; (3) identification and degrees of protection of heritage depending on the spatial scale and type; and (4) level of applicability and control of enacting international policies, charters, and declarations. In relation to practice, analyses reveal variations in (1) the scale and interpretation of what heritage is and how it can be sustainably treated; (2) the degree of application and prevalence of contemporary concepts that interrelate sustainability and heritage; and (3) differences in funding methods and available resources. When dealing with education, the project so far has been reflecting on the differences in (1) leading aspects of sustainability – social, economic, and environmental;¹⁵ (2) interpretations of what sustainability is;

15 A detailed analysis of twenty pedagogical and educational models/courses in relation to sustainability, specifically mapping the leading aspects in each school, is presented in the conference paper: Vladan Djokić, Milica P. Milojević, and Aleksandra Milovanović, "Enhancing of Heritage Awareness and Sustainability of Built Environment in Architectural and Urban Design Higher Education: Review of Best Practices,"

(3) the availability of existing study programmes that focus on heritage and sustainability; and (4) the presence and applicability of various tools and techniques for documenting, recording, designing, and evaluating heritage and sustainable use of heritage.

By interrelating all three concluding levels – Conditions, Practice, and Education – it can be highlighted that the horizons of research and experimentation in the field of architecture and urbanism are expanding rapidly, which steers the understanding, explanation, and prediction of the impact and consequences of these changes. It is also important to highlight the need for the effective and continuous improvement of courses and methodologies towards (1) perceiving teaching, learning, and practice of urban and architectural design as a crucial element of social innovation, and (2) building mechanisms for achieving sustainable use of heritage in different EU cultural contexts. In that order, lessons learned from completed results will be used as an input for the rendering of all remaining intellectual outputs, while also contributing to producing sustainable and transferable outputs that will directly enhance the existing study programmes within HERSUS scope, as the following:

- Intellectual Output 3: *Statements: Teaching through Design for Sustainability of the Built Environment and Heritage Awareness*¹⁶ aims to identify all the dilemmas and gaps from completed intellectual outputs as problem-based questions for defining statements, while all identified mismatched terms and concepts will be demystified in order to establish a consensus within the consortium and accordingly EU educational landscape.
- Intellectual Output 4: HERSUS Sharing Platform is envisioned as an open repository of ideas that uses both the Review and the Study as its initial database¹⁷ and invites other authors and researchers to share best case examples in a systematic, open, and interactive manner, thus enabling visibility and discussion on views, documents, and best case studies at a local, regional, and global level.
- Intellectual Output 5: *Book of Courses* will be based on (1) the SWOT analysis of the Seminar, (2) a multiple perspective of the Review (101) through crosscutting education, practice, and policy aspects, (3) on the views of

[in:] *Proceedings of the 11th International Scientific and Professional Conference: Architectural Heritage and Urban Planning*, ed. Rade Mrlješ, Belgrade 2021, pp. 20–30.

16 The publication is available at www.hersus.org [access: 3 May 2023].

17 For more information see www.hersus-sharingplatform.org.

students and experts from the Study (102) towards defining guidelines and perspectives for creating new courses.

- Intellectual Output 6: The *International Handbook for Students on Research and Design for the Sustainability of Heritage* will aim to provide a synthesis and framework for the development of operational knowledge for students and educators.

Having in mind the main goal of the HERSUS project reflected in the production of new courses that will intertwine sustainability with heritage, it is crucial to understand the importance of creating Strategic Partnerships for higher education within the ERASMUS+ project and to appreciate the conclusions arising from a series of methodologically complex intellectual outcomes and carefully planned learning, teaching, and training activities that relate theory and practice of architecture and urban design.

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Big Data in the Service of Sustainable Tourism

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The place of big data in a volume on heritage and sustainable development

Understood as “the ability of society to harness information in novel ways to produce useful insights or goods and services of significant value,”¹ big data provides access to a new field of knowledge acquisition. Big data has led to accurate forecasts or critical updates in earlier formulated conclusions in business and research. In common terms, big data refers to large quantities of data, impossible to analyse manually without the help of automation. Some argue that with such volume quantity turns into quality (whose details are provided in the following section), which justifies the astounding efficiency and popularity of big data as a research method.²

The nonrival characteristic of data³ has made it a powerful tool to boost development. Companies worldwide have recognised the trend by incorporating data collection, analysis, and trade into their business strategies. But if data is inexhaustible and its value surpasses a market price, time is ripe for research and public policy to participate in the exchange for a common gain. Nonrivalry is one of the key characteristics of pure public good. Consumption of a good (fresh air, New Year’s Eve fireworks, paths in a public park on a regular day) by one person does

1 Viktor Mayer-Schönberger and Kenneth Cukier, *Big Data: A Revolution That Will Transform How We Live, Work and Think*, London 2013, p. 9.

2 Andrew P. Reimer and Elizabeth A. Madigan, “Veracity in Big Data: How Good Is Good Enough,” [in:] *Health Informatics Journal*, vol. 25, no. 3 (2019), pp. 1290–1298.

3 World Bank, *World Development Report 2021: Data for Better Lives*, Washington, DC 2021.

not reduce the amount available for other users. Data is also referred to as a nonrival good because, combined with some creativity, it may be consumed indefinitely. To produce new conclusions, one will never exhaust their material (the same data or derivatives). Henceforth, large portions of data are increasingly widely incorporated into decision making in many industries, including tourism.

Tourism is an essential sector in local, regional, and national economies. This fact is especially discernible during the ongoing health crisis – the COVID-19 pandemic effectively brought the entire industry to a standstill, at least temporarily. Today, by the end of 2021, most tourism-dependent regions have not yet recovered from the blow. Moreover, matters are being made more gruesome by fast-spreading variants of the virus (which affects the safety of tourist mobility). When south African countries faced newly imposed travel restrictions after discovering a new regionally associated variant, the United Nations World Travel Organization (UNWTO) criticised some governments' immediate decision by denouncing it as "ineffective and discriminatory."⁴

Indeed, tourism embraces an extensive network of leisure, entertainment, hospitality, and related services. They are starting with travel agencies through transportation, lodging, food, souvenirs, experience providers, cultural institutions, and a long list of other services and suppliers directly or indirectly catering to visitors' needs – and in return, the visitors generously consume the offer. Research shows that when on holidays, our consumption patterns shift toward luxuriant, as we often miscalculate our budgets in foreign currencies or are driven by an extra determination to gain a lasting experience.⁵ Such behaviour yields several questions, including the sustainability of lush spending. Are overspending and consumption on a whim environmentally conscious? Do the services and goods which we deem as local products originate from the local

4 Unknown author, "UNWTO Urges Govts to Abolish Travel Ban on Southern African Countries – Calls Restrictions Discriminatory & Ineffective," [in:] *Schengen Visa Info*, 2021, <https://www.schengenvisa.info.com/news/unwto-urges-govts-to-abolish-travel-ban-on-southern-african-countries-calls-restrictions-discriminatory-ineffective/> [access: 14 December 2021].

5 Alina Dizik, "Why So Many People Overspend on Their Holidays," [in:] *BBC Worklife*, 19 September 2017, <https://www.bbc.com/worklife/article/20170919-why-so-many-people-overspend-on-their-holidays> [access: 14 December 2021].

markets and, by extension, whose budgets do they really support? Not to mention the issue of authenticity of our treasured memorabilia.

The concept of sustainable tourism has been designed to monitor and address tourism-related dilemmas such as the above. According to UNWTO, the term “sustainable” describes “tourism that takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities.”⁶ Depending on one’s preferred perspective, the concept also embraces responsible tourism, green tourism, eco-tourism, or post-tourism.⁷ Altogether, sustainable tourism differs from “business as usual” on the level of consumers’ awareness and willingness to shoulder responsibility by all parties involved.

Based on a literature review, this essay summarises and blends two ongoing discussions, which are reputed to be shaping the present and future of research, and therefore, hopefully, also policymaking. The following sections briefly introduce big data as a tool, including a short discussion on data reuse as an emerging trend in research and decision-making on public levels. Later, the same is applied to tourism as a profit-oriented industry, to be later fused with sustainability concerns by the end of the second section. The last section is devoted to challenges related to deploying big data and reasons for the uneven distribution of its perquisites worldwide and across disciplines. The discrepancy between discipline-typical methodologies inspired this essay. Heritage studies is firmly present in sustainable tourism research, and it is highly recommended to comprehend and consciously select the most effective methods. This essay is intended to encourage the same.

General characteristics of big data

The understanding of big data has been a process that started when scientists noticed that some machine-generated data, unlike analogue textual

6 World Tourism Organization, “Sustainable Development,” [in:] UNWTO, <https://www.unwto.org/sustainable-development> [access: 14 December 2021].

7 According to SAGE *Key Concepts in Tourism Studies*, “The post-tourist or post-modern tourist is a consumer who embraces openly, but with some irony, the increasingly inauthentic, commercialised and simulated experiences offered by the tourism industry.” See: Melanie Smith, Nicola Macleod, and Margaret Hart Robertson, “Post-tourism,” [in:] *Key Concepts in Tourist Studies*, eds. eadem, Los Angeles–London–New Delhi 2022, pp. 130–134.

and numerical data produced by a human hand, are unstructured and hard to analyse without prior preparations.⁸ Further observations attributed the famous Vs to large portions of data, with initial 3Vs – volume, velocity, and variety⁹ – now expanding to seven features, the remaining four being veracity, validity, volatility, and value.¹⁰

Big data can be collected wherever data is produced digitally and that includes large (satellites) and small (social media) imagery, geolocations or GPS, online tags and large portions of scattered text, credit card transactions, sensors (often inbuilt in devices or injected in animals or humans), mobile applications and their rich content, or the fast-expanding Internet of Things (the ability of appliances to communicate without human interference). First large-scale applications of big data in research have already confirmed its potential to cross-check previous results collected in more traditional ways and re-evaluate our perception of certain global issues. One weighty realisation pertains to the condition of the natural environment. A comprehensive review in *Nature* explains where scientists previously underestimated the effects of climate change. Examples include the study where “a landmark collaboration between NASA and the European Space Agency integrated the Antarctic ice sheet’s changing volume, flow and gravitational attraction to model its surface mass balance, which revealed Antarctica lost 2720 ± 1390 Mg of ice between 1992 and 2017 (equating to a sea-level rise of 7.6 ± 3.9 mm).”¹¹ Fortunately, the same tools and realisation allow us to act.

If understood as a machine-supported data analysis, big data is being increasingly favoured also among researchers within social sciences and humanities. It is a fruit of the wide accessibility of user-friendly software, which requires basic to advanced coding abilities. Such abilities

8 Katarzyna Śledziewska and Renata Włoch, *Gospodarka cyfrowa: Jak nowe technologie zmieniają świat*, Warszawa 2020, p. 72.

9 Svetlana Sicular, “Gartner’s Big Data Definition Consists of Three Parts, Not to Be Confused with Three ‘V’s,” [in:] Gartner blog, 2 April 2013, <https://blogs.gartner.com/svetlana-sicular/gartners-big-data-definition-consists-of-three-parts-not-to-be-confused-with-three-vs/> [access: 14 December 2021].

10 World Tourism Organization, *Measuring Sustainable Tourism: A Call for Action – Report of the 6th International Conference on Tourism Statistics, Manila, Philippines*, Madrid 2017.

11 Rebecca K. Runting et al., “Opportunities for Big Data in Conservation and Sustainability,” [in:] *Nature Communications*, vol. 11, no. 2003 (2020), <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41467-020-15870-0> [access: 14 December 2021].

are certainly accelerated by a large selection of stationary and online courses offered by private companies and universities worldwide (and gaining in popularity during the COVID-19 pandemic). Examples include quantitative textual analysis in R (statistical software) or big data visualisation techniques, both skills being at least welcome to gain confidence in the field. The basic premise here is that a machine can expedite one's research and warrant against certain personal biases. The following section presents several ways in which these tools can be explored in the context of tourism.

Big data in tourism research and commercialisation

The moment one purchases something online or via cashless transactions, they leave a footprint in the system. The same trace can be utilised by service providers to advance their offer. The information is scattered and bulky. Hence, it is referred to as big data. Travelling is an activity that involves an entire list of online bookings to arrange transportation, accommodation, or tickets to attractions or additional experiences.¹² Even if one only eyes new equipment over the internet and the planning phase does not result in a purchase, the activity is tracked and saved for the sake of future customised suggestions. It is no secret that our online search results are a by-product of past preferences. Predictive analytics has the capacity to cluster target groups according to their geographic location, demographic, or correlation with other interests.

As exemplified above, there is a number of global trends which have advanced the use of big data for tourism research and development. Still, online platforms, including social media, are certainly at the forefront. They have fostered a new burgeoning market based on seemingly free of charge communication services. The usage, however, is rarely chargeless because this is the users' data that serve as the barter between usually large and profit-oriented entities. Companies scrap the web and social media on the lookout for the so-called electronic World-of-Mouth (ewom), which later allows them to target and directly influence the most promising buyers. If a company has no capacity to harness online data on its own, it can refer to one of the numerous companies specialising in predictive

12 Srishti Saha, "Big Data in Tourism: How Big Data Analytics Can Help the Travel and Tourism Industry Grow," [in:] *Datahut*, 13 August 2018, <https://www.blog.datahut.co/post/how-big-data-analytics-can-help-the-travel-and-tourism-industry-grow> [access: 14 December 2021].

analytics. Privacy concerns and uneven accumulation of wealth are on one side of the coin, but one cannot deny the power of platforms to expedite tourism companies, even in the early stages of their market appearance, or perhaps especially by their kick-off.

A compendious definition of smart tourism (as in beyond the fuzziness of the expression often overused to enhance the attractiveness of political agendas or product innovation) is essential for further deliberation. According to Gretzel and her collaborators, “smart” refers to tourism facilitated by ICT technologies with the collection, exchange, and processing of data as key components of the transaction. The data, on the other hand, are harnessed to provide intelligent solutions in three capacities: smart experience, smart business ecosystem, and smart destination.¹³ Consequently, the convenience and abundance of information produced in the process nearly organically lay out the basis for big data research.

Our personal devices also produce data, even if they are seemingly idle. Mobile phones with Location-Based Services, which include Google products or systemic support in emergency situations, use GPS, Wi-Fi, mobile networks, and sensors to estimate the location of one’s device. An interesting example of the effective use of this feature has been reported at Amsterdam’s Schiphol Airport. High customer satisfaction at the airport is attributed to the airport services’ savviness in real-time data analysis. A group of data analytics track travellers’ movement to understand their behavioural patterns while waiting for a flight. Dynamic heatmaps allow the airport to monitor passengers’ traffic and establish how far they are willing to wander away from their departure gate.¹⁴ Section “Big Data for sustainable tourism” further explores location tracking in the context of crowd management in popular places.

Another example comes from a massive – and so far unrivalled by any competitor equivalent in size – accommodation-sharing online platform Airbnb. More than six years ago, the company introduced a Price Tip feature, which is supposed to advise property owners on the best price deals based on demand analytics. Correlated with large events in the area, current season, and past user preferences, among others, and by utilising big

13 Urlike Gretzel et al., “Smart Tourism: Foundations and Developments,” [in:] *Electronic Markets*, vol. 25, no. 3 (2015), pp. 179–188.

14 S. Saha “Big Data in Tourism...,” op. cit.

data and machine learning, Airbnb can develop algorithms that analyse tourist demand of the moment and suggest a price increase accordingly.¹⁵

Big data is widely utilised for commercial purposes, but it has also attracted attention of tourism researchers. Since 2013, when the number of Scopus-indexed articles pertaining to tourism and big data exceeded twenty, it continues to nearly double each year, with forty articles in 2014, seventy-nine in 2016, 138 in 2018 and 371 in 2021. The trend appears to be undisturbed in the light of thirteen publications indexed for 2022 so far (December 2021).

Big data for sustainable tourism

In June 2017, the 6th International Conference on Tourism Statistics was held in Manila, Philippines. The focus was on “Measuring Sustainable Tourism.” Session 5 of the summit, titled “Producing data on sustainable tourism,” devoted considerable space and time to the potential of big data. The session concluded with a call for utilising the tool as it provides “opportunities for improved timeliness, increased granularity in space and time, and new analysis and indicators.”¹⁶

Today, in the second half of 2021, research pertaining to big data and tourism is dominated by publications geo-associated with China. A simple search in the Scopus database using the keywords were “big data” and “sustainable tourism” revealed 149 publications. Although upon further analysis of the abstracts not all of them are directly related to responsible tourist practices, seventy-three publications originated from China. The USA came in the second place with merely (by comparison) ten publications, which all concerned big data and sustainable tourism. The numbers and the classification were very similar for the Web of Science database. It seems that Europe is lagging behind. Notably, the results published by scientists in China have a direct impact on national tourism policies.¹⁷ For example, according to a study among local tourist managers in China, up until now in 2021, rural tourism has been

15 Ellen Huet, “How Airbnb Uses Big Data and Machine Learning to Guide Hosts to the Perfect Price,” [in:] *Forbes*, 5 June 2015, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/ellenhuet/2015/06/05/how-airbnb-uses-big-data-and-machine-learning-to-guide-hosts-to-the-perfect-price/?sh=3638d6126d49> [access: 14 December 2021].

16 World Tourism Organization, *Measuring Sustainable Tourism...*, op. cit.

17 Qinya Tang et al., “Coordinated Development of Agricultural Economy and Rural Tourism Based on Big Data,” [in:] 2021 *International Conference on Tourism, Economy*

experiencing a 300% increase in interest as compared to the pre-pandemic state. The rediscovery of domestic destinations, including villages, has been profitable enough to encourage the Chinese government to introduce a five-year strategy (the strategy of “village revitalisation”) to further boost rural tourism in the country.¹⁸ By comparison, American and European authors tend to focus on urban tourism in their publications. Below is a summary of some interesting examples of research.

The leading study comes from Portugal, where a group of scientists utilised geotagged image data in two popular social networks (Panoramio and Flickr) to monitor spatial demands in nearly real-time and understand the distribution of the visitors’ interests. The results exceeded the capacity of any traditional survey by proving that places and attractions deemed interesting by tourists and by citizens often do not overlap. Unsurprisingly, tourists tend to flock around the city centre, whereas the locals are usually engaged with more scattered points of interest.¹⁹

There are some fascinating conclusions coming from two studies of visitors’ priorities when it comes to the environmental friendliness of available accommodation. Saura and his collaborators studied hotel reviews to test the hypothesis that visitors do apply eco-lenses when rating their accommodation. Large portions of text filtered in search of the traces of the above revealed marginal presence of reviews that would praise a hotel for sustainable practices or criticise it for lacking them. Most shortlisted reviews referred to quiet surroundings or the accessibility of locally sourced food.²⁰ Shortly after the study, there was another research conducted to scrap information from Booking.com and Trip Advisor on the span of six years (2013–2018) and including the most popular

and Environmental Sustainability (TEES 2021), Xiamen, China, eds. K.H.M. Mansur and Y. Fu, E3S Web of Conferences, vol. 251.

- 18 Ben Westcott and Shanshan Wang, “China Is Experiencing a Rural Tourism Boom amid the Covid-19 Pandemic,” [in:] *CNN Travel*, 12 May 2021, <https://edition.cnn.com/travel/article/china-rural-tourism-pandemic-cmb-intl-hnk/index.html> [access: 14 December 2021].
- 19 Luis Enclada-Abarca et al., “Mining Big Data for Tourist Hot Spots: Geographical Patterns of Online Footprints,” [in:] *Geospatial Challenges in the 21st Century*, eds. Kostis Koutsopoulos et al., Cham 2019, pp. 99–123.
- 20 Jose Ramon Saura, Ana Reyes-Menendez, and Cesar Alvarez-Alonso, “Do Online Comments Affect Environmental Management? Identifying Factors Related to Environmental Management and Sustainability of Hotels,” [in:] *Sustainability*, vol. 10, no. 9 (2018), p. 3016.

urban destinations such as New York or Barcelona. Again, the reviews were disappointing in the context of visitors' ecological demands.²¹ Both studies should be nonetheless repeated. Global environmental consciousness is growing daily, and travellers are increasingly willing to sacrifice some of their comforts or search for substitutes for harmful practices to ensure their environmental conscience remains clear during holidays.²²

The final example does not precisely pertain to tourism but is constructive to supplement the notions of heritage studies. Levin and his collaborators also turned to data embedded in images on Flickr and news databases to identify World Heritage Sites in direct danger of conflict. The study of night lights and wildfires, for example, allowed the researchers to develop a tool to track hazards to the sites in near-real-time.²³

Conclusion: obstacles and opportunities

Despite escalating convenience and, as exemplified above, the social benefit of big data application in research, there are several reasons which still hamper its widespread utilisation in public policy or small and middle-sized enterprises. ICTs have decreased distances between service providers and users and added new dimensions to competition (when the advantage of locality is becoming secondary, firms must compete on the product level). Moreover, the technologies produce data that could be recycled for business development by informing about performance and possible further directions. The same patterns apply on a macro-scale where big data produces knowledge to evaluate regional economic performance and inform public policies. However, the widely deployed term "produce" in the previous sentence is a stretch, as big data is merely a method. It is highly effective and augments possibilities, but only for those who know how to apply it. Big data is a technology-, skills-,

21 Marcello Mariani and Matteo Borghi, "Environmental Discourse in Hotel Online Reviews: A Big Data Analysis," [in:] *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, vol. 29 (2021), pp. 829–848. For more on this topic see: *Sustainability: Special Issue on Tourism, ICT and Sustainability*, eds. Stefan Gössling and Colin Michael Hall (2010–2011).

22 Douglas Broom, "1 in 7 People Would Choose Not to Fly Because of Climate Change," [in:] *World Economic Forum*, 30 August 2019, <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2019/08/1-in-7-people-would-choose-not-to-fly-because-of-climate-change/> [access: 14 December 2021].

23 Noam Levin et al., "World Heritage in Danger: Big Data and Remote Sensing Can Help Protect Sites in Conflict Zones," [in:] *Global Environmental Change*, vol. 55, no. 1 (2019), pp. 97–104.

and knowledge-intensive method, and its application is not equally common and accessible in all countries or even regions.

Following the approach that big data's efficacy depends on the workers capable of utilising it to produce knowledge, Morrissey studied the geographical distribution of a fittingly skilled workforce in the UK. Her findings confirm that tapping on the big data opportunities for public policy will be shared for regions with a high concentration of adequately trained workforce. In the case of the UK, London and South East areas actively utilise big data, and lagging regions are less privileged also in this respect.²⁴

Nonetheless, it is advised not to succumb to various obstacles and continue to use and reuse data for the common good. The McKinsey Global Institute has even proved a financial gain in practice by pointing to evidence of large budgetary savings upon taking the burden of national statistical offices to produce quality data through traditional methods only (via surveys and census). Later the report concludes: "In addition, big data can deliver a range of substantial nonmonetary gains in the public sector, including the improved allocation of funding into programs, higher-quality services, increased public sector accountability, a better-informed citizenry, and almost certainly enhanced public trust in government."²⁵ All of these elements are crucial to support sustainable tourism practices.

²⁴ Karyn Morrissey, "Big Data and Its Potential Role in Regional Growth: Evidence from Great Britain," [in:] *Spatial Economic Analysis*, vol. 15 (2020), pp. 494–504.

²⁵ James Manyika et al., *Big Data: The Next Frontier for Innovation, Competition, and Productivity*, McKinsey Global Institute, 2011, p. 58.

The Social Economy Combines Heritage with the Present Time: True or False?

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Both in Poland and throughout Europe, the social economy is not a new idea. In Poland, it dates back to the epochs of the Piast and Jagiellonian royal dynasties. However, its best practices were observed in the 19th century. The contemporary social economy is therefore not a new creation. On the one hand, it is rooted in the past and, on the other, it is full of new solutions for the 21st century. Thanks to this combination, the social economy makes it possible to combine modernity with tradition, business with charity, and, above all, products and services with the local environment. Yet is this really the case?

In this article, I try to show how the social economy combines heritage with the present day. To this end, after defining the basic concepts, I describe the Polish heritage of the social economy and point to what is left of this tradition. Then, referring to contemporary entities of the social economy, I draw attention to the still valid effectiveness of mechanisms developed decades or even centuries ago. Unfortunately, today people do not always associate the social economy with good quality. It is therefore crucial to rediscover this heritage and combine it with modern tools. Consequently, I end this article with recommendations for future practices, considering what else can be done to make the social economy an effective carrier of tradition and heritage rather than a relic of the past.

Basic concepts of the social economy

The literature on the subject contains many definitions of this term; in addition, the social economy itself also has various names. The Polish Ministry of Family and Social Policy writes about the social and solidarity economy. The European Research Network (EMES), on the other hand, talks about social enterprises. They are characterised by reinvestment

of profits in the community or other social goals. EMES defines the social and economic criteria specific for the activities of the social economy. The economic criteria are: business activity, independence and sovereignty from public institutions, economic risk, and hiring employees. The social criteria include: the implementation of socially useful goals, bottom-up nature of initiatives, democratic management system, and the community character of the activity. These criteria have been discussed in relation to the specificity of Polish social enterprises by Anna Ciepielewska-Kowalik in her report entitled *Social Enterprises and Their Ecosystems in Europe*.¹ In business, the idea of the social economy is often confused with so-called corporate social responsibility (CSR), that is, with management strategy, “[...] according to which enterprises voluntarily take into account social interests, environmental aspects or relations with various groups of stakeholders, in particular with employees [...]”.² It is also worth paying attention to the concept of “the social economy.” In the introduction to this topic, Ewa Leś refers to the model of the economy by Karl Polanyi, cooperative movements, and Catholic social teachings.³

A clear definition of the social economy can be found in Resolution No. 11 of the Council of Ministers of 31 January 2019. In this document, the social economy is understood as “[...] the sphere of civic and social activity which, through economic and public benefit activities serves: the professional and social integration of people at risk of social marginalisation, job creation, provision of general interest social services, and local development.”⁴ In conclusion, the social economy functions between the state, the market, and the local community. Social economy entities (SEES) operate where these three sectors meet. The public administration sector provides them with legal framework, the economic sector sets business goals, and from the non-governmental sector they

1 Anna Ciepielewska-Kowalik, *Social Enterprises and Their Ecosystems in Europe*, Country Report Poland, Luxembourg 2020.

2 PARP, *O społecznej odpowiedzialności biznesu*, <https://www.parp.gov.pl/csr#csr> [access: 13 November 2021].

3 Ewa Leś (ed.), *Gospodarka społeczna i przedsiębiorstwo społeczne: Wprowadzenie do problematyki*, Warszawa 2008, pp. 37–55.

4 Official Gazette of the Government of the Republic of Poland, Official Journal of the Republic of Poland, *Annex to Resolution No. 11 of the Council of Ministers of 31 January 2019 (item 214)*, Warszawa 2019.

get the characteristics that provide aid and support. The idea of the social economy is fully implemented in specific entities. In Poland, there are four SEE groups. The first is social enterprises (for example, social cooperatives), which are distinguished by the fact that the profits are not shared among their members but are used for social purposes or to strengthen the enterprises themselves. The second group includes vocational activity establishments, occupational therapy workshops and social integration clubs, which are reintegration entities. Their goal is professional and social reintegration in a broad sense. Associations and foundations running a business activity belong to the third group of so-called public benefit entities. The last group are business entities, which are established to implement specific social goals (non-profit companies, work cooperatives, cooperatives of people with disabilities).

A fifth group of SEEs has also been developing in recent years. These are engaged in various informal activities. Examples are the numerous food cooperatives that are being formed and the developing student cooperative movement. The informal activities of the social economy are sometimes called the fourth sector.⁵ Another classification of SEEs divides them into old and new ones. The division criterion here results from how a given entity has been created. In the literature on the subject, four groups are distinguished.⁶ The so-called old entities of the social economy include various types of cooperatives – those that had operated in Poland before the social economy was even mentioned. The second group consists of non-governmental organisations that use economic mechanisms in how they function (conduct business activity). The third group consists of new entities of the social economy, whose functioning is possible thanks to new legal solutions and relevant acts. Examples include social cooperatives, as well as the aforementioned social integration centres and vocational activity establishments. The fourth group consists of hybrid institutions that are difficult to include in the previous groups. This group includes various types of companies and partnerships.

5 Ekonomia Społeczna, *Słowniczek ekonomii społecznej*, <https://ekonomiaspoleczna.pl/warto-wiedziec/slowniczek-ekonomii-spolecznej> [access: 13 November 2021].

6 Piotr Frączak and Jakub Wygnański (eds.), *Polski model ekonomii społecznej: Rekomendacje dla rozwoju*, Warszawa 2008, pp. 19–21.

The social economy in Poland is – to quote Professor Hubert Izdebski – a chaotic concept.⁷ However, recent years have brought numerous legal regulations, books, and articles. The social economy is discussed at universities, conferences, and special events, such as the annual Social Economy Week in Krakow. Therefore, this concept seems to be consolidating.

History of the social economy in Poland

For centuries, people have found that they can achieve more by acting together. The social economy was therefore not only an alternative to capitalism or a correction of the operation of the market at a given time, but sometimes an ordinary activity motivated by self-interest. The beginnings of the social economy in Poland – although the term was not used at that time – are intertwined with its origins in Europe and go back to the early Middle Ages.

In his *Szkic do ekonomii społecznej* [A Sketch of the Social Economy], Piotr Frączak indicates that everything started with the so-called “holy exchange,”⁸ commonly known as “buying salvation.” In medieval times, this exchange took place through alms or funding. Almsgiving gave the donor a feeling that their faults had been forgiven and forgotten. In the 14th and 15th centuries, it was used so often that it significantly increased the number of mendicant orders, who lived off alms. Another way to ensure God’s mercy was through funding. In the Middle Ages, this took two different forms. The first was a donation to support a specific goal, such as building a church. The second form, more closely related to the essence of the social economy, was funding a source of income. Hospitals and orders, among others, functioned based on these two support mechanisms almost until the 18th century.

Serious changes in the perception of social activity took place during the Reformation. However, as Frączak notes, the conviction that mercy towards the needy was the duty of every Christian, and not the price to be paid for salvation, was not universal in the Republic of Poland. Describing the specific features of activity similar to the idea of the social economy, the author draws attention to interesting solutions in the organisation of the aforementioned hospitals. In some, patients themselves

7 Hubert Izdebski, “Czym jest ekonomia społeczna?,” [in:] *Ekonomia Społeczna*, vol. 1 (2007), p. 49.

8 Piotr Frączak, *Szkic do historii ekonomii społecznej w Polsce*, Warszawa 2006, pp. 7–8.

cultivated the hospital field and then traded the agricultural produce at the market. In others, so-called caretakers arranged work for patients who were able to perform it.⁹ Frączak also treats medieval orders as social enterprises. Rural communities are another example of a mechanism important from the point of view of the contemporary social economy. In his historical sketch, Frączak notes that communal agrarian communities survived in the south-eastern borderlands of Poland until the Partitions, and common forests function has been retained in some regions of Poland to this day. Other mechanisms he mentions are: insurance and member-serving organisations, miners' communities, fishermen's communities, municipal communes, and craft guilds (probably existing in Poland as early as in the 11th century),¹⁰ brotherhoods of journeymen, the Third Order (secular pious brotherhoods and congregations, such as the brotherhoods of mercy or Lazarists). Interestingly, the brotherhoods of mercy established the so-called pious banks offering interest-free loans or loans at a lower percentage than those commonly used by the needy.¹¹

When analysing the history of the social economy in Poland, it is worth looking not only at its various mechanisms, but also at people. Frączak particularly emphasises Stanisław Staszic (1755–1826). According to the scholar, “the huge variety of activities he [Staszic] undertook can be a model to this day for social initiatives based on rational money management.”¹² The profit itself was not of value to Staszic. The development of an economy based on its own resources and ensuring an increasingly higher quality of production was more important. Staszic's genius is fully revealed in his experiment known as the Hrubieszów Agricultural Society (HAS). In 1816, Staszic, with 329 landowners, concluded the “Contract of the Hrubieszów Agricultural Society with the intention to improve agriculture and industry, and provide joint rescue in misfortunes.”¹³ In 1822, the society was accepted by the Tsar (due to the Partitions, Poland was not present on the map of Europe at that time and the society was established in the territory of the Kingdom of Poland under Russian rule). The HAS existed until the times of the Polish People's

9 Ibidem, p. 9.

10 Ibidem, p. 12.

11 Ibidem, p. 13.

12 Ibidem, p. 14.

13 Ibidem, p. 15.

Republic, practically ceased to function in 1945, and was formally dissolved by the decree of Bolesław Bierut in 1951. It is recognised as the first fully mature pre-cooperative organisation in Europe.

The society had no counterpart across Europe. The utopian features persistently attributed to it during the People's Republic of Poland are indefensible in the face of its phenomenal vitality, resulting from the creation of an integrated, self-propelling economic and industrial urban and rural system.¹⁴ In fact, SEES merits a separate article that should also refer to Staszic's last will, which, according to Frączak, should be obligatory reading in social economy classes.¹⁵

The idea of the social economy was slightly different in the territories of each of the Three Partitions of Poland. In the Prussian Partition, the Poznań Bazar was an outstanding initiative, which became the centre of social life in the capital of Greater Poland. People's banks, credit co-operatives, parcel companies, land banks, and agricultural cooperatives also developed. The Austrian partition was much more autonomous than the Prussian or Russian ones. Due to great poverty, there were advance payment associations, among others. There were also craft and manufacturing associations, dairy companies, and food associations. The so-called Stefczyk's Cash Registers was an initiative launched in Galicia. In the Russian partition, there were food and credit associations, occupational cooperative unions, syndicates, and agricultural societies. However, education, especially self-education, was of particular importance for developing the idea of the social economy in the Russian partition.

The social economy – in the fullest sense of this term – reappeared in Poland after 1989. It is difficult to look for completely new solutions. Both the “old” entities of the social economy functioning in the late 20th century and the “new” ones that were created in the first 20 years of the 21st century are based on mechanisms that have already been developed and sometimes even perfected. On the other hand, new legal solutions and different methods of financing appeared that did not exist in previous centuries. SEES have also found their place on the internet, which also offers space for professional marketing and advertising. Is not the social economy a specific combination of heritage and modernity?

14 Janusz Panasiewicz, “Materiały do dziejów Towarzystwa Rolniczego Hrubieszowskiego w Archiwum Państwowym w Zamościu,” [in:] *Archiwariusz Zamojski* (2008), p. 92.

15 P. Frączak, *Szkic do historii...* op. cit., p. 16.

These are not new solutions at all

Many examples can be given here. I will present three that are particularly relevant to the Polish heritage of the social economy: a cooperative brewery, a food cooperative, and a cooperative community centre. Each of these entities is based on different legal solutions. However, all three share the same denominator, which is passionate social activity based on the use of specific financial mechanisms.

Browar Spółdzielczy [Cooperative Brewery] is owned by the DALBA social cooperative and originated from a passion for beer, sea, and the need for change. At least this is what the founders themselves say:¹⁶

This is not just an ordinary workplace, this is passion. Most employees of the cooperative are the people who have not had a chance on the open job market due to their disabilities. Their engagement and determination make our beer something exceptional, a dream come true and an opportunity.¹⁷

The cooperative brewery not only brews craft beer, but also has franchise pubs in several Polish cities based on a proven business model transferred as part of a social franchise. Its characteristics are described in the book entitled *Chcemy inaczej, niż łyżeczką, nalewać wodę do wiadra* [We Want to Pour Water into a Bucket with Something Other than a Teaspoon] published in 2021.¹⁸ The cooperative also implements an innovative programme *Pojąć Głębię* [To Understand the Depth], whose aim is to strengthen the independence, self-esteem, and self-confidence of people with disabilities through rehabilitation and therapeutic scuba diving. “The mission of the programme is to instil in people with disabilities the belief that the impossible is possible.”¹⁹ The cooperative brewery operates as a social cooperative. It fits into a specific, statutory framework.

16 Browar Spółdzielczy, <https://www.browarspoldzielczy.com/strona-glowna> [access: 30 December 2021].

17 Ibidem.

18 Karolina Cyran-Juraszek et al., *Chcemy inaczej, niż łyżeczką, nalewać wodę do wiadra: Model asystenta osoby z niepełnosprawnościami w lokalu gastronomicznym*, Warszawa 2021.

19 Browar Spółdzielczy, *Pojąć głębię*, <https://www.browarspoldzielczy.com/pojac-glebie> [access: 30 December 2021].

The situation is different for the Wawel Food Cooperative (wfc), which, like many others, is an informal group. Food cooperatives operate in most large cities. The wfc is currently the only food cooperative in Krakow. It has been operating since 2011 and since then the number of its members has been constantly growing. The group's goal is to source fresh organic food directly from local farmers. The cooperative's work is based on volunteering. Duties related to the functioning of the group are performed alternately by each of its members.

The idea of food cooperatives is not new in Poland. In 1868, a book entitled *Spółki spożywcze* [Food Companies] by Aleksander Makowiecki was published.²⁰ It was the first work in Polish devoted to both the theory and practice of the idea of cooperative associations. A year later, in 1869, the "Merkury" [Mercury] Food Association was established in Warsaw and the "Oszczędność" [Frugality] Food Association in Radom. The idea of food cooperatives developed in Poland until it was distorted during the Polish People's Republic. Currently, the founders of food cooperatives refer to the original idea of cooperatives – and so does wfc in Krakow.

Cooperatives also work well in community centres, although in a slightly different dimension. One example is the Krakow-based Ogniwo [Link] social cooperative operating for local non-governmental organisations. The members of Ogniwo call themselves a cooperative bookstore or a cooperative community centre.²¹ The quality and popularity of the cooperative is evidenced by the fact that it was elected as the "Bookstore of the Year 2021" in the category of the best cultural events programme, and "Bookstore of the Year 2020" in the category of the best atmosphere. Ogniwo is, above all, a meeting place, a bit like a café, which is oriented to building relationships and providing mutual aid rather than making a profit. This was the essence of the original cooperative movement.

These examples prove that the social economy is a bearer of heritage because today it brings to life models that were developed in the past. Frączak notes that:

History and contemporary good practices show that much of what seems to be a utopia can be put into practice, and if one wants to, almost everything is possible. This belief justifies referring to examples

²⁰ Aleksander Makowiecki, *Spółki spożywcze*, Warszawa 1868.

²¹ Ogniwo, <https://ogniwo.org/o-nas/> [access: 31 December 2021].

even from the distant past because nothing is more inspiring than the fact that others have succeeded. Regardless of whether we have a modern forest community (for example, granted by King of Poland Jagiełło according to tradition), which knows how to spend joint money on the construction of a bridge, or an initiative that can organise and hire a group of homeless people to breed endangered species of pigs, we have the same problem here that has been around for centuries. People acting together can achieve more with mutual benefit.²²

What models can be distinguished by observing the contemporary social economy? First, the idea of cooperatives. In Poland, its origins date back to the late 18th and early 19th centuries, when the already mentioned Staszic was developing the HAS. Reflecting on the purpose of the cooperative, Jacek Mroczek notices that people do not create cooperatives in order to get rich, but rather to defend themselves against poverty.²³ Such an approach to this mechanism fits in with the ideas of the social economy. I would also add that people create cooperatives to build a community, establish relationships, and experience the synergy effect in practice. The next model supports marginalised people not through alms (which nowadays include various social benefits), but by enabling them to work and earn an independent living (which, in turn, social benefits often make impossible). Everyone wants to feel needed and this also applies to the area of employment. Benefits and allowances often make people feel unimportant and unnecessary. This was already noticed in the 17th century.

A good example of this model's functionality is the previously described garden management by hospital patients.²⁴ The funds obtained from the sale of agricultural produce made it possible to support patients. Such a mechanism also has its drawbacks as it can, after all, pose numerous threats. The income from the sale may go into the hands of private persons and not towards the livelihood of patients, work may be outsourced to people for whom it is too much of a physical burden, and working conditions may not be suitable for this specific group of

22 P. Frączak, *Szkic do historii...*, op. cit., p. 5.

23 Jacek Mroczek, "Początki rozwoju spółdzielczości w Polsce," [in:] *Przegląd Prawniczy, Ekonomiczny i Społeczny*, vol. 1 (2012), p. 39.

24 P. Frączak, *Szkic do historii...* op. cit., p. 10.

employees. However, the mechanism itself, if used in an ethical manner, contributes to an improvement in mood and thus to a faster recovery. This is evidenced by the U Pana Cogito [At Mr Cogito's] guesthouse and restaurant in Krakow, which employs people after mental crises, among others. All profits from the enterprise are allocated to the rehabilitation of people with disabilities. The most important thing, however, is the impact of work on health:

We had the opportunity to observe how the perspective of real work influences commitment and enhances development opportunities of people after mental crises participating in rehabilitation. They have become independent, responsible employees, who will be able to work outside sheltered employment in some time.²⁵

The founders of the aforementioned cooperative brewery have similar experiences related to employment and the implementation of the rehabilitation programme. The third model, corresponding to Staszic's beliefs, involves developing local businesses based on local resources with the involvement of local communities. This is exactly the case with the cooperative brewery and food cooperatives. It is true that the latter are not businesses. However, the activities of cooperatives are aimed at supporting the local farmers. They contribute directly to the development of local agriculture. The last of the identified models provides work for those who would not normally be able to undertake it. Again, an example is the cooperative brewery, as well as the already mentioned U Pana Cogito guesthouse and restaurant. The aforementioned models and mechanisms are not innovative ideas. All of these were developed and tested in practice in the 19th century, and some even earlier. Today, these models are still implemented thanks to the initiatives of the social economy.

The social economy is a bearer of heritage for yet another reason. Since profit is not the primary aim, many social economy initiatives involve projects that, due to low profitability, are not implemented in profit-oriented companies. The cooperative brewery brews beer according to a traditional recipe. Food cooperatives all over Poland promote traditional recipes based

25 Stowarzyszenie Na Rzecz Rozwoju Psychiatrii i Opieki Środowiskowej, *U Pana Cogito*, <https://stowarzyszenie-rozwoju.eu/wspolpraca/u-pana-cogito/> [access: 9 December 2021].

on locally available products. Other entities of the social economy are also direct carriers of heritage. An example is the rural housewives' clubs. In recent years in Poland many of such clubs have turned from informal activity to being registered business-running associations. The clubs care for the cultural heritage of the Polish countryside. Their members undertake artistic handicrafts, traditional cooking, and declining occupations. Crafts and declining occupations are also the subject of interest of other entities of the social economy. An example is the Krakow-based Żywa Pracownia [Living Workshop] – a limited liability non-profit company. Its entire income is allocated towards public benefit activities, namely implementing projects in the fields of cultural education and social inclusion as well as creating a space for the social and professional activation of people experiencing homelessness and disabilities.²⁶ Żywa Pracownia together with Fundacja Od Kultury [Foundation from Culture] co-create the Traditional Craft Trail project, which brings together folk artists and craftsmen from south-eastern Poland. Almost the entire activity of Żywa Pracownia is based on heritage, which is passed on during workshops in crafts and folk culture, the culture and art of the Lesser Poland region, toymaking, carpentry, and ceramics. An interesting way of transferring heritage is the activity of historical re-enactment groups. The movement dynamically developed in the first half of the 21st century. Not all such groups conduct commercial activities. However, the report entitled *Grupy rekonstrukcji historycznych – działania oddolne na rzecz krzewienia kultury narodowej* [Historical re-enactment groups: Grass-roots activities for the promotion of national culture]²⁷ shows that half of historical re-enactment groups in Poland conduct such activities. Therefore, they are SEES combining business and social activity for the benefit of patriotic education, history, and national culture.

Recommendations for practice

Although the idea of the social economy is not new in Poland, its activities are still not recognised in many circles. The average citizen does not

26 Żywa Pracownia, <https://zywapracownia.pl/spolka-zoo-non-profit/>, Kraków [access: 30 December 2021].

27 Biuro Badań Społecznych Question Mark, *Grupy rekonstrukcji historycznych – działania oddolne na rzecz krzewienia kultury narodowej*, 2016, <https://www.nck.pl/badania/raporty/raport-grupy-rekonstrukcji-historycznych-dzialania-oddolne-na-rzecz-krzewienia-> [access: 30 December 2021].

know what the social economy really is. They do not recognise entities that promote this idea, and when planning purchases, they do not pay attention to which entity is offering the desired service. Research carried out in Poland from 2005 to 2007 showed that over 60% of Poles did not know any of the terms related to the social economy. During the research conducted by the association Klon/Jawor [Maple/Sycamore], questions were asked about the knowledge of six concepts: social cooperative, non-governmental organisation, third sector, CSR, social enterprise, and social economy. Only 1% of the respondents understood all the concepts. Research repeated over the course of three years showed that the knowledge of these concepts remained at a similarly low level.²⁸ It is similar on the other side. According to the 2017 report entitled *Monitoring kondycji sektora ekonomii społecznej w Małopolsce* [Monitoring the condition of the social economy sector in Lesser Poland], only 25% of associations and foundations in the Lesser Poland region conduct paid activities, which constitute an “introduction” to market activity. SEEs operating in the regional market do not cooperate with one another and with social economy support centres.²⁹ It is therefore all the more reasonable to identify tools that enable potential organisers of SEEs and also recipients interested in the offer of existing entities to promote the social economy. However, not only promotion is needed in the modern social economy. While preparing a speech for the 6th Heritage Forum of Central Europe, I identified the main threats preventing its development. It is primarily a society that is not interested in the social economy and its offer, even though it is part of Polish heritage. The next are consumers who attach little importance to the quality and ideological value of services and products. The third threat is social entrepreneurs who often look for unattainable, innovative solutions instead of relying on proven models. Given these threats, education is the only effective defence: both formal and informal education, education about the social economy and heritage. The aim of such education could be to help people, in the first instance, recognise and appreciate heritage, including helping local creators and service providers make informed choices, as well as to educate about local products and services. It is not that easy in the global village. In Krupówki

28 Jan Herbst, *Współpraca organizacji pozarządowych i administracji publicznej w Polsce 2008*, Warszawa 2008, p. 11.

29 Ibidem, p. 6.

Street in Zakopane, Poland, many pseudolocal products bear the “made in China” label. Craftsmen from near Krakow import wicker baskets from China and then sell them as their own on the local market. Merchants at the Butter Market in Nowy Sącz (stalls selling fruit, vegetables, dairy products, and other local products) buy eggs from one supplier, erase the stamps, and then sell the eggs as being from their own hens. These are just a few cases that I have noticed during ongoing research and community projects. When travelling around Europe, I found that handicraft stalls in Krakow’s Cloth Hall differed little from those near Prague’s Charles Bridge, and souvenir shops at Calea Republicii Street in Romanian Oradea. Recognising heritage is one thing, being aware of the idea of the social economy is another. Thanks to education, consumers may choose coffee in the Krakow-based Ogniwo cooperative café (which also functions as a cooperative bookstore and community centre) instead of the Costa Coffee coffeehouse chain, and prefer vegetables grown by local farmers and purchased thanks to the activity of a food cooperative over Spanish vegetables purchased in Lidl. The last of the goals of education, closely related to the discussed topic, is the ability to search for and apply proven solutions (models) developed in the past and still valid in the present day, instead of constantly striving for completely innovative solutions. I do not intend to criticise innovative thinking here. The point is that sometimes new solutions are unnecessarily searched for when there are already proven and effective ones, but now forgotten or underestimated.

The social economy conveys many messages. It is a multidimensional idea that works perfectly in practice in the form of SEES. However, education is needed to take the activities of these entities to a higher level at which people will use SEE services frequently and consciously, and SEES will consciously act as carriers of heritage, in the form of both services and products offered, and in the form of a proven operational model.

National Heritage Register in Times of Transformation: In Search of the New Model for Belarus

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The State List of Historical and Cultural Values of the Republic of Belarus is the main document for cultural heritage registration. Inscribing an architectural object in the list is a key decision, meaning that the object in question is placed under the state care. From this moment, its preservation becomes a priority. At the same time, inclusion into the list legitimises claims from authorities, the public, experts, and members of local communities against owners or conservators.

What is the internal logic behind making such a list? What challenges do heritage conservation professionals face when deciding what should be listed and how to manage these properties once they are listed? To what extent does the Belarusian practice correlate with the European and world ones? And finally, the most important question: does the listing really contribute to the preservation and use of monuments?

The present article aims at answering these questions. Its preparation was preceded by ICOMOS-Belarus National Committee large-scale work to collect specific Belarusian cases of working with listed and non-listed heritage sites, analysis of regulatory documents and orders of the Ministry of Culture, study of foreign European experience, expert discussions, and also two thematic events: expert seminar “Participatory Management of Cultural Heritage: in Search for an Effective Model for Belarus” (27–28 March 2020) and online conference “The Right to Heritage and the State List of Historical and Cultural Values: Problems and Solutions” (19–20 June 2020).

Although the National List concerns different types of tangible and intangible heritage, in this article attention will be paid primarily to architectural heritage, whose preservation is probably the most resonant. The article is a continuation of the long-term commitment of

the ICOMOS-Belarus to study emerging practices of heritage management and concludes with recommendations for improving the system of state protection of cultural heritage.

International context for the creation and operation of national registers of cultural heritage

The idea of keeping lists of historical and cultural heritage objects in its current form dates back to the end of the first half of the 19th century and, like almost everything that defines today's heritage practices, originated in Western Europe. The first list of monuments was approved in 1840 in post-revolutionary France. The second was approved in 1882 in rapidly industrialising Great Britain. In the 20th century keeping lists has become a ubiquitous practice. The list has become a tool for achieving the following:

Preventing the resumption of large-scale vandalism, emerging during the French Revolution, which caused destruction of a numerous valuable churches, aristocratic palaces, and other buildings symbolising “the old times.” Many politicians and intellectuals of that time witnessed rebels playing a game with kings' skulls from the plundered Saint Denis. Thus, initially the idea was to prohibit regional politicians and local authorities from legally destroying the most valuable objects in the historical and artistic sense.

Consolidation of the “national canon” in the context of transforming legitimacy of the state power: from its “divine” and therefore predetermined nature to representativeness, conditioned by the “will of the people.” The main subject of power was not the monarch anymore, but the people, the nation, endowing the ruler with legitimacy. Being a fairly new sociological construct, the “nation” demanded both the definition of its own framework and the proof of existence. History started to be interpreted as the most important condition for national existence. History became a means of explaining and defining national identity and forging the national path: from a glorious past through a difficult present to a bright future. In this logical construction, monuments appeared as literal proofs of historical truth and its irrefutability. After all, what better proves the greatness of a nation than a historic castle, cathedral, or royal palace? The list thus became a formal fixer of national accord regarding the value of its own history.¹

1 Dominique Poulot, “The Birth of Heritage: ‘le moment Guizot,’” [in:] *Oxford Art Journal*, vol. 11, no. 2 (1988), pp. 40–56.

Establishing solutions for effective management. The authors of the first laws on the preservation of cultural heritage could not predict such broadening of the notion of heritage that would happen throughout the 20th century. Back then it seemed that all the monuments could be counted. In 1840, the first French register contained only 1082 objects, including 934 buildings (today – about 45,000). It also seemed that the state was quite capable of maintaining such a number of monuments. All that is needed is an effective management system implementing a classical model: (1) planning; (2) action; (3) control. The state list served as a starting point, became a “plan,” outlined the scale of the job, according to which it was convenient to plan budgets, employ conservators, create governmental inspections, etc.²

A very important aspect due to which the British heritage law followed the French one only after forty years (and other European laws followed much later) was the discussion of property rights. It turned out that the need to preserve national heritage contradicts the private property rights. As it appeared, the right to property was inevitably subject to infringement, because after a monument has been inscribed into the list, its owner could no longer do certain things with their property. This is also why the British List of 1882 included only sixty-eight prehistoric sites, such as Stonehenge (today there are about 370,000 different objects on the British register). Nevertheless, the public consensus on the preservation of historical objects allowed lawmakers to overcome this critical circumstance.

This happened due to the fact that the state undertook to provide assistance to the owners: on the one hand, by training specialists in conservation; on the other, by compensating the costs of maintaining and restoring listed objects. Above all, new institutions for the preservation and restoration of monuments were created, qualified managers were trained and supported with rights and resources. Everything for the sake of solving a theoretically simple task – preserving a number of old buildings.

Modern challenges and approaches to architectural heritage listing and preserving

The practice shows that the situation with heritage is constantly changing and always needs to present a response to new, previously unthinkable challenges. In many Western countries, preservation systems have

² Rodney Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, London 2013, p. 268.

already undergone a conceptual transformation. The observable tendencies include the following:

A constantly growing number of listed heritage objects. The continuing heritage boom results in a growing number of properties that society and heritage experts might claim to preserve. Today, not only wooden or industrial architecture is protected, but also modernist and even post-modernist architecture, as well as entire cultural landscapes combining natural and cultural (tangible and intangible) characteristics. Moreover, modern practice is moving away from the nomination of single physical objects (also because most of the “typical” old buildings have already been listed) and refers to the definition of historical and cultural values. The focus is placed on the development of heritage axiology systemising values and distributing responsibilities of different actors in regard to identification and subsequent use of cultural sites.

The number of nominated properties and territories of recognised cultural value will continue to grow. In such circumstances, government agencies are faced with a constant deficit of organisational and financial resources. This forces the development of new preservation methodologies and funding instruments, where physical preservation and museification are no longer a top priority.

Transformation of conservation goals. With such a number of listed objects, there is a need for their clustering or redefinition. For example, a set of individual rural buildings is defined as a single cultural landscape. Consequently, the management logic is fundamentally changing; the issues of socio-economic potential or investment attractiveness of entire categories of heritage objects are becoming priorities. The purpose of heritage governance is to stimulate the use of sites and to improve the quality of both the architectural environment and the citizens’ life quality.

In the UK, the Department of Culture, Media and Sports has been established to replace the Department of National Heritage, which was abolished in 1997, with the aim of “improving the quality of life for all citizens through cultural and sports activities, supporting the pursuit of excellence and promoting tourism, creativity and leisure industry.”³ The department works to “support and promote the widest possible access to cultural

3 Emma Waterton, *Politics, Policy and the Discourses of Heritage in Britain*, London 2011, p. 77.

excellence: in art, in museums, galleries and libraries, in the urban, architectural and historical environment.”⁴

Decentralisation of heritage management. Decentralisation is resulting in the delegation of power from national to regional agencies (which leads to a variety of regional practices within one country), or to agencies dealing with certain categories of monuments (accordingly, specific approaches and methodologies are developed that are suitable for certain types of heritage).

The Dutch Agency for Cultural Heritage has no longer been involved in direct site inspections for the past twenty years. This function has been delegated to municipalities and provinces. The Agency distributes budgetary funds and monitors reporting; it also sets standards for the quality of renovation and provides consultations. The Agency issues permits only for the implementation of large-scale restoration projects involving changes in functions or demolition of monuments. At the same time, the number of permits issued over the past few years has decreased from 4000 to 200 per year. The main agenda of the Agency itself consists of such items as: (1) decentralisation of management; (2) mitigating the impact of climate change on heritage; (3) ensuring energy transition; (4) preserving the quality of the architectural environment. Thus, the agency deals with umbrella issues of national importance, and not operational management, which has become the responsibility of local authorities. This simplifies administrative procedures and increases efficiency. At the same time, a separate service was created in the Agency to oversee the archaeological heritage.

In Germany, the National Committee for the Preservation of Cultural Monuments is responsible for the preservation of historical sites. The Committee acts as a liaison between regional departments, specialised organisations, associations, and civic initiatives. The organisation of the heritage preservation on the ground is regulated not by the federal, but by land laws. For example, sites classified as historical and cultural monuments in Leipzig are governed by the Saxon Cultural Monuments Preservation Act. Compliance of heritage sites with preservation criteria is also determined by land departments.

In the UK, decentralisation takes place both at vertical (from London to regions) and horizontal (by type of monuments) levels. There are

4 Ibidem.

organisations responsible for the whole categories of monuments: Heritage Lottery Fund; Historic Royal Palaces; Royal Parks Agency; Council for Museums, Libraries and Archives; Visit Britain; National Trust; Churches Conservation Trust; Occupied Royal Palaces; Association of Historic Manors; Anglican Church; and English Heritage.

Search for new resources and incentives for owners. As already explained, in the situation of absolute domination of private property, diminishing the owners' rights to real estate disposal should be accompanied with some kind of compensation. For example, in Germany, privileges are provided for owners of architectural monuments: the costs of maintaining and repairing of such buildings are deducted from taxes; moreover, the state reimburses up to 30% of the annual land tax. In a number of countries, the state undertakes to finance research, as well as to fully or partially reimburse the costs of conservation activities. A system of grant support is being developed, when listed objects can be entered into grant competitions to cover restoration costs. This mechanism ensures, first, an improvement in the quality of interventions and a greater manifestation of monuments' public significance (otherwise competitions cannot be won); secondly, it encourages owners to apply for the inscription of their old real estate into the state register.

Creation of flexible listing and management models. The prerequisite for the idea of making the heritage preservation system more flexible is a rather anarchist thesis that most of the objects are not threatened anyway, since for a greater length of history they have already managed to survive without any special measures. At the same time, state preservation agencies, spending significant resources, are still unable to restrain changes and territorial development. They can only soften the pressure of development and contribute to the preservation of key national monuments, but nothing more. Flexibility presupposes the possibility of a prompt reaction to emerging contradictions and conflicts.

For example, in the United States, the inscription of heritage sites on the federal List does not provide their protection in the strict sense of the word. Not all American states have sanctions for the damage to monuments caused by owners. On the other hand, having a site on the list and following preservation restrictions paves the way for tax breaks. So, the main management tool here is not the stick, but the carrot.

Thanks to the new digital open data tools, cultural sites can be classified not only by their "objective" cultural significance or architectural types, but, say, by the intensity of investment processes around them or

by the degree of public interest that can be measured by the intensity of discussions around sites in social networks and media.

Advances in technology allow experimentation with the creation of large “public” heritage databases used by governments for monitoring, response, and policy-making, rather than for tight control. Online platforms with open access and user-generated content increase inclusiveness of the preservation system as well as allow the collection of information that is important for the planning of territorial development or data on objects that are too recent to be preserved. Such databases can be synchronised with other registers, databases, and maps, as well as with digitised collections of libraries and archives. Databases can store also different heritage interpretations. Maintaining open databases seems to be more promising than traditional heritage lists.

Flexibility also appears in changing the balance in decision-making on heritage sites between the power of traditional experts (architects, restorers, and historians), communities, civic initiatives, and non-governmental organisations. The role of experts is being transformed. They not so much dictate “scientifically-correct” decisions, but rather act as intermediaries between all interested parties, explaining the importance of certain measures.

History of the Belarusian monuments’ register

The Belarusian List of Historical and Cultural Values draws its genealogy from two “progenitors.” On the one hand, it is an eight-volume book *Collection of Monuments of History and Culture of Belarus* (1984–1986) – the first compendium setting the goal to outline the full potential of Belarusian heritage sites. The collection covers about 15,000 objects. However, the book had no strict legal force. Other forerunners of the modern heritage list were the List of Archaeological and Historical Monuments of Soviet Union Significance (1950), approved by the Council of Ministers of Belarusian Soviet Republic (thirty-two sites), the List of Archaeological and Historical Monuments of Republican Significance (1950; 198 sites), and the List of Architectural Monuments of Belarusian Soviet Republic (1953; eighty-two objects). Subsequently, with the development of national legislation and corresponding heritage ideas, all lists were unified, and the total number of objects reached 3496 by 1988 (immovable monuments of history, architecture, art, and archaeology).

The replenishment of the lists was a response to the public protest against the demolition of valuable sites in the rapidly developing cities

in late-Soviet times. In the absence of private ownership of real estate, inscription into the list was intended to warn officials and architects against making decisions on demolition; however, at the same time, everything that was not on the list could be demolished legally.

Further ups and downs in the list formation are associated with the state policy of independent Belarus. The list was either reduced, deleting Vladimir Lenin's and revolutionary monuments, or supplemented, for example, with objects of Soviet postwar architecture (Minsk neoclassicism) or elements of intangible heritage. The overall development framework was determined by the growth of national self-awareness, local patriotism, as well as civil protest against the self-will of local officials or new owners who tried to dispose of historical objects too freely.

And yet, the conflict between the nation's right to heritage and the owner's right to property was not taken into account in the Belarusian heritage policy. With the increase in the number of privatised properties, this conflict is growing and problematising the listing process these days. State institutions have not yet given a clear, research-based response to this contradiction. In addition, the State List, as in Soviet times, continues to be used as an instrument of civil protest or cultural struggle.

Problems of the Belarusian legislative tools

The main law regulating the sector of cultural heritage in Belarus is The Code of Culture. As stated in its Article 5,⁵ the Code regulates public relations in the field of protection, preservation, and use of historical and cultural heritage. In fact, cultural heritage sites are at the intersection of not only cultural, but also architectural, construction, natural, and other legislation areas. The combination of these areas takes place on a situational basis. Nevertheless, technical, economic, and other aspects of heritage preservation are virtually neglected in the documents issued by the Ministry of Culture.

From an institutional point of view, currently Belarus has not optimal system of powers distribution. The Code of Culture assigned the leadership function in heritage protection to local governmental bodies, which often lack not only specialists with high-level methodological training,

5 Кодекс Рэспублікі беларусь аб культуры ад 20 ліпеня 2016 г. No 413-З, [in:] *Национальный правовой интернет-портал Республики Беларусь*, <https://www.pravo.by/document/?guid=12551&po=Hk1600413> [access: 3 June 2020].

but virtually any specialists in this area. In practice, this work is often imputed to local history museums, whose employees are not empowered and often do not have proper training. On the contrary, regional institutions that have accumulated important experience, such as the National Polatsk Historical and Cultural Museum-Reserve or the Historical and Cultural Museum-Reserve “Zaslavl,” have lost their significance. In turn, the role of the Ministry of Culture was reduced to the approval of project documentation. At the same time, after the abolition of the Law on the Protection of Historical and Cultural Values and the introduction of the Code in 2016, the Ministry of Culture lost the authority to suspend works carried out with violations of the legal requirements.

Also, there are numerous issues in the methodological approaches; for example, a return to the Soviet tradition of dividing historical and cultural values into monuments of history, architecture, art, and archaeology. This series is supplemented in the Code by documentary monuments, protected areas, and urban planning monuments. It is unclear, however, how this division should be consistent with the goals of preserving or restoring monuments and heritage governance at all.

A clear methodology for determining value has not actually been developed. First, a semantic difference between the terms “historical and cultural value” and the old “architectural monument” actually escapes and these two concepts are treated as essentially synonymous. Secondly, granting the status is a matter of a collegial expert decision of the authorised governmental body (unsuccessful attempts to list the Minsk Asmalovka and Traktorozavodsky townships show its selectivity). Thirdly, for objects already identified and inscribed in the state register, the Code does not contain the concept of “subject of protection,” which means that it does not specify exactly which qualities of the object should be preserved.

According to the Code, for each immovable historical and cultural property, a project of buffer zones must be approved. Still, this norm is not fulfilled for most objects due to the lack of allocated funds, and the approval of buffer zones in the Ministry of Culture is a separate laborious procedure. In fact, for many archaeological sites, burial sites, or even for single urban buildings (especially those included in a complex), the design of buffer zones is redundant, especially since there is no unified methodology for this. Buffer zones are not needed for every heritage site.

Specific problems of certain heritage categories

Historical manors. In Belarus about 1000 manors have survived, with varying degrees of preservation. About a third of them can be reconstructed. According to experts, such a large-scale conservation programme could only be implemented with the help of private business, which would consider manors as tourist enterprises, housing, etc. In practice, each action for the reconstruction/restoration of manors requires an extensively laborious coordination with the Ministry of Culture.

For example, the following sites are not yet in operation: the Bisheusky manor in Lyntupy (purchased in 2010), the Segeny Palace in Kraski (purchased in 2009), the Svyatopolk-Chetvertinsky manor in Zhaludok (purchased in 2014), the Bohvits manor in Padarosk (purchased in 2012), the Puzyny manor in Hramyacha (purchased in 2011), the Kotlubaev manor in Yastrembel (purchased in 2014), the Bohvits manor in Paulinava (purchased in 2005), among others. Nothing at all is happening to the purchased manors in Tarnavo, Vialika Ragaznitsa, Berdautsy, Horny Snou, Yastrembela, Albertina, Vialiky Dvor, and dozens of others included in the State List.⁶ These are not exceptions – these are likely a rule.

The necessary documentation has been in preparation for years, which is highly discouraging for the owners who invested hundreds of thousands euros. At the same time such a complex approval does not guarantee a high quality of restoration, because control is carried out only at the level of concepts and project development, and not at the stage of their implementation. The state does not provide financial assistance to buyers, therefore, the work usually cannot be completed on time, which in turn leads to penalties.

Consequently, the inclusion of a manor in the State List contributes to the loss of its investment attractiveness. Businesses prefer to buy monuments that do not have a protected status.

Historical town houses. Despite some controversial examples of demolition or reconstruction, houses inscribed in the State List, especially in large cities, are in relatively good condition. In smaller towns, preservation of such heritage faces the same type of problems as those described above for historic manors. The biggest issue is that any major

6 Владислав Рудаков, “Евроремонт и годы согласований: Как бизнес пытается спасти крутые белорусские усадьбы,” [in:] *Kyky.org*, <https://kyky.org/places/evroremont-i-gody-soglasovaniy-kak-biznes-pytaetsya-spasti-krutye-belaruskie-usadby> [access: 3 June 2020].

overhaul or restoration in 90% of cases leads to the loss of authentic elements (quite often – even walls!).

Also, if similar objects across the country are compared, it becomes evident that there is no systematic approach to their listing. For example, while in Navahrudak many interwar buildings are included in the State List, similar buildings in Ashmiany do not have such status. Finally, bureaucratic inconsistencies sometimes mean that delisting the building may become a precondition for its successful reconstruction (for example, the wing of the Pshezdetsky manor in Zaslaue was reconstructed as a museum after delisting).⁷

Wooden architecture. Inscribing rural wooden buildings into the State List gives them a sliver of hope for salvation financed by the government, especially if employees of the Belarusian State Museum of Folk Architecture and Everyday Life are interested. However, even in this case, emergency repairs are practically impossible from a legal point of view (they need to be approved in the Ministry first, and this could take too long). The list of works in the Technical Code of Practice (ТСП) 45-1.04-206-2010, classified as “current repairs,” does not take into account the needs for the operation of wooden architecture. Works on the foundations of wooden houses – installed simply on the ground, without taking into account the depth of freezing of the soil, which means that the foundations are one of the most vulnerable elements of the building requiring urgent strengthening – are presented in the ТСП in the list of capital repairs or works on the restoration of cultural values. This entails a long chain of approvals and wastes valuable time.⁸

Cemeteries. Only a few cemeteries and several hundred individual graves are included in the State List. Meanwhile, today in the country there are tens of thousands of gravestones over a hundred years old. It is unrealistic to inscribe such a number of objects. According to experts, over the past five years, government agencies have been reluctant to list old cemeteries. As a result, dozens of important necropolises (for

7 Генадзь Вохін, “Ці паўстане эрмітаж для Драздовіча?,” [in:] *Культура*, <http://kimpres.by/index.phtml?page=2&id=14604&mode=print&fbclid=IwAR2YX5Lw978FsJzBVYUmQeEqf42iFogDtKeJjqiswQFFdv-zhddByfkitzw> [access: 3 June 2020].

8 Игорь Иванов, “Заметки о специфике проблем, связанных с сохранением и поддержанием технического состояния памятников традиционного деревянного зодчества,” [in:] *«Права на спадчыну» і Дзяржаўны спіс гісторыка-культурных каштоўнасцей: выклікі і рашэнні*, ed. Сцяпан Стурэйка, Гродна 2021, pp. 167–175.

example, Orthodox and Catholic cemeteries in Grodno) remain outside the list. At the same time, if a cemetery is on the list, the requirements of the Code of Culture come into conflict with the Law on Burials, the implementation of the latter in practice turns out to be a priority. This is evidenced, for example, by the widely media-covered conflict situation at the Military Cemetery in Minsk.⁹

War graves. We can say that military graves are subject to double counting: they are simultaneously present in the State List and registered by the corresponding military unit. As in the above case of cemeteries, the Law on Perpetuating the Memory of Soldiers Killed During the Fatherland Defence and Preserving the Memory of the War Victims, issued by the Ministry of Defence, clashes with the Code of Culture. The operational maintenance of monuments at burial sites, which for the most part have no specific artistic value, results in non-compliance with the procedural norms of the Code of Culture, where any change in the appearance of a monument must be approved by the Ministry. According to experts, it is better either to completely exclude this category of monuments from the State List, leaving them in the jurisdiction of the military, or to simplify the procedure for approving changes to them because the current procedure is not respected at all.¹⁰

Intangible heritage. In addition to the fact that the State List includes elements that do not correspond to the spirit of the 2003 UNESCO Convention as intangible cultural values (for example, urban coats of arms), the procedure for inscribing elements into the State List does not correspond to the best practices promoted by UNESCO. Working with intangible elements in the regions demonstrates a limited understanding of the ideas and principles of UNESCO Convention, both at legislative and management levels. Many experts state that inclusion into the list contributes not so much to preservation as to distortion of intangible cultural elements.¹¹

9 Цімафей Акудовіч, “Як абараніць старыя могілкі праз закон?,” [in:] *«Права на спадчыну»...*, op. cit., pp. 148–154.

10 Дзяніс Юрчак, “Да пытання мэтазгоднасці дваінога ўліку воінскіх пахаванняў як помнікаў гісторыі: маральны і эканамічны аспекты,” [in:] *«Права на спадчыну»...*, op. cit., pp. 141–147.

11 Таццяна Мармыш, “Нематэрыяльная спадчына ў Дзяржаўным спісе гісторыка-культурных каштоўнасцей: Эфект à rebours,” [in:] *«Права на спадчыну»...*, op. cit., pp. 109–121.

Recommendations for Belarus

To sum up, the current situation in Belarus can be characterised as basically inconsistent with the latest world practice of cultural heritage management. The recorded contradictions between the interests of different heritage actors and inconsistencies between various legislative acts must be resolved. On the one hand, it seems that a radical reform is required. In fact, I see that the preconditions for such a reform have already been created. The newest practices are already taking shape; they just have not been legally codified yet. In this regard, the following recommendations are offered:

1. In terms of research, it is necessary:

1.1. To assess and to count sites that could be potentially listed by categories. This will allow us to understand the potential number of heritage sites that we will have to manage in the future.

1.2. To determine the potential for public support for heritage conservation – for instance, by collecting examples of conservation and careful reconstruction of sites that do not have a protected status; volunteer initiatives and sponsorships disaggregated by region and type of heritage site. This will allow us to understand how the state can rely on society in heritage preservation.

1.3. To compare the effectiveness of public and private initiatives in preserving different types of architectural monuments. This will allow us to build a privatisation strategy and stimulate different actors (business, public organisations, religious communities, village councils, etc.).

1.4. To develop a system of criteria for the priority of public investment in restoration, as well as the priority goals of the conservation itself. For example, at present, most of the funds are directed to the restoration of objects in small towns or even villages, and the main indicator of the effectiveness of investments is an increase in the number of excursion visits. But is this fair?

2. In terms of reorganisation of the heritage governance and management system, it is necessary:

2.1. To differentiate the State List by the typology of objects (not only tangible and intangible) with the subsequent differentiation of approaches and methods of preserving them.

2.2. To consider decentralisation of listed heritage management on the basis of already operating institutions: the Institute of History of

the Academy of Sciences of Belarus (responsible for the archaeological heritage and already conducting its parallel listing); military units (military graves); departments of culture at regional and city executive committees; selected museums and reserves; religious communities (Catholics, Orthodox, Jews); also it is necessary to renew a separate institution dealing with intangible heritage.

2.3. To adopt a set of measures to stimulate private investment into the preservation of heritage sites (tax incentives, research cover, grant system, etc.). The preservation system must be friendly to the property owner and contribute to their desire to take on the honourable mission of heritage preservation.

2.4. To continue the development of thematic governmental programs such as “Castles of Belarus” or “Slutsk Belts” aimed at restoration and conversion of the most problematic categories of heritage sites, offering comprehensive modern solutions: synagogues, ruins of churches and manors, urban wooden buildings, among others.

2.5. To reform the project approval system because the current one either slows down investments in conservation, or provokes illegal works, which, even if they consist of true conservation, are still punished. For example, public organisations or local authorities could assist the Ministry of Culture in coordinating projects of certain categories of heritage sites, making its work more efficient.

2.6. To introduce new objectives for the quality of heritage management. For example, the priority should be to improve the quality of the living environment. This will allow us to cover a larger number of facilities and make more complex management decisions.

2.7. To introduce into Belarusian legislation and practice the principles reflected in international documents, such as the Faro Convention (2005), the European Landscape Convention (2000), the doctrinal documents of ICOMOS, and others.

Between Convictions and Intangible Cultural Heritage Preservation System in Lithuania

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Introduction

The concept of intangible cultural heritage is relatively new in the global world. The UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage¹ (further referred to as “the 2003 Convention”) was adopted by the UNESCO’s General Conference in October 2003 and entered into force in April 2006. It became a globally recognised conceptual standard of intangible cultural heritage (further referred to as “ICH”) including oral traditions and expressions, performing arts, social practices, traditional knowledge, and crafts.

Lithuania was among the first nine countries to ratify the 2003 Convention in 2004. Such an immediate ratification would presuppose that the notion and the concept of ICH had been inherently recognised by Lithuanian society and its heritage preservation system.

Contrarily, the ratification has revealed a dissonance in the understanding of ICH as an outlandish paradigm in comparison with the previously rooted paradigm of “Lithuanian ethnic culture” brought from the epoch of the national movement for the independence *Sąjūdis* in 1989 and afterwards enshrined by the Law on the Principles of the State Safeguarding of Ethnic Culture² in 1999. It should be noticed that the paradigm of Lithuanian ethnic culture continues to exist in parallel with some other closely related secondary local paradigms (such

1 UNESCO, Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, 2003, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention> [access: 10 December 2021].

2 Etninės kultūros valstybinės globos pagrindų įstatymas, <https://e-seimas.lrs.lt/portal/legalAct/lt/TAD/TAIS.93737?jfwid=rivwzvpgv> [access: 10 December 2021].

as *prigimtinė kultūra*, understood as primordially native or inherent culture, referring to Lithuanian traditional culture and paradoxically translated by its authors as “indigenous,” etc.) often used as equivalents or synonyms of “ethnic culture” and even by extension associated with ICH in various contexts. Meanwhile, despite huge conceptual disparities in the understanding of ICH and “ethnic culture,” the presence of the new international standard document (the 2003 UNESCO Convention) focused on safeguarding and promoting various expressions of traditional culture was welcomed as a pragmatic possibility to use the instrument which offers prestige and recognition to the field. In consequence, these distinct global (ICH), national, and local paradigms (ethnic culture, inherent/ native or “indigenous” culture, etc.) often got superposed or even converged. The concept of ICH, including its wording and terminology system, is respected mostly in formal ways when elaborating the periodic reports about the implementation of the 2003 Convention or submitting the candidature files for the inscription on the UNESCO’s ICH lists. The official preservation system in Lithuania persists in integrating the opposite concepts: on the one hand, there is an ethnocentric approach of heritagisation and folklorisation, which is embodied within the paradigm of “ethnic culture”; on the other, even if only formally, we have a multicultural and global approach of preserving a living and constantly recreated heritage by the communities. The main question of this article is therefore this: is such an integral junction of antithetic perceptions possible?

Interrelations of the concept of ethnic culture with the grand narratives in Lithuania

According to Miroslav Hroch,³ the early modern states in Europe developed under the domination of their ethnic culture, either in absolutist forms or in representative-estates systems. In most of such cases, it was subsequently transformed, by reforms or revolution, into a modern civil society *in parallel* with the construction of a nation-state as a community of equal citizens. The 19th-century Lithuania was in the process of self-constructing and self-defining as an ethno-cultural nation, moving towards becoming a nation-state. The self-construction of the Lithuanian nation was based on folklore, ethnic culture, language, and romantic

3 Miroslav Hroch, *Mažosios Europos tautos*, Vilnius 2012, p. 182.

interpretation of history and mythology following the common principles of ethno-cultural nation-building processes trying to respond to the urgent need of discovering and defining a distinctiveness from other countries. In this epoch of nationalism and nation-building the Lithuanian historic grand narratives were born. According to Jean-François Lyotard,⁴ grand narratives are characteristic of the period of modernity, whilst in postmodern times they should give way to “minor” or “more local” narratives as postmodernity is the age of pluralism. As the Lithuanian history researcher Alfredas Bumblauskas explains,⁵ the Lithuanian grand narratives coming from the 19th century and consisting of hypertrophied glorification of the Baltic pre-Christian culture and religion (paganism), and the entire Middle Ages in general, related to the expansion of the territories of the Lithuanian Grand Duchy and hyperestimation of rural cultural heritage, are still alive. Lithuanian philosopher, art historian, and anthropologist Gintautas Mažeikis in his article on the challenges of imagined societies for political anthropology in Lithuania analyses the origins of neo-pagan movements and affirms that mythological fictions, ethnographical romanticism, and historical legends and dreams had become the background for the further construction of the post-Soviet imagined society and its identity. After the restoration of the Lithuanian independence, the stimulation and development of historical and ethnographical visions and fiction have not been accomplished.⁶

The Lithuanian grand history narratives are abundantly interpreted in diverse public cultural discourses. Associated aspects characteristic of the grand Lithuanian history narratives such as archaism, authenticity, and otherness are often requested to be attributed to many cultural expressions and manifestations of ethnic culture, especially folklore.

According to the cultural anthropologist Regina F. Bendix, folklore is a vehicle in the search of the authentic, satisfying the longing for

4 Jean-François Lyotard, *La condition postmoderne: rapport sur le savoir*, Paris 1979, p. 128.

5 Alfredas Bumblauskas, “Lietuvos istorija: istorikų koncepcijos versus visuomenėje dominuojantys praeities vaizdiniai,” [in:] *Atminties kultūrų dialogai Ukrainos, Lietuvos, Baltarusijos (ULB) erdvėje*, eds. Alvydas Nikžentaitis and Michał Kopczyński, Vilnius 2015, pp. 63–71.

6 Gintautas Mažeikis, “Challenges of Imagined Societies for Political Anthropology in Lithuania,” [in:] *Defining Region: Social-Cultural Anthropology and Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, part 2, *Acta Historica Universitatis Klaipedensis*, vol. 13 (2006), p. 58.



Figure 1. Rasos Gates in the Morning (Rasos festival in Kernavė, 2002). Photo: Vytautas Daraškevičius, *Saulės ratu*, Vilnius 2018, p. 178

the escape from modernity. She explains that since the romantic era (in the 19th century) nationalist movements have always used folklore and the idea of authenticity to build a sense of belonging and national identity.⁷ Similarly, for cultural anthropologist Richard Handler, authenticity is a modern cultural construct that is linked to the idea of individualism, part of a view of the world that sees cultures as discrete and separate entities asserting themselves against one another.⁸

In the late 1980s and early 1990s Lithuania experienced a national upheaval, which ended by the breakup from the Soviet Union in 1990. Narratives and symbols related to the reconstructed archaic pre-Christian Baltic culture were constitutive for the folklore revival movement, thanks to which the whole community of the supporters of the concept of ethnic culture reflecting grand narratives *par excellence* has established itself. The elaborators and promoters of the concept of ethnic culture were mostly the former and present leaders and members of folklore ensembles, most of them philologists of the Lithuanian language and literature or ethnomusicologists.

7 Regina Bendix, *In Search of Authenticity*, Madison 1997, p. 7.

8 Richard Handler, "Authenticity," [in:] *Anthropology Today*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1986), pp. 2–4.

One of the moral leaders within this community and the author of the notion and paradigm of ethnic culture was Norbertas Vėlius, philologist, ethnographer, specialist in the Baltic mythology and folklore, an outstanding cultural personality of the Restoration of Independence Period in the 1990s. The paradigm supposedly embraced the whole national culture and represented a national worldview grounded in the archaic ethnic culture:

Ethnic culture surrounds us like air and exists inside us. We do not perceive it, just as we do not see the oxygen we breathe. [...] I suppose the ethnic culture encompasses the relationship between all of us, Lithuanians, between brother and sister, father and mother, grandson and grandfather, family member and neighbour, the relationship with other peoples, the approach to that otherworld of afterlife, the world of gods or God – the understanding of the whole world. All this experience differentiates us from others [...] ⁹

After the concept of “ethnic culture” was fixed and anchored, it replaced the former term “folk culture” used by the Soviets, however, without a substantial transformation in the meaning itself. This community of its supporters has achieved the formalisation of the concept of “ethnic culture” and its integration in the framework of national policies and legislation (such as the Law on the Principles of the State Safeguarding of Ethnic Culture of 1999, a series of development plans for “ethnic culture” approved by the Ministry of Culture, institutionalised regional network of workers in the field of “ethnic culture” under the supervision of the State Council of Ethnic Culture under the Parliament of the Republic of Lithuania, and others).

The concept of “indigenous” culture

Since 2011 an annual seminars cycle lead by ethnologist, mythologist, folklorist, and researcher Daiva Vaitkevičienė has started and shortly afterwards a specialised Institute (an NGO) has been established with a view to introduce and promote a new paradigm of the so-called *prigimtinė kultūra*. Its closest meaning in English would be “inherent” or

9 Norbertas Vėlius, eds. Irena Seliukaitė and Perla Vitkuvienė, Vilnius 1999, pp. 393–400, <https://alkas.lt/2019/12/29/apie-etnine-kultura/> [access: 10 December 2021].



Figure 2. Signs on the Nemunas' Bank (Rasos festival in Merkinė, 2016). Photo: Vytautas Daraškevičius, *Saulės ratu*, Vilnius 2018, p. 164

“native” culture, with an emphasis on “inherited cultural code,” almost an instinct which operates through communication, language, dreams, akin to “a drowsing water under frozen ice.”¹⁰

The author of the concept claimed that this new paradigm better corresponded to the need of reflection of the unique Lithuanian culture in the global and universal contexts. According to Vaitkevičienė, the notion of “ethnic culture” originally had a very wide scope and embraced the entire national culture, but in practice it is used as the synonym of folk culture. She perceives this new paradigm as a possibility to research the traditional culture of local origin (ethnically Lithuanian or, by extension, Baltic) through a specific perception of the term “indigenous.” She explains thereafter that the English translation of the term as “indigenous” might be used in reference to a spiritual “inner colonisation,” as opposed to prioritisation of imported cultural values due to various historic contexts – in particular Christianity or globalisation of nowadays.

¹⁰ Prigimtinės kultūros institutas, <http://www.prigimtaine.lt/lt/> [access: 10 December 2021].

According to the Lithuanian ethnologist, the main characteristics of “indigenous” culture are rootedness, importance of being local, spontaneity in self-evolution, continuity, an eco-central approach implying a refusal of an anthropocentric view and therefore resulting in a polycentral approach embracing cultural diversity, with a strong emphasis on coexistence of religions without prioritising any of them.¹¹

Recently, this term has started to appear in publications or research as a synonym of “ethnic culture” and/or complementary to it. Paradoxically, even if the conceptual leaders of this new paradigm give much consideration to clarifying the differences between the notions of the paradigms of ethnic culture and “indigenous” (native, inherent) culture, both concepts go in line with the grand history narratives of the 19th century, accentuating the uniqueness of ancient traditional spiritual culture, archaic Baltic culture, mythologisation of nature and romantic past, as it was the common practice during the epochs of movements of nationalism.

The idea of “indigeneity” as referred to “ethnic culture” spreads in various cultural contexts, even in its contemporary representations. For example, on 17 July–26 September 2021 the Lithuanian National Gallery of Art displayed a monumental exhibition *Stories of Indigenous People*, whose curators supposedly reconstructed the cultural memory and attempted to decolonise the very notion of “indigeneity” of Lithuanian rural people – a “small” people who lived in the 19th–20th centuries. The exhibition included an aesthetic and rich collection of artefacts, photos, and documents. However, the critics of the exhibition reproached the “conservation of the identity and the unity of the nation within exotic ‘indigenous’ visions, which transform into ‘the other’ not only the identity itself (distant, archaic), but also other ethnic groups living in the same political society.”¹²

Preservation system of “ethnic culture” or intangible cultural heritage in Lithuania?

When returning to ethnic culture as the most commonly used term in Lithuania it is important to note that its paradigm is widely represented

11 Daiva Vaitkevičienė, “Apie mūsų prigimtinę kultūrą,” [in:] *Liaudies kultūra*, vol. 4 (2012), pp. 1–6.

12 Kristina Jonutytė and Ugnė Barbora Starkutė, *Kas ne taip su “prigimtine” kultūra*, NARA 2021, <https://nara.lt/lt/articles-lt/kas-ne-taip-su-prigimtine-kultura-antropologiu-reakcija-i-paroda-ciabuviu-istorijos> [access: 10 December 2021].

not only as a traditionalist perception of cultural heritage within Lithuanian society, but also as an approach for developing ICH policies in Lithuania within the institutionalised framework. Although some ICH programmes or financing schemes are formally included in national policies or development plans, the main national law is focused on the preservation of “Lithuanian ethnic culture” (Law on the Principles of the State Safeguarding of Ethnic Culture). Since the approval of the Law in 1999 it has been only slightly updated, and it does not integrate any definition of the concept of ICH. Recently, some mentions of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage have indeed appeared in the Law, but they were placed solely within the extended set of responsibilities of the Council for the Safeguarding of Ethnic Culture as the advisory body to the Lithuanian Parliament in the field of “ethnic culture”. Intangible cultural heritage is mentioned but not defined, thus it appears as a complementary element to the “Lithuanian ethnic culture”. It is also to be noted that the Law is mostly focused on the protection of culture of the titular ethnic group, Lithuanians. The “ethnic culture” in the Law is defined as “the total sum of cultural properties, created by the entire nation (ethnos), passed from generation to generation and constantly renewed, which made it possible to preserve the national identity, as well as the awareness and uniqueness of ethnographic regions.”¹³ The concept of the entire nation explained in brackets as ethnos brings in certain ambiguity. Certainly, it can be referred to the polysemy and ambiguity of the term of the nation itself, but it makes it clear that the focus is on the single dominant ethnic group. It goes apparently in conflict with the UNESCO's paradigm of ICH, which gives paramount importance to the respect of human rights and cultural diversity.

Another legislative act, which is closely related to ICH, is the Law of National Heritage products, which was adopted in 2007 by the Parliament of the Republic of Lithuania.¹⁴ On the website “Lithuanian National Heritage” administrated by the Ministry of Agriculture it is said that the Law “ensures governmental protection of national heritage products, enables preservation and propagates accumulated experience in national crafts,

13 Etninės kultūros valstybinės globos pagrindų įstatymas, <https://e-seimas.lrs.lt/portal/legalAct/lt/TAD/TAIS.93737?jfwid=rivwzvpvg> [access: 10 December 2021].

14 Tautinio paveldo produktų įstatymas, 2007, <https://e-seimas.lrs.lt/portal/legalAct/lt/TAD/TAIS.301365> [access: 10 December 2021].

while endowing it with contemporary significance; it gives governmental help and ensures favourable conditions for traditional craftsmen to create, realise, and popularise products of national heritage.”¹⁵ The Law of National Heritage Products regulates the system of certification of the products of national heritage and its database (a kind of inventory or register) “which have unique quality and structure, are not mass production, are handmade from traditional raw materials or by using old or equivalent new technologies. It also certifies craftsmen whose wares are acknowledged as products of national heritage.”¹⁶ In practice, besides the general aims of stimulating crafts, the Law acts via a system named a Classifier, consisting of a number of tight requirements, limitations, and specifications concerning the technologies and shapes to be used for producing “various authentic types of products of national heritage.” Wide application of the requirements related to the authenticity not being compatible with UNESCO’s concept of ICH raises questions related to the living nature of crafts, which represent one of the key domains of ICH.

The importance of the National Inventory of ICH,¹⁷ established by the Ministry of Culture in 2017 for the purpose of implementing the 2003 Convention (thirteen years after its ratification in 2004), is to be noted. Since then up to the end of 2022, forty-eight elements have been inscribed in the National Inventory of ICH (to be updated annually in the end of January). One third of the elements are closely related to “ethnic music” or folklore, which remains one of the dominant forms cherished by ethnologists and experts on ethnic culture in Lithuania. The major part of the elements inscribed in the Inventory can be viewed as closer to the concept of ethnic culture than to the one of living ICH. A part of the inscribed elements corresponds to the “onstage” activities, demonstrations of historic reconstructions for the purposes of cultural tourism, exhibiting strong aspects of folklorisation and decontextualisation. The elements are frequently represented by various public/state organisations named as communities, which take charge of preserving these elements and transmitting them to the next generations. A good

15 Lietuvos tautinis paveldas, <https://www.tautinispaveldas.lt/about-national-heritage> [access: 10 December 2021].

16 Tautinio paveldo produktų įstatymas, op. cit.

17 Nematerialaus kultūros paveldo vertybių sąvadas, <https://savadas.lnkc.lt/en> [access: 10 December 2021].

example of the historic reconstructions is the case of the hollow tree beekeeping culture. At the moment of the submission of this candidature for the National Inventory in 2019 the employee of the wild beekeeping museum in the Village of Musteika situated within the territory of the Dzūkija National Park was the only active practitioner of this craft for the purposes of educational activities of the museum. The tradition has been practiced in the form of the ancient craft demonstration for the visitors of the museum by showing how the villagers of yore used to climb trees and harvest honey from the hollows of big pines. Such beekeeping practice has been a particularity of this region and a living tradition until the 20th century.¹⁸ Even though some successfully implemented measures of the Safeguarding Plan allowed the training of eight new hollow beekeepers in 2022, living social and cultural functions and meanings of the element still raise many questions about its adequacy to be categorised as a viable ICH or a living practice.

Another important part of the Inventory includes the elements presented by the communities themselves and represents living practices and expressions of ICH. The inventory is open to ethnic minorities and there are already five elements associated with them. However, the issues of ethnic minorities raise permanent discussions by experts and policymakers. Considering that even inventory making (inspired by the 2003 Convention) is often based on the conceptual understanding of ethnic culture which gives priority to the most archaic, ancient, and authentic cultural representations, the acceptance of minorities, especially immigrants of relatively recent origins, is a rather complicated issue. Some ethnic groups or communities concede to a permanent competition in terms of archaism with others, allegedly “much older,” “more traditional” or “authentic” communities and/or minorities. Such situation is partially attributable to the absence of appropriate legislation and clear definitions of ethnic minorities since 2010 (the previous legislation had a limited validation).

Three elements submitted by Lithuania and inscribed on the UNESCO’s Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (Cross-crafting tradition in 2008, Baltic Song and Dance Celebrations in 2008, and *Sutartinės* multipart singing tradition in 2010) represent

18 Nematerialaus kultūros paveldo vertybių sąvadas, <https://savadas.lnkc.lt/en> [access: 10 December 2021].



Figure 3. Skausmo kalnelis (The Hill of Pain) – a commemoration site for partisans, deportees, and national heroes at Mikniškės village, Marijampolė district, an example of cross-crafting tradition. Photo: Vėtrė Antanvičiūtė, <https://kryzdirbysteskelias.lt/2020/11/05/skausmo-kalnelis/> [access: 14 December 2021]

the most emblematic understanding of ICH as national (“ethnic”) culture from the state position as a tool bringing the most important national symbols on the international stage, following the tradition from the interwar period when traditional art was the main object of state support and concentrated efforts were made to elevate ethno-cultural heritage as being of an “unquestionable value,”¹⁹ offering an easy source for the international and diplomatic representations of the young national state seeking international recognition.

After the Soviet occupation and restoration of national independence in 1990, various ethno-cultural expressions again became national symbols of survival and resistance; thus, especially during the first decade of independence, hundreds of old crosses were restored, and thousands of new ones were built with a view to express a patriotic standing without a religious meaning. Nevertheless, making and visiting abundantly

19 Dangiras Mačiulis, “Kultūros paveldo apsauga nepriklausomoje Lietuvoje (1918–1940),” [in:] *Lituanistica*, vol. 4, no. 56 (2003), p. 40.

carved wooden crosses in various memory spaces and sacral locations is still a widely practiced religious Christian tradition. There is also a tendency to overemphasise archaic pre-Christian strata (some visual aspects, sacral spaces) of the cross-crafting tradition despite the cultural and religious functions and meanings of the present day. Some purposive disregard of Christian or religious aspects replaced by a strong emphasis of archaic Baltic pre-Christian culture is often characteristic to various representations of ICH in museums, other cultural institutions, and public discourse.

The Song and Dance Celebrations in the Baltic States, a tradition whose origins lay in the 19th century, had been developed as an organised communal singing culture and came to the Baltic states from Switzerland and Germany, but it was also widely spread in many other European countries in the epoch of nationalism. In addition to its social and cultural functions as a communal leisure activity, it served as a tool for national mobilisation, expression of patriotic feelings and state ideologies. It was essential for the upcoming Declaration and Restoration of Independences in 1918 and the 1990s for the Baltic states. During the Soviet times the Celebrations took its actual structure and form – it “acted as an integral part of the general Soviet culture, but also had traits of the earlier Lithuanian tradition; [...] it integrated new cultural phenomena into the concept of nationalism, including the revived folklore movement [...], and has been transformed into a symbol of Lithuanian exclusivity.”²⁰ After the Celebrations were inscribed on the UNESCO’s Representative List, the organisers of the Celebrations have succeeded to elaborate exceptional legal and organisational frameworks, which ensured and fixed the continuity of the tradition through the adoption of the specific laws on Song and Dance Celebrations (2005 in Latvia, 2007 in Lithuania). No other tradition or cultural event supported by the state is receiving equal budgetary resources. It is important to note that critical research focused on the controversial impact of a multiplex ideological Soviet period on the current condition and shape of the Song and Dance Celebrations does not influence dominant public discourse or national policies.

The third element inscribed on the UNESCO Representative list is the *Sutartinės* multipart polyphonic singing tradition, which is one of the most archaic forms of Lithuanian musical folklore (according to one

20 Nerija Putinaitė, *Skambantis molis*, Vilnius 2019, p. 390.

hypothesis the tradition dates back to the Stone Age). This particular singing tradition became almost extinct in the 20th century and only thanks to the folklore movement of the 1980s it spread among the folklore ensembles and groups, which are now considered as the main practitioners of the tradition. Paradoxically, the inscription on the UNESCO's list not only strengthened its position among the folklore performers, but essentially revived its social function among the youth who have never experienced the folklore. An expression which had been more referable to the representation of ethnic culture after its inscription has acquired aspects of an element of intangible cultural heritage.

Until now the selection of ICH elements on the national level for the UNESCO's Representative list (and inscribed afterwards) has represented predominantly the most typical aspects associated with the paradigm of ethnic culture: archaism (*Sutartinės*), national ideology (Song and Dance Celebrations), and cultural memory referred to victimisation or colonisation (Cross-crafting).

Conclusion

Despite formally respected procedures of the global intangible heritage preservation approaches in Lithuania (ratification of the 2003 Convention in 2004; establishment of the Inventory of ICH; series of elements inscribed on the UNESCO Representative List), its paradigm is frequently interpreted as imported or too cosmopolitan. Subsequently, it results in a constant conflict of different heritage paradigms in Lithuania when the global one is often seen as not responding to national aspirations, and the traditionalist (ethno-cultural) one is in the constant need of defence against globalisation and must combat the risk of losing authenticity or disappearing. Therefore, contradictory traditionalist strategies of heritage protection based on the Lithuanian grand narratives and their related aspects, incompatible with the paradigm of ICH (archaism, reconstructed mythologies, authenticity, folklorisation, decontextualisation, heritagisation, and conservation), which date back to the late 19th and early 20th century, are still maintained. It is characteristic of Lithuania as an Eastern European nation, born in the 19th–20th centuries, with a strong need for consolidation and inspiration from national grand history narratives. Official and formal heritage preservation frameworks often maintain a two-ply policy: following and keeping a traditionalist and ethnocentric perception of ICH, while also flirting with quite

pragmatic assets or benefits of being involved in the universal and global contexts.

It is worth noting that the most recent state policies and strategies for ICH preservation are attempting to strike a balance or synergies between the two paradigms (for instance, the establishment of the Council of Ethnic Culture and Intangible Cultural Heritage as the advisory body to the Ministry of Culture in 2019).

However, synergies or convergence of such distinct paradigms are challenging or hardly possible because of the application of different criteria (authenticity or archaism on the one hand, and constantly changing nature, re-creation, and viability on the other).

Interpretation of the Past: Architectural Heritage Management in Romania

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Introduction

This article discusses the evolution and conditions under which architectural heritage used to be managed in the past, and how it is managed today. The aim is to identify how the past was interpreted while creating different laws for the protection of architectural heritage at different times and how different countries influenced and inspired one another while impacting further development for both well-known and less-known monuments.

The article traces a timeline both by historic and contemporary meanings and thus enhances the path to evolution in the thought and perception of many researchers. Distinguished scholars have created conventions that will spread in use and modernise the already-generalised ideas until they have been passed on as applicable. At this stage, cultural heritage has moved into its mature phase and has influenced Romania as well in the way it looks at its monuments.

Origins of preservation

Starting as early as in the 5th century, Western Roman Emperor Majorian (457–461) created one of the most significant laws for the protection of monuments called *De aedificiis publicis* [On public buildings] addressed to the superintendents of guilds and *prefectus urbi* [Prefect of the City] of Rome. It might include the earliest mention of an aimed preservation of the architectural heritage of ancient Rome together with severe punishments for any destruction of these buildings.¹

¹ Clyde Pharr, *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions: A Translation with Commentary, Glossary, and Bibliography*, New York 1952, pp. 553–554.

A century and a half later spoliation for personal purposes often led to destroying important parts of Roman buildings, particularly the ones built out of marble and stone. On the other hand, the already undergoing process of repurposing these buildings contributed to their inadvertent preservation when Pope Gregorius I wrote in a letter² about the reuse of ruins for the benefit of serving the Christian faith in 601 AD. As a result, the next Pope Boniface IV, with the permission of Emperor Phocas,³ converted the building of the Pantheon into a church eight years later,⁴ thus ensuring its survival through conversion and care.⁵ Not all monuments faced the same fate, but some are worth mentioning due to their exceptionality when it comes to their safekeeping and preservation. One special case worth mentioning is the Column of Trajan in Rome, concerning which an edict was emitted by the Roman Senate on 27th of March 1162 to protect it from any damage until “the end of time.”⁶

As famous French art historian Pommier⁷ points out, the idea of protecting and restoring architectural heritage emerged in Italy, almost as a continuous idea of the trends that started with the occasional preservation undergone by many duplicitous Popes, whose protection of ruins was duplicitous more than once. With all the admiration that the Renaissance had for its antiquities, viewed as a source of inspiration and respect, things went into careless resourcing and added to the simplest of efforts. During these times the biggest carriers of pre-cut stones were the ancient ruins, starting with the grandiose Flavian Amphitheatre in Rome⁸ and its surroundings.

2 Brenda Deen Schildgen, *Heritage or Heresy: Preservation and Destruction of Religious Art and Architecture in Europe*, New York 2008, p. 88.

3 Gregor Kalas, “The Divisive Politics of Phocas (602–610) and the Last Imperial Monument of Rome,” [in:] *Antiquite Tardive*, vol. 25 (2017), p. 184.

4 Françoise Choay, *Alegoria Patrimoniului*, București 1996, p. 29.

5 Rabun Taylor, Katherine Wentworth Rinne, and Spiro Kostof, *Rome: An Urban History from Antiquity to Present*, Cambridge 2016, p. 180.

6 Stefano Riccioni, “Rewriting Antiquity, Renewing Rome: The Identity of the Eternal City through Visual Art, Monumental Inscriptions and Mirabilia,” [in:] *Medieval Encounters*, vol. 17 (2011), p. 456.

7 Édouard Pommier, *Comment l’art deviant l’Art dans l’Italie de la Renaissance*, Paris 2007; Bernard Lahire, *This Is Not Just a Painting: An Inquiry into Art, Domination, Magic and the Sacred*, Cambridge 2019, p. 169.

8 Commonly known as the Colosseum.

One such mention would fit Pope Pius II Piccolomini,⁹ author of a Bull promulgated in 1462¹⁰ for the protection of the ancient Roman ruins in the Papal States and punishments for those who did not abide by the law.¹¹ He originally began with a new initiative, by opening the long-time closed marble quarry of the Carrara Mountains and ensuring safe passage for its workers and materials by boat. As much as the Pope's actions might have been well-intended, protecting Roman buildings and marbles from being burned as lime, he soon ended up resuming what others have done before him, that is spoliation of monuments – and not just in Rome, but also stretching outside its walls, reaching as far as Ostia and even to the villa of Emperor Hadrian at Tivoli.¹²

During the time of Pope Paul III Farnese,¹³ a small change in attitude towards Roman ruins could be observed when on 8 October 1534 he appointed his secretary Latino Giovenale Manetti¹⁴ as the *Commissario alle antichità* [Commissioner of Antiquities], with the role of protecting both the ancient ruins and artifacts found during the construction of roads and any other works. Unfortunately, the abovementioned Pope broke his policy and agreed multiple times to the extraction of marble and construction materials from existing structures,¹⁵ both inside the walls of Rome and outside. Most of these extractions were done for the reconstruction of Saint Peter's basilica¹⁶ as well as for private residences. Almost two centuries later Cardinal Spinola¹⁷ issued the Edict on 30 Sep-

9 Ruth Rubinstein, "Pius II and Roman Ruins," [in:] *Renaissance*, vol. 2, no. 2 (1988), p. 197.

10 B. D. Schildgen, *Heritage or Heresy...*, op. cit., p. 17.

11 R. Rubinstein, "Pius II...", op. cit., p. 199.

12 Ibidem, p. 203.

13 For more information on Pope Paul III Farnese's policies regarding Roman ruins, see Ludwig Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 12, transl. Ralph F. Kerr, London 1912; Ronald T. Ridley, "To Protect Monuments: The Papal Antiquarium (1534–1870)," [in:] *Xenia Antiqua*, vol. 1 (1992), pp. 117–121.

14 For biographical details see Simona Feci, "Manetti, Latino Giovenale," [in:] *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, treccani.it [access: 05 April 2022]; and Francesca Salatin, "Paolo III Latino Giovenale Manetti e Carlo V: strategie urbane tra le 'miracolose ruine,'" *Studi e Ricerche di Storia dell'Architettura* (2017), pp. 28–45.

15 Maryl B. Gensheimer, *Decoration and Display in Rome's Imperial Thermae: Messages of Power and Their Popular Reception at the Baths of Caracalla*, Oxford 2018, p. 44.

16 L. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, op. cit., p. 565.

17 Emmanuelle Chapron, *Ad utilità publica*, Geneva 2009, p. 229.

tember 1704, which marked the beginning of conservation intentions towards Roman buildings, further mentioning the repressing of multiple abusive excavations and selling of antiquities coming out of them.

Another interesting mention came down from King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, who – while trying to protect archaeological sites and their content – appointed an antiquarian responsible for their protection and later issued the Royal Decree of 1684 aimed at the protection of ruins and their underground remains. Archaeological sites together with their artifacts were declared as property of the Swedish Crown.¹⁸ Given the time of its promulgation, Gustavus Adolphus' decree constitutes one of the earliest mentions of the protection of archaeological sites and their contents. It also includes the assessment that the underground items are best protected by staying where they are – unexcavated.

Many centuries have passed, with sometimes vague and general laws that solely applied to local interests. The idea of preserving objects for posterity¹⁹ was formulated indirectly in the expressions of appreciation by painters and travellers. It is not just Rome worth mentioning in this context, as there are many other similar efforts registered throughout Europe, but as it happens, the best-preserved examples, writings, and descriptions of these cases remained closely guarded in the archives of the Eternal City.

Step by step these buildings were drawn and painted by so many worthy artists²⁰ and described in the writings of uncounted authors, whose works gave the foundation of what would become the future fascination of architects. The view on these monuments changed into something else: an understanding how they were built paired with the knowledge of incredible technology used for their construction. Centuries after their creation the world would rediscover these buildings, covered in layers by the passing time, and the fascination²¹ with what they represent would take hold of later generations. The interest grew further still with the rediscovery

18 E. Janet Blake, *International Cultural Heritage Law*, Oxford 2015, p. 2.

19 David Karmon, *The Ruin of the Eternal City: Antiquity and Preservation in Renaissance Rome*, Oxford 2011, p. 69.

20 Ingrid Rowland and Noah Charney, *The Collector of Lives: Giorgio Vasari and the Invention of Art*, New York 2017.

21 Marius Ioan Grec, *Arheologia, între știință și pasiune*, Arad 2009, p. 20.

of long-lost ancient cities such as Troy,²² Pompeii, Herculaneum,²³ and Ostia.²⁴ Throughout Europe, ruins now have a name, but with fame also came looting. Gold diggers went through destroying everything in their path for artifacts and treasure hunting, while the whole of the monuments was tampered with, hence these monuments had to be listed and labelled as under protection.

The respect that these buildings inspired paved the way for their conservation and protection, and in the years to come things would be focused on restructuring it as classified cultural heritage. As these objects are valued by architects and technicians, it is only fair that they first offered the source of knowledge for their protection.

Relevant policy documents in cultural heritage in Europe

Heritage often encompasses many different things as it is generally defined according to the category to which it belongs,²⁵ giving built heritage architectural, monumental, or simply urban characteristics. It also involves a timeline aspect of its related importance through historic or contemporary meanings.

Historical buildings are remnants of the passing of time and its destructive force across its periods. The importance of understanding this aspect raises a multi-disciplinarity of fields which need to be understood in order to be identified accordingly. Besides natural elements, anthropogenic factors have contributed largely to the degradation of historical buildings, and this trend still continues nowadays. Monuments have become items of cultural use in the 15th and 16th centuries as ruins were drawn, painted, and visited throughout the world. Almost at a time when the loss of their function seemed like the beginning of the end, artists and pilgrims touched a sensitive artistic spot while enhancing the beauty of these monuments through their art, be it written or drawn. The pilgrimage was a popular traveling method at the time, allowing travellers

22 David A. Traill, "Schliemann's 'Dream of Troy': The Making of a Legend," [in:] *The Classical Journal*, vol. 81, no. 1 (1985), pp. 13–24.

23 Alexander Echlin, "Dynasty, Archaeology, and Conservation: The Bourbon Rediscovery of Pompeii and Herculaneum in Eighteenth-Century Naples," [in:] *The Journal of the History Collections*, vol. 26, no. 2 (2014), pp. 145–159.

24 Becatti G. Calza et al. *Scavi di Ostia*, vol. 1–4, Rome 1953–1961.

25 Rodney Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, London 2013, p. 20.

to learn more about the world and describe it, and descriptions of monuments were often circulated as an almost perfecting method of veneration for the cultures of the past.

During the unstable years of the French Revolution, the care for monuments fell under the jurisdiction of the “Commission des monuments” created with the sole aim of protecting historical buildings. The necessity for such a group composed of artists, scientists, and even antiquaries was instated as a measure to stop severe acts of vandalism.²⁶ At almost the same time, the first idea of inventorying historical buildings and the materials found around them gave way to the clear division of heritage into moveable²⁷ and immovable.²⁸ While the dominant 19th-century European powers indulged in efforts to fill their museums with treasure hunting from elsewhere, in the background the ability to investigate concepts of preservation started to shape. The concern appealed to some of the robbed countries and the interest in architectural heritage conservation gave way to one of the most important meetings of architects, the first one to succeed in a series of proposed solutions.

Following Italy by example with its first opened public museum of the Capitoline Hill by Pope Clement XII²⁹ and since Rome was already a renowned cultural centre of the world,³⁰ other countries aspired to it and revered it while trying their best to adapt. Nearby France was preparing what would soon become the Louvre Museum.³¹ The trend was set. Soon after many countries started to calibrate and conduct actions aimed at protecting their historical buildings together with collecting their artworks. France used a centralised activity to preserve its historical monuments, but sometimes the process underwent such severe scrutiny that monuments remained unprotected. Others decided to try a different approach.

26 Andrew McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre: Arts, Politics, and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteen-Century Paris*, Oakland 1999, pp. 157–158.

27 Mainly works of art and artefacts.

28 Buildings, archaeological sites, and ruins.

29 Thomas Worthen, “Review Essay: Papal Power and the Largess,” [in:] *Religion and the Arts*, vol. 21, Leiden 2017, p. 661.

30 Heather H. Minor, “Architectural Discourse in Rome: Academies, Ruins, and Books,” [in:] *Companion to the History of Architecture*, ed. Harry F. Mallgrave, Boston–Oxford 2016, p. 4.

31 A. McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre...*, op. cit., p. 19.

By the power of example, the United Kingdom formed small private intellectual societies that were subsequently reshaped as the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings,³² founded in 1877 in London by William Morris³³ and Phillip Webb. It was at that inaugural meeting day on 22 March 1877 that the SPAB Manifesto³⁴ came to life with its valuable contribution. Only two years later Morris joined architect John Ruskin in the fight to save one of the most iconic monuments of Venice, the Basilica of St. Mark, which at the time had already been in a very damaging restoration process.³⁵ Soon after the interest in architectural heritage and the fight against damaging interventions led to the passing of the Ancient Monuments Act by the Parliament of the United Kingdom in 1882; a couple of years later it was followed by the first proposed incipient list of historic monuments. France soon realigned and emitted its own Monuments Act for the protection of monuments in 1887.³⁶ A couple of years later, just before World War I, in 1913, France had its legislation aligned with the almost same points as the other countries passing on the law on historical monuments.³⁷

Other countries were joining the movement each with their perspective, as in 1888 the first museum laboratory concerned with the preservation and restoration was entrusted to Friedrich Rathgen³⁸ and opened in Berlin.³⁹ In Germany, several difficulties were pointed out regarding the country's complexity and differences between its sixteen states,⁴⁰ their

32 Elizabeth A. Donovan, *William Morris and the SPAB for the Protection of Ancient Buildings*, New York 2008, p. 64.

33 Mark Bevin, "William Morris: The Modern Self, Art, and Politics," [in:] *History of European Ideas*, vol. 24, no. 3 (1998), pp. 175–194.

34 Jenny Kingsley, "William Morris: the Social Conscience of Arts and Crafts," [in:] *Artbook*, vol. 17, no. 4 (2010), p. 21.

35 E. A. Donovan, *William Morris...*, op. cit., p. 90.

36 Melanie Hall, *Towards World Heritage: International Origins of Preservation Movement*, London 2016, p. 142.

37 Toshiyuki Kono (ed.), *The Impact of Uniform Laws on the Protection of Cultural Heritage and the Preservation of Cultural Heritage in the 21st Century*, Leiden 2010, p. 359.

38 Mark Gilberg, "Friedrich Rathgen: The Father of Modern Archaeological Conservation," [in:] *Journal of American Institute for Conservation*, vol. 26, no. 2 (1987), pp. 105–120.

39 Chris Caple, *Conservation Skills: Judgement, Method and Decision Making*, New York 2000, p. 53.

40 M. Hall, *Towards World Heritage...*, op. cit., p. 142.

corresponding interests not always aligned. Nonetheless, in 1902 they passed the Hesse Law that regarded the protection of monuments as well as archaeological sites, followed by the Oldenburg Protection Law in 1911 and right before World War I the “Prussian Excavation Law.”⁴¹

At a very advanced stage in protecting its monuments, announcing publicly any kind of work regarding valued buildings, Italy promulgated the “Rosadi” law, validated by the government of Giovanni Giolitti in 1909. In articles 12, 13, 14⁴² of the law, the protection of monuments was established by creating a protective policy and forbidding any kind of intervention that could affect the integrity of historical structures.

All countries mentioned above⁴³ had encountered the same main problems, concerning private or national possession, property rights, and other political struggles. An important step was already made, even if the instating of the Monument Acts was rather a difficult mission and laws were not so easily abided by; they all ended up compromising for the same purpose – the creation of a national heritage. By the time all these laws were starting to pass, there had been a keen interest in the Congress of Architects, and by and by they resumed trying to understand architectural heritage behind its public, private, or national status. Since incredible progress had been made, numerous activities started to add to the foundation of local communities, journals, and committees that dealt with the protection of architectural heritage throughout the world. A great majority of these were composed of architects, archaeologists, antiquarians, and sometimes even members of general public. As an accomplishment, the information became available worldwide for sharing with almost anyone who had the interest to read it.

Unfortunately, with World War I, all activities that had a progressive direction were suppressed, and most of them remained suspended even afterward. During the conflict the suspended legislative measures were lost, in a sense that preservation and everything related to it got interrupted. In a way, this added a benefit that was to be used in the coming years. Postwar activities relating to devastated buildings

41 Henry Cleere (ed.), *Approaches to Archaeological Heritage*, Cambridge 1984, p. 39.

42 Anna Maria Colavitti, *Urban Heritage Management: Planning with History*, Cagliari 2018, p. 95.

43 Astrid Swenson, *The Rise of Heritage: Preserving the Past in France, Germany and England, 1789–1914*, Cambridge 2013, p. 327.

renovation programmes significantly expanded the interest in heritage and the leaders of the monument protection movement were to come up with a new approach. Architectural heritage came to be protected differently in all countries.

At that time most European countries had already founded their Commissions of Monuments, developed incipient archaeological excavation techniques and practices, and further developed museums and collections. It was only a matter of time until the interest in cultural heritage would be made accessible through journals, books, documents, laws, and science. Various archaeological societies organised multiple congresses on the history of art⁴⁴ held by scholars from most European countries, thus the taste for international cooperation expanded at an international level quite freely.

Organised by the International Museum Office, architects, and various types of European technicians, the International Conference for the Protection and Conservation of Artistic and Historical Monuments⁴⁵ was to become known as The Charter of Athens (1931) – a guideline document issued as a reference for professionals. The Charter of Athens was considered the First International Congress of Architects and was attended by 120 European scholars, who together with their papers would act as a sole motivator for the future of such specialised meetings that would open up the path for more Charters, which while not legally binding, would be followed as guidance codes for dealing with built cultural heritage and beyond.

Past restorations had not used scientific observations, and some were based on deductive ideas from the archaeological and architectural remains. The so-called restorations had already been planned and conducted by various individuals, often deliberately relying on pure imagination,⁴⁶ and some being better than others, but the Charter only gave a sense of how important publication and consistent cooperation is. Initially, the congress reached a ten-point conclusion as summarised by

44 G.C. Sciola, “Roma 1912: Adolfo Venturi e il primo Convegno internazionale di Storia dell’arte: Attualità di un dibattito e urgenza, tutto persistente, di alcune proposte,” [in:] *Arte Documento*, vol. 28 (2012), pp. 220–225.

45 Cristina Iamandi, “The Charter of Athens of 1931,” *Latvia 2000*, pp. 17–28.

46 F. Choay, *Alegoria patrimoniului*, op. cit., p. 61.

Italian architect Gustavo Giovannoni, one of its main participants,⁴⁷ but in most publications⁴⁸ on the matter outside the Italian language sphere, only seven appear. To clarify this awkward situation, it is necessary to discern between two Charters with the same name,⁴⁹ the same place, but a different year. The Charter of Athens (1931) had ten-point conclusions but was to be reshaped into seven final points in the years to come, under a new Charter.

The first Charter refers strictly to the one held in 1931 in Athens with Giovannoni as one of its most important contributors, whilst the other was held from 27 July to 13 August 1933, both in Paris and Athens. It was organised as the 4th meeting of CIAM⁵⁰ with Le Corbusier as one of its main contributors, and it elaborated on the problems of urbanism and modern city life. Originally it was not called the Charter of Athens – the name under which Le Corbusier published it only in 1941 after many revisited editions.⁵¹

One year later, Italy publicised a set of standards that updated an older document of 1883 using the inspiration of the Charter of Athens, under the name of *Carta Italiana del Restauro* (1932) [The Italian Charter of Restoration] and adopted by the Consiglio Superiore Per le Antichità e Belle Arti [The Superior Council of Antiquities and Fine Arts].⁵² With the establishment of the International Commission of Historical Monuments in 1934 the possibility arose to create a legal and technical base for monument listing and the management of Cultural Heritage through education and technical cooperation.

Just as things started to build up, political instability ceased once again the activities of all the small organisations that were responsible for safeguarding architectural heritage, and another war put an end to all cooperation. After World War II architectural destruction reached

47 Gustavo Giovannoni, “La Conferenza internazionale di Atene,” Roma 1932, p. 408.

48 For more information on the subject see Carlo Ceschi, *Teoria e Storia del restauro*, Rome 1970; Giuseppe La Monica, *Ideologia e prassi del restauro con Antologia di Testi*, Palermo 1985.

49 Or IV CIAM – Charter of Athens signed in 1933.

50 Jacqueline Tyrwhitt, *Congress Internationaux d’Architecture Moderne (CIAM)*.

51 Jukka Jokilehto, “The Context of the Venice Charter (1964),” [in:] *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, 1998, vol. 2. pp. 229–233.

52 Miles Glendinning, *The Conservations Movement*, London 2013, p. 199.

unprecedented levels and would provide the mindset for reconstructing, repairing, and protecting what could be salvaged, thus generating the possibility of creating new laws of protection regarding not just the historical structures, but historical cities as well. Re-establishing lost cooperation among international scholars fell under the role of two organisations – the Council of Europe and the United Nations – responsible for connecting and enlisting members from each country while making sure there would be institutions and roles for further development, to connect and protect the multiple valuable parts of cultural heritage.

Equally important, the conventions are another type of policy defined by both aforementioned institutions, and the two of them adopted both national and international organisations in addition to a legally binding treaty. Conferences held by the United Nations will be responsible for the participation of over forty-four countries that gathered momentum and organised what would become one of the most important organisations with the sole role of safeguarding cultural heritage, namely the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). Under these circumstances, and as a result of this meeting the foundation of the International Council of Museums (ICOM) was also set on paper by Georges-Henri Rivière.⁵³

One another important treaty is the Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict and its First Protocol. Also known as the Hague Convention, it represents an internationally agreed-upon standard that deals with the regulations of conduct in case of any armed conflict or military occupation. The Hague Convention took charge of defining cultural heritage and its cultural property, thus safeguarding, with regards to aspects such as time and special characteristics, and was signed by more than 130 countries that agreed upon the application of a recognised sign on all parts belonging to an internationally recognised cultural heritage.⁵⁴

The 2nd International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments was held in Venice on 25–31 May 1964, at the invitation of Pierro Gazzola. Drawing on the ideas of the Charters of Athens, and

53 Cristina Stanca Mustea, *From Ideas to Actions: 70 years of UNESCO*, Paris–San Paolo 2016, p. 24.

54 “Hague Convention,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 8 June 2021, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Hague-Conventions> [access: 11 September 2021].

other conventions and conferences that added towards its importance, it was designed to be the new International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, also called the Charter of Venice. Attended by sixty-one countries, it initially contained thirteen decisions in sixteen articles and the creation of ICOMOS, with Gazzola as its founder, which was to be founded in Poland in 1965 with ICOMOS accepting the Charter of Venice as its foundation document.⁵⁵ As an international non-governmental organisation, ICOMOS stands for the collaboration of scientists in the world of cultural heritage, and it consists of more than sixty-four national committees.⁵⁶

Almost a decade later a new charter was issued by the Council of Europe called the European Charter of Architectural Heritage, held in Amsterdam on 21–25 October 1975.⁵⁷ Besides matching conservation subjects with their restoration methods, it also touches upon the importance of using the right kind of laws and the appropriate technical and financial support, a subject unaddressed by the previous charters.

Following the success of the previous charters that only sketchily referred to protecting excavations, ICOMOS produced a draft of a new charter in 1990. Written by the recently founded scientific committee called International Committee on Archaeological Heritage Management (ICAHM), it was intended for the protection of archaeological sites throughout the world. It also provided recommendations concerning the management of archaeological sites with guidelines for governments and their specialists in the area of conservation through cooperation and technical expertise. The Charter for the Protection and Management of Archaeological Heritage⁵⁸ referred to a new effective system in which protection was to be directed by applying laws and procedures for the preservation and protection of sites.

A year after this charter, in response to inadequate restorations and interventions on monuments, another conference resulted in the drafting of a very important charter. The Riga Charter defined the guidelines

55 J. Jokilehto, "The Context of the Venice Charter," op. cit., p. 230.

56 Ricardo J. Elia, *ICOMOS Adopts Archaeological Heritage*, Boston 2013, p. 97.

57 *Buletinul Comisiei Nationale a monumentelor, ansamblurilor si siturilor istorice*, transl. Rodica Crisan, vol. 9, no. 1–2 (1998), p. 48.

58 R. J. Elia, "ICOMOS...", op. cit., p. 98.

created to acknowledge that replication is a misinterpretation of the past, and acceptable only in specific circumstances.⁵⁹

Resolutions, charters, conventions, and other protection laws came to be referred to as international standards and remain the crucial point of reference for a multitude of professions connected to architectural heritage preservation.

Cultural heritage management in Romania

Very little information is found in old literary sources when it comes to any kind of monument protection in Romania. Some of the earliest cases worth mentioning, although they are not to be referred to at the same scale, only make scarce references to ancient monuments and these without much description. Nonetheless, they still refer to ruins and spoliation: in a letter from 1635,⁶⁰ a Voivode of Moldavia named Vasile Lupu asked one of his chancellors to find a site for the founding of a new monastery, Corbu.⁶¹ The chancellor replied that there were available construction materials at the abandoned and ruined courtyard of Ștefan cel Mare [Stephan the Great], to which Vasile Lupu harshly retorted that this was not to be done, out of respect and piety. Among other medieval rulers to have adopted a similar attitude it is worth mentioning the reigns of Matei Basarab, Constantin Brâncoveanu,⁶² and Șerban Cantacuzino, who dealt with reconstructions and wherever possible, assigned skilled people to replace materials or to be copied after the originals.⁶³ It is an incipient form of respect towards built heritage, and it shows a respectful attitude towards ruins. Even more importantly, however, it shows a lack of interference for their dismantling and, on different occasions, the replacement of parts that have decayed.

Following European examples, after several separate political administrations, the Wallachian Revolution of 1848⁶⁴ was triggered by social

59 Herb Stovel, "The Riga Charter of Authenticity," Latvia 2000, p. 241.

60 Alexandru Lepădatu, *Cronica Noi monumente istorice in Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice*, București 1908, p. 48.

61 The monastery does not exist anymore.

62 Eugenia Greceanu, "Țara Făgărașului, zonă de radiație a arhitecturii de la Sud de Carpați," [in:] *Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice*, vol. 39, no. 2 (1970), p. 38.

63 Gheorghe Curinschi-Vorona, *Restaurarea monumentelor*, București 1968, p. 76.

64 Keith Hitchins, 1788–1866 – *The Romanians*, Oxford 1996, p. 261.

instability and led to the same national aspirations as in other countries in Europe. Emancipation was achieved a couple of decades later after the Independence War of 1877, after being unified in a modern state as a monarchy under the Royal House of Hohenzollern.

Inspired by Italian and French examples, King Carol I⁶⁵ issued the first law regarding the protection of monuments dating back to 24 November 1892.⁶⁶ Soon after the Commission of Monuments was established by Royal Decree,⁶⁷ within the Ministry of Cults and Education, with the main responsibility of creating a list of monuments, hence inventorying, researching, and maintaining historical structures. Between 1892 and 1909 several scholars created an incipient list of monuments divided into two main categories: monuments maintained by the state and those maintained by the locals. Although the list was composed mostly of churches, it included more than 4700 monuments in its initial phase. Sadly, a great deal of these monuments fell into disrepair and some even disappeared completely, but further steps were taken for their protection.

During Romania's post-World War I period the country gained a strong nationalistic movement adopting a new Constitution,⁶⁸ but not entirely a conscience. Political instability was, however, about to disrupt what little balance had been created after World War I and with the coming of World War II things fell out of balance. After World War II, Romania fell under a communist regime. With the loss of its monarchy, Romania also lost all of its journals and most of its institutions – with the exception of museums. Institutions overseeing cultural activities were either closed or inactive for a very long time. The newly founded National Commission of Monuments, Ensembles, and Historical Sites continued the activities of the first Commission by bringing back into publication the *Bulletin of the Commission of Historical Monuments* (BCM1) together with a new *Journal of Historical Monuments* (RM1) in 1990.

The first convention that Romania signed (in 1968) was the the Hague Convention regarding armed conflict and military occupation from 1954;

65 Radu Moțoc and Alexandru Budisteanu, "Buletinul Comisiunii Monumentelor Istorice la 100 de ani de la apariție," [in:] *Analele Brăilei*, vol. 11 (2011), p. 447.

66 Constantin Hamangiu, *Codul general al României, 1860-1903*, vol. 2, București 1900, p. 2626.

67 Ibidem, p. 2707.

68 Ioan Scurtu, *Ferdinand I*, București 2016, p. 126.

however, its Second Protocol was only signed by Romania in 2006. Among others, Romania also signed (starting from 1990) the Convention of World Cultural Heritage of 1972, followed three years later by ratifying law 79 in 1993⁶⁹ of signing the Convention regarding Antiquities Trafficking that was dating back to 1970. Romania joined UNESCO in 1956 and ICCROM in 1969, and formed a national ICOMOS committee in 1971;⁷⁰ however, this was followed by little to almost no collaboration. Due to unfortunate political events, the Commission of Monuments was dissolved in 1977 – against any existing laws. Declared in the Charter, but disregarded in practice, Romania would remain but an invisible participant in most of the charters that came in the following years.

In 1997 Romania signed⁷¹ the Convention of Valetta⁷², adopted in 1992 for the protection of archaeological heritage, that was triggered by the many unauthorised excavations and construction projects throughout Europe. After signing, Romania created a set of its own laws regarding archaeological sites by elaborating on Law no. 43 of 30 January 2000, which undertook a major reorganisation of archaeological heritage. From a legislative point of view, it was rather late that Romania issued a law on heritage protection, Law no. 422 from 2001, and after 2004 the list of existing and lost monuments was finally renewed by the Ministry of Culture and Religious Affairs.

Over the following twelve years, Romania instated more than seventy laws oriented toward its cultural heritage.⁷³ Out of these, thirty-six were concerned with architectural heritage and only fourteen with the archaeological one;⁷⁴ still, none of these laws implies a standardisation of procedures akin to that in other European countries.

69 Mircea Victor Angelescu, *Arheologia preventivă din România*, Bucureşti 2014, p. 147.

70 J. Jokilehto, “The Context of the Charter,” op. cit., p. 260.

71 Irina Oberländer-Târnoveanu, “Patrimoniul arheologic național,” [in:] *Arheologia și politicile de protejare a patrimoniului cultural național în România*, Sergiu Musteață (ed.), Chișinău-Iași 2014, p. 8.

72 Jean-Paul Demoule, “Rescue Archaeology,” [in:] *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 41 (2012), pp. 611–626.

73 Ion Sandu et al., *Aspecte moderne privind conservarea*, Iași 2005, p. 12.

74 I. Oberländer-Târnoveanu, “Patrimoniul...,” op. cit., p. 10.

Conclusion

With the exception of the Hague Convention, most of the approval regarding cultural and architectural heritage in Romania was given and signed rather late. This is due to the fact that Romania has had and still has difficult moments in trying to restore a long-lost balance between organisations and approval committees.

Its participation in such organisations was motivated by its political and social instability, hence the process of rebuilding its organisations took longer than expected – even today some of them are still a work in progress. While assuming the role of a passive observer, Romania gained momentum after the fall of the communist regime in 1989, and one by one, the most important charters were signed. To summarise, not all the charters, conventions, and laws regarding architectural heritage were signed by Romania, such as the European Charter of Architectural Heritage of 1975 issued by the European Council. In fact, after 1990 there is still a lack of organisations dealing with the protection of architectural heritage, and its management has been weakened due to the absence of organisations dealing with legislative measures regarding built historical structures. Studies in this field are still in progress, as most of the current research focused on how much of this knowledge has been inspired by other European models, without actually making drastic changes in the organisations that could deal with historic architectural management. Significant new approaches indicate that sustainable development implicates economic factors but is not entirely limited to them, and it is often suggested that the involvement of local communities is essential in developing sustainable strategies and proper material resourcing for its practical procedures.

Road Infrastructure Development Projects versus Revitalisation of Cultural Heritage Objects: The Case of Bydgoszcz's Midtown in the 21st Century

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Theoretical outline of the problem

In this article the author points to the problem of inconsistency of urban policy in Poland in terms of implementing the principles of sustainable development.¹ Poland can be considered as a peculiar case, as for many decades it suffered from insufficient funds for the development of the infrastructure network. The dynamic growth of car traffic in the second half of the 20th century has contributed to road congestion, which in Poland is one of the worst in Europe.² As a result, the comfort of commuting in Polish cities decreases. On the other hand, the reality of planned economy during the communist era did not encourage the efficient use of space when implementing modernisation projects concerning the reconstruction of the abovementioned inefficient road systems.³

The elimination of entire stretches of old urban fabric for the purposes of modernisation was a very common way of solving spatial problems in the second half of the 20th century and in the reality of a planned

1 Paraphrasing the definition found in the Brundtland Report, "sustainable development" is a development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. It is based on three equally important areas: economic, social, and environmental.

2 Najwyższa Izba Kontroli, *Przeciwdziałanie zatorom na drogach*, <https://www.nik.gov.pl/plik/id,19865,vp,22479.pdf> [access: 13 December 2021].

3 Przemysław Śleszyński, Tadeusz Markowski, and Adam Kowalewski, "Synteza: Uwarunkowania, skutki i propozycje naprawy chaosu przestrzennego," [in:] *Studia KPZK*, vol. 182, no. 3 (2018), pp. 75–98.

economy. In the name of motor traffic capacity, urban structures dating back to the Middle Ages were eroded.

Both in the second half of the 20th century, as well as in the first decades of the 21st century, preferential treatment of motor traffic in Poland was carried out at the expense of demolition of the urban fabric, which often determines the uniqueness of a region.⁴ Moreover, increasing motor traffic in city centres negatively affects the safety of pedestrians and users of non-motorised single-track vehicles, increases the level of pollution and the phenomenon of “urban heat island,” as well as creates “dead” spatial barriers.

In the oldest parts of cities, where pathological phenomena indicating space degradation can be observed, this is often done through revitalisation projects based on cultural heritage.⁵ The answer to the question of what heritage is and what it consists of is ambiguous; however, it is most often explained as the legacy of previous generations. The determination of what in an urban space belongs to heritage is determined subjectively and individually by those who received the “inheritance” of previous generations. Cultural heritage needs the involvement of the inheritor, otherwise it is forgotten, devastated, and destroyed.⁶ To preserve it, it is necessary to find in it a source of economic, social, environmental, and sometimes even moral benefits. The inheritor is anyone who feels a connection to a particular heritage issue and becomes involved in its display. They may be inhabitants, entrepreneurs, associations, or public authorities. On this basis it can be concluded that a number of relations – economic, cultural, identity, and social – are generated between cultural heritage and an individual or a community. In the context of tangible cultural heritage, spatial objects are crucial, as they are a tangible manifestation of a community’s

4 Bartłomiej Kopliński, “Planowanie przestrzenne w Polsce w minionym 25-leciu,” [in:] *Mazowsze: Studia Regionalne*, vol. 15 (2014), pp. 109–118.

5 Revitalisation – in Polish law, it is understood as a process of recovering degraded areas from the state of crisis; it should be carried out in a comprehensive manner, through integrated activities for the local community, space, and economy, territorially focused, and implemented by revitalisation stakeholders on the basis of the municipal revitalisation program.

6 Anna Góral, “Dziedzictwo kulturowe jako zasób wspólny: Rola współpracy między interesariuszami w zarządzaniu dziedzictwem kulturowym,” [in:] *Zarządzanie w kulturze*, vol. 15, no. 3 (2015), pp. 277–286.

culture.⁷ They have an identity-creating character and are worth preserving for future generations.

The case study in this article covers the midtown of Bydgoszcz, a city of approximately 344,000 inhabitants (data for 2020), the capital of the Cuiavian-Pomeranian voivodeship, Poland. The choice of the city was dictated by the dynamic changes, which, according to the authorities' intentions presented in local government documents, are to improve the quality of the inner city space, considered as a degraded area. The author of this article has verified the hypothesis that the actions of the city authorities in the field of revitalisation of the midtown are inconsistent.⁸ The article presents some selected examples of the destruction of inner-city urban fabric due to the construction of new road arteries to serve the increasing car traffic and some selected examples of revitalisation showing positive changes in the protection of cultural heritage objects and minimising traffic. The criteria for the selection of the examples were: the scale of the projects, the location of the investments in relation to representative spaces, and the presentation of the most contrasting examples of the investments. The problem of the Bydgoszcz space described in the article has not been previously described in academic journals or monographs. For this reason, much of the information is based on press articles, reports of public institutions, and the author's own observations.

Characteristics of the city and its midtown

Bydgoszcz, located under Magdeburg Law in 1346,⁹ being one of the most important cities of the Polish Crown, at first covered a relatively small area (about 25 hectares), which did not increase until the end of the 18th century.¹⁰ The urban structure and architectural space of today's midtown owes its shape to the dynamic development during the so-called

7 Hanna Szymczak et al., "Zarządzanie dziedzictwem historycznym w procesach re-witalizacyjnych," [in:] *Przegląd Budowlany*, vol. 88, no. 5 (2017), pp. 33–36.

8 According to the hypothesis, the inconsistency is manifested in the fact that, on the one hand, downtown or midtown routes are still being developed at the cost of demolition and concreting, and on the other hand, more and more cultural heritage objects are being renovated every year.

9 Waleria Drygałowa (ed.), *Kalendarz bydgoski na rok 1968*, Bydgoszcz 1967, p. 42.

10 Iwona Jastrzębska-Puzowska, *Od miasteczka do metropolii: Rozwój architektoniczny i urbanistyczny Bydgoszczy w latach 1850–1920*, Bydgoszcz 2006, p. 27.

Prussian partition (1772–1806 and 1815–1918), reaching an area of 645 hectares in 1914, which today covers the entire functional area of the central part of the city.¹¹ In guidebooks from the first decade of the 20th century it was considered one of the healthiest cities in the German Empire – it had relatively clean surface waters, numerous parks, squares, and private gardens. Moreover, Berlin architects flocked to the city, and the city itself was called *Klein Berlin* [little Berlin].¹² World War I brought no war damage, and as a result of the Greater Poland Uprising and the Treaty of Versailles, the city became part of the Second Republic of Poland. After World War II, the communist authorities forcefully advanced the idea of a comprehensive rebuilding of the midtown along the lines of late modernism, typical of communist countries in the years 1956–1989.¹³ In the planned economy it was expected that Bydgoszcz would be primarily a city of heavy industry and it was this aspect of the city's heritage that was given the greatest attention. The whole post-German architectural and urban legacy was to be replaced. Instead of eclectic tenement houses, including the recognisable historicist and Art Nouveau styles, multi-storey functionalist buildings and housing complexes were to be built, with modernised wide arterial roads between them intended for mass transit.¹⁴ Although the efficiency of the city's and the country's economy did not allow for the realisation of all the assumptions, many administrative buildings, office blocks, and hotels were built, and as part of the infrastructural investments many streets were widened and cut through in an attempt to adjust the transport system to the increasing car traffic.¹⁵ This was the beginning of the erosion of the urban system developed in the 19th century, especially the city squares: Wełniany Rynek

11 Alfons Licznarski, "Rozwój terytorialny Bydgoszczy," [in:] *Kronika Bydgoska*, vol. 2, ed. Edward Szmańda, Bydgoszcz 1971, pp. 7–16.

12 I. Jastrzębska-Puzowska, *Od miasteczka do metropolii...*, op. cit., pp. 51–52.

13 Aurelia Grad-Kołączyńska, "Bydgoszcz w planach ogólnych zagospodarowania przestrzennego," [in:] *Kronika Bydgoska*, vol. 7, eds. Maria Bałachowska et al., Bydgoszcz 1986, pp. 28–44.

14 Marek Czapelski, *Moduły i wieżowce: Polscy architekci wobec przemian w budownictwie mieszkaniowym 1956–1970*, Warszawa 2018, p. 123.

15 Janusz Gołębiowski, "Projekt nowego fragmentu Śródmieścia w Bydgoszczy," [in:] *Kronika Bydgoska*, vol. 3, ed. Kazimierz Małudziński, Bydgoszcz 1970, p. 52; Maria Bałachowska, "Bydgoszcz w latach siedemdziesiątych (Życie społeczno-gospodarcze)," [in:] *Kronika Bydgoska*, vol. 7, eds. Maria Bałachowska et al., Bydgoszcz 1986, p. 14.

[Wool Market], Zbożowy Rynek [Grain Market], Nowy Rynek [New Market], and Plac Poznański [The Poznań Square], which ceased to perform integrative and commercial functions and became roundabouts and intersections dominated by cars. On top of this, a nearly one-kilometre section of the old branch of the Bydgoszcz Canal was filled in, depriving the inhabitants of the oldest (almost 200-year-old) boulevards by replacing it with a multi-lane thoroughfare and road junctions.¹⁶

The midtown space was now seriously degraded by demolitions, lack of renovation, and removal of original decorations, among others. The inefficiency of the planned economy and the territorial expansion of the city in the 1970s exacerbated the underinvestment in the midtown, which became unattractive to live in – it was dirty, poor, unsafe, and above all, underdeveloped compared to other districts.¹⁷ Renovations were few and superficial, and attempts to improve the quality of the urban fabric were limited to the vicinity of the Old Market, where in the 1970s attempts were made at so-called “revalorisation.”¹⁸

As a result, in 1989, the midtown of Bydgoszcz was in a very poor condition. The space, with very high image potential, was degraded to a large extent. The centre was inhabited by the poorest social strata. The environment was heavily polluted by industrial plants. Some of the green heritage was lost and replaced with arterial roads for motor traffic.¹⁹ The tenement houses underwent far-reaching technical degradation, and the lack of funds and the attitude of the city authorities only exacerbated the negative effects of the changes.

The post-1989 political transformation, connected with the fall of the communist regime, allowed for the implementation of new theoretical assumptions in the field of spatial policy. According to the author of this article, in Bydgoszcz these directions resulted in inconsistent development, lacking cohesion in key aspects. On the one hand, Miejscowy plan ogólny zagospodarowania przestrzennego [the Local general spatial

16 Zbigniew Zyglewski, “Bydgoszcz – miasto nad Brdą,” [in:] *Kronika Bydgoska*, vol. 38, ed. Włodzimierz Jastrzębski, Bydgoszcz 2017, p. 47.

17 Janusz Umiński, *Bydgoszcz i okolice: Przewodnik*, Warszawa 1985, p. 49.

18 Józef Wiśniewski, “Problemy kształtowania się rewaloryzacji zespołu staromiejskiego w Bydgoszczy,” [in:] *Kronika Bydgoska*, vol. 6, eds. Maria Bałachowska et al., Bydgoszcz 1982, p. 44.

19 Stanisław Michalski, *Bydgoszcz wczoraj i dziś: 1945–1980*, Warszawa–Poznań 1988, pp. 73–90.

development plan] adopted in 1994 and the currently (from 2009) binding Studium Uwarunkowań i Kierunków Zagospodarowania Przestrzennego [Study of conditions and directions of spatial development] continuously indicate the need to develop the midtown road network (increasing the number of roads and widening the arteries at the expense of the old urban fabric).²⁰ On the other hand, other urban programmes and documents indicate the need for the implementation of sustainable development principles, including the revitalisation of cultural heritage.²¹

Examples of destruction of Bydgoszcz's cultural heritage caused by the "necessary" demolitions for road construction

In the context of space revitalisation, an efficient communication network is of key importance, often determining the vitality of the area being revitalised. In the case of the Bydgoszcz midtown, all city documents concerning space repeatedly mention the need to develop the road and tram network, while pointing to the simultaneous revitalisation of the most degraded areas. It should be emphasised that in Bydgoszcz both issues were urgent because of the many years of neglect during the communist era. Transit route projects have been delayed by fifty and sixty years in relation to the original plans of the communist era, which were not updated.²² At that time, this involved further widening of roadways, clear segregation of traffic users according to their form of use, privileges for automobile traffic, and numerous urban planning corrections. In practice, this meant straightening streets, delineating new routes, simplifying intersections, and constructing roundabouts to improve traffic flow and safety. These actions were primarily associated with the demolition of old buildings and were the result of a problem of the Bydgoszcz midtown that had been growing since the 1960s, namely the rapid increase in

20 Miejska Pracownia Urbanistyczna, Local spatial management plan for the city of Bydgoszcz approved by the Bydgoszcz City Council Resolution no. LIII/538/94 of 25 May 1994 (Journal of Laws of Bydgoskie Voivodeship Office, no. 17, item 248); *idem*, A study of conditions and directions of spatial development for the city of Bydgoszcz, 2009.

21 Examples: Program przywrócenia miastu rzeki Brdy [Programme of restoring the Brda river to the city], Program rewitalizacji i rozwoju bydgoskiego węzła wodnego [Programme for the revitalisation and development of the Bydgoszcz water junction], Renovation of Items of Cultural Heritage on the Mill Island in Bydgoszcz.

22 Miejska Pracownia Urbanistyczna, A study of conditions and directions of spatial development for the city of Bydgoszcz (Resolution no. L/756/09 of the Bydgoszcz City Council of 15 July 2009), Bydgoszcz 2009.

vehicle traffic. This caused, among other things, increased environmental pollution, road accidents, and the clogging of space by automobiles. This problem was not solved, however, as the developments resulted in an acceleration of the rate of degradation of the urban and environmental tissue. Until the 1980s, Bydgoszcz city planners were not concerned about this phenomenon, indicating that the demolished buildings were “inevitable victims of progress.”²³ However, according to the paradigm of sustainable development, actions aimed at improving the condition and vitality of the urban fabric should lead to a reduction in car traffic, especially in city centres. In turn, demolitions should be as rare as possible and should concern buildings of no significant value (according to criteria indicated earlier in the article). A similar situation is observed with respect to the protection of green areas, which play a key role in the context of combating the so-called “urban heat island” phenomenon and preserving urban biodiversity.²⁴

In this context, the greatest example of negating these assumptions in Bydgoszcz after 2000 is the extension of Kujawska Street together with the enlargement of the diameter of Bernardyńska Street. As part of the reconstruction of the abovementioned spaces, the frontage of the tenement houses in Toruńska Street was demolished, as well as a few tenements at the liquidated Zbożowy Rynek [Grain Market], which had been one of Bydgoszcz’s most important squares since the Middle Ages.²⁵ The urban interior of the Zbożowy Rynek area was built up with buildings designed in Art Nouveau and Neo-Gothic styles, dating back to the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. The whole investment led to the widening of the roadway to three lanes in both directions, along with the construction of a deepened tramway track. Despite this, the route is constantly crowded and the traffic is not smooth. What is equally important, the route currently constitutes a spatial barrier for pedestrians and cyclists who may cross it only in the vicinity of the Kujawskie and Bernardyńskie roundabouts. The privileged position of car users is proved by the fact that the construction of a footbridge over the new route, which was

23 S. Michalski, *Bydgoszcz wczoraj i dziś...*, op. cit., pp. 73–90.

24 Isabel André et al., *Miasta przyszłości: wyzwania, wizje, perspektywy*, Bruksela 2011, pp. 44–49.

25 Stanisław Sitarek, *Kujawska: Koniec rozbudowy*, <https://bydgoszczwbudowie.pl/2021/08/kujawska-koniec-rozbudowy/> [access: 25 August 2021].



Figure 1. Expansion of Bernardyńskie Roundabout in 2020. Photo: Jan Szczepański

supposed to connect the slopes of Skarpa Bydgoska separated by Kujawska Street, has been abandoned. The planned footbridge was included in the project of revitalisation or even reconstruction of the so-called Aleja Górska [Mountain Avenue] – a park route being a prototype of contemporary linear parks. This route, laid out in the first decade of the 20th century and connecting Jan Henryk Dąbrowski Park and Park Wolności [Freedom Park], was devastated during the communist era. Nowadays it is fragmented, and after rejecting the idea of building a footbridge, it is impossible to cross it without leaving the border of the slope. It is difficult to talk about the revitalisation of the city centre when it is being crossed by the expansion of busy automobile routes, which constitute a barrier for pedestrians and cyclists. In the context of urban planning, after the expansion of the street and the roundabout, several hectares of empty, undeveloped space remained, and the demolition of the tenement houses resulted in the fragmentation of the remaining frontages of the nearby streets, among which there are many so-called “blind walls” or openings to courtyards.²⁶

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26 Stanisław Sitarek, *Park Wzgórze Wolności: Początek rewitalizacji*, <https://bydgoszczw-budowie.pl/2018/04/park-wzgorze-wolnosci-poczatek-rewitalizacji/> [access: 20 June 2021].

This one of the widest communication arteries is a continuation of the larger, abovementioned system of midtown transit routes, connecting directly with Wały Jagiellońskie built in the 1970s and 1980s, which, like the discussed route, is situated in the immediate vicinity of the Old Town (from the south and south-east). Apart from the buildings, two hectares of greenery have been removed from the city space, and the area has been covered with concrete and asphalt.

A second example of change is the issue of parking spaces in the centre. Increasing their number encourages drivers to take their cars directly to the centre, which exacerbates the traffic phenomenon. The first multi-storey car park in the city was built near the aforementioned Wały Jagiellońskie, a few hundred metres west of the Bernardyńskie Roundabout. It replaced a fragment of a square near the remains of the city walls and was put into use in 2015. This investment was also based on planning documents created in the 1990s, which were not updated and did not take into account the several hundred percent increase in car traffic over the last 20 years.²⁷ The structure of the building was made of steel, and the façade was made of glass, sandstone, and clinker bricks, which according to the author of the present article was not to contrast with the historical buildings of the midtown. Due to its rather large size, the building was used as a screen for almost entire Pod Blankami Street, which was not one of the most representative streets in the city at that time. The building is also oversized in relation to the neighbouring buildings and thus disturbs the medieval urban layout of Bydgoszcz's Old Town. Due to the location of the car park at the end of Przesmyk Street, a passage was designed to connect it with Nowy Rynek [New Market], which in fact no longer performs the function envisaged for it (instead of an inclusive square for all, a car park was created). Although at the time of the construction of the car park, the concept of developing the former square in this way aroused controversy among residents and activists, Bydgoszcz officials did not take into account earlier remarks on the project.²⁸ The construction of the building caused a rift in the Bydgoszcz community, first of all due to its excessive cubature in relation to the other buildings. Parking fees also became a problem for potential users. As a result,

27 Najwyższa Izba Kontroli, *Przeciwdziałanie zatorom...*, op. cit.

28 Grzegorz Majak, *Parking, który miał zmienić oblicze bydgoskiej starówki*, <http://maga-zyn-dzwig.pl/europarking:news-1297.htm> [access: 17 July 2021].

for most of the day the facility was initially unfilled, which made it unusable. The development, despite the intention to reduce illegal parking, has not brought about any positive change. The existing square, mentioned above, which was the foreground of the exposition of the old town buildings in Pod Blankami Street, was almost entirely built over (only the green belt on the side of Zbożowy Rynek with renovated remains of the city fortifications was left). The location of this type of facility is surprising because such structures are usually located outside the midtown, precisely in order to allow access to the centre from the suburbs by public transport. Moreover, there is no interchange in the vicinity of this location, which may indicate that its location was not properly considered. Despite the intention to curb car traffic, the issue of the lack of space for cars does not disappear (according to Lewis–Mogridge’s position)²⁹ because the road artery built in the 1970s, consisting of Grudziądzka and Poznańska streets, is the only east–west transit route south of Brda. In order to boost Bydgoszcz’s economy, the city centre should attract people, especially pedestrians.

The aforementioned examples of arterial and parking construction do not serve to protect heritage sites and make it difficult to change users’ transport preferences from cars to public transport or walking and cycling. Changing these preferences is crucial, as it makes it possible to reduce car congestion in the city, without widening the roads. The key to the proper functioning of the transport system in the central part of the city should therefore be an attractive offer of diversified public transport, which seems to interfere the least with the integrity of the urban fabric.³⁰ This allows for maintaining as many components of the developed urban layout as possible.

An example of this in Bydgoszcz are the activities related to the elimination of the communication exclusion of the northern part of the midtown. The city authorities have been implementing investments in the development of public rail transport for twelve years. The issue concerns two undertakings aimed at expanding the backbone of the tramway network,

29 Position created in 1990 by David Lewis and Martin J. H. Mogridge. According to this position, as more roads are built, more traffic consequently fills these roads.

30 Anita Fajtczak-Kowalska, Piotr Ziemiński, and Paulina Rudowska, “Sustainable Public Transportation as a Cornerstone of Citizen-Friendly Urban Logistics,” [in:] *Gospodarka w Praktyce i Teorii*, vol. 46, no. 1 (2017), pp. 27–43.

but the approach to urban heritage is different in these examples. Between 2009 and 2012, the city implemented the construction of a new tram track, together with a pedestrian/bicycle/tram bridge. The idea was to connect the midtown with the main train station and to build an interchange. In this aspect, it was possible to avoid major demolition or concreting of green areas. The result of the investment was also an improvement in environmental aesthetics and pedestrian safety.³¹ Another example of the expansion of the public transport network is the construction of a tram line along Chocimska Street. It is to connect the Rycerska Street terminus with Gdańska Street. However, the concept presented in January 2021 evoked many contradictory opinions and became a point of conflict between inhabitants and the City Hall. Although the construction of a tram line through Bocianowo was supposed to help in its revitalisation, controversy was aroused by the proposal to demolish two modernist tenements (from the 1930s) at the corner of Gdańska and Chodkiewicza streets in order to widen the crossing, which, according to ZDMiKP,³² could not be avoided. It is worth noting, however, that in the midtown there are relatively few modernist buildings from the interwar period; in Bydgoszcz there are only several dozen such objects. Local associations organised a series of protests and petitions, and presented ideas regarding how to avoid demolition. The resistance proved to be effective because in October 2021 the demolition was abandoned in favour of the renovation of the buildings.³³

Examples of revitalisation of Bydgoszcz cultural heritage

According to the examples above, before taking any actual decisions, it is necessary to diagnose problems and evaluate which changes are necessary, constantly updating the assumptions based on new theoretical developments. Choosing the directions of changes and establishing the sequence of activities should first of all minimise the risk of conflicts

31 Stanisław Sitarek, *To była największa inwestycja komunikacyjna w Bydgoszczy: Jak i dlaczego powstała linia tramwajowa na dworzec?*, <https://metropoliabydgoska.pl/szesc-lat-linii-tramwajowej-na-dworzec-jak-i-dlaczego-powstala-historia-bydgoskiej-komunikacji-miejskiej-cz-1/> [access: 5 May 2021].

32 ZDMiKP (acronym of Zarząd Dróg Miejskich i Komunikacji Publicznej) – the main city office for the management and maintenance of roads and public transport.

33 Stefan Pastuszewski, *W wizerunku Bydgoszczy brakuje konsekwencji*, <https://tygodnik-bydgoski.pl/opinie/w-wizerunku-bydgoszczy-brakuje-konsekwencji-15-11-20> (access: 20 August 2021).

of interest or prevent wasting or not using the potential of the devastated cultural heritage sites. Realising the interests of all social groups while respecting the principles of sustainable development is one of the key elements of successful revitalisation.

The last decade of the 20th century was characterised by the collapse or restructuring of many industrial plants in the midtown and further pauperisation of the local population. At that time there was no talk of revitalisation, but rather of redevelopment of the inner city, which was the subject of the abovementioned Local General Spatial Development Plan. It reproduced the objectives of the plans of the 1960s and 1970s, and the years 1971–1990, drawn up in the realities of the planned economy.³⁴ Only scattered investments were carried out, not fitting into a broader spatial context. The plan did not solve the problem of the lack of coordination of actions towards the devastated fragments of the urban tissue. It was only after 2000 that the MPU³⁵ and the City Hall began to publish the first programmes on revitalisation, which heralded a slow change in the previously prevailing strategic paradigm. This change in the emphasis on revitalisation (in Bydgoszcz, but also nationwide) was influenced by Poland's accession to the European Union in 2004, as money transfers were initiated in the form of grants and subsidies for development-oriented projects.

This is a very important issue because the economic and political restructuring in the years 1989–2004 did not favour investments in the midtown. Part of the tramway network was closed down, most industrial plants went bankrupt, unemployment and crime increased. The midtown became depopulated and social pathologies intensified. Crime levels and the number of people receiving social benefits increased significantly. In addition, based on old plans to modernise the road network and the rapid growth in the number of passenger vehicles, the idea of renovating the tenement houses along the streets to be widened was abandoned. In effect, many valuable tenement houses were lost without legal protection.³⁶

34 Miejska Pracownia Urbanistyczna, Local spatial management plan for the city of Bydgoszcz..., op. cit.

35 MPU (acronym of Miejska Pracownia Urbanistyczna) – the main city office for spatial planning.

36 Bogumił Rogalski, "Charakterystyka i niektóre uwagi do miejscowego planu ogólnego zagospodarowania przestrzennego miasta Bydgoszczy," [in:] *Kronika Bydgoska*, vol. 16, eds. Włodzimierz Jastrzębski et al., Bydgoszcz 1995, pp. 19–39.



Figure 2. View of Augusta Cieszkowskiego Street after revitalisation.
Photo: Jan Szczepański

On the one hand, the liberalisation and decentralisation of power resulted in an opening up to new ideas in urban management, but on the other hand, the implementation of these ideas took time. Based on the data published by the city and other investors, it appears that most tenement renovations (about 84%) were carried out in the decade 2011–2020, followed by 14% in the period 2001–2010. Only 2% of all renovated tenements underwent work in the 1990s.³⁷ The best-known example in Bydgoszcz of the revaluation of an entire street and its development layout was the renovation of Cieszkowski Street. It was carried out between 2017 and 2019 on the initiative of Stowarzyszenie Mieszkańców Ulicy Augusta Cieszkowskiego [the Association of Cieszkowski Street Residents], founded for this purpose in 2007. In addition to the renovation of the façade of the buildings, the asphalt surface was replaced with cobblestone, sidewalks were modernised, and the existing lighting was replaced with lamps stylised on those from the early 20th century. Although the street was originally planned as a pedestrian and cyclist-only promenade, it was decided that it would be used for traffic calming, which

³⁷ Data based on the author's count of all investments according to municipal sources.

is a step forward towards minimising car traffic on the representative streets of the midtown.

In addition to individual streets and tenement houses, broader projects are being carried out, involving the renovation of entire urban systems that are especially important for the identity of the midtown and the entire city. One example of such an area is the Old Town. It has the form of a coherent urban layout typical of medieval cities, founded under the Magdeburg rights. Today, it is the core of the city, concentrating tourist, cultural, and administrative functions. Since the 1990s, it has been under the protection of the local conservation authorities (in the Local Plan of the General Spatial Development of Bydgoszcz from 1994), in order to preserve its characteristic historical spatial layout. Then, in accordance with the programme of restoration of the Brda river to the city, passed in 2000, the revalorisation assumed mainly the renovation of the tissue of the Bydgoszcz Old Town. In practice, various types of investments were carried out with a flexible approach in terms of financing. The works carried out in 2000–2003 included mainly the renovation of tenement houses and road surfaces (Old Market Square, Przyrzeczne Street, and a fragment of Długa Street), as well as cleaning the area around the parish church. This project resulted in making the Old Market Square a well-kept showpiece of Bydgoszcz. The first hotels appeared in the area (returning after several decades), cultural and sporting events were organised in the Old Market every year (such as the European Artistic Summer, Bydgoszcz Buskers Festival – International Meetings of Street Artists, “Ster na Bydgoszcz” [Rudder to Bydgoszcz] Water Festival).

Another renovation of the market plate was realised sixteen years later, namely in 2019. This time, too, it was not without opposition from the inhabitants, which mainly concerned the ubiquitous lack of greenery in the square, where, historically, there had never been any. However, the debates on the insufficient amount of greenery in the zone of the very centre indicate an urgent need to increase the area covered with vegetation. Time and again there were also speculations on the restoration of the former town hall (whose underground remains were placed under strict protection). During the renovation of the market square slab, the town hall was commemorated in a way that is very common nowadays, namely by laying the outline of its walls in the pavement. Similarly, the 18th meridian running through the square was fixed by installing a light line. An interesting idea was to move the monument of Casimir III the Great from the multi-storey car park to the Old Market, but this plan

was soon abandoned.³⁸ After the completion of the investment, the square was excluded from car traffic, leaving it as a space for pedestrians.

In recent years, the concepts of creating an “Old Town” Cultural Park in Bydgoszcz, advanced by Maciej Bakalarczyk, the “manager of the Old Town and Midtown,” have appeared. In February 2021, a draft resolution was adopted, whose main task was to preserve, revalorise, expose, and protect cultural heritage, as well as ensure coherent complementation of the structure of buildings, restoration of stone paving, and protection of greenery (Mill Island, Kazimierz Wielki Park, and others). It includes the protection of elements of material and landscape cultural heritage within the adopted borders of the Park by means of, among others, regulating the provisions in local plans, creating a protection plan, and imposing restrictions during the general exploitation and use of the objects (including construction works).³⁹

As mentioned in the section on strategic programmes, the topic of its revitalisation has appeared several times in planning documents, including Program przywrócenia miastu rzeki Brdy [Programme of restoring the Brda river to the city], Zabudowa uzupełniająca w obszarze Śródmieścia w Bydgoszczy [Proposals of assumptions for the spatial development of the Bydgoszcz midtown], Lokalny Program Rewitalizacji dla miasta Bydgoszcz w latach 2007–2015 [Local revitalisation programme for the city of Bydgoszcz for the years 2007–2015]. In 2012, a whole separate chapter was devoted to it, titled “Kierunki działań służące rewitalizacji przestrzeni publicznych Starego Miasta w Bydgoszczy” [Directions of actions for the revitalisation of the public spaces of the Old Town in Bydgoszcz]. The key to effective revitalisation measures was, in practice, relying on the lost heritage of the northern frontage at Mostowa and Jatki streets, which was destroyed in 1940. Already in 2013–2014, in place of the famous in Bydgoszcz modernist gastronomic pavilion “Kaskada” (dating back to 1969), a complex of buildings was erected to house a branch of ING Bank Śląski, confectionery, discount store, and other service premises.

38 Marta Leszczyńska, *Kazimierz Wielki stanie na Starym Rynku: To przesądzone*, <https://bydgoszcz.wyborcza.pl/byd-goszcz/7,48722,23753029,kazimierz-wielki-stanie-na-starym-rynku-to-przesadzone.html> [access: 16 June 2021].

39 Resolution no. xxxvi/788/21 of the Bydgoszcz City Council of 24 February 2021 on the consulting the Cuiavian-Pomeranian Province Monument Conservator on the project of resolution on the creation of the “Old Town” Cultural Park in Bydgoszcz, p. 3.



Figure 3. Left frontage of Mostowa Street, referring to the buildings from before 1940.
Photo: Jan Szczepański

The design concept was based mainly on modern architectural forms, with elevations styled on the 19th century buildings characteristic of the midtown. Bydgoszcz citizens did not fully enjoy the project, as they loudly expressed their disapproval of it, especially with respect to the narrowing of Mostowa Street next to the northern frontage of the Old Market. This action was not accidental, as the designers intended to recreate the historical building lines of the square and Jatki Street, clearly referring to the legal provisions in the local plan regarding the protection of historical elements of the Old Town's urban layout.⁴⁰ Moreover, it should be mentioned that the size and shape of the buildings are similar to the buildings destroyed in 1940, which is a positive accent in terms of reconstructing the urban layout of the old town under conservation protection.

Priority was also given to another area of the midtown – Mill Island. The idea of “repairing” the space of Mill Island was first pitched in the 1970s, but due to a lack of funds the undertaking was never carried

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40 Aleksandra Lewińska, *W kompleksie Sowy będą Biedronka, restauracje i bank*, https://bydgoszcz.wyborcza.pl/bydgoszcz-cz/1,48722,16387582,W_kompleksie_Sowy_beda_Biedronka__restauracje_i_bank.html [access: 1 August 2021].

out. Revitalisation of the island's embankments and the Brda river boulevards was taken into account in the Programme for the Re-establishment of the Brda River in 2000. Actions concerning the revitalisation of the most important parks in the midtown appeared only a few years later (2005), in *Lokalny Program Rewitalizacji dla miasta Bydgoszcz 2007–2015* [Local revitalisation programme for the city of Bydgoszcz for 2007–2015]. The whole idea of revitalisation was included in the dams of four stages, consecutively.

In the first project (Revitalisation of Mill Island in Bydgoszcz for entrepreneurship development) a historical building at 6 Mennica Street where a Work and Entrepreneurship Centre was organised was renovated, three footbridges were built over the Młynówka and Brda rivers, and the former so-called Międzywodzie (a watercourse linking the Młynówka and Brda rivers) was reconstructed. The new institution is located in the place where one of the most important state mints functioned in the period of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The second stage called "Renovation of cultural heritage objects on Mill Island in Bydgoszcz" was the most important. It included renovation and adaptation of five historical buildings for the Leon Wyczółkowski District Museum: The Red Granary for the Museum of Art, the Miller's House for the information and reception desk of the Museum, the White Granary for the Museum of Archaeology, the building at 4 Mennica Street for the European Money Centre, and the one at 7 Mennica Street for the Wyczółkowski House. The third stage of "Construction of the recreational infrastructure of Mill Island and its immediate surroundings" involved the renovation of streets on the island and development of devastated greenery into new recreational areas (recreational meadow, amphitheatre, playground, beach, traffic routes, lighting). Parts of the Młynówka and Brda embankments were also rebuilt. The last stage involved the renovation of degraded sports grounds on Mill Island, consisting in the construction of a marina with accommodation, necessary infrastructure, and exits from Tamka Street. The final stage also included the construction of the Bydgoszcz Marina (a marina with a hotel), the replacement of the old "Zawisza" sports club building with a new one, and the strengthening of the right bank of the Brda river.⁴¹

41 Miejska Pracownia Urbanistyczna, *Renovation of Items of Cultural Heritage on Mill Island in Bydgoszcz*, Bydgoszcz 2008.

Thanks to these actions, Mill Island, formerly one of the most devastated urban areas in Bydgoszcz, has become a major landmark, eagerly visited by residents and tourists alike.

The above programme of revitalisation of Mill Island did not include its largest object – Rother Mills, which at the time of writing this programme was still belonged to a private investor, who wanted to turn the building into a hotel. These plans were not carried out, and the mill buildings deteriorated. To meet this challenge, in 2013, the City of Bydgoszcz bought the entire complex from private hands and began an investment process, which was to complete the revitalisation of Mill Island.⁴² Its first stage (general renovation of the mills and construction of terraces) was completed in April 2021, and soon afterwards the second stage (interior decoration and exhibitions) began. Two buildings within the complex – the Grain Mill and Granary – opened in 2022, and the Flour Granary is planned to open in 2023. In order to improve the safety and comfort of pedestrians and cyclists, since July 2021 the island has been free of car traffic (except for deliveries).

The 2006–2021 period was based on existing heritage objects of several past centuries, directly associated with grain processing and the Brda river. New buildings were added that fit in well with the historic surroundings, which was an indication of the priority given to historic buildings. The key to the success of this project was the revalorisation and adaptation of these buildings for public cultural purposes (museums, art galleries) and making the whole area of the island accessible to local residents. The “Midtown Tree Alley Restoration” programme was also continued for a total of approximately ten years (2002–2012). As part of the programme, 850 trees were planted along fifty midtown streets. This investment primarily referred to the numerous rows of trees along the city’s main arteries that existed before 1939. In terms of street revitalisation, in the second decade of the 21st century more and more attention began to be focused on the issue of minimising car traffic in the side streets of the midtown, which is the opposite of the actions towards the construction of midtown arteries described above.

42 Czym są Młyny Rothera? <https://mlynynyrothera.pl/najczesciej-zadawane-pytania/#czy-m-sa-mlynyny-rothera> [access: 6 July 2021].

Conclusion

In summary, the space of the Bydgoszcz midtown is being transformed inconsistently. On the one hand, the implementation of many projects in the immediate vicinity of the Old Town causes further degradation of the local urban layout, demolition, and loss of subsequent green spaces. On the other hand, in the Bydgoszcz midtown, tenement repairs are being continually carried out, an integrated public transport system is being built, spaces exclusively for pedestrians and cyclists are being put to use, and certain buildings in the centre are being “rebuilt.” The policy of limiting traffic in the Old Town and on Mill Island does not correspond to the continuous increase in the number of cars and the widening of the carriageway. According to the author of the present article, this means that there is no possibility of solving these problems. What is more, if the city authorities opt in the future for more decisive actions in favour of sustainable development, it may turn out that the present investments in widening the midtown road network will be removed from the urban space in several years.⁴³ There is growing pressure from inhabitants and activists on city authorities all over the country to resign from concreting and asphaltting urban space.

43 Jakub Dybalski, *Utrecht: Autostrada zamieniona w fosę*, <https://www.transport-publiczny.pl/wiadomosci/utrecht-autostrada-zamieniona-w-fose-51080.html> [access: 12 December 2021]; idem, *Jak w środku Seulu zbudowano rzekę*, <https://www.transport-publiczny.pl/wiadomosci/jak-w-srodku-seulu-zbudowano-rzeke-911.html> [access: 12 December 2021].

Troubles in the Fields of the Past and Present Valley of Pelagonia

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Geographical position, borders, and size of Pelagonia

Pelagonia is a valley located in the southwestern part of the Republic of North Macedonia. It extends between the coordinates 40° 45" and 41° 35" s.g.s. and 21° 07" and 21° 42" i.g.d. The area is typically a closed valley surrounded by high mountains on all sides.

From the north, the valley is bordered by the mountain branch Dautica (Bel Kamen, 2074 m) and the mountain massif Mokra Planina. From the northeast with the mountain Babuna (Luta, 1499 m; Kozjak, 1745 m), and the east with the mountains Dren (Livada, 1664 m), Selechka (1471 m), and Nidze (Kajmakchalan, 2520 m) to the east. To the south, there is the mountain of Neredska, and to the west, it is bordered by the heights of the mountain of Baba with Pelister (2601 m), Drevenik (Kale, 1494 m), and Buseva (Stara Musica, 1789 m).

The Pelagonia Valley covers 3279.6 km², of which 2436.6 km² are in the Republic of North Macedonia (Prilepsko Pole, 943.9 km² and Bitolsko Pole, 1492.7 km²). From the total area of the valley in the Republic of North Macedonia, 1467 km² are plains that extend from 575–750 m.¹

1 Blagoja Markoski, "Картографско картометриски проучувања на хипсометриската структура на просторот и разместеноста на населението во Република Македонија, докторска дисертација," doctoral dissertation, Skopje 1992.



Figure 1. North Macedonia in Europe and the Balkan Peninsula. Pelagonia region in the southwestern part of Macedonia. © Blagoja Markoski, 1999

The Pelagonia Valley has several natural passes to the neighboring areas: Barbaros pass (864 m) to the Poreče area in the northwest, Pletvar pass (994 m) to the Tikves Valley to the east, openness to the south to Greece, Gjavato pass (1167 m) to the Prespa Valley to the west, and communications to Demir Hisar and Krusevo to the west. In the western part, through the canyon of Buchinska Klisura, the river Crna Reka enters the Pelagonia plain, and in the southeastern part, Crna Reka leaves the valley through the gorge of Skochivirska Klisura.²

The main traffic communications in Pelagonia are the highway Ohrid–Bitola–Prilep–Gradsko, and regional roads Prilep–Makedonski Brod–Kicevo, Prilep–Krusevo, Prilep–Demir Hisar, Bitola–Demir Hisar, Bitola–Lerin (in Greece), and other regional and local roads. On the route Veles, Prilep, Bitola, Lerin (in Greece) there is a railway connection.

2 Blagoja Markoski, *Картографско дефинирање и диференцирање на котлинските просторни целини во Република Македонија*, Skopje 2006.

Physical-geographical characteristics

In terms of the separate tectonic units the Pelagonia Valley belongs to the Pelagonian Horstanticlinorium and the Western Macedonian zone. The division of the Pelagonia Valley into these two tectonic units is the fault line (with north-south direction), which extends at the foot of the mountains on the west side of the valley in Prilepsko Pole (in the northern part of the valley) and along the middle of the plain through Bitolsko Pole (in the southern part of the valley).

The geological structure of the rock masses is defined according to this tectonic structure. This means that west of the tectonic fault line the geological substrate is composed of crystalline shales (which are mostly represented by granodiorites, granites, mikashists, phyllites, biotites, gneisses, conglomerates, and others). High-quality marbles and dolomites (which have been exploited since ancient times) were metamorphosed among them.³ Suffice it to mention the numerous archaeological sites in Pelagonia, such as Heraclea Lyncestis, Stybera, Bonche, and others, that evidence the employment of marble in the production of columns, capitals, and sculpture. In the eastern parts of the valley, there are complexes of gneiss, shale, and fragments of igneous rocks such as granite, granodiorite, and gabbro (issued from the lower geological substrate).⁴ At the bottom of the Pelagonia Valley, Neogene and diluvial sediments are present in the plains. They are manifested on the surface in the plain with various pedological types.

The Pelagonia Valley is a separate individual valley spatial unit. There are two relief units: plains (at the bottom of the valley, measuring 1467 km² and extending from 575–750 m above sea level) and hilly mountainous areas (on the sides of the surrounding mountains, measuring 969.6 km² and extending from 750–2601 m above sea level), consisting of the aforementioned mountain massifs, which descend steeply

3 There is particular evidence regarding the large-scale extraction of marble during the Roman Period. See Philipp Niewöhner and Walter Prochaska, "Konstantinopolitanisches Formenrepertoire in Mazedonien: Zur Bischofskirche von Stobi und den Marmorbrüchen von Prilep," [in:] *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, vol. 61 (2011), pp. 433–439; Walter Prochaska, "A Sculptural Marble of Prime Quality in Antiquity: The Dolomitic Marble of the Sivec Mountains in Macedonia," [in:] *Archaeometry*, vol. 55, no. 2 (April 2013), pp. 179–197.

4 Geological Institute of the Republic of Macedonia, Basic Geological Map of the Republic of Macedonia, Skopje 1970–1975.

towards the plains of Pelagonia. In the central parts of Pelagonia, there are minor hilly areas with altitudes up to about 800 m above sea level. From the mountainous sides, several valleys descend through which the rivers flow: Sapunchica, Shemnica, Crna Reka, Selechka Reka, Zitoshka Reka, Belushka Reka, Stroshka Reka, Prilepska Reka, and other smaller occasional river flows. According to the genesis, fluvial relief prevails in the plains and fluodiodenudation relief in the foothills. Fragments of karst relief are found in the mountains in the northern and eastern areas of Pelagonia.

The clear topographical definition of Pelagonia with high mountains results in relatively fewer climatic influences from the surrounding areas. That is why in Pelagonia there are fewer Mediterranean and more Continental climatic features manifested in a constant equivalent climate affiliation with cold and rainy winters, and dry and hot summers. The transition from spring to summer is relatively fast, and from autumn to winter somewhat longer. The surrounding mountains have a mountainous climate characterised by short and cool summers, and cold winters, which under the influence of anticyclonic and temperature inverse processes can be often quite sunny and warmer. The average annual air temperature is between 11.2 and 11.3°C; the average annual sunshine is 2321 (in Bitola) to 2368 sunny hours (in Prilep); the average annual rainfall is 598 mm in Bitola and 576 mm in Prilep. Most of the precipitation occurs in the form of rain. The average relative humidity is 68% (Prilep) and 70% (Bitola), and the average annual cloudiness is around 5.4 tenths. The winds in Pelagonia blow from all directions, but of the greatest frequency are those from the north, southeast, and southwest direction, which is closely dependent on the orography of the area.⁵

The main representative of the hydrography in Pelagonia is Crna Reka as the basic recipient of the waters from the area. Crna Reka enters Pelagonia from the Demir Hisar area through the canyon of Buchinska Reka; it flows to the south through the central part of the valley and leaves it through the gorge of Skochivirska Klisura. Eleshka Reka, Dragor, and Shemnica rivers (on which the Strezevo reservoir and the Strezevo hydrosystem are built)⁶ appear as left tributaries of Crna Reka. From

5 Angel Lazarevski, *Климата во Македонија*, Skopje 1993.

6 Blagoja Markoski and Nikola Dimitrov, "Хидромелиоративен систем Стрежево," [in:] *Географски разгledi*, vol. 23–24 (1986), pp. 166–171.

the right, the rivers of Selechka, Blato (which mainly flows through the plain and reaches Crna Reka through drainage canals), Prilepska Reka, and other small periodic rivers flow into Crna Reka. Springs in the Pelagonia Valley are of lower flow and descend through numerous streams to the flows of larger rivers. Relatively shallow groundwater is present.⁷ Despite the drainage process carried out in the 1960s, there are still several wetlands in Pelagonia (Dragozhani 3.597 ha, Kruseani 3.231 ha, Tulana 14.13 ha, Bukri 92.9 ha, Eleska 26.76 ha, Zhabeni 177.8 ha), which are mainly located in the southern part of the valley.⁸

The pedological basis in Pelagonia is diverse. The following soil types are most common: K – Fluvisol, J – Fluvisol, Jm – Mollic Fluvisol, R – Regosol, E – Leptosol, ATA – Aric Regosol, B – Cambisol, Lm/U – Complex of Humic Eutric and Umbric Regosol, Lm/U/R/E – Complex of Humic Eutric and Umbric Regosol, Regosol, and Leptosol, Lc – Chromic Luvisol on saprolite, Rz – Humic Calcaric Regosol, Lc/R – Complex of Chromic Luvisol on saprolite and Regosol, R/E – Regosol and Leptosol, V – Vertisol, B – Cambisol, B/R – Complex of Cambisol and Regosol, Lvd – Chromic Leptic Luvisol on hard limestones, B/Lm/U/R – Complex of Humic Eutric and Umbric Regosol, Regosol, B/E/R – Complex of Cambisol, Leptosol and Regosol, Eh – Rendzic Leptosol, B/Lm/U – Complex of Cambisol, Humic Eutric, and Umbric Regosol, Z/S – Complex of Solonchak and Solonetz, Gm – Mollic Vertic Gleysol, Lc/K – Complex Chromic Luvisol on saprolite and Fluvisol, Lm/U/R – Complex of Humic Eutric and Umbric Regosol, and Regosol, Urb – Urbisol, G – Gleysol, R/V – Complex of Regosol and Vertisol, Lm/U – Complex of Humic Eutric and Umbric Regosol, Jm/Gm – Complex of Mollic Fluvisol and Mollic Vertic Gleysol.

Pelagonia with its geological and pedological base has a relatively large variety of plant species. In the lower areas, deciduous forests of oak, beech, and hornbeam, riparian vegetation of fir and willow prevail. There is also evergreen vegetation on Pelister, represented by *molika* as an endemic species. There are high mountain pastures above the forest border, and in the highest areas, there are zones under rocks.

7 Ilija Petrushevski and Blagoja Markoski, *Реките во Република Македонија*, Skopje 2014.

8 Blagoja Markoski et al., “Mapping of Marshes and Wetland Areas in the Republic of Macedonia,” [in:] *PROCEEDINGS International Scientific Symposium*, Skopje 2019, pp. 165-177.

In the plains, meadow and cultivated vegetation prevails, represented mainly by cereals, industrial and horticultural crops. Plums and apples are the most common among the fruit plants.

Socio-geographical features

Pelagonia with its spacious plain has been inhabited since ancient times. This is shown by numerous traces of past human activities in the region dating back to the Neolithic. Specific demographic studies and studies on the population density in the past have not been conducted until now, and all the considerations are made based on identified settlements. According to the census data from 2002 in the Pelagonia Valley, there are about 220 settlements with over 200,000 inhabitants, of which about 50,000 are the population living in the countryside and about 150,000 inhabitants living in the cities. Out of the total number of settlements, only three have urban character. These are: Bitola with 74,550 inhabitants, Prilep with 69,704 inhabitants, and Krusevo with 5507 inhabitants.⁹

The economic characteristics of the Pelagonia Valley include the development of the agricultural economy, observable mainly in the rural environment. Other industries are mostly developed inside and around the urban settlements, especially in Bitola and Prilep. There are several mining, electricity production, and industrial facilities, as well as many others from the secondary and tertiary sectors.

(Pre)historical settlement of the region

In the past, people in the Pelagonia Valley were too technologically limited to attempt any large-scale infrastructural cultivation attempts. Due to its Neogene geographical structure, the valley contained a lake that flowed into the Aegean Sea during the Pliocene through the rivers of Crna Reka and Vardar.¹⁰ This led to the formation of alluvial soils which would later play a key role in the formation of the first agricultural communities in this valley. Therefore, the inhabitants' interaction with nature was predetermined by the landscape, the available resources, and other natural preconditions. The access to both basic resources, water and fertile land,

9 Agricultural Institute, University of Ss. Cyril and Methodius, Ground Map of the Republic of Macedonia, Scale 1: 200,000, Skopje 2015. The web oriented GIS map is available at <http://www.maksoil.ukim.mk/masis/> [last access: 14 December 2021].

10 Estimated according to the State Statistical Office, as of 30 June 2019.

as well as the availability of locations that provided adequate protection against natural and man-made disasters (floods, landslides, attacks, and other violent acts), and also the problem-solving activities undertaken by past human inhabitants, delineated the boundary between life and death of the community.¹¹ Beyond doubt, in the process of human-nature interaction, people living in the valley were forced to look for the most rational, practical, and sustainable solutions. Adequate infrastructural cultivation and the continuous maintenance of the developed infrastructure, as well as the rational use of the available resources, was and still remains the key for a prosperous and economically developed society living in balance with nature, in symbiosis with other living beings.

Analysing the historical context, we used alphanumeric and geo-referenced cartographical reports from archaeological field surveys performed in the territory of North Macedonia in the 1990s.¹² Further, flood analysis with a focus on the flood zone between 570–600 m above sea level was performed on a digital elevation model with a resolution of 15 m. The results were used to analyse the dynamics of settlement in different periods of the past with a focus on the remnants of human activities within or outside the predisposed flooding area.

There is still no confirmation of any Paleolithic sites in Pelagonia and therefore it remains unknown whether there is a relationship between dwellings and water in this period. This is significantly changed in the Neolithic with approximately 140 sites recorded.¹³ The majority belongs to the so-called tell sites, which have been established on a small elevated area and occupied continuously for several hundred years. Most of them are situated around wetlands, which were the essential resource for subsistence and housing. The archaeological survey indicates that the settlements were located around flooded areas. This habitation tradition was maintained in the Chalcolithic, although the number of Chalcolithic tells is much smaller compared to the number of tells that existed

11 Mile Bosevski, *Развојниот пат на водостопанството на Пелагонија и неговото значење во развојот на вкупното стопанство*, Bitola 1977.

12 Dragica Simoska and Voislav Sanev, *Праисторија во Централна Пелагонија*, Bitola 1976.

13 Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Museum of Macedonia – Archaeological Department, *Археолошка карта на Република Македонија*, vol. 1, Skopje 1994; eadem, *Археолошка карта на Република Македонија*, vol. 2, Skopje 1996; eadem, *Археолошка карта на Република Македонија*, vol. 3, Skopje 2001.

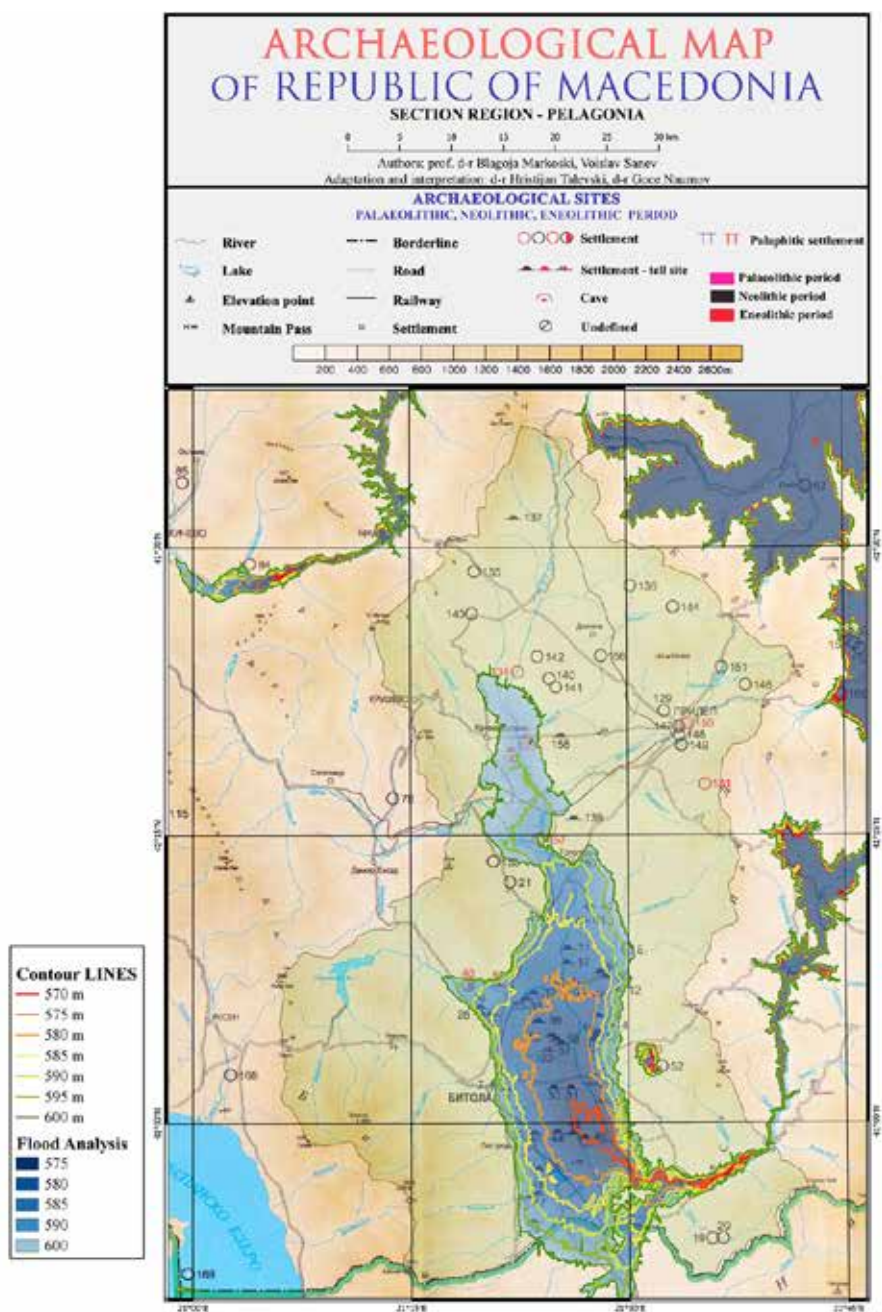


Figure 2. Pelagonia region excerpt from the Archaeological map of the Republic of Macedonia
© Blagoja Markoski and Voislav Sanev, 2002.

Flood analysis and interpretation © Hristijan Talevski and Goce Naumov, 2021

during the Neolithic, but they are present in the same locations related to the wetlands.¹⁴

The tells dating back to the Bronze Age in Pelagonia are considerably reduced in number, as at that time the hills were more preferred places for inhabitation. There are even speculations that this was due to an increased level of conflicts over the control of resources, yet there is no specific evidence to support these claims. Although rare, the tells are mainly established next to major rivers or by their tributaries. As far as the Iron Age is concerned, there are no tells in Pelagonia nor flat settlements in the valley.¹⁵ Almost all recorded Iron Age sites are in the foothills, on the mountain slopes, and other higher-altitude locations.¹⁶

When it comes to the Early Classical and Hellenistic Period, the small number of registered settlements is a great problem for an adequate interpretation.¹⁷ However, almost all of them are outside the flood zone (570–600 m above sea level). There is a general, almost identical tendency in the previous period (the Iron Age) for settlement on the peripheral and relatively higher areas around the plain.

During the early Roman period, a larger number of settlements and populated places are detected compared to previous periods.¹⁸ Most of them are outside the critical zone predisposed to floods (570–600 m above sea level). A small number of settlements are within the flood zone but located at an elevation higher than 585 m above sea level.

A relatively large number of settlements and populated places dating back to the Late Antiquity and Early Christian periods have been detected, similar to the situation in the Early Roman Period, compared to previous periods.¹⁹ Most of them are outside the critical zone predis-

14 Blagoja Markoski and Voislav Sanev, *Република Македонија: Архолошка карта, наоѓалишта од палеолитско, неолитско и енеолитско време*, Skopje 2001.

15 Goce Naumov, "Tell Communities and Wetlands in the Neolithic Pelagonia, Republic of Macedonia," [in:] *Documenta Praehistorica*, vol. 43 (2016), pp. 327–342.

16 Blagoja Markoski and Voislav Sanev, *Република Македонија: Архолошка карта, наоѓалишта од бронзеното и железното време*, Skopje 2001.

17 Goce Naumov, *Пелагонските тумби од предисторијата до средниот век*, Skopje 2020.

18 Blagoja Markoski and Voislav Sanev, *Република Македонија: Архолошка карта, наоѓалишта од ранокласичкото и хеленистичкото време*, Skopje 2001.

19 Blagoja Markoski and Voislav Sanev, *Република Македонија: Архолошка карта, наоѓалишта од римското време (населби, утврдувања, патишта и други поединечни објекти)*, Skopje 2001.

posed to floods (570–600 m above sea level). Previously mentioned early Roman settlements within the risk zone of Prilepsko Pole once located on elevations higher than 585 m no longer exist. Only a few settlements in the zone 580–590 m above sea level have been detected. Regarding Late Antiquity and the Early Christian Period, exact studies of the climate and weather conditions were conducted in the region of the Roman city of Stobi (40 km N/E of Prilepsko Pole), which demonstrate an extremely dry period followed by occasional heavy rainfall and occurrence of massive fluvial deposits, and subsequent increase of the level of erosion and landslides.²⁰ By the general historical evidence, Late Antiquity is considered as a period when living in small and isolated settlements without natural predispositions for the defense was problematic because of safety reasons.

When it comes to the Middle Ages, a significantly lower number of settlements have been detected in the region as compared to the previous two periods.²¹ Only three settlements and two necropolises are located in the critical zone predisposed to floods (570–600 m above sea level). Additionally, one church was located at an elevation of 580 m above sea level.

This analysis of the changes or the dynamics of human settlement and exploitation of the landscape among other natural resources is an extremely complex problem, whose discussion is impossible within the framework of this research. The analysis and the interpretation presented here should be taken cautiously because they are based on data whose spatial accuracy (the locations and the perimeter of the archaeological sites) is very limited. Also, the data to which the situation of the archaeological sites corresponds is relatively old. Still, there are evident symptoms that exist – symptoms that can be interpreted as changes in the way people interacted with nature during different

20 Blagoja Markoski and Voislav Sanev, *Република Македонија: Архолошка карта, наоѓалишта од доцноантичкото и старохристијанското време (населби, утврдувања, рудници)*, Skopje 2001.

21 Robert L. Folk, “The Geologic Framework of Stobi,” [in:] *Studies in the Antiquities of Stobi*, vol. 1, eds. Djordje Mano-Zissi and James Wiseman, Belgrade 1973, pp. 37–59; idem, “Geologic Urban Hindplanning: An Example from a Hellenistic-Byzantine City Stobi, Yugoslavian Macedonia,” [in:] *Environmental Geology*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1975), pp. 5–22. For the evidence considering the climate conditions in the Eastern Mediterranean see Adam Izdebski et al., “The Environmental, Archaeological and Historical Evidence for Regional Climatic Changes and Their Societal Impacts in the Eastern Mediterranean in Late Antiquity,” [in:] *Quaternary Science Reviews*, vol. 136 (2016), pp. 189–208.

historical periods. The spectrum of possible causes behind this cannot be determined without problematically approached archaeological research. There is a great need for systematic (intensive) archaeological field surveys, necessary for the determination of the exact perimeter and the character of the archaeological sites. There is also a need for high-resolution spatial data (LIDAR data) for the precise modeling of topographic and geographical features, regarding the need for more detailed hydrological analyses. All this and much more should constitute the basis for elaborate and comprehensive research on the dynamics of the past human settlement in the Pelagonia Valley in the context of the available fertile arable land and water resources.

Contemporary aspects

The process of landscape cultivation started with the project of a drainage system on an area of 55,000 ha, when the marsh area was turned into a fertile agricultural zone. The construction project for drainage was implemented in 1948–1950, in four stages.²² The basic river network of a total length of 161 km, composed of Crna Reka with its tributaries, was regulated and eight drainage canals with a total length of about 100 km were built. The purpose behind this channel building was the catchment of external water flows as a measure needed for the elimination of the possibility of flooding during heavy rainfalls.

Later, on the watershed of Crna Reka and its tributaries, sixteen irrigation systems were built in areas ranging between 10 and 1000 ha. Among them two relatively vast important irrigation systems existed:

1. “Strezevo” hydrosystem covers an area of 20,200 ha and 116,820,000 m³ of water accumulated in the lake,
2. “Prilepsko Pole” hydrosystem covers an area of 6,200 ha and has a total accumulation capacity of 6,030,000 m³ of water.

Of the overall natural deposits in the region, those of the greatest economic significance are the coal (lignite) deposits in Pelagonia, which today are used in the three units of the thermal power plant from the Mining and Energy Combine (MEC) Bitola. Still, it can be noticed that the thermal power plant has a huge environmental impact. The natural setting in the area from which the coal is taken has been completely

22 Blagoja Markoski and Voislav Sanev, *Република Македонија – Архолошка карта, наоѓалишта од средновековието (населби, утврдувања, патишта)*, Skopje 2001.

changed, and consequently new artificial landscapes have been created. As the digging for infrastructural purposes increased, many archaeological sites were also destroyed.

Challenges: Pelagonia in the 21st century

The major challenges that the Pelagonia Valley is facing today are: natural disasters, the lack of resources and their adequate management, and climate change. These conditions are the main reason for the reduced production and the emergence of new, unfavorable conditions for growing natural crops. Unfavorable conditions are not only the result of climate change, but also, in great part, the consequence of inadequate human activities and the country's low capacity for implementing strategies for sustainable development inside natural landscapes of state importance.

Analysing the typo-morphological characteristics of the built environment of the territorial scope, one can notice the even distribution of the content only in groups that form rural and urban settlements, based on their historical continuity. On the other side, the dispersion of the "city" across a larger territory as a characteristic of the liberal economy gradually redefines the undeveloped spatial situations and offers a new programmatic complexity. This contributes to the emergence of new development – local economic zones and economic complexes in the areas of municipalities, outside the urban centers, which due to their functional logic are developed in the form of islands, always attached to the existing linear infrastructure. Their spatial repercussion causes the usurpation of territories "between" the large urban centers and developing rural settlements, areas that possessed specific soil characteristics, forming a territory with great natural and cultural specificities.

This condition leads to the conclusion that the current development planning processes base their priorities on an infrastructure development that supports the processes of industry, transport, upgrading, and capacity building of inherited capital infrastructure projects, such as land reclamation systems and irrigation systems. In such a situation, there is a strong necessity for an inclusive process of regional planning, in which the forgotten fragments of cultural and scientific significance would be precisely located and documented so that later they become a factor that needs adequate infrastructure on a territorial scale.

In the context of the regional planning process within the northern part of the Pelagonia Valley, the research focus recognises a linear capacity that is the main regional axis of connection in the east-west direction

that extends from the city of Prilep to the village of Krivogastani. The research specifically observes one territorial sample of the axis in which a series of processes are visible, such as industry, transport, settlements, and the increased capacity of the inherited infrastructural interventions (meliorative systems and irrigation systems). Cultural heritage is an integral part of this territorial sample, primarily due to recently increased research activities.

The main spatial challenge of this axis is to set principles from which the linear type of infrastructure would guide the integrative capacity of the whole. As a result, the main goal is to overcome the functional fragmentation in the region with the emergence of interventions on a recognisable scale, at established critical points, which would contribute to achieving functional integration and visual recognition of the region.

In one of the last studies reviewing the fact that Prilepsko Pole used to be one of the most densely populated regions in prehistoric times, field researches were conducted to revise the data contained in the Archaeological Map of the Republic of Macedonia, vol. 2 (Skopje 1996) for its confirmation or correction.²³ From the total of 443 archeological sites within the four municipalities inventoried in the map, the positions as well as the typological and chronological attributions of 250 sites have been confirmed.

Using the methods of GIS mapping and geophysical scanning in a different research activity concentrated on the prehistoric tells in the Pelagonia Valley, approximately 150 sites have been documented with a large number of those that were not recorded before. Thus, the total number of tells on the entire territory of Pelagonia rose to 150 sites, which strengthened the primacy of the most densely populated Macedonian region in the Neolithic period.²⁴

Following the research initiatives, it is important to mention the archaeological research on and around Vrbjanska Čuka, a site located between the villages Slavej and Vrbjani in the municipality of Krivogastani, close to the main communication axis (east-west), Prilep–Krivogastani/

23 Aleksandar Mitkoski and Dusko Temelkoski, "Geoprospection on the Territory of the Prilep, Dolneni, Krivogastani and Krusevo Municipalities," [in:] *Patrimonium.MK*, vol. 17 (2019), pp. 87–106.

24 Goce Naumov, "Domestication of Tells: Settlements of the First Farmers in Pelagonia," [in:] *Current Approaches to Tells in the Prehistoric Old World*, eds. Antonio Blanco-González and Tobias L. Kienlin, Oxford 2020, pp. 111–124.

Krusevo.²⁵ It makes a significant contribution to the understanding of the beginnings of the Neolithic Period in Pelagonia. The conclusions undoubtedly confirm that this region played the key role in the Neolithisation process, but also provide an opportunity to obtain new data that will help build a clear and accurate image of the spread of the first domesticated crops in North Macedonia.²⁶ To contextualise this Neolithic site, at the same time the prospections of several prehistoric tells around Vrbjanska Čuka were performed. The reconnaissance covered approximately twenty sites, primarily in the area of the villages Slavej, Vrbjani, Vranče, Krušeani, Kadino Selo, Malo Konjari, Pasino Ruvci, and Borotino, and obtained their exact GPS positions, volume, height, data on the current state and the material culture features.²⁷

Perhaps one of the best explored tells in Pelagonia that provides in-depth knowledge of the first agricultural communities in the region is Vrbjanska Čuka. The site was discovered in the late 1970s during the process of sand exploitation after which the damage was interrupted.²⁸ Meanwhile, due to the presence of groundwater, the depression grew into a small forest that still exists today. This is a good example to demonstrate how people with their interventions can spontaneously create a new natural and cultural environment. Over the last six years, this site has been studied by international teams applying multidisciplinary methods, providing more thorough insights into its chronology, architecture, material culture, economy, social structure, and rituals. The results of research conducted at Vrbjanska Čuka enable a better understanding of Pelagonian agricultural societies in the 6th millennium BC.

Vrbjanska Čuka is a tell site established 8000 years ago by the Neolithic farming communities. It was used as an agricultural unit during the Roman era and the Middle Ages when it was also employed as

25 The research was initiated in 2016 as a cooperation between the Center for Prehistoric Research, N.U. Institute and Museum – Prilep, and the Institute for Old Slavic Culture.

26 Goce Naumov et al. "Early Neolithic Tell of Vrbjanska Čuka in Pelagonia," [in:] *Praehistorische Zeitschrift*, vol. 96, no. 2 (2021), pp. 345–381.

27 Goce Naumov, "Excavation Season in 2018 at Vrbjanska Čuka Tell in Pelagonia," [in:] *Neolithic in Macedonia: Current Knowledge and Analyses*, eds. Ljubo Fidanoski and Goce Naumov, Skopje 2021, pp. 35–56.

28 Blagoja Kitanoski, "Der Kultplatz auf der Fundstätte Vrbjanska Čuka bei Prilep," [in:] *Vinča and Its World*, eds. Dragoslav Srejović and Nenad Tasić, Beograd 1990, pp. 107–112.

a burial area. The excavations performed in the 1980s and the last six years indicate a Neolithic farming community that constructed large buildings made of daub in a settlement enclosed by a circular ditch. The buildings had many clay structures, such as ovens, granaries, bins, and grinding areas for processing cereals and bread production. The Neolithic communities used sophisticated fine pottery and modeled figurines, lanterns, and altars, while the stone tools were mainly used for cutting trees, harvesting, and grinding.²⁹

The settlement was abandoned in the middle of the 5th millennium BC and reoccupied five millennia later in the Roman era, i.e. around the 3th century AD. The tiles, stone walls, and paved areas indicate that during the Middle and Late Roman Period the tell and its vicinity were an area where a villa Rustica (predominantly economic complex for the production and distribution of agricultural products) was located. Deep deposition pits remained there after the site was abandoned. During the Middle Ages (in the 11th–12th centuries AD), the tell was used as a necropolis, a burial place for the deceased members of the communities living in the neighboring village(s). The medieval era at the site also witnessed a large number of depositional pits, whose digging damaged many of the earlier burial sites and Neolithic buildings.³⁰

Simulation of spatial and structural models for prevention of the archeological site Vrbjanska Čuka

The large number of archaeological sites confirms the prehistoric population density in this region, but surely this number cannot be taken as final. In this regard, further studies of the context remain necessary. The presence of field research activities will directly influence the perception of the Pelagonia Valley as an open archeological-research laboratory. To further justify this epithet, it should be imagined as a laboratory in which modern methods of multidisciplinary research are applied, such as field survey, excavation, laboratory analysis (archaeobotanical, archaeozoological, lipid, radiocarbon, etc.), processing of material

29 Goce Naumov et al., "Archaeological Research on the Site Vrbjanska Čuka Near Slavej (Republic of Macedonia) – 2016," [in:] *Archaeologica Adriatica*, vol. 12 (2018), pp. 99–141.

30 Goce Naumov, Aleksandar Mitkoski, and Hristijan Talevski, "Excavation Season in 2018 at Vrbjanska Čuka Tell in Pelagonia," [in:] *Neolithic in Macedonia: Challenges for New Discoveries*, eds. Ljubo Fidanoski and Goce Naumov, Skopje 2018, pp. 35–55.

culture and field data, digital data, GIS, and 3D modelling, and of course presentations, exhibitions, and discussions.

For the needs of this linear territorial axis, the information obtained from the field survey of several archeological sites located in the central part of the axis is taken into account; next, an infrastructural model for the site of Vrbjanska Čuka is hypothetically developed. The simulation of intervention on the scale of the archaeological sites is due to the essential need for a spatial and structural module that will provide conditions for not only direct research activity, but also an infrastructure that will engage the site with the surrounding natural context. There is a need for structures/contents that will create a space in which a functional space will find the central institutions that work on the protection of cultural heritage or their dispersed branches. The structures must follow the logic of the positively assessed structural phenomena from the environment and their way of functioning, to use the existing materials and elements by having a structural limitation of their growth and development.³¹

One of the positions that directly follows the cultural integrative principle is an intervention in the scope of archaeological sites. Such a phenomenon is due to the essential need for a spatial module that would provide conditions for direct research activity: a laboratory for the examination of finds, workshop for additional archaeological activities, and space for their display. Providing these would stimulate this cultural activity and create space for its local and global promotion, which is of significant national importance. The key aspect on which this intervention relies stems from this inclusive regional planning process and should be based is the degree of diversity within its close and wide intervention radius. Transferred to precise procedures, it is the degree of involvement of other complementary or processes that are in complete conflict with the primary intervention process.

By temporarily detecting the sites to be subjected to archaeological research, a plan can be created by which reclamation processes, together with irrigation systems and drainage canals, will adjust their route to the defined radius of the site. Consequently, the farmers will be compensated with the remaining available area for cultivation, and when

31 Pavel Veljanoski, "Simulation of Spatial Models and Structural Shaping Procedures for Prevention and Promotion of the Archaeological Sites Surveyed in the Area of Prilep Field," [in:] *Neolithic in Macedonia: In Honour of Dragica Simoska*, eds. Ljubo Fidanovski and Goce Naumov, Skopje 2020, pp. 15–28.



Figure 3. Visualisation of the programmatic and infrastructural intervention of the Archaeological Research Center in the close context of an archaeological site.
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the main excavations are conducted in the field and it is determined that there is no need to expand the area, the agricultural activity and livestock farming in the close context will continue to exist on a permissible scale. The diversity of this programme will be supplemented by the activities of the research process including laboratory activities, examinations, and exposure of the inventions for public presentation and discussion at the specific location in spatial structures that will be built and operated accordingly. Cultural research processes are always a favorable basis on which cultural tourism develops so that the entire infrastructure that will be placed at the service of the detected archaeological sites over time can be upgraded for the needs of tourism and, of course, recreation.

As a conclusion from this structural simulation, precise procedures are promoted for including complementary processes that are in functional conflict with the character of the site:

- timely detection of positions that should be subject to archaeological research and adjustment of infrastructure interventions considering the defined radius of the site;
- compensating the area provided for excavation with the remaining arable land and creating an appropriate relationship with the agricultural process along the edge of the site;
- intensifying the activities of the research process by enabling modular spatial structures close to the site context;

- with all this in place, a possible basis for the development of cultural tourism and recreation is created through the use of the entire infrastructure put in the service of cultural heritage.

Conclusion

Adequate infrastructural cultivation and the continuous maintenance of the developed infrastructure, as well as the rational use of the available resources, has been the key for a prosperous, economically developed society living in balance with nature and symbiosis with other living beings. The simulation of spatial models and structural procedures applied primarily at the points of intensity predetermined by archaeological sites tend to become an added value of the landscape infrastructure. The presence of heritage in the process of regional planning, when it is viewed as a segment with a value equal to all the others, provides an opportunity to balance the priority and primacy between all-natural and built elements of the landscape.

Finally, the developed model introduces new social qualities and capacities in the designed infrastructural interventions through the introduction of a public programme, providing space for cultural exchange and presentation, as well as space for socialisation, education, and recreation, and a model that emphasises the need for scientifically based approaches in the process of determination of the most balanced human versus nature interaction.

Archaeology and Development in the Lycian Region: Have They Met?

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Cultural heritage and development activities have theoretically become long intertwined with the emergence of landscape approaches to cultural activity and discussions on the cultural and social aspects of sustainable development. Originating from an investigation into the cultural landscape values of the archaeological assets in the Lycian Region for the purposes of heritage preservation showing the existence of a network of archaeological assets which could arguably define a palimpsestic archaeological landscape with interconnected values,¹ this article delves into how these values and development activities should communicate for an integrated and sustainable approach to the management of the Lycian Region.

The article is structured in four parts. The first part looks into the current times and conditions: the Lycian Region known as the Teke Peninsula in modern day geography; legislative framework for policymaking structures which create the development plans, and the region's current development perspective. The second part explains the methodology of assessment and findings regarding the archaeological heritage and forms of the area at a landscape scale, and the expression of values. The third part examines how these values relate to development activities, current threats, and institutional awareness around them. The final part of the article examines how a dialogue between archaeological values and development activities can be started.

¹ Nevin Esin Tekin Bellibaş, "Likya Arkeolojik Peyzajı: Korumaya Bölge Ölçeğinde Yaklaşmak" [Lycian Archaeological Landscape: A Regional Approach to Preservation], PhD thesis, Istanbul Technical University, 2022.

The Teke Peninsula and its planned development

The Teke peninsula, geographically corresponding to the historical Lycian Region, lies in the southwest of Turkey, along the Mediterranean coast, south of an imaginary line connecting the town centres of Fethiye (belonging to the Muğla province) and Antalya province 150 kilometres apart, and extending approximately 100 kilometres south into the sea. The surface area is roughly 10,000 square kilometres, and approximately 720,000 people inhabit the area according to the 2020 statistics,² which is 33% below the national average of 108 people per km. The area is largely rural; the main source of income on the western and eastern coasts being tourism, while the central portion of the land is agriculturally developed and is also a major agent in the agricultural production of Turkey.³

Development planning in Turkey starts at the national scale of the centralised government, through National Development Plans based on sectoral reviews and national goals. The plans are made at five-year increments up until the last ones, which cover periods of four years. The Tenth Development Plan 2014–2019 bases sustainable development on investment in people, reformed production methods, sustainable environmental approaches, increased quality of life in urban and rural habitations, as well as international collaboration.⁴ Cultural heritage, or culture in general is not considered a main component, but finds place in the plans as a meta of tourism, which is expected to be one of the flagship sectors of development. The following, Eleventh Development Plan (2019–2023), which is currently being implemented, also points

2 Statistical information obtained from the Turkish Statistical Institute (TÜİK), <https://data.tuik.gov.tr/> [access: 12 February 2021].

3 Information synthesised from T.C. South Aegean Development Agency, “TR32 Düzey 2 Bölgesi Aydın-Denizli-Muğla Bölge Planı [TR32 Level 2 Zone Aydın-Denizli-Muğla Region Plan] 2014–2023,” 2014, https://geka.gov.tr/uploads/pages_v/o_19utnqk2s1tbcmoh1g6i1973p038.pdf [access: 12 February 2021]; T.C. West Mediterranean Development Agency, “TR61 Düzey 2 Bölgesi, Antalya-Burdur-Isparta Bölge Planı [TR61 Level 2 Zone Antalya-Burdur-Isparta Region Plan] 2014–2023,” 2014, <https://www.baka.gov.tr/assets/upload/dosyalar/tr61-duzey-2-bolgesi-2014-2023-bolge-planı.pdf> [access: 25 January 2017].

4 T.C. Kalkınma Bakanlığı, “Onuncu Kalkınma Planı [Tenth Development Plan] 2014–2018,” 2013, <https://www.sbb.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Onuncu-Kalk%C4%B1nma-Plan%C4%B1-2014-2018.pdf> [access: 28 November 2021].

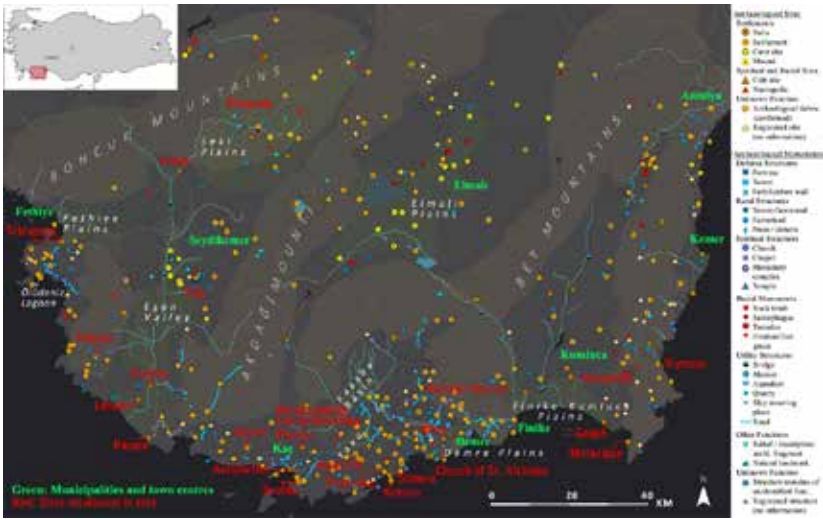


Figure 1. Map showing the geography and location of the Teke Peninsula, as well as the distribution of archaeological assets by typology and place names mentioned in the article.
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to tourism and agriculture as leading sectors of development,⁵ both of which are dominant income sources for the Teke Peninsula. According to the plan, modernisation of greenhouses and field-based agricultural practices are to be given priority, and diversification of tourism is to be undertaken. This diversification, indicated mainly by the expectations of increase in yacht and cruise ship numbers in the document already points out to a potential pressure on the shoreline, and furthermore is to be accompanied by the completion of infrastructure investments for tourism, which will inevitably effect subsurface archaeological resource in related places. This development plan, however, bases some of its decisions on a report on culture and arts, and briefly mentions that archaeological assets are to be used as instruments to develop thematic cultural routes, but then moves on to focus on a culture sector based almost completely on traditional arts and crafts. The national scale plans are accompanied by the 2007–2023 Tourism Strategy Plan of the Ministry of

5 T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Strateji ve Bütçe Başkanlığı, “On Birinci Kalkınma Planı [Eleventh Development Plan] 2019–2023,” 2019, <https://www.sbb.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/OnbirinciKalkinmaPlani.pdf> [access: 28 November 2021].

Culture and Tourism (MöçT),⁶ which shows little awareness of cultural heritage values besides viewing them as potential means of generating income. There is increased emphasis on the need for the completion of Aegean-Mediterranean tourism infrastructure which, as mentioned, will effect areas surrounding current settlements, creating need for capacity increase and improvement of highways – currently corresponding to a proposed highway cutting through from Finike to Kaş and passing through various historically significant zones – as well as diversification of tourism to include mega-yacht harbours on the Mediterranean coast, and the efforts to mobilise tourists to the inlands via ecotourism, organic farming experiences, sports, and recreation.⁷

The sub-level “Regional Development National Plan” then identifies the lower level planning methodology and associates national plan goals with regional development zones, for which the regional development plans are prepared by the corresponding regional agency. In the case of the Teke Peninsula, the Muğla Region is to be developed according to the South Aegean Regional Plan (Zone TR32) and the Antalya Region is based on the Western Mediterranean Regional Plan (Zone TR61). Both of these regional plans mention archaeological assets in a similar, revenue-based perspective as the preceding plans: archaeological sites are to be restored and promoted, and visitor experience should be enhanced with the implementation of landscape interventions. A potential threat in the Antalya plan is the reference to natural stone quarrying as a potential income source;⁸ the threat is not only that the industry itself is inherently unsustainable due to its reliance on the extraction of limited material, but that it is prone to permanently changing geography and is likely to negatively impact the values arising from the relationships between archaeological assets.

The national and region plans are invested in benefiting from the potentials of the Teke Peninsula for sustainable development; however, the lack of awareness of the potentials of archaeological heritage and its

6 National scale plans for culture or cultural heritage have not been produced so far, thus it becomes necessary to read between the lines of different levels of planning activity to determine how heritage assets are regarded and intended to be used.

7 Ministry of Culture and Tourism (2007) Tourism Strategy of Turkey – 2023, https://www.ktb.gov.tr/Eklenti/43537,turkeytourismstrategy2023pdf.pdf?o&_tag1=796689BB12A540BE0672E65E48D10C07D6DAE291, [access: 21 November 2021].

8 T.C. West Mediterranean Development Agency, “TR61...,” op. cit., pp. 37, 83, 93–94.

non-market values⁹ is very evident, and distressing due to the fact that there seems to be an inclination to maximise revenue generation from sites while there is no counter-balancing national or regional cultural strategy to argue on behalf of their protection from exploitation. Certainly, there are protective legislative measures regarding the preservation and use of archaeological sites and cultural heritage immovables,¹⁰ regional protection councils (RPCs)¹¹ and museums overseeing the protection of assets; however, these provide a very local and site-centred toolkit. We would need a regional vocalisation of the values of archaeological assets in order to have a balanced dialogue between them and development plans.

What does the archaeological heritage say through the values it defines?

Geographically, the Lycian Region can be considered as a self-contained zone,¹² bordered on the west and northwest edges by Boncuk mountains, a central mountain range, Akdağlar, diagonally dissecting the zone, and two ranges of Bey mountains on the eastern coast also defining and limiting the flatlands on the central Elmalı Region. A brief look at the development history specific to the region and geography of the peninsula points to a timeline of settlement dating back to the Neolithic period, with differing centres and densities of activity in the following eras, up until the end of the Byzantine period. The information presented below

9 Such values are discussed in: David Throsby, *The Economics of Cultural Policy*, Cambridge 2012, pp. 108–113; William D. Lipe, “Archaeological Values and Resource Management,” [in:] *Archaeology and Cultural Resource Management: Visions for the Future*, eds. Lynne Sebastian and William D. Lipe, Santa Fe 2009, p. 61.

10 Turkish Republic Law 2863: Law on the Protection of Cultural and Natural Heritage, 21 July 1983, <https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.2863.pdf> [access: 10 February 2021]; Turkish Republic Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Resolution 658 on the Protection and Usage of Archaeological Sites, <https://testsite.ktb.gov.tr/ktmordu/TR-14329/658-nolu-ilke-karari-arkeolojik-sitler-koruma-ve-kullan-.html> [access: 10 February 2021].

11 The Muğla RPC oversees the protection of sites and monuments in Fethiye and Seydikemer townships, while Antalya RPC’s jurisdiction covers the sites and monuments in the remaining parts of the peninsula.

12 Burak Takmer, “Lykia Oroğrafyası,” [in:] *Lykia İncelemeleri I*, ed. Nezir Başgelen, İstanbul 2002, p. 33.

regarding its history is a very condensed summary compiled from approximately 200 years of archaeological study.¹³

Prehistoric activity starts in central flatlands and eastern cave sites. The eastern range activity stops during the Chalcolithic period (5500–3000 BCE), while the caves and mounds in the central areas continue to flourish, with the addition of a couple of mounds in the northwest, in the Seki plains. Bronze age (3000–1100 BCE) activity, mostly continuing in the sites of the previous periods, gradually extends to the coastline as shown by the research on the sites of Gagae and Patara.¹⁴ Early and Middle Iron Age (1200–750 BCE) findings are reported by researchers to be scarce in comparison, which is why the period is also referred to as the “dark age.” This scarcity of findings may be explained by this being a period of change and transition, which makes it a valuable field of research and vulnerable facet of material remains. The Archaic Period (7th–6th century BCE) shows intense activity on the central coast, creating a network of tower farmsteads and defensive structures. The following Classical Lycian Period (550–360 BCE) is a unique period of dynastic Lycian culture specific to this region, where dynast settlements of Classical Lycian configuration were established on the coasts, reflecting the unique Lycian culture. These fortified settlements include dynast citadels, most of which contain characteristic Lycian intramural pillar tomb forms belonging to the dynasts, and houses of one or more floors with flat roofs.¹⁵ There is contemporary activity in the inner flatlands in

13 Starting from the explorations of Sir F. Beaufort and his accounts in his book *Karamania* in 1818, and of Colonel W. M. Leake and his descriptions in 1824, after which the interest in the region takes a more academic turn with the accounts of sir C. Fellows, T.A.B. Spratt and E. Forbes, C. Texier, and researches of O. Benndorf and E. Krickl towards the end of the century. Earliest excavations were performed by the French mission in Xanthos in 1951, after which scientific research projects have increased almost exponentially, both in terms of excavations and surveys. Up to 2022, out of the 576 assets identified in the research inventory, by the least count twenty-three sites and monuments have been undertaken in scientific research excavations, three sites have been subject to salvage excavations, and 323 of the assets have been either documented or described in archaeological survey publications.

14 Bronze age activity in Patara: see Havva İşkan, “Capital of the Lycian League and Province: Patara,” [in:] *From Lukka to Lycia: The Land of Sarpedon and St. Nicholas*, eds. Havva İşkan and Erkan Dünder, Istanbul 2016, p. 144; in Gagae: see Nevzat Çevik and Süleyman Bulut, “The Rediscovery of Gagae/‘Gaxe’ in the South-East Corner of Lycia: New Finds from the Total Surface Surveys,” [in:] *ADALYA*, vol. 9 (2008), p. 65.

15 Jürgen Borchhardt, *Limyra, Zemuri Taşları*, Istanbul 1999, pp. 31–32.

the form of fortified settlements and structures, albeit more ingrained with Phrygian¹⁶ influence. The grave forms from this period onward characterise the landscape as well. Rock-cut temple façade tombs, mostly of the Hellenistic Period, are observed on rocky slopes; the examples of sarcophagi in necropoleis have distinctly Lycian saddle shaped lids. A classical Lycian rock-cut tomb form is the house tomb, where the façade is carved to imitate the forms of wooden Lycian construction technology.¹⁷ After the Classical Lycian Period, the Hellenistic Period (4th–1st centuries BCE) dominates the landscape, transforms cities, establishes poleis, and builds rural farmsteads and watchtowers around towns to ensure military protection of poleis and their territories. Self-regulated city-states sometimes form sympolities with their allied cities for political representation in the later established Lycian League.

After this period, the historical settlement activity is more homogeneously distributed, and the number of established settlements radically increased. The subsequent Roman Period (46 BCE marked by the alliance signed between Rome and the Lycian League up to 4th century CE), with the establishment of the Lycian State, brings imperial change to the region: a road network is established as evidenced by the Patara Road Monument,¹⁸ more sympolities are formed, cities are revised to reflect the Roman impact with public buildings, the Elmalı Plains and Seki Plains cities are officially listed as belonging to the Lycian State and the cultural Region of Lycia is transformed into a political entity with Patara as the capital.¹⁹ The transition to the Byzantine period (5th–12th century CE) is a complicated timeline. By the 5th century Myra becomes the capital. Late antiquity is a very prosperous time for the coastal areas as the economy is based on marine trade, and cities are transformed with the reuse of older material. However, first a plague around central Lycia, then Persian invasions, then Arabic raids a century later, all cause unrest and change in the construction priorities: by the 7th century, in the Byzantine period, there seems to be more interest in converting older structures into defensive ones and by the late 8th century the rebuilding

16 Sencer Şahin, *Stadiasmus Patarensis Itinera Romana Provinciae Lyciae: Likya Eyaleti Roma Yolları*, İstanbul 2014, p. 224.

17 Zeynep Kuban, “Lycian Rock-Cut Tombs,” [in:] *From Lukka to Lycia*, op. cit., p. 411.

18 S. Şahin, *Stadiasmus Patarensis...*, op. cit., pp. 22–23.

19 H. İşkan, “Capital of the Lycian League...,” op. cit., p. 146.

of lost churches begins.²⁰ Two important zones of faith are observed: the first, in the area south of Telmessos, and second, around Myra and its hinterland, where the historical pilgrimage route of St. Nicholas of Sion can be found. From the 13th century onwards, the area was gradually Turkified,²¹ and most sites of antiquity were abandoned.

The remaining built heritage²² from this complex timeline is heterogeneously scattered across the landscape, each site with its own experience of singular or several periods, some places palimpsestic and overwritten in later periods, while others evidencing the many historical layers they contain. While some of these sites are in the process of investigation and documentation, some have already been conserved or restored and are currently in use as sites to be visited. There is also one particular site – St Nicholas Church – which is still valued today as a spiritual site of pilgrimage. All these sites represent cultural-historical values and standards in their similarities, expressing the characteristics of their respective periods. Their accumulations and densities in sub-regions create textures and areal narratives distinguishing one sub-zone from another. Their meanings – gained or attributed through time, intentions, and experience – create unique or rare values, namely particularities which set them apart and make them vulnerable.²³ For example, the formation of towers on hills is a characteristic Hellenistic Period activity that occurred due to the political and military realities of the period. The towers were necessary in order to guard the settlements

20 Clive Foss, “The Lycian Coast in the Byzantine Age,” [in:] *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, vol. 48 (1994), pp. 47–51.

21 Klaus Zimmermann, “Lycia in the East Roman and Byzantine Period up to the Ottoman Conquest,” [in:] *From Lukka to Lycia*, op. cit., pp. 70–75.

22 So far, based on archaeological research literature from the area, official registries, planning documents, orthophoto imageries, field survey reports, and designation decisions of RPC’s, 576 assets were identified by the authors and relevant information was entered into a database which is large enough to be representative of the values and distribution of archaeological resources. However, it should be noted that this inventory is not conclusive, and it is very likely to expand through new research and discoveries.

23 Nevin Esin Tekin Bellibaş and Gülsün Tanyeli, “Cultural Significance Assessment for the Archaeological Heritage of the Lycian Region,” [in:] *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, vol. 22 (2020), pp. 130–133.

and protect the roads.²⁴ Similarly, the reorganisation of the city agora in the Roman Imperial period to reflect the presence of the empire²⁵ is found to be a characteristic activity that took place in a similar fashion throughout the region.

Based on the cultural significance assessment of the region, the geographical extent of these characteristic activities covers the range of the whole region, but, continuing the same example, the watchtowers of the Hellenistic Period are more densely situated on the rocky hilltops and slopes of the central Lycian coastal zone, creating a network, a texture, of watchtowers on adjacent hills and elevations due to the geomorphology of the area. The same region also witnesses earlier characteristic activity with a certain density, presenting a network of Classical Lycian dynast settlements, fortified settlements, and fortified defence structures; moreover, it is a very important sub-region for the Classical Lycian history. Before that, a texture of Archaic settlements containing tumuli – although presenting less dense activity compared to the activities of the following periods, but still being the main representative sample of the Archaic activity for the whole region – is observed in the same sub-zone. As a result, it becomes evident that the rocky central coast of the Lycian region has developed a particular cultural history due to its geomorphology, with the overlapping of different historical periods, which is clearly identified through this unique dense stratification. In addition, some places, such as the Karakuzgediği Fort and Farmstead, Phellos, Avşar Hill Settlement, within this stratification exhibit particular and rare values.

The Archaic Karakuzgediği Fort and Farmstead has retained visible remains of the period, and is reported by researchers to be the principal reference structure for Archaic farmstead forms.²⁶ This means that the protection of this asset is indispensable for the protection of knowledge concerning all Archaic farmstead sites. The Archaic tumulus in Phellos, another settlement, is reported to be the oldest and largest

24 Bülent İşler, "Likya Bölgesi'nde Karabel Asarcık'taki Erken Bizans Dönemi Yerleşimi" [Early Byzantine settlement in Karabel Asarcık in the Lycian Region], PhD thesis, Hacettepe Üniversitesi, 2009, pp. 212–213.

25 S. Şahin, *Stadiasmus Patarensis...*, op. cit., pp. 203, 340.

26 Frank Kolb, "1996 Kyaneai Yüzey Araştırmaları," [in:] 15. *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, vol. 2 (1998), p. 352.

Lycian tumulus.²⁷ The Avşar Hill settlement (Zagaba) of the Classical Lycian, which seems to have been abandoned around 350 BCE,²⁸ presents rare information necessary for the understanding of the settlement characteristics of this period since it is one of the few sites which was not reconfigured by subsequent cultures²⁹ and also displays some of the earliest samples of rock carved monumental tombs imitating wooden façades,³⁰ a specific tomb type unique to the region. These particularities all present information relevant to a larger context; they are also rare and valuable, and therefore vulnerable.

Additionally, there are modern day interactions with the archaeological material which create more meanings and values. The World Heritage sites of Xanthos and Letoon, and several places on the Tentative List such as the island of Kekova, St Nicholas Church, the cities of ancient Lycian Civilisation, point to a common attribution of universal value to these places by the modern public. The Outstanding Universal Values of Xanthos and Letoon also point to their architectural influence over the ancient cities of Lycia,³¹ further illustrating that archaeological assets of the region have historical values which link them with each other and also provide the basis for their cumulative heritage value. The region also has two cultural routes acting as an interaction interface with archaeological material. The Lycian Way – approximately 540 kilometres in length and stretching out mostly along the coast line, intersects with approximately thirty-seven kilometres of ancient roads and runs through some prominent sites such as Sidyma, Letoon, Xanthos, Seyret, Phellos, Antiphellos, Seveda, Apollonia, Aperlai, Teimiussa, Simena, Myra, Gagae, Melanippe, and Olympos – was established with the intention of creating a hiking route that would also give its travellers a chance to experience

27 Oliver Hülken, “The Lycian Necropolis and the Cult of the Dead,” [in:] *From Lukka to Lycia*, op. cit., p. 377.

28 Andreas Thomsen and Martin Zimmermann, “Bericht über die Feldforschungen auf dem Gebiet von Kyaneai (Mit den Siedlungen von Teimiussa und Tyberissos) in den Jahren 1999/2000,” [in:] 19. *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, vol. 2 (2002), p. 59.

29 Frank Kolb, “Kyaneai ve Çevresi Yüzey Araştırmaları 1993 Yılı Sonuçları,” 12. *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*, (1995), pp. 86–88.

30 F. Kolb, “1996 Kyaneai Yüzey Araştırmaları...,” op. cit., p. 348.

31 For a statement of the Outstanding Universal Values (ouV) of Xanthos and Letoon on the World Heritage List website see <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/484/> [access: 12 February 2021].

the history of the region.³² St Nicholas Way was established as a touristic endeavour; with some of its routes based on the historical pilgrimage of St Nicholas of Sion (6th century),³³ it creates itineraries between the remains of Byzantine churches, chapels, and villages north of the Demre River. There is also a living heritage aspect to some of the ancient sites and it is found that seventeen sites are exceptionally integrated with modern day settlements. Some of these places, like the sites of Araxa and Korydalla, have been almost entirely built over the ancient settlements, preserving very few traces. Some sites, similarly to Antiphellos and Telmessos, present reserved islands of archaeological material, completely surrounded by modern day urban fabric. Another group of sites, the best example of which is Sidyma, present a stratification that is evident of uninterrupted settlement history, and a symbiotic way of rural life with archaeological remains. These places create unique experiences between the modern way of life and the ancient remains, yet they are occasionally problematic in terms of conservation. There are also several research questions posed by archaeologists working on the area, such as possible alternative road networks in the mountainous hinterland of the central coast,³⁴ localisation of some settlements only known from epigraphic records, or more specific questions like the border between the territories of Tlos and Oinoanda, which would be discovered through markings on the Masa Mountain.³⁵ These research questions attribute research value to related sub-geographies. And lastly, similarities can be observed between ancient forms and traditional rural construction techniques of wooden granaries and pillar type beehives, leading to theories on continuities of rural practices,³⁶ as well as strengthening the connection between archaeological material and current life in the Teke Peninsula.

32 Kate Clow, *Likya Yolu*, İstanbul 2015, pp. 17–18.

33 Map and brochure of St Nicholas Way by Gökhan Göktaş, *Aziz Nikolaos Yolları*, Antalya 2012.

34 For the possibilities proposed by the researcher see S. Şahin, *Stadiasmus Patarensis...*, op. cit., pp. 115, 274–281.

35 For a discussion of the possible location for the border signs see Fatih Onur, “Parerga to the Stadiasmus Patarensis (16): The Roads, Settlements and Territories,” [in:] *Gephyra*, vol. 13 (2016), p. 92.

36 See Süleyman Bulut, “Lykia’da Arıcılık: Seren ve Çevre Duvarlı Arılıklar Işığında Antik Geleneği Arayış,” [in:] *Kum’dan Kent’e Patara Kazılarının 25 Yılı Uluslararası Sempozyum Bildirileri*, eds. Havva İşkan and Fahri Işık, İstanbul 2015, pp. 97–132 for

In summary, the archaeological material presents cultural-historical significances through three facets: through its characteristic behaviour defining period activities, its aggregation in textures, and its divergence and particularities. The modern life interacting with archaeological material presents more layers of significance, through research questions, in the experiences of living or overwritten sites, in World Heritage and heritage values attributed to places, in the interactions created via the two cultural routes, and in the continuities of forms stemming from rural practices. When these significances are charted in a map form, it can be seen that the protection of these assets requires awareness beyond designated site borders and relies on their perception as a whole, emphasising that this is a network of interrelated assets.³⁷

How aware of one another are archaeological assets and development plans?

As mentioned before, there is a lack of awareness of the values archaeological assets might hold in the development plans and land use plans. Firstly, in terms of designation, we have found that out of the 576 assets, only 339 have their designated boundaries marked in the regional land use plans. Out of the remaining 245, it was found that 144 of these assets are designated and recorded in the national registry, but this was not reflected in the plans. For eighty-one of the assets, registry information could not be found in available resources, and for twelve assets, land use plan boundaries and registry information showed contradictions. This means that only 59% of the assets inform development and land use plans.

Furthermore, the representation of the assets in the land use plans and various other plans such as integrated coastal management plans is exactly the same for different places. Be it a mound, a cave, a Hellenistic city, a necropolis, or a cult site, the designated area is reflected in the plans as a gap, or a grey fleck. This is due to the legal framework – a first-degree archaeological site is the sole responsibility of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, and the related resolution on the usage and protection of

the beehives and Şevket Aktaş, “Wooden Granaries in Lycia and Milyas Regions,” [in:] *From Lukka to Lycia*, op. cit., pp. 578–583 regarding discussions on the aspects of continuities of the forms of wooden granaries.

- 37 Nevin Esin Tekin Bellibaş and Gülsün Tanyeli, “Arkeolojik Mirasın Korunmasında Kültürel Peyzaj Kavramının Potansiyeli: Likya Bölgesi Örneği Üzerinden Bir Değerlendirme,” [in:] *Colloquium Anatolicum*, vol. 20 (2021), pp. 226, Figure 3.

archaeological sites holds scientific values and research values as the sole values of a place. Meanwhile, immediately after the designation border – unless there is some form of designated buffer zone as observed around only thirty-six of the assets – all authority of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism ceases, and that of other administrative bodies' begins.

The cultural landscape approach mentioned in the previous section allows for the visualisation of potential places of conflict in the region. Among the major problem areas would be the prehistoric activity areas of Elmalı Plains and Eşen Valley. The geography which gave rise to suitable settlement conditions in these areas also makes them very convenient and fertile agricultural spaces today. These areas also contain underresearched, unresearched or undetected mounds, amounting to a texture of activity as evidenced by the significance map. Archaeological research on the area also reports that agricultural activity damages the mounds, sometimes flattening them, which results in the loss of information. The development interest in modernisation and increased efficiency of agriculture will certainly have an impact on these areas, unless agricultural action plan is revised to include measures such as preliminary surveys for detection, registration, and preservation as well as perhaps studies of subsurface effects aerial irrigation.

This would also effect the coastal areas, where the majority of the greenhouses are. In the Demre area, for example, including the Demre plain, which lies between the Byzantine Metropolis of Myra and the shore, where St Nicholas Church (still an important pilgrimage site) is located, it can be clearly seen that designated site borders are enveloped by and drawn according to spaces left from greenhouses. Development plans expect greenhouse modernisation measures. Furthermore, land use plans show that the greenhouse areas are reserved for urban settlement extensions. According to the reports of 19th-century explorers, this plain housed the remains of what could possibly be an agora, and some fragments which were not described in context.³⁸ The proposed modernisation might pose a threat to potential information sources, but if informed by the historical activities and appropriate data, it might also provide a unique opportunity for ground-penetrating radar investigations to be made during the modernisation activities. In fact, as a regional policy,

38 T.A.B. Spratt and Edward Forbes, *Travels in Lycia, Milyas and the Cibyratis*, vol. 1, London 1847, pp. 133–134.

subsurface imaging processes and greenhouse modernisations can be planned to take place together (see fig. 2).

Going back to the tourism expectations of development plans, diversification of tourism is often mentioned in conjunction with cultural tourism, and the values created through the interrelations of sites we have come to recognise in our archaeological landscape research hold great potential in terms of creating thematic routes and boosting mobility throughout the region. The aforementioned St Nicholas Way seems to have been abandoned by visitors and initiatives aiming at its development were discontinued by 2019.³⁹ Since Turkish legislation does not yet recognise the concept of “cultural routes” as a protected category, the upkeep of such a route becomes a community problem. Passage through private properties cannot be regulated, or the resources for access to, and preservation of, connected archaeological material cannot be always ensured. Meanwhile, for as long as these sites are marked as empty spaces or flecks on the development plans, the connected archaeological assets become detached from one another. What we observe in the area is that due to small-scale stone quarrying operations and lack of knowledge of this route in their planning, quarry roads start cutting through the original trail, removing traces of connectivity (see fig. 3).

This essentially means that the assets, most of which are single churches built at important stops of St Nicholas’s pilgrimage, are left in isolation, and their narrative is traded in for an unsustainable industry.

Another problem stemming from the lack of legal definitions around the concept of cultural routes becomes evident around the Lycian Way. The upkeep of this route is performed by volunteers of the Cultural Routes Society, who also produce informative resources for the hike in the form of maps, GPS coordinates, and a guidebook. In the regional development processes, Antalya Provincial Culture and Tourism Directorate, and Finike Municipality undertook a project financed by West Mediterranean Development Agency to enhance the touristic potential of the Lycian Way,⁴⁰ which basically replicated the information produced

39 The route was developed on the initiative of Beymelek Municipality with the funding from West Mediterranean Development Agency (BAKA). According to the authors’ communications with the developer of the route (G. Göktaş) in 2019, the guidebook and map are no longer in print. The website of the route (www.stnicholasway.org) was apparently shut down in 2020.

40 Project tender number TR61/15/TRZMK/0022.

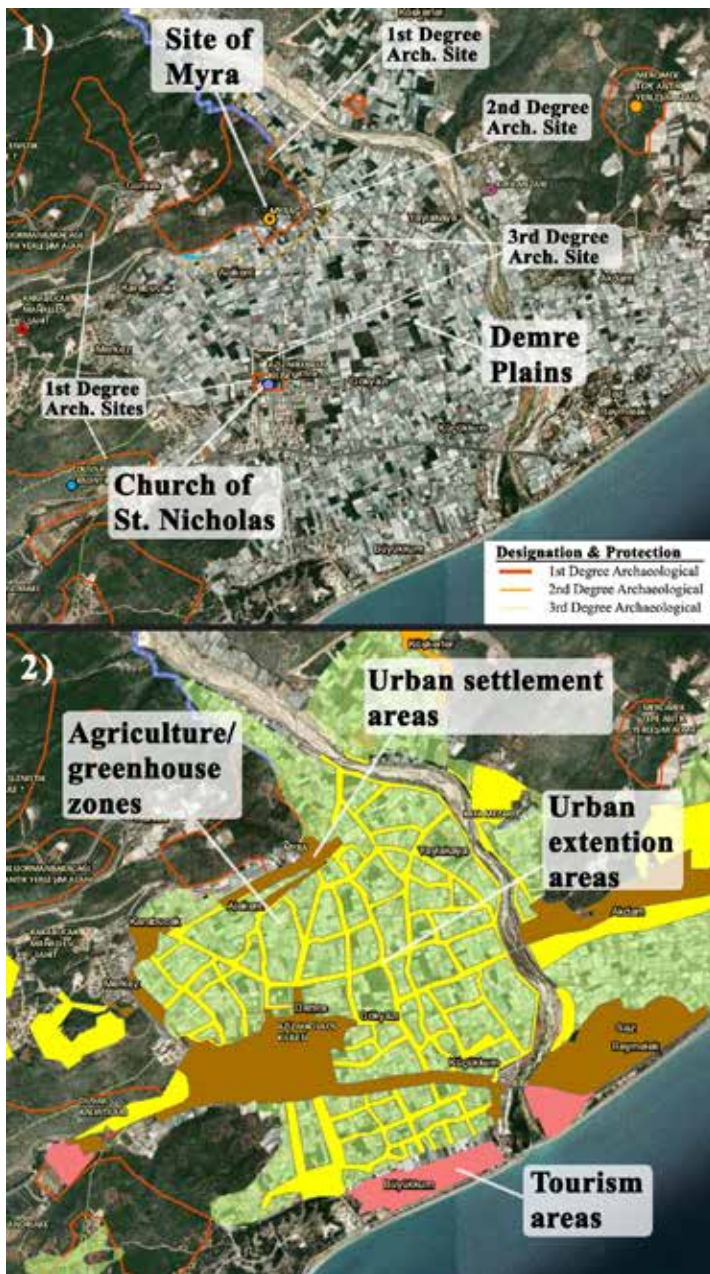


Figure 2. Comparison of the current situation of Demre Plains with Land Use Plans: (1) Current designated zones of Myra and St Nicholas Church in the Demre Plains, surrounded by greenhouses; (2) Land Use Plan decisions create low-density urban extension zones around blocks, while dedicating the rest of the plain to agriculture and creating tourism areas on the coast. © Nevin Esin Tekin Bellibaş, Gülsün Tanyeli



Figure 3. illustrating an example of the disconnect on St Nicholas Way. © Nevin Esin Tekin Bellibaş, Gülsün Tanyeli

by the Cultural Routes Society; however, due to the lack of legal definition and protective framework around the concept of cultural routes, this was never taken a step further to ensure the integrity of the route. Still, in contrast with St Nicholas Way, well-known not only locally but also on the international level, a significant number of people volunteer for the upkeep of the Lycian Way, and – since it is mostly located in natural protection areas – this route is relatively well preserved and continues to generate meaning and experience in the area. Since its path is very similar to the historical circulation paths of the area, it overlaps with many historical road segments, and its guide maps indicate less-known but connected archaeological sites. For this reason, the route can also be used for crowdsourcing a visual condition assessment of assets throughout different times – and perhaps indirectly economically contribute to the budgets of related museums. However, a form of legal recognition is necessary in order to ensure its sustainability, integrity, and future.

Numerous examples of cultural tourism themes can be derived from this archaeological heritage. The Demre Region of the Byzantine,

the Byzantine coasts, and the Fethiye-Ölüdeniz-Karacaören Byzantine settlements can be put together to form an itinerary of the travel from Constantinople (İstanbul), capital of the period. The aforementioned farmsteads of the Central Lycian region are the witnesses of rural life on the mainly rocky shoreline. Each characteristic and texture can be developed into a theme with the input of archaeologists. Needless to say, with the primary condition of ensuring the protection of the assets, mobilisation in the landscape would also decrease the pressure of tourism on the few well-known assets such as the World Heritage Sites of Xanthos and Letoon, or Myra and St Nicholas Church, which witness surges of tourism, and perhaps prove instrumental in changing the planners' perspective for archaeological sites, focused mostly on monumental restorations and landscaping.

How can the conversation between archaeological heritage and development be facilitated?

This investigation revolves around the network of values and significances stemming from archaeological assets, and looks into how their protection and safeguarding can be integrated into the conversations that relate to the future of the geography in which they are embedded, with the goal of identifying directions that are mutually beneficial to both heritage sites and development prospects.

In the case of the Lycian Region, archaeological landscape research shows that these sites contain interrelated values, which sometimes gather meaning from contemporary points of view, and which are dependent on the cumulative understanding and perception of heritage assets. In isolation, archaeological assets stop generating social meanings and become distant and irrelevant objects, and sometimes even a burden for the societies that are ultimately responsible for them. When examined as a whole, these assets compose an extensive layer on the Teke Peninsula, exhibiting great potential for contributing to the sustainable development of the area in terms of scientific knowledge production and heritage sector activities. Their resource values are also reliant on other development activities being informed of not only their locations, but also their significances so that they can be safeguarded.

This shows that firstly, heritage assets' values and potentials for development are better understood when approached at the scale of a landscape. Current research on the landscape approaches shows that proposed methodologies will very likely not be uniform; rather, they are

better formulated when addressed as region-specific, information-specific, and goal-specific. The goal for this specific research into archaeological landscape values was the preservation of values and valorisation without exploitation. The landscape approach also puts the mapping of values at the same scale of development and land use plans, thereby facilitating the conversation between asset-related values and strategic and spatial planning activity. It is on the level of planning that the conversation between development and heritage safeguarding should take place.

This also shows that legislative framework around subjects such as cultural landscapes and cultural routes is necessary for effective benefits. As previously stated, it is not easy to legislate a landscape-scale methodology since such methodology would need to be defined by its information sources, goals, location, and extent. However, flexible definitions, definitions to allow for the exploration of these methodologies may open the way for a dialogue between heritage assets and sustainable development. Regarding the landscape approach, the definition of an information layer reserved for illustrating contextual cultural heritage values during the planning processes, the definition of institutes/ collaborating entities appointed to research and define these values, and resources dedicated to commissioning such research may be enough to start the necessary interaction. Regarding existing and potential cultural routes, a legal definition and designation process will allow for not only allocating funds to their identification and proposal, but also taking necessary measures for their upkeep, such as initiating protocols with land owners to maintain the integrity of these routes.

Cultural Heritage and Land Uses of Sustainable Development under the Green Deal and Sustainable Development Goals¹

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Transhumance is at the center of the lives of many pastoral communities [...]. For centuries, it has formed the way of life of herders and their families, contributing to the social life and festivities of local communities associated with the tradition. The element is integral to the cultural identities of its practitioners and bearers, forming a strong link with their ancestors and the universe. It enhances ties between families and communities, shapes landscapes and promotes cooperation towards social inclusion and food safety. Transhumance also contributes to the maintenance of biodiversity and the sustainable use of natural resources.²

Introduction

The European Union has developed the Green Deal as a plan to make the EU's economy sustainable, turning climate and environmental challenges into opportunities, and making one transition just and inclusive for all, from the current model into one that is modern, resource-efficient, and competitive.

On the one hand, the United Nations adopted the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2015. This resulted in a comprehensive set of seventeen goals and 169 targets aimed at reducing poverty and advancing

¹ Article written as part of the research project DER2017-83970-P, 2018-2020 "La nueva información registral: requisitos, eficacia y aplicación práctica." The author wishes to thank his colleague, Professor María-Aránzazu Calzadilla-Medina, for all the support and courtesy extended during the creation of this work.

² UNESCO Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, Decision 14.COM 10.B.2, December 2019.

wellbeing for all people in the world by 2030. This article carries out a general approach to the SDGs to later relate them to cultural heritage, pointing out which aspects of this sector are – either directly or indirectly – related to them. The Agenda 2030 includes an explicit reference to heritage in SDG 11.4 and indirect reference to other SDGs. This article looks also at a real example – transhumance – because it is very interesting to find the SDGs most relevant to the pastoral context and think how the pastoralism can contribute to achieving the SDGs.

On the other hand, it should be noted that this issue is directly related to the environment and its protection. The Spanish Constitution (hereinafter abbreviated as sc), Title I, Chapter 3: Of governing principles of the social and economic politics, Article 45 reads as follows:

1. Everybody has the right to enjoy an appropriate environment for the person's development, as well as the duty of conserving it.
2. The public authorities will ensure rational use of all the natural resources, with the purpose of protecting and improving the citizens' quality of life, as well as defend and restore the environment, leaning on the indispensable collective solidarity.
3. For those who violate what is established in the previous section, penal sanctions will be established within the boundaries of the law; they will also be charged with the obligation to repair the damage caused.³

Most of the doctrine considers that the environment is not configured constitutionally as a fundamental right (the Constitutional Court has even established more than once that not all the constitutional precepts are susceptible to constitutional help), but rather as a guidance principle of social and economic politics, an asset, or collective interest informant of the juridical order. Therefore, if we reach the conclusion that the environment is a collective interest, it is clear that the prevision of Article 128 of the sc ("all the wealth of the country in its different forms and whoever were its ownership is subordinated to the general interest") must also be related to the environment, in such a way that the inescapable conclusion is that all the wealth of the country (and certainly, the ownership of the land), independently of its owner, is subordinated, among

3 Article 45 1978 Spanish Constitution.

others, to the general interest of the preservation of the environment. In this way, the right of private ownership of land finds an abstract and uncertain but determinable limit in each concrete case that bears limitations for the Sunday holders. On the other hand, Article 148.1.9 states that the Autonomous Communities may assume competences on “environmental protection management,” as outlined in Article 149.1.23, according to which the State has exclusive competence with respect to the “basic legislation on the protection of the environment, without damage to the faculties of the Autonomous Communities of establishing additional norms of protection.”

In this way, we can observe how our Supreme Law contemplates the environment in two very different perspectives: in Article 45, it is outlined under the heading of the guidance principles of social and economic politics, which has given origin to an extensive and complex debate whether the environment is a right, a subjective right or, simply, a guidance principle; on the other hand, Articles 148 and 149 determine the assignment and distribution of the competence related with its protection.

This article analyses the attempt to incorporate cultural heritage strategies and land uses into sustainability for human development in the way to fulfil the Sustainable Development Goals and the objective of making the EU’s economy sustainable, under the plan of the Green Deal. In this context, the abovementioned example of transhumance is an opportunity to demonstrate how an element protected by Cultural Heritage Law can be used in order to create an economy that would be more equal and inclusive, where no person and no place would be left behind.

Material and immaterial heritage

The importance and value of cultural, historical, and artistic heritage is widely recognised under international, national, and regional laws.⁴ Cultural heritage is perceived as one of the core elements of social, economic, and cultural developments, and ever more often it is guised as a global common good, of which humanity is both the custodian and beneficiary.⁵ Art and cultural objects form separate classes of goods,

4 Janet Blake, *International Cultural Heritage Law*, Oxford 2015. Christa Roodt, *Private International Law, Art and Cultural Heritage*, Cheltenham 2015.

5 Decision (EU) 2017/864 of the European Parliament and the Council of 17 May 2017 on a European Year of Cultural Heritage (2018), OJ EU L 131/1, 20.5.2017.

which speak about the human condition and mirror the living conditions of individuals and communities. They provide knowledge about the creative process and the identity of the groups responsible for their production. Cultural heritage expresses continuity between the past and the present, introduces the idea of cultural identity and explains our fascination with antiquities.

In Spanish law, the concept and history of cultural heritage, as well as its deciding characters, have been defined by doctrine but, legally, we can find a definition in the 1985 Spanish Historical Heritage Act.⁶ According to these sources, cultural or historic-artistic heritage is a group of movable and immovable goods with artistic, historical, paleontological, archaeological, ethnographical, scientific, or technical interest or value. This definition includes documentary and bibliographical heritage, archaeological sites, natural sites, gardens, and parks with artistic, historic, or anthropologic value. All these goods are defined by a character of historicity because the aforementioned Act establishes their special status in accordance with the notions of time and space.⁷

The notion of time under the 1985 Act includes different possibilities of its application. On the one hand, there is a general idea of time as an expression of historic value. On the other hand, there are special rules for goods where the time factor is defined by several years of existence, for instance in the case of documentary and bibliographical heritage goods. According to Article 49 LPHE, documentary heritage goods are integrated documents from public and private entities older than a specific number of years. Under Article 50 LPHE, bibliographical heritage goods are composed of manuscripts and printed works with three or fewer existent copies. Ultimately, cultural value is the determinative element in defining

6 Ley 16/1985, de 25 de junio, del Patrimonio Histórico Español, – LPHEBOE-A-1985-12534, 29.6.1985.

7 Carmen Barrero Rodríguez, *La ordenación jurídica del patrimonio histórico*, Madrid 1990; Luis Pablo Martín Sanmartín, “La tutela legal del patrimonio cultural inmaterial en España: valoración y perspectivas,” [in:] *Revista de la Facultad de Ciencias Sociales y Jurídicas de Elche*, vol. 1, no. 7 (2011), pp. 123–150. M. Lourdes Lacaba Zabala, “La protección del patrimonio etnográfico en España y en las Comunidades Autónomas: Especial referencia al País Vasco y Andalucía,” [in:] *Revista sobre Patrimonio Cultural: Regulación, propiedad intelectual e industrial*, vol. 2 (2013), pp. 105–148; Estefanía Hernández Torres, *Patrimonio histórico y Registro de la Propiedad*, Reus 2018; Luis Javier Capote Pérez, “Tangible and Intangible Heritage in Spanish Law,” [in:] *Protection of Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage*, eds. Piotr Dobosz et al., Krakow 2020, pp. 45–53.

historical-artistic heritage. One should bear in mind that there is always an element of culture in every human activity. The presence of one person implies the existence of culture. Yet the actual “heritagisation” requires an assessment of the value of a given cultural manifestation in a determined historical or artistic context. There are some theoretical constructions designed to establish a common concept or denominator for all categories of cultural heritage. One of them refers to the notion of cultural goods, where the adjective “cultural” is used to indicate a given item’s belonging to the history of civilisation. The historical dimension concretises the ambiguous definition of culture, and a cultural good is perceived as a testimony of the past. Thus, the concept of heritage is defined by two aspects: culture and history.

Every historic-artistic good is defined by its value in a spatial-temporal perspective and in its cultural dimension. Heritage is a concept to which most people assign a positive value, and the preservation of material and intangible culture is generally regarded as a shared common good by which everyone benefits. These conditions constitute the basis for special regulations under the general expression of cultural heritage law because of their objective to conserve, divulge, and spread culture. Beyond individual rights there is general interest: liberty, equality, and real democracy could not exist without a culture solidly established in society. In Spanish law, Article 46 of the Spanish Constitution (*Constitución Española*, hereafter abbreviated as CE; BOE-A-1978-31229, 29 December 1978), it is explained that the state assumes the responsibility to promote the protection of Spanish cultural heritage, giving them great powers to undertake that mission: “The public authorities shall guarantee the preservation and promote the enrichment of the historical, cultural and artistic heritage of the peoples of Spain and of the property of which it consists, regardless of its legal status and ownership. The criminal law shall punish any offences against this heritage.”

The constitutional requirement has to be complemented with the reference to the territorial organisation of the Spanish state. In accordance with Article 137 CE, “The State is organised territorially into municipalities, provinces, and Autonomous Communities that may be constituted. All these bodies shall enjoy self-government for the management of their respective interests.” With respect to cultural heritage, there is a distribution of competences between the state and the autonomous regions (as regulated by Articles 148 and 149 CE), so both bodies are required to fulfil the mandate established in Article 46. Consequently, there are autonomous cultural acts, focused on the protection of regional historic-artistic

heritage. However, for the purpose of this article, only the national legislation will be considered.

The historic value of a good implies granting it a special status to enable its protection. Accordingly, the formal classification of an item as a cultural good triggers an array of obligations and charges. The imposition is a direct consequence of the axiological and policy objective, inscribed into the Spanish Constitution and the 1985 Act, to enable an increasing number of people to benefit from the cultural value of that good. Cultural heritage includes goods in private hands, in which case the cultural stewardship should be managed together with ownership rights. Thus, private property rights in cultural goods are demarcated by the general limits of the social function. In this context, that limit is the defence of culture as a collective interest of everyone, which particularly affects the freedom of disposal. In this context, “everyone” refers to present and future generations, and not only Spaniards, because *voluntas legis* conceives culture as a universal good (a “universal universality”).

The discussion about the universal, national, or local nature of cultural heritage is very interesting and transcends national laws and rules. The constitutional duty to protect and promote culture introduces a limit defined by the “pro-monument” principle: the cultural value of every good declared as part of historic-artistic heritage takes precedence over private rights to it; or the “pro-culture” principle: the preservation of cultural heritage goods is more important than private interests. In private property rights over these kinds of goods, the ancient *ius abutendi*, or the “right to abuse,” is excluded and marks the boundary between the possibilities of use and the prohibitions placed on a private owner of a cultural good. The social function of ownership acts here as a concrete form of the objective of preservation of historic-artistic goods in the name of their cultural value. Collective benefits derived from the conservation of these goods justify the imposition of limitations on ownership.

In Spanish law, the concept of historic-artistic heritage includes different categories of goods. First, there are properties of cultural interest (*bienes de interés cultural* – Articles 9 to 39 LPHE), comprising both immovable properties and movable objects. As far as the immovable properties (*bienes inmuebles de interés cultural*; Articles 14 to 25 LPHE) are concerned, there are five specific categories of protected sites and buildings:

- Historic monuments (*monumentos históricos* – Article 15(1) LPHE): immovable properties comprising architectural or engineering work or works of

colossal sculpture shall be considered as monuments provided they are of historic, artistic, scientific, or social interest.

- Historic gardens (*jardines históricos* – Article 15 (2) LPHE): delimited areas resulting from the organisation of natural elements [by mankind], sometimes complemented with constructions and considered of interest because of their origins, historic past, or their aesthetic, sensory, or botanical value.
- Historic units (*conjuntos históricos* – Article 15(3) LPHE): groups of immovable properties forming one continuous or dispersed unit of settlement, distinguished by a physical structure representing the development of a human community, testifying to their culture or constituting a value for public use and enjoyment.
- Historic sites (*sitios históricos* – Article 15(4) LPHE): places or natural landscapes linked to events or memories of the past or to popular tradition, cultural or natural creations and works of mankind, having historical, ethnological, paleontological, or anthropological value.
- Archaeological areas (*zonas arqueológicas* – Article 15(5) LPHE): places or natural landscapes where there are movable or immovable objects that can be studied using archaeological methodology, whether or not they have been extracted and whether they are to be found on the surface, underground, or below Spanish territorial waters.

Movable properties (*bienes de interés cultural* – Articles 26 to 34 LPHE), in turn, are movable goods defined by their cultural interest, which should be recorded in a special inventory. The owners or possessors of such goods should notify the public administration of the existence of such objects before proceeding to sell or transfer them to third parties. The same obligations are established for individuals or entities that habitually carry out trade in movable property that is part of Spanish historic heritage, who are also required to contact the appropriate administrative unit in order to register any transfer of such objects. This is a concrete example of a limitation imposed on the traditional freedom of owners due to the protection of cultural heritage.

The second large category is archaeological heritage (*bienes del patrimonio arqueológico* – Articles 40 to 45 LPHE). This category includes movable or immovable properties of a historic nature that can be studied using archaeological methodology, whether or not they have been extracted or whether they are to be found on the surface or underground, in territorial seas or on the continent itself. The category also encompasses geological and paleontological elements, relating to the history of

mankind and its origins and background, including caves, shelters, and places containing expressions of cave art.

The third large category is ethnographic heritage (*bienes del patrimonio etnográfico* – Articles 46 and 47 LPHE). This category includes movable or immovable properties, knowledge, and activities that have been a relevant expression of a traditional culture of the Spanish nation in its material, social, or spiritual aspects. Under this category, the legislation distinguishes:

- Immovable properties (*bienes inmuebles* – Article 47(1) LPHE): any buildings and installations whose method of construction is an expression of knowledge acquired, established, and transmitted by custom and whose creation belongs totally or partially to a type or form of architecture traditionally used by communities or human groups.
- Movable properties (*bienes muebles* – Article 47(2) LPHE): all objects that constitute the expression or the product of labour or aesthetic and pleasure activities of any human group that are established and transmitted by custom.
- Knowledge and activities (*conocimientos y actividades* – Article 47(3) LPHE): this includes knowledge and activities derived from traditional models or techniques used by a specific community.

Finally, there is another category: documentary and bibliographical heritage (*bienes del patrimonio documental y bibliográfico* – Articles 48 to 58 LPHE): this category includes a great number of elements which share cultural testimony through all types of data formats, concretised in concepts such as a “document” and “library.”

There are many differences between these categories. However, the LPHE establishes a system or rules whereby any object possessing the character of historic heritage is subject to defined limitations on the rights inherent in all private property rights over these special goods. These restrictions have consequences in the domain of private law.

The abovementioned categories encompass a variety of cultural manifestations, including tangible properties and intangible heritage, but the legal regulation is specially focused on the former. The latter is mentioned in the category of ethnographic heritage but is only considered as a sub-category in a regulation where the material nature of the great majority of goods protected in the 1985 Act determines the protective regulation contained in it. When it comes to tangible and intangible heritage, Spanish law is primarily centred on the protection of material goods.

The introduction of the category of ethnographic heritage was considered a pioneering regulation. In a way, the 1985 Act reflected some changes in the concept of cultural heritage initiated in the 1970s, when the previous pre-eminence of tangible goods was being compensated with a crescent interest in immaterial categories. In another way, it establishes a connection with some historical legal precedents from the Second Spanish Republic. Nevertheless, the regulation with reference to the intangible part of ethnographic heritage was criticised as folklorist and archaic. Ethnographic heritage must be considered as something living since, as a reflection of tradition, it is a link between the past and present, including both unchangeable core and a part capable of evolving. Despite all this, the 1985 Act did not consider this “living nature” of ethnographic heritage and its effectiveness in the protection of this category was limited.

Alongside, there was a development of the concept of intangible heritage in the areas of ethnology and anthropology, finally reflected in the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage [MISC/2003/CLT/CH/14]. This agreement, ratified by the Spanish State in 2006, determined the need of adapting the internal law to its content. This has been done through a new legislation, the 2015 Spanish Safeguard Intangible Cultural Heritage Act (*Ley 10/2015, de 26 de mayo, para la salvaguardia del Patrimonio Cultural Inmaterial* [BOE-A-2015-5794, 27 May 2015]).

The 2015 Act recognises in its preamble the ampliation of the concept of cultural heritage, introducing the category of activity-goods, alongside the previously established one of thing-goods. It also mentions the interweaving between tangible and intangible heritage, but points to different ways to protect each one, juxtaposing the concepts of conservation and safeguarding. Next, in Article 2, it introduces the definition of immaterial heritage as uses, representations, expressions, knowledge, and techniques that communities, groups, and, in some cases, individuals, could recognise as an integral part of their cultural heritage. Further, it mentions sample categories, including:

- traditions, oral expressions and linguistic modalities and particularities;
- traditional toponymy;
- social practices, rituals, and festive events;
- knowledge and uses related to nature and the universe;
- gastronomy, cooking recipes, and food;
- some specific utilisations of natural landscapes;

- some forms of collective socialisation and organisation;
- traditional music, dance, and sonorous manifestations.

Nevertheless, the existence of the two national acts alongside a new generation of regional cultural acts has not finalised the discussion about the regulation of tangible and intangible heritage in Spanish law. It is true that each category should be regulated and protected according to its respective nature, but they are not strange to one another. The possibility of a one and only, inclusive concept for both categories – for example, cultural goods – has been advocated, but there is a difference of thirty years between the 1985 Act and the 2015 Act. The evolution and interaction between their rules must be analysed to determine if the way chosen by the Spanish legislators allows fulfilling the constitutional mandate of protecting and promoting our cultural heritage; still, for the purpose of the present article, we have to focus on whether cultural heritage protection rules, which are similar in strategies to those concerning the safeguarding of natural heritage, could be useful instruments in the way to achieve the objectives of SDG and the Green Deal.

The European Green Deal and the plan to ensure sustainability of the EU's economy

Climate change and environmental degradation pose an existential threat to Europe and the world. To overcome these challenges, Europe needs a new growth strategy that will transform the Union into a modern, resource-efficient, and competitive economy, where there are no net emissions of greenhouse gases by 2050, economic growth is decoupled from resource use, and no person and no place are left behind.

The European Green Deal is the plan to make the EU's economy sustainable. The premise is to turn climate and environmental challenges into opportunities and make the transition just and inclusive for all.

The European Green Deal provides an action plan to:

- boost the efficient use of resources by moving towards a clean, circular economy;
- restore biodiversity;
- curb pollution.

The plan outlines necessary investments and financing tools available. It explains how to ensure a just and inclusive transition.

The EU aims to become climate neutral by 2050. A European Climate Law is proposed to turn this political commitment into a legal obligation.

Reaching this target will require action by all sectors of the European economy, including the following:

- investing in environmentally-friendly technologies;
- supporting industry in introducing innovative solutions;
- offering cleaner, cheaper, and healthier forms of private and public transport;
- decarbonising the energy sector;
- ensuring buildings that are more energy efficient;
- working with international partners to improve global environmental standards.

The EU will also provide financial support and technical assistance to help those that are most affected by the move towards the green economy. This is called the Just Transition Mechanism. It will help by spending at least €100 billion over the period 2021–2027 in the most affected regions.

Sustainable development goals and cultural heritage

In the year 2000, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were agreed upon, which postulated achieving in a period of fifteen years (that is, by 2015) a series of goals classified by many as very ambitious, such as the reduction of poverty and hunger, as well as improvements in the field of health, living conditions, environmental sustainability, education, and gender equality. Through the MDGs, a lot of progress was actually achieved, so that by no means should a catastrophic vision of them be embraced. In other words, the fact of not having fully achieved them should not cloud the visibility of the great and very important achievements obtained.

In September 2015, the UN General Assembly, in an extraordinary summit held in New York, approved the so-called Sustainable Development Agenda, setting the year 2030 as the deadline to achieve a total of 17 SDGs⁸ that have their corresponding goals, amounting to a total of 169.

8 Goal 1: End poverty in all its forms everywhere; Goal 2: End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture; Goal 3: Ensure healthy lives and promote wellbeing for all at all ages; Goal 4: Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all; Goal 5: Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls; Goal 6: Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all; Goal 7: Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable, and modern energy for all; Goal 8: Promote sustained, inclusive, and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment, and decent work for all; Goal 9: Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive

Unlike what happened with the MDGs, which were aimed at developing countries, the SDGs⁹ refer to all countries on earth without exception and therefore their economic and legal position is indifferent to global level. In addition, they are posed not only to countries as such but also and in parallel to all institutions, entities, administrations, organisations, etc., as well as to each person individually considered: all human beings, no matter where we live and what our characteristics are, must get involved in contributing and working towards the achievement of the SDGs through the goals outlined for each one of them.

As Jyoti Hosagraharif explains:

the SDGs are grouped around the economic, social, and environmental objectives as the three pillars of sustainable development, then culture and creativity contribute to each of these pillars transversally. The economic, social, and environmental dimensions of sustainable development, in turn, contribute to the safeguarding of cultural heritage and nurturing creativity. Cultural heritage – both tangible and intangible – and creativity are resources that need to be protected and carefully managed. They can serve both as drivers for achieving the SDGs as well as enablers, when culture-forward solutions can ensure the success of interventions to achieve the SDGs.¹⁰

and sustainable industrialisation, and foster innovation; Goal 10: Reduce inequality within and among countries; Goal 11: Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable; Goal 12: Ensure sustainable consumption and production patterns; Goal 13: Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts; Goal 14: Conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas, and marine resources for sustainable development; Goal 15: Protect, restore, and promote sustainable use of terrestrial ecosystems, sustainably manage forests, combat desertification, and halt and reverse land degradation and halt biodiversity loss; Goal 16: Promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development; provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable, and inclusive institutions at all levels; Goal 17: Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalise the global partnership for sustainable development.

9 Detailed information about all of them can be found on the UN website. See United Nations, *Sustainable Development Goals*, <https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/> [access: 1 December 2020].

10 Jyoti Hosagraharif, “Culture: At the Heart of SDGs,” [in:] *The UNESCO Courier*, April–June 2017, <https://en.unesco.org/courier/april-june-2017/culture-heart-sdgs> [access: 2 November 2020].

The Agenda 2030 includes explicit reference to heritage in SDG 11.4 and indirect reference to other Goals. The SDG 11 (“Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable”) point 4 encourages everyone to “[s]trengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world’s cultural and natural heritage.”¹¹

Given the importance of the 2030 Agenda, it could be thought that the reference to cultural heritage, which is included in Goal 11, is minor. However, nothing could be further from the truth. On the one hand, culture and, therefore, cultural heritage, have proven to be a very powerful tool in facing important challenges because a person who has had access to culture is a person with training, and it is essential to encourage people to achieve the SDGs. On the other hand, the intangible cultural heritage itself can be a generator of benefits, as will be shown in the next section.

A real case: transhumance, the seasonal droving of livestock along migratory routes in the Mediterranean and in the Alps

Transhumance constitutes a living heritage.¹² The main advantages of its practice, in addition to the fact that it currently constitutes a not inconsiderable tourist incentive for the areas where it is carried out, can

11 Indicator 11.4.1: Total expenditure (public and private) per capita spent on the preservation, protection, and conservation of all cultural and natural heritage, by type of heritage (cultural, natural, mixed, and World Heritage Centre designation), level of government (national, regional, and local/municipal), type of expenditure (operating expenditure/investment), and type of private funding (donations in kind, private non-profit sector and sponsorship). See *InformeA, Target 11.4*, <https://www.informeA.org/en/goal/target-114> [access: 18 November 2020]. But according to Luigi Petti, Claudila Trillo, and Busisiwe Ncube Makore, the current SDG11.4 indicator is inadequate in representing the challenges and opportunities of cultural heritage within the context of sustainable development. To enhance the comparability of heritage data across cities and countries, there is a need for standardised methods of perceiving, valuing, measuring, and monitoring heritage. Therefore, national and local capacity development is necessary to ensure the sustainability of national and local processes. See Luigi Petti, Claudila Trillo, and Busisiwe Ncube Makore, “Cultural Heritage and Sustainable Development Targets: A Possible Harmonisation? Insights from the European Perspective,” [in:] *Sustainability*, vol. 12, no. 926 (2020), p. 22.

12 For more on traditions and heritage see Javier Marcos Árevalo, “La tradición, el patrimonio y la identidad,” [in:] *Revista de estudios extremeños*, vol. 60, no. 3 (2004), pp. 925–956; Christian Barrère, “Cultural Heritages: From Official to Informal,” [in:] *City, Culture and Society*, vol. 7 (2016), pp. 87–94; Javier Marcos Árevalo, “La tradición, el patrimonio y la identidad,” [in:] *Revista de estudios extremeños*, vol. 60, no. 3 (2004), pp. 925–956.

be synthesised in the following: it allows optimal fertilisation of the soil through which the animals pass, prevents forest fires by reducing the presence of weeds, helps to conserve natural spaces, as well as contributes decisively to the proliferation of different species in addition to opening ways for other animals to pass more easily. It is also important to note that with transhumance, the social relations of different rural populations are promoted, thus enhancing the contact between different populations, which contributes to the wellness of people.

We can cite a concrete example: transhumance, the seasonal droving of livestock along migratory routes in the Mediterranean and in the Alps (Austria, Greece, and Italy). It was inscribed on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2019.

As stated in the nomination for its inscription in 2019 on the above-mentioned list, transhumance has several functions related to cultural identity, shaping landscapes, cooperation for social inclusion, and food safety and sustainability.

- Cultural identity. Transhumance contributes to shaping the identities of practitioners and bearers, forming a strong link with their ancestors and the universe. It inspires a way of life that lends itself to spiritual enquiry. When herders are asked why they maintain such a challenging way of life, the answer is often simple – because they love it, because it makes them feel “free.” Thus, rather than merely a profession, for its practitioners transhumance is a way of life where time is measured in the passing of the seasons and home is moving with the livestock. Freedom of movement has always represented a pillar of this practice, affecting livestock as well as transhumant herders and their families, at different levels.
- Enhancing ties between families and communities. Across generations, familial, social, and cultural bonds have been formed by communities, which is evidenced, for instance, by the high incidence of identical family names. Even abroad, some emigrant communities retain this sense of identity and keep the element alive through social practices, such as festivals, rituals, and wearing traditional garments.
- Shaping landscapes. Transhumance has had an impact on the spatial heterogeneity of vegetation, affecting ecosystem processes and landscapes. Communities have used local resources to build new reed huts every year or to repair the existing ones. Transhumance has also influenced the development of historical settlements along the established routes, as well as the creation of monuments and places of worship.

- Cooperation for social inclusion. Transhumance has played a key role in supporting peripheral economies in the rural contexts of villages and inland areas, which have been facing massive depopulation. Hence, the element not only contributes to the continued practice of traditional knowledge and skills of its practitioners, but also ensures their ecological and economic sustainability. Indeed, transhumant caravans have also facilitated contacts and commerce between distant communities (for example, for the selling of transhumance-related products), the development of settlements, and complementary farming activities, thereby creating sustainable and resilient networks.
- Food safety and sustainability. Transhumance plays a vital role in environmental protection, as explained above. In fact, owing to the sustainable use of land and water resources and admitting livestock to roam freely, food prepared using milk and meat of transhumant livestock and clothing made from wool, fibre, and leather have lower environmental impacts than similar products from intensive farming. It additionally reduces the incidence of pollution and reliance on veterinary products (including antibiotics), thus producing healthier food from livestock reared in the open air, which makes them fit and more resistant to diseases. Besides, the cheese-making products of transhumant livestock farming are considered of high quality. It is attributed to the traditional cheese-making know-how and the specialised knowledge of livestock farmers about vegetation and the features of the flora of pastures.

Therefore, it can be concluded that cultural heritage, including intangible heritage, can contribute to sustainable environmental development and improve the quality of life of the people who inhabit the area. There can be no doubt that cultural heritage is an important resource for sustainable urban development. The magnitude of the objectives that we have to achieve is great, so all available tools and means must be used.

Conclusion

As previously stated, the importance and value of cultural, historical, and artistic heritage is widely recognised under international, national, and regional laws. Cultural heritage is perceived as one of the core elements of social, economic, and cultural developments and ever more often guised as a global common good, to which humanity is both the custodian and beneficiary. Cultural objects form separate classes of goods, which speak about the human condition and mirror the living conditions of individuals and communities. They provide knowledge about the creative

process and the identity of the groups responsible for their production. Cultural heritage expresses continuity between the past and the present, introduces the idea of cultural identity, and explains our fascination with the past.

The Sustainable Development Goals present an ambitious list of objectives, but without setting out concrete ways to achieve them effectively. This introduces the risk that the measures taken may be contradictory or counterproductive, reducing the SDGs to a mere programmatic statement with no real value or even with harmful effects.

Transhumance constitutes a living heritage and the experience of its protection, as an aspect of the cultural heritage protection, can be useful in the research of effective measures to achieve the SDGs, if we really believe that they can be achieved.

Cultural Heritage as a Source of Recreation and Ecotourism Development: A Land Evaluation Approach Using Multiple Criteria Evaluation (MCE) Process

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Introduction

The relationship between culture service, heritage, the environment, recreation, and eco-tourism has received a great amount of attention throughout the world.² Yet rarely have individuals or organisations representing these special interests worked together on a local, regional, or national planning. Sustainability depends on the relationship between culture service, heritage, the environment, recreation, and eco-tourism.³ Therefore, Outdoor Recreation Activities (ORA), as a kind of recreation and eco-tourism, as well as land evaluation should be regarded as important tools for the sustainable development of Outdoor Recreation Activities in developing areas.⁴

1 Researcher funded by a full scholarship (36002) from the Ministry of Higher Education of the Arab Republic of Egypt, and the Stipendium Hungaricum scholarship.

2 Stephen M. Turton, "Managing Environmental Impacts of Recreation and Tourism in Rainforests of the Wet Tropics of Queensland World Heritage Area," [in:] *Geographical Research*, vol. 43, no. 2 (2005), pp. 140–151.

3 Gregory John Ashworth, "Heritage, Tourism and Places: A Review," [in:] *Tourism Recreation Research*, vol. 25, no. 1 (2000), pp. 19–29.

4 Dano Umar Lawal et al., "Framework for Recreational Park Suitability Sites," [in:] *International Journal of Civil & Environmental Engineering IJCEE-IJENS*, vol. 11, no. 1 (2011), pp. 111–123.

The goal of land evaluation is to find the optimum location that satisfies a number of predefined criteria. The choice of Outdoor Recreation Activities sites has a strong relationship with sustainable tourism around the world.⁵ Therefore, countries and institutions are largely focused on selecting locations of Outdoor Recreation Activities. The use of multi-criteria decision-support system (MCDSS) methods allows decisionmakers to choose the best option among the studied alternatives A1, A2, ... and to rank them according to their importance for the purpose identifier.⁶ The method of weight assessment is known as the Analytical Hierarchy Process (AHP).⁷ This method includes steps to determine the hierarchical structure, establish the relative weights of the criteria and sub-criteria, assign the preferred weights to each alternative and arrive at the final result.⁸ Furthermore, many potential criteria, such as biodiversity, availability, comfort, pollution, topography, accessibility, security, compatibility, utility, efficiency, price of the site in question, and land uses of

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- 5 Hilma Nilsson, Eva-Maria Nordström, and Karin Öhman, "Decision Support for Participatory Forest Planning Using AHP and TOPSIS," [in:] *Forests*, vol. 7, no. 12 (2016), p. 100; Khwanruthai Bunruamkaew and Yuji Murayama, "Site Suitability Evaluation for Ecotourism Using GIS & AHP: A Case Study of Surat Thani Province, Thailand," [in:] *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences*, vol. 21 (2011), pp. 269-278.
 - 6 Kayla Elston and Jason Draper, "A Review of Meeting Planner Site Selection Criteria Research," [in:] *Journal of Convention and Event Tourism*, vol. 13, no. 3 (2012), pp. 203-220; K. Bunruamkaew and Y. Murayama, "Site Suitability Evaluation for Ecotourism...", op. cit.; Atila Gül, M. Kamil Örüçü, and Öznur Karaca, "An Approach for Recreation Suitability Analysis to Recreation Planning in Gölcük Nature Park," [in:] *Environmental Management*, vol. 37, no. 5 (2006), pp. 606-625.
 - 7 Ching-Fu Chen, "Applying the Analytical Hierarchy Process (AHP) Approach to Convention Site Selection," [in:] *Journal of Travel Research*, vol. 45, no. 2 (2006), pp. 167-174; Rosaria de F.S.M. Russo and Roberto Camanho, "Criteria in AHP: A Systematic Review of Literature," [in:] *Procedia Computer Science*, vol. 55 (2015), pp. 1123-1132; H. Nilsson, E.-M. Nordström, and K. Öhman, "Decision Support for Participatory Forest Planning...", op. cit.; Manoj Govind Kharat et al., "Identification and Evaluation of Landfill Site Selection Criteria Using a Hybrid Fuzzy Delphi, Fuzzy AHP and DEMATEL Based Approach," [in:] *Modeling Earth Systems and Environment*, vol. 2, no. 2 (2016), pp. 1-13; K. Bunruamkaew and Y. Murayama, "Site Suitability Evaluation for Ecotourism...", op. cit.; Asmaa H. Ahmed, Hatem Mahmoud, and Abdel Monteieb M. Aly, "Site Suitability Evaluation for Sustainable Distribution of Hospital Using Spatial Information Technologies and AHP: A Case Study of Upper Egypt, Aswan City," [in:] *Journal of Geographic Information System*, vol. 8, no. 5 (2016), pp. 578-594.
 - 8 Ibidem; K. Bunruamkaew and Y. Murayama, "Site Suitability Evaluation for Ecotourism...", op. cit.; Maliheh Masoodi et al., "Optimization of Recreational Site Selection Using Multi Criteria Evaluation and Functional Relationship Diagram (Case Study: Miankaleh Wildlife Sanctuary)," [in:] *Pollution*, vol. 2, no. 2 (2016), pp. 163-181.

the surrounding area must be considered in the selection procedure of Outdoor Recreation Activities location.⁹

The present study focuses on determining and calculating the site selection criteria weights of Outdoor Recreation Activities (ORA) by using a multicriteria discussion support system (MCDSS).¹⁰ The online questionnaire involving experts in tourism and urban planning has been created to collect the experts' opinions and order the criteria depending on their importance. AHP is the most common tool in calculating criteria weights, so we have built an Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP Model) to solve the research problem.¹¹

Method

As mentioned above, the main constituent parts of the MCDSS methods are the values of the criteria for the compared alternatives, i.e., a decision matrix and the weights of the criteria describing their importance. In the problem of selecting the optimum sites of the Recreation and Eco-tourism activities, various criteria were considered. The experts, who are specialists in landscape and urban planning, filled in a questionnaire aimed to collect the criteria orders. Ten subcriteria were chosen from literature for selecting suitable sites of future Recreation and Eco-tourism locations, and the selected subcriteria were gathered in three main groups (environmental, social, and economic group). There were

9 Benis Egoh et al., *Indicators for Mapping Ecosystem Services: A Review*, 2012, <https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/e2edabdf-adb5-4028-9e5a-48a77430bb52/language-en> [access: 10 April 2023]; Oluwatobi Emmanuel Olaniyi, Shadrach Olufemi Akindele, and Babafemi George Ogunjemite, "Ecotourism Suitability of Okomu and Pendjari National Parks," [in:] *Anatolia*, vol. 29, no. 4 (2018), pp. 593–604; Cheng-Fei Lee, Hsun-I. Huang, and Huery-Ren Yeh, "Developing an Evaluation Model for Destination Attractiveness: Sustainable Forest Recreation Tourism in Taiwan," [in:] *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, vol. 18, no. 6 (2010), pp. 811–828; H. Nilsson, E.M. Nordström, and K. Öhman, "Decision Support for Participatory Forest Planning...", op. cit.; D. U. Lawal et al., "Framework...", op. cit.

10 R. de F.S.M. Russo and R. Camanho, "Criteria in AHP...", op. cit.; K. Bunruamkaew and Y. Murayama, "Site Suitability Evaluation for Ecotourism...", op. cit.

11 Aykut Kently and Güclü Uçak, "Determining Selection Criteria and Their Importance of Press Lines in Automotive Industry," *Marmara Fen Bilimleri Dergisi*, vol. 25, no. 2 (2013), pp. 65–74; H. Nilsson, E.-M. Nordström, and K. Öhman, "Decision Support for Participatory Forest Planning...", op. cit.; S. Mahiny and H. Mirkarimi, "Optimization...", op. cit.

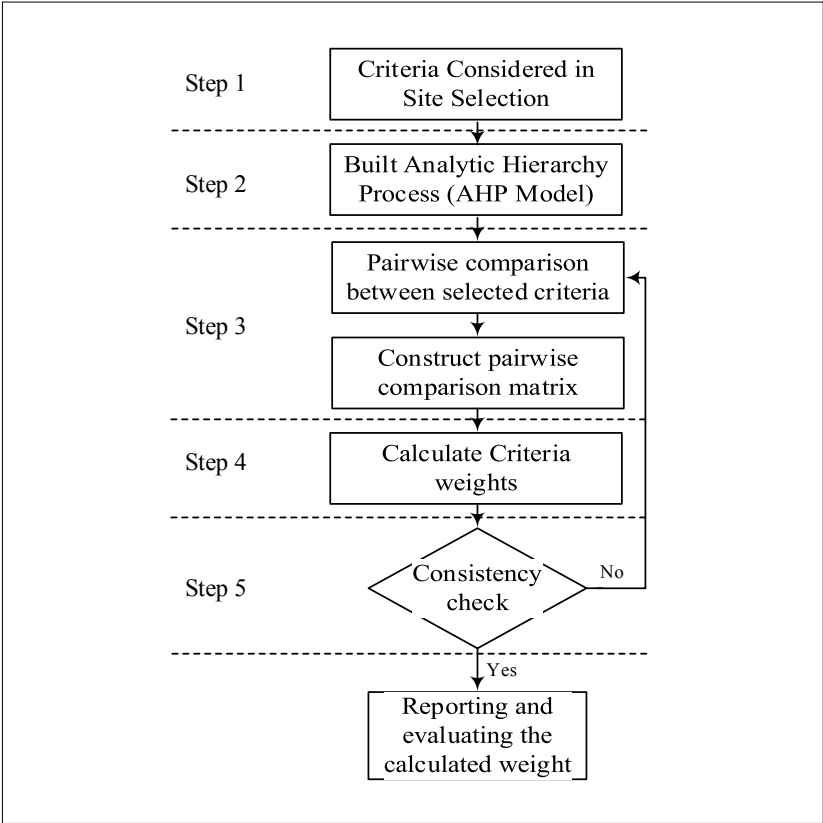


Figure 1. Steps used in calculating the weights for site selection criteria using AHP method.

four crucial steps to calculate the weights for site selection criteria using AHP method (Figure 1).

Criteria considered in the evaluation process of ORA

The established criteria outline a group of representatives in general, covering most of the full requirements that must be met for a site to be appropriate for Outdoor Recreation Activities evaluation. The criteria used in the analysis are described in detail in Table 1.

Questionnaire preparation

To order the chosen ORA evaluation criteria based on their importance, an online questionnaire was established. A total of 53 respondents ranging from decision makers, academicians, and landscape and urban

Table 1. Evaluation of the main criteria and subcriteria of ORA

Main criteria	Subcriteria	Definition
Environmental Criteria (C1)	Biodiversity (cs1)	Type of fauna and flora on the selected site
	Availability (cs2)	Soil and vegetation of the selected site
	Comfort (cs3)	Wind direction, temperature, open water, and air quality of the selected site
	Pollution (cs4)	Accepted distance of the selected site from active pollution points
	Topography (cs5)	Acceptable limits of topography or degree of slope of the selected site land
Urban Criteria (C2)	Accessibility (cs6)	Acceptable distance of selected site from the road network, existing recreation areas, and public transport stations
	Security (cs7)	Legislation of laws that protect these services in selected site
	Compatibility (cs8)	Human culture inside and outside the selected site
Economic Criteria (C3)	Utility (cs9)	Potential economic benefits from the selection of this site
	Efficiency (cs10)	Quality of the services in the selected site
	Site's price (cs11)	Price of land in the selected site
	Surrounding area (cs12)	Land uses of the surrounding area to ensure covering the large size of urban areas by the serving range of the selected site

Kenneth B. McLaughlin, "Criteria for Recreation Site Selection on Flood Control Reservoirs-Case Studies," MA thesis, Stephen F. Austin State University, 1973, <https://scholarworks.sfasu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1024&context=etds> [access: 10 April 2023]; K. Bunruamkaew and Y. Murayama, "Site Suitability Evaluation for Ecotourism....," op. cit.

planners with 5–15 years of landscape and urban planning experience were involved in this survey. The method of stratified random sampling was chosen, which comprises, among others, landscape experts, academicians, urban planning and design experts, and architects. To ensure a better response, the survey forms were distributed by email. Moreover, part of the questionnaire was also sent by Google accounts. Altogether, 53 questionnaires were successfully completed with a response rate of 26% among 11 landscape experts, 10 architects, and 15 urban planning and design specialists, while the remaining number was supplied by other respondents. The number of people to whom the online questionnaire

was sent amounted to 200. The number of participants who started with the assessment and ranking of the evaluation criteria was just 53, out of whom 42 evaluated the complete set of 12 criteria for at least one question.

Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP Model)

Based on the expert opinion, evaluation criteria weights have been calculated by using AHP method. Figure 2 shows the model of evaluation criteria by using Hierarchy AHP method. As can be seen, there are three main levels used to achieve the goal related to determining the weights of individual criteria: level 1 – the goal of the model, level 2 – main criteria classification, and level 3 – subcriteria classification.

Based on the previous hierarchy model (Figure 2), the hierarchy of the evaluation criteria of Outdoor Recreation Activities utilised in this study was established. Figure 3 is the decision hierarchy model of evaluation criteria in this study. We used twelve subcriteria in the computation process, which were divided into three main groups. The first group includes environmental criteria that limit the analysis to particular geographic areas. The second group is urban criteria, and the third group includes the economic criteria. The examined criteria were selected based on relevant international literature. The goal or the problem has to be in the first hierarchical structure level followed by the main criteria and subcriteria respectively (Figure 3). Firstly, in the third level, five subcriteria have been considered as the environmental criterion. Moreover, three subcriteria have been taken as the urban criterion. And finally, in the case of economic criterion, we have focused on four subcriteria.

Statistical quantitative analysis of questionnaire results

Reliability of the criteria was investigated. The Cronbach's alpha (α) reflects the consistency of the set of items, where theoretically α ranges from 0 to 1. If α is near 0, then the quantified answers are not reliable at all, and if it is close to 1, the answers are very reliable.¹² As a rule of thumb, if $\alpha \geq 0.8$, then answers are reliable. The reliability of the questionnaire that was used for the data collection is used properly in order

12 Danjie Zou, Jennifer E. V. Lloyd, and Jennifer L. Baumbusch, "Using SPSS to Analyze Complex Survey Data: A Primer," [in:] *Journal of Modern Applied Statistical Methods*, vol. 18, no. 1 (2019), pp. 1–23.

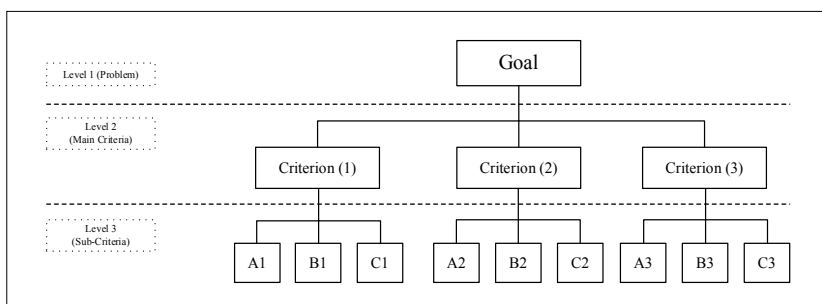


Figure 2. Hierarchy model of AHP (Own figure).

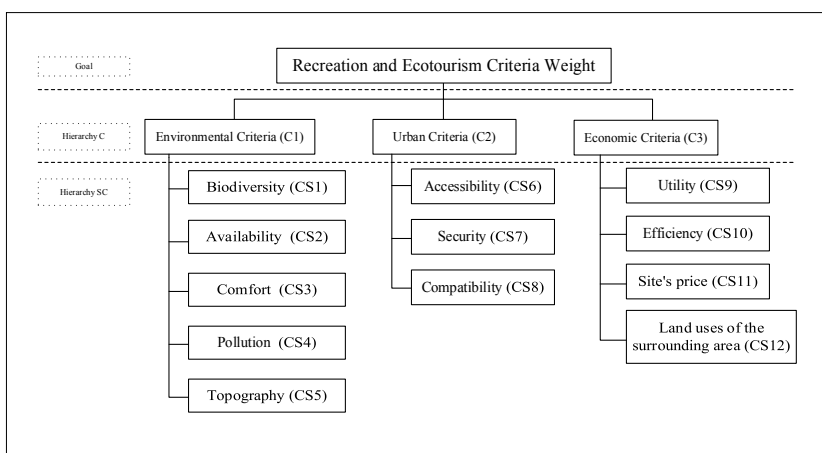


Figure 3. Hierarchical structure of the AHP.

to understand the opinion of the research participants.¹³ The questionnaire that is being used must be reliable in order to provide effective information that is critical for the progress of the society. The reliability of the questionnaire is assessed by focusing on the question if the questionnaire is providing credible information. One way of evaluating it is to

¹³ Jolanda De Vries, Helen J. Michielsen, and Guus L. Van Heck, "Assessment of Fatigue among Working People: A Comparison of Six Questionnaires," [in:] *Occupational and Environmental Medicine*, vol. 60 (2003), pp. 10–15; D. Zou, J. E. V. Lloyd, and J. L. Baum-busch, "Using SPSS...", op. cit.

check whether, if the same questionnaire is used well in order to collect information from another place, it provides credible information or not.

Results and discussion

Check the reliability of questionnaire results

The reliability statistic using statistical package for social sciences (spss) is used with the help of Cronbach Alpha and it was detected that 12 items of the questions were 88.1%, which means that the information is credible. A value higher than 50% is considered sufficient and in this case, it is 88% (Table 2). For all criteria except “confused” and “typical” criteria satisfactory results for reliability have been achieved.

Table 2. Reliability statistics	
Cronbach alpha	Number of items
0.881	12

ANOVA Test

The parametric ANOVA test is the fundamental technique used for this type of research. The test involves a ranking of variables based on their overall mean values. The analysis of variance technique simultaneously facilitates the testing of whether significant differences exist among the groups. The significance level assumed throughout the analysis is 5%, following the conventional risk level that ensures a confident interval of 95%. The F-tests for ANOVA as shown in Table 3 test the hypothesis that the evaluation criteria of ORA by the three groups “environmental, urban, and economic” do not differ from a set of specified constants. However, the results illustrated differing values of significant level for different criteria (Table 3). Only for the Security criterion, a value of $P = 0.010$ was obtained, which means that the observed P values were much smaller than the adopted significance level $\alpha = 0.05$, allowing the conclusion that there was a significantly different view among this group being investigated. Similar tests were carried out in the remaining criteria, but the results were not significant ($P > 0.05$) (Table 3). Therefore, depending on the F value, the evaluation criteria can be ordered as can be seen in the first column in Table 3.

Criteria order

First of all, dealing with the Environmental Criteria, experts have ranked Comfort as an “extremely important” criterion of Environmental

Table 3. ANOVA results onsite selection criteria for outdoor recreation activities

Rank	Evaluation criteria	Mean square	F	P-value
2	Biodiversity	1.842	2.032	0.087
5	Availability	0.988	1.288	0.288
11	Comfort	0.561	0.506	0.799
6	Pollution	0.967	1.733	0.142
10	Topography	0.844	0.862	0.532
7	Accessibility	0.921	0.759	0.607
1	Security	2.288	3.351	0.010
3	Compatibility	1.841	1.558	0.189
8	Utility	0.851	0.758	0.608
4	Efficiency	1.106	1.414	0.237
9	Site's price	0.847	1.021	0.428
12	Land uses of the surrounding area	0.135	0.104	0.995

Criteria with almost 54%, followed by the Pollution criterion with 51% in “extremely important” rank as well (Table 4). In contrast, Availability and Biodiversity have been assigned lower importance than the previously mentioned criteria, with 56% and 39% respectively in “very strongly important” rank (Figure 4). The previous results ensure that the order of the Environmental Criteria from the extremely important to the least important as the following “Comfort, Pollution, Availability, Biodiversity, and Topography sequentially.”

Another main factor in the evaluation criteria of ORA is the Urban Criteria. The most important criterion is the Security criterion followed by Accessibility (41% in “extremely important” rank, 41% in “very strongly important” rank respectively) (Table 4). Moreover, Compatibility criterion has the lowest score among all Urban Criteria (almost 32% in “strongly important” rank) (Figure 5).

Although the economic factor is the most important in the case of Outdoor Recreation sector, the economic subcriteria have been assigned the lowest importance among all (Table 4). To put it another way, no responses placed the economic subcriteria in the “extremely important” rank. For example, in the case of “very strongly important” rank, three subcriteria have been found which can be ordered as follows: “Surrounding Area, Efficiency, and Utility” with the percentages of “46%, 39%, and 39% respectively.” However, Site’s Price has scored nearly 39% in the “strongly important” rank (Figure 6).

Table 4. Questionnaire results comparison

Main Group	Subcriteria		Extremely important	Very strongly important	Strongly important	Moderately important	Least important	Order	Total
Environmental Criteria (C1)	Biodiversity (cs1)	No. of res.	12	16	8	3	2	3	41
		Percent	29.3%	39.0	19.5	7.3	4.9		100%
	Availability (cs2)	No. of res.	10	23	5	2	1	4	41
		Percent	24.4%	56.1	12.2	4.9	2.4		100%
	Comfort (cs3)	No. of res.	22	12	5	0	2	1	41
		Percent	53.7%	29.3	12.2	0	4.9		100%
	Pollution (cs4)	No. of res.	21	14	5	1	0	2	41
		Percent	51.2%	34.1	12.2	2.4	0		100%
	Topography (cs5)	No. of res.	6	10	18	6	1	5	41
		Percent	14.6%	24.4	43.9	14.6	2.4		100%
	Accessibility (cs6)	No. of res.	15	17	3	5	1	2	41
		Percent	36.6%	41.5	7.3	12.2	2.4		100%
Urban Criteria (C2)	Security (cs7)	No. of res.	17	13	8	3	0	1	41
		Percent	41.5%	31.7	19.5	7.3	0		100%
	Compatibility (cs8)	No. of res.	10	12	13	5	2	3	41
		Percent	22.0%	29.3	31.7	12.2	4.9		100%
	Utility (cs9)	No. of res.	7	16	12	4	2	3	41
		Percent	17.1%	39.0	29.3	9.8	4.9		100%
	Efficiency (cs10)	No. of res.	13	16	11	0	1	2	41
		Percent	31.7%	39.0	26.8	0	2.4		100%
	Site's price (cs11)	No. of res.	4	15	16	5	1	4	41
		Percent	9.8%	36.6	39.0	12.2	2.4		100%
	Surrounding area (cs12)	No. of res.	15	19	3	2	2	1	41
		Percent	37%	46	7.3	4.9	4.9		100%

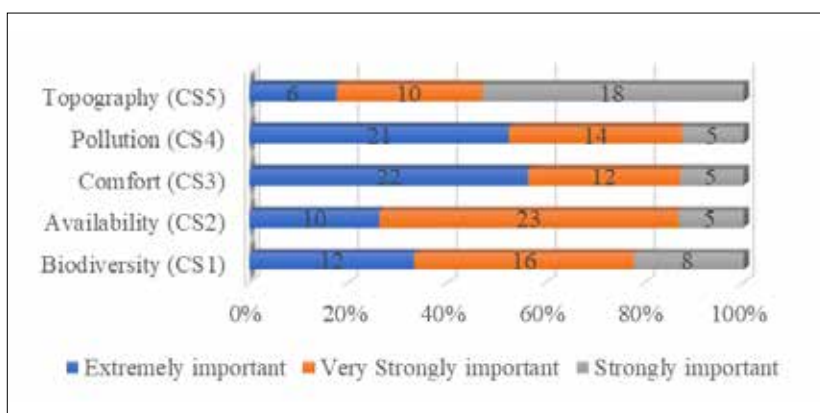


Figure 4. Environmental Criteria importance

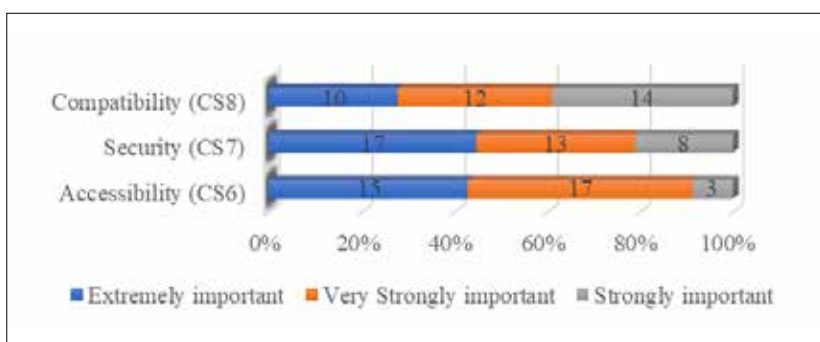


Figure 5. Urban Criteria importance

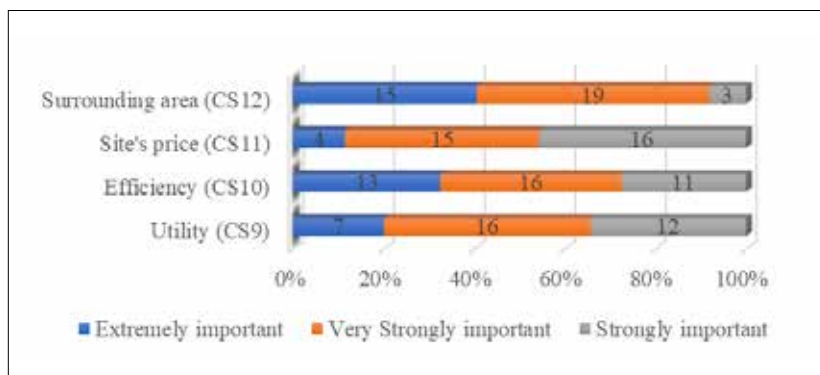


Figure 6. Economic Criteria importance

Overall, as can be seen in the above results, there are no evaluation criteria to be found in the “moderately important” and “least important” rank (Table 4). This result indicates that all the selected indicators from literature review are considered as important criteria for ORA evaluation. Moreover, these criteria range from “extremely important” (9) to “strongly important” (5).

Criteria weights

Pairwise comparisons of all related attribute values were used to establish the relative importance of hierarchy elements. Finally, all the values for a given criteria were pairwise compared using Excel. The weight (W) of each criterion in each hierarchy was calculated by their structural models. The steps of calculating the weight of the main criteria and sub-criteria are discussed in the subsections below.

The result of the questionnaire is adopted for assigning preferences during the pairwise comparison. Decisionmakers can use the linguistic nine-point scale (1–9), which is outlined in Table 4 to represent the preferences during pairwise comparison in the AHP approach. To enable pairwise comparisons between the criteria, we utilised a scale of relative importance from 1 to 9 for making subjective pairwise comparisons to present experts’ judgements on the relative importance between the sub-criteria in the same main group. To do that, all the questionnaire results have been converted to values based on relative importance scale.

The local priorities that express the relative impact of the set of sub-criteria on an element in the level can be immediately generated by using the set of pairwise comparison matrices. We first compute a set of eigenvectors for each matrix and then normalise to unify the result so as to obtain the vectors of priorities. The geometric mean is used to aggregate the pairwise comparisons for all samples. The local weights of the factors and attributes, and the consistency ratio of each matrix, are analysed by implementing the aforementioned procedure (see Table 5, 6, 7).

According to Saaty and Kearns,¹⁴ global weights are synthesised from the second level down by multiplying the local weights by the corresponding criterion in the level above and adding them for each element

14 Thomas L. Saaty and Kevin P. Kearns, “The Analytic Hierarchy Process,” *Analytical Planning*, eds. eidem, Amsterdam 1985, pp. 19–62.

Table 5. Comparison matrix for Environmental Criteria using AHP

Subcriteria	CS1	CS2	CS3	CS4	CS5
CS1	1	1/7	1/9	1/9	7
CS2	7	1	1/9	1/9	7
CS3	9	9	1	9	9
CS4	9	9	1/9	1	9
CS5	1/7	1/7	1/9	1/9	1
Total	26.14	19.29	1.44	10.33	33.00

Table 6. Comparison matrix for Urban Criteria using AHP

Subcriteria	CS6	CS7	CS8
CS6	1	1/5	3
CS7	5	1	7
CS8	1/3	1/7	1
Total	6.33	1.34	11.00

Table 7. Comparison matrix for Economic Criteria using AHP

Subcriteria	CS9	CS10	CS11	CS12
CS9	1	1	3	1/3
CS10	1	1	3	1/3
CS11	1/3	1/3	1	1/3
CS12	3	3	3	1
Total	5.333	5.333	10.000	2.000

in a level according to the criteria they affect.¹⁵ The consistency test and the local weights of subcriteria were summarised in Table 8, 9, 10. All CR values of all subcriteria in each main group are lower than 0.1, and therefore all the judgments are consistent.

According to the local weights, in the case of Environmental Criteria weights, the results presented in Table 8 indicate that Comfort (0.529) and Pollution (0.251) are the two most important factors for evaluating the ORA, followed by Availability (0.124). Both Biodiversity and Topography (0.069 and 0.026 respectively) appear to be the subcriteria with

15 A. H. Ahmed, H. Mahmoud, and A. M. M. Aly, "Site Suitability Evaluation...", op. cit.

Table 8. Environmental Criteria weights calculation

Subcriteria	cs1	cs2	cs3	cs4	cs5	Sum	Weight = sum/5	Consistency measure
Biodiversity (cs1)	0.038	0.007	0.077	0.011	0.212	0.345	0.069	5.163
Availability (cs2)	0.268	0.052	0.077	0.011	0.212	0.619	0.124	7.083
Comfort (cs3)	0.344	0.467	0.692	0.871	0.273	2.647	0.529	9.001
Pollution (cs4)	0.344	0.467	0.077	0.097	0.273	1.257	0.251	9.077
Topography (cs5)	0.005	0.007	0.077	0.011	0.030	0.131	0.026	5.369
Total	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000		1.000	
							CI =	0.535
							RI =	1.120
							CR =	0.477
CR = 4.77% < 10% (Acceptable)								

Table 9. Urban Criteria weights calculation

Subcriteria	cs6	cs7	cs8	Sum	Weight = sum/3	Consistency measure
Accessibility (cs6)	0.158	0.149	0.273	0.580	0.193	3.043
Security (cs7)	0.789	0.745	0.636	2.171	0.724	3.141
Compatibility (cs8)	0.053	0.106	0.091	0.250	0.083	3.014
Total	1.000	1.000	1.000		1.000	3.066
					CI =	0.033
					RI =	0.580
					CR =	0.057
CR = 5.7% < 10% (Acceptable)						

Table 10. Economic Criteria weights calculation

	CS9	CS10	CS11	CS12	Sum	Weight = sum/4	Consistency measure
Utility (cs9)	0.188	0.188	0.300	0.167	0.842	0.210	4.158
Efficiency (cs10)	0.188	0.188	0.300	0.167	0.842	0.210	4.158
Site's price (cs11)	0.063	0.063	0.100	0.167	0.392	0.098	4.071
Surrounding area (cs12)	0.563	0.563	0.300	0.500	1.925	0.481	4.234
Total	1.000	1.000	1.000	1.000		1.000	
						CI =	0.052
						RI =	0.900
						CR =	0.058
						CR = 5.8% < 10% (Acceptable)	

Table 11. Main criteria and subcriteria weights utilised in the evaluation process

Main Criteria	Supposed weight	Subcriteria	Local weight (Wa)	Global weight (Wb)	Ranking
Environmental Criteria	0.500	Biodiversity (cs1)	0.069	0.035	8
		Availability (cs2)	0.124	0.062	5
		Comfort (cs3)	0.529	0.265	1
		Pollution (cs4)	0.251	0.126	3
		Topography (cs5)	0.026	0.013	11
Urban Criteria	0.300	Accessibility (cs6)	0.193	0.058	6
		Security (cs7)	0.724	0.217	2
		Compatibility (cs8)	0.083	0.025	9
Economic Criteria	0.200	Utility (cs9)	0.210	0.042	7
		Efficiency (cs10)	0.210	0.042	7
		Site's price (cs11)	0.098	0.020	10
		Land uses of the sur- rounding area (cs12)	0.481	0.096	4
Sum = 1 (100%)			Sum = 1.000		

Wa. Local weight is derived from judgment with respect to a single main criterion.

Wb. Global weight is derived from multiplication by the weight of the criteria.

the lowest importance. Regarding to the Urban Criteria weights, Security (0.724) is considered as the most important factor in the ORA evaluation, followed by Accessibility (0.193). However, Compatibility is supposed to be the factor with the lowest importance (0.083; Table 9). While Land Use of the Surrounding Area (0.481) appears to be the most important factor in the case of Economic Criteria (0.481), both Utility and Efficiency have been assigned the same importance in the ORA evaluation (0.210; Table 10). Overall, Comfort (0.529), Security (0.724), and Land Use of the Surrounding Area (0.481) show the highest importance with respect to each main criteria group in the order of Environmental, Urban, and Economic Criteria group respectively.

By looking at the global weights in Table 11, Comfort (0.265), Security (0.217), and Pollution (0.126) are the top three rankings. In contrast, Topography (0.013), Site's Price (0.020), and Compatibility (0.025) are the bottom three rankings.

Conclusion

Providing recreational facilities without proper planning and identification accounts for a more harmful use of the environment and has a negative impact on its users. Thus, it is necessary to consider all planning needs as well as general demands and opinions in resource management. Land suitability valuation of recreational activities is essential when developing any region effectively. This vision and planning will also serve to prevent wastage of financial and human resources in the future. Therefore, decisionmakers and planners alike should pay more attention to expert and local opinion when selecting new recreation sites in the future and begin by evaluating land suitability. In this study, questionnaires were used to determine the recreational site selection order and then the AHP method was used for calculating criteria weight by converting the questionnaire results to the number referred to the important order. Through this AHP approach, an effective MCDSS framework for land evaluation was presented, the selection of evaluation criteria and the identification of a suitable range/importance for each factor having direct influence on the results.

It is difficult to resolve decision-making problems without taking into account the provisions of highly qualified experts. Therefore, experts in various areas of activities participate in the evaluation. A large number of different methods of assessing subjective and subjective weights have been presented. The AHP is one of the most widely used decision-making

methods. This method provides a structural basis for estimating the comparison of decision elements and criteria in the pairwise technique. Experts are asked to rank the value of a criterion for a pairwise matrix on a Saaty's scale. The method evaluates relative significance of all parameters by assigning weight to each of them in the hierarchical order, and in the final level of the hierarchy, the suitability weight for each class of the used criteria is given. Typically, the priority of each criteria involved in the AHP analysis in this study is determined based principally on the literature review and suggestions from experts. With regards to the analysis of the results, twelve subcriteria have been focused on, and at the end of the analysis it becomes evident that Security and Comfort are the most important criteria for selecting a suitable site for recreation and ecotourism in the future, followed by Topology and Land Use of the Surrounding Area. On the other hand, Biodiversity and Site's Price are assigned the lowest importance among the listed criteria.

In this study, based on the expertise and decisionmakers' views, the evaluation criteria were determined and categorised. Furthermore, we recommend to integrate AHP results obtained from this study with GIS application to produce a suitability map of Recreation and Eco-tourism in the future and to evaluate the current sites of these services by using spatial criteria like Availability, Comfort, Comfort, Topography, Accessibility, Site's Price, and Land Uses of the Surrounding Area.

Part 2

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Strengthening Community Sustainability and Resilience in Slovakia: Let Us Renew Our House Programme

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Introduction

Slovakia is a small Central European country, but it is a country of many diversities and many secrets. One of the secrets is that it has one of the highest number of castles and ruins per capita in the world. Out of about ten thousand official tangible cultural monuments inscribed on the national monuments list, there are more than a hundred medieval castles and castle ruins with about 1300 separate buildings such as gates, towers, palaces, and walls.¹

The history of these castles started in the Middle Ages and was continued by the aristocracy of the Hungarian Monarchy, mainly because mountainous regions of Slovakia were predisposed for building castles that were more difficult to defeat. Their installation across the country served as the primary line of defense against the enemy. The military importance of these castles decreased in the 17th and 18th centuries after their partial destruction during the Ottoman Empire battles (the 17th century) and further wars (mainly Rákóczi's War for Independence in 1703–1711) against the absolutist Habsburg rule. After the Habsburgs' victory, an order was issued to destroy most of the castles that were seen as centres of rebellion. This is the main reason why there are so many ruins of medieval castles in Slovakia.²

1 Zuzana Ondrejková, "Obnova torzálné zachovaných hradov," [in:] *Zachráňme hrady: Záchrana historických ruín občianskymi združeniami v rokoch 2002–2017*, collective work, Bratislava 2018, p. 157.

2 Ibidem.

After these difficult war times, many original owners of the properties moved to larger cities of the monarchy and tried to get rid of the castles, usually unsuccessfully. For many years, even after the end of World War I and the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic (1918), a lot of these castles were not proprietarily settled and increasingly succumbed to decay.

After the fall of communism in 1989, some of the original owners managed to reclaim the ownership of their former properties in the process of restitutions; however, more than a hundred historic castle ruins became a burden for local municipalities that were the official owners of these heritage buildings. Without financial support from the state, they faced a challenge of either giving up and ceasing all efforts, selling the property, or encouraging local participation, networking, and collaboration in order to save these monuments.

The challenge of stopping the decay of numerous castle ruins after 1989 has become a new impulse for local activism, giving rise to grassroots activism that did not have a chance to live and grow during communism due to limitations of the civil society development. A number of initiatives were born in the late 1990s aiming at preserving local heritage – mainly castle ruins, which resulted in the creation of the national civic association Save the Castles in 2002.³ The association has become very active and now (2021) it has twenty-eight local member organisations, which arrange a lot of activities to save ruins, castles, monasteries, churches, fortresses, manor houses, and other historical objects in Slovakia. The main domain of these non-profit organisations and their umbrella association Save the Castles is the conservation of ruins and destroyed historical architecture, mostly organised on the basis of the work of volunteers and under the guidance of experts.⁴ There are numerous groups of volunteers in each of these organisations, who have for years dedicated their leisure time to activities connected with saving local heritage, particularly historic ruins. This activity has become their way of life, spending their weekends and summer holidays, and a source of joy and satisfaction. It has significantly contributed to building local solidarity and social cohesion, nurturing pride in heritage and identity. These

3 Zachráňme hrady, <http://www.zachranmehradky.sk/> [access: 4 April 2023].

4 Ibidem.

volunteering grassroots activities have been since 2011 accompanied also by a state supported programme called Let Us Renew Our House.⁵

The aim of this article is to introduce this state-supported innovative and successful programme focused on the renewal of ruins and castles in Slovak cities and villages, based on the engagement of unemployed people. This programme has been one of the most successful tools of using European funding in the cultural sector in Slovakia. It has contributed to local development mainly by empowering human capital, giving the unemployed new skills, creating new jobs, strengthening sustainability and resilience of local communities, and fostering cultural tourism.

Let Us Renew Our House: Engagement of the unemployed in the conservation of cultural heritage in Slovakia

The state-supported programme Let Us Renew Our House: Engagement of the unemployed in the conservation of cultural heritage [*Obnovme si svoj dom – Zapojenie nezamestnaných do obnovy kultúrneho dedičstva*] was initiated by the non-governmental Save the Castles Association. It started in June 2011 as a result of the cooperation and partnership between the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs, and Family. The aim of the programme was to give a chance to unemployed people (primarily the long-term unemployed, people over fifty or/and with lower levels of education) in order to give them a new work opportunity and to teach them new skills, while also contributing to the renewal of numerous castles in Slovakia that were in critical condition. The key actor and initiator of the programme was the Save the Castles Association. The association managed to negotiate conditions of the proposed programme with relevant ministries, which led to building networks and developing active collaboration with local municipalities and civil society organisations engaged in cultural heritage preservation. The programme has been successful from the very beginning and demonstrated two main benefits: (1) hundreds of unemployed people involved in the programme have managed to acquire new skills, which helped them to find a new job in a longer-term period, and (2) renovated castle ruins have become

5 Ministerstvo Kultúry Slovenskej Republiky, *Obnovme si svoj dom*, <https://ds.culture.gov.sk/#e58b8672-beb9-4ee9-a921-b77469152631;e9f6bc85-2e57-b732-42b5-273459fbb765> [access: 4 April 2023].

a target of cultural tourism that created new jobs in the region and attracted more tourists to often unknown geographical and cultural areas.

The Let Us Renew Our House programme has contributed to building social and cultural sustainability and resilience in all localities involved by empowering long-term unemployed people, encouraging hundreds of volunteers, contributing to local development, raising awareness of local identity, and building common solidarity on the basis of the collaboration of various stakeholders at the local level (municipalities, non-profit organisations, local businesses, and volunteers).

According to the data from 2020, in the period of 2011–2019, 4211 unemployed people were fully engaged in the renewal of thirty to forty castles and castle ruins during the summer period each year (about 500 people annually). The number of castles differed every year as the programme works on the basis of competition: municipalities or other legal entities can apply for funding aimed at employing unemployed people in the renewal of heritage objects. The financial contribution from two ministries (2011–2019) amounted to EUR 19,210,193. In 2020, the programme was endangered by the COVID-19 pandemic, but in the end it continued and additional 547 unemployed people could participate, with the contribution of further EUR 3,747,160. In 2021, the programme continued only thanks to the involvement of the Ministry of Culture that was aware of the very special nature of this programme and allocated more than a million euros to keep the programme alive.⁶ The negotiations between the two ministries originally involved in financing the programme are still ongoing.

In addition to the engagement of the unemployed, hundreds of volunteers have been joining the programme every year through member organisations of the Save the Castles Association or through other volunteering programmes, including international ones as well as archaeological and architectural summer schools. The Monuments' Board of the Slovak Republic with its regional branches has been an important partner in the programme from the very beginning, performing the key role of offering expert guidance. No conservation and renewal

6 Ministerstvo Kultúry Slovenskej Republiky, *Zapojenie nezamestnaných do obnovy kultúrneho dedičstva pokračuje. Získajú podporu 1 milión eur*, <https://www.culture.gov.sk/ministerstvo/medialny-servis/aktuality-ministerstva-kultury/zapojenie-nezamestnanych-do-obnovy-kulturneho-dedicstva-pokracuje-ziskaju-podporu-1-milion-eur/> [access: 4 April 2023].

of a historic ruin within the programme can start without research and assessment survey of a given building.

Of course, there are often challenges. Although each plan of historic ruins renewal relies on expert guidance, it is not always fully followed. Sometimes too much enthusiasm in the absence of a professional approach can do more harm than good. In the programme Let Us Renew Our House the most common method of saving ruins is through conservation – its main aim is to secure the statics of the remains and to make it safe. This kind of monument restoration or conservation (often also financed from the EU structural funds) faces numerous challenges – primarily the problem of public procurements that have to be won by the cheapest, often least experienced suppliers.⁷ Other methods include ways from partial to total reconstruction (renewal of the original appearance of the monument). Determining the best way of saving the monument is the object of numerous debates among experts in historic architecture; however, this discussion is beyond the scope of this study.

Ten years of the Let Us Renew Our House programme have brought its first results. A majority of the castle ruins that were hidden behind overgrown trees and bushes, and were unsafe to visit, have been cleaned up, secured, partly renovated and opened to visitors. The pandemic summers of 2020 and 2021, which caused a domestic tourism boom, provided evidence that the renewal of historic ruins in Slovakia has a great potential for strengthening cultural tourism in the country.

Why is the programme so unique (at least in Slovakia)? Its value lies not only in saving numerous heritage objects and turning them to cultural tourism destinations, but also in empowering human capital:

1. Giving the people who have very limited chances to be employed due to various reasons (for instance, ethnicity – e.g. coming from a Roma community, low education, higher age, long-term unemployment and lack of work habits) an opportunity to learn new skills (often quite specific skills that use traditional techniques), which can open doors for them on the labour market.
2. Connecting various groups of people from and outside local communities (municipality authorities, the unemployed, volunteers, domestic and

7 Pavol Ižvolt and Katarína Smatanová, “Strategic Heritage Conservation Practices: Inclusion of the Unemployed in Saving Cultural Heritage in Slovakia,” [in:] *The Historic Environment*, vol. 5, no. 1 (2014), pp. 36–54.

international students, businesspeople, experts, etc.). Such participatory co-creation of heritage sites becomes an added value – in fact, it is one of crucial ways of building local solidarity and identity that leads to stronger, more sustainable and resilient communities.

3. Opening new opportunities for local economies and tourism.

Heritage as a tool for developing resilient and sustainable communities: a few theoretical remarks

The 21st century and its global challenges including the COVID-19 pandemic demonstrate a serious need for building strong, sustainable, and disaster-resilient local communities. It is the local communities that are able to identify risks or hazard events and solve their consequences on the basis of their local knowledge, long-term experience, and tradition. The range of risks and hazards is not limited to natural disasters related to climate change (such as floods, droughts, storms, hurricanes, forest fires, heat waves), but also conflict-related problems, which means co-habitation of various groups and communities that might have different background (ethnic, religious, social, or value-based) or health related (such as the COVID-19 pandemic and other pandemics).

The concept of resilience was primarily defined within ecological studies (as a community's capacity for responding to external shocks),⁸ but it has been further developed in a number of disciplines and diverse contexts. Folke et al. define resilience as “the capacity of a system to absorb disturbance and reorganize while undergoing change so as to still retain essentially the same function, structure and feedbacks [...], that is, the capacity to change in order to maintain the same identity.”⁹ Cacioppo, Reis, and Zautra talk about social resilience – the capacity to foster, engage in, and sustain positive relationships, stressing the importance of fairness, compassion, generosity, openness, empathy, care and respect for others, and tolerance of group identity.¹⁰ Holtorf focuses on

8 David E. Beel et al., “Cultural Resilience: The Production of Rural Community Heritage, Digital Archives and the Role of Volunteers,” [in:] *Journal of Rural Studies*, vol. 54 (2017), pp. 459–468.

9 Carl Folke et al., “Resilience Thinking: Integrating Resilience, Adaptability and Transformability,” [in:] *Ecology and Society*, vol. 15, no. 4 (2010), p. 3.

10 John T. Cacioppo, Harry T. Reis, and Alex J. Zautra, “Social Resilience: The Value of Social Fitness With an Application to the Military,” [in:] *American Psychologist*, vol. 66, no. 1 (2011), p. 44.

cultural resilience, defined as the capacity of a cultural system in relevant communities to absorb adversity, deal with change, and continue to develop.¹¹ His arguments contribute to discussions on heritage theory, proposing innovative applications of cultural resilience to the field of cultural heritage.¹²

It is clear that resilience is an important feature of a healthy and sustainable community, and cultural heritage can be one of the tools to achieve it. Numerous scientific and practice-based works on resilience of local communities emphasise the fact that the definition of resilience goes beyond hard infrastructure and physical assets (such as Ten Principles for Building Resilience).¹³ It means that it is primarily human capital which is identified as the main asset. It is the local people with the support from municipalities who can strengthen their communities and build their resilience and sustainability by organising and supporting common activities, as well as addressing social, cultural, and economic vulnerabilities that prevent them from reaching their potential. The programme Let Us Renew Our House – Engagement of the unemployed in the conservation of cultural heritage has a potential to contribute to such development. The ten-year history of the programme has proven its benefits in the process of local development and an added value in empowering local communities.

A short case study: Pustý hrad

The National Cultural Monument of Pustý hrad [Deserted Castle] with its area of more than seven hectares is one of the largest castles in Central Europe. It is situated on the hill above the city of Zvolen in Central Slovakia at the altitude of 571 m. The castle that comprises the Lower and the Upper Castles was built in the period of the 12th to the 14th centuries. The hill was a popular place for settlement since prehistory¹⁴ because of

11 Cornelius Holtorf, “Embracing Change: How Cultural Resilience Is Increased through Cultural Heritage,” [in:] *World Archeology*, vol. 50, no. 4 (2018), p. 639.

12 Ibidem, p. 640.

13 Urban Land Institute, *Ten Principles for Building Resilience*, https://20s2f877tnl1dvtm.c3wyoaq1-wpengine.netdna-ssl.com/wp-content/uploads/ULI-Documents/10P_BuildingResilience.pdf [access: 12 June 2021].

14 Noemi Beljak Pažinová and Ján Beljak, “Benefits of the Long-Term Research into the Pustý hrad Castle (Deserted Castle) in Zvolen and Its Prospects for the Future,” [in:] *Archaeologia Historica*, vol. 45, no. 2 (2020), pp. 941–956; see also: eidem, “Výskum

its strategic position with a broad view of the Zvolenská basin.¹⁵ In the aftermath of numerous wars during the Hungarian Monarchy the castle was seriously damaged and therefore abandoned for a few centuries. Its first archaeological research and renovation started in the early 1990s thanks to the archaeologist Václav Hanuliak and the financial support of the city of Zvolen that has since been the main funder of modern research and excavations of the castle, together with the Self-Governing Region of Banská Bystrica. From the very beginning of the investigation, volunteers have been active partners in cooperation – first through the non-profit organisation Strom života [Tree of Life], later through the involvement of local volunteers (mainly secondary schools and university students), as well as students from various university departments of archaeology (through summer schools).

The investigation as well as conservation have been carried out under the guidance of the Monuments' Board in the Banská Bystrica Self-Governing Region, following the guidelines and recommendations of the ICOMOS Charter.¹⁶ After the introduction of the Let Us Renew Our House programme in 2011, the civic association of Pustý hrad (called Archeofact) and the Zvolen municipality regularly participated in the programme, using the opportunity to engage unemployed people in addition to the involvement of numerous volunteers and archaeology students.

Pustý hrad has become an iconic marketing point for the city of Zvolen as well as the Central Slovakia region. The municipality not only regularly financially supports its research and renovation, but also in recent years (2018–2022) the mayor organised volunteering activities under her auspices in order to raise awareness of the importance of this monument to the local development and identity. Over the years, the Pustý hrad Civic Association has introduced a number of new attractions for

a obnova Pustého hradu vo Zvolene – Research and Renovation of the Pustý hrad (Deserted Castle) in Zvolen,” [in:] *Stredné Slovensko v stredoveku: vývoj osídlenia regiónu pred udelením mestských privilégii mestu Zvolen*, eds. Noemi Beljak Pažinová and Zuzana Borzová, Mesto Zvolen 2018, pp. 212–235.

15 Ibidem; eidem, “Pustý hrad vo Zvolene – premeny hradného kopca od najstarších čias po súčasnosť,” [in:] *Životné prostredie: revue pre teóriu a starostlivosť o životné prostredie*, vol. 48 (2014), pp. 48–52.

16 ICOMOS Charter: Principles for the Analysis, Conservation and Structural Restoration of Architectural Heritage, 2003, https://www.icomos.org/charters/structures_e.pdf [access: 12 June 2021].

visitors: exhibitions; brochures, publications, guidebooks; and a 6.4 kilometre-long educational trail. Live cultural performances and sports events are frequently organised by the local civic association Priaznivci Pustého hradu Zvolen [Supporters of the Pustý hrad Zvolen]. These activities include an annual ascent to the hill of Pustý hrad (in the first weekend of September) by hundreds of local people, marking a symbolic end of the archaeological season in the castle connected with cultural performances (historic fencing, theatre, music) or an international road cycling event Via Magna.¹⁷ As Katarína Košťalová emphasised, thanks to the activities of the civic association and devoted archaeologists, Pustý hrad has become a crucial point of local belonging and identity in the city of Zvolen. It has also significantly contributed to the growth of cultural tourism in the city and has become one of the most visited sites in the region.¹⁸ It is important to stress that this success has been achieved also thanks to the programme that aimed at engaging the unemployed in the conservation of cultural heritage.

Conclusion

The objective of the study was to present the programme Let Us Renew Our House – Engagement of the unemployed in the conservation of cultural heritage, which was introduced in Slovakia in 2011 as an initiative of the Save the Castles Association in collaboration with the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Labour, Family, and Social Affairs, using European structural funds. The programme has been focused on the renewal of historic castle ruins by giving work to unemployed people (mainly the long-term unemployed, 50+, or people with lower education). It helped the participants to acquire new skills and work habits and improved their chances of finding employment in the future. So far, during the ten-year duration of the programme about 5000 unemployed people were given a job at the cost of approximately 23 million euros. Each year the participants work at thirty to forty historic sites. In addition, all these places show an enthusiastic engagement of hundreds

17 This is a cycling event within V4 countries (Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia) with the aim to market Pustý hrad. Participants from four countries cycle from their destinations in order to meet in Zvolen and visit Pustý hrad.

18 Katarína Košťalová, "Kultúrne dedičstvo a globálne/lokálne prejavy v súčasnom malom meste," [in:] *Studia etnologiczne i antropologiczne*, vol. 14 (2014), pp. 197–209.

of volunteers, either through the twenty-eight member organisations of the Save the Castles Association, other volunteering programmes, or archaeological and architectural summer schools. Local municipalities are also fully involved in the process of the renewal as these sites are usually their property and they see them as potential tourism destinations. Together with local businesspeople, they help with either building material or other services (e.g. catering).

Each renewal has been performed under the professional guidance of experts from the Monuments' Board of Slovakia and it follows a professional research and assessment survey. Despite some challenges connected with lack of professional approach or problems with public procurements won by the cheapest and low quality suppliers, the programme has been seen – also Europe-wide – as a good example of participatory governance of safeguarding cultural heritage by engaging the unemployed and giving them the opportunity to gain new skills as well as enhance their relationship to the particular historic site.¹⁹

Sustainability and resilience have become the key words in a new research, science, and education agenda within heritage studies. The presented programme constitutes a good example of joined efforts of numerous stakeholders to contribute to saving cultural heritage and at the same time empowering local people, and thus contributing to building sustainable and resilient communities.

¹⁹ Council of Europe, *Strategy 21: Good Practices*, <https://www.coe.int/en/web/culture-and-heritage/-/renewal-of-cultural-heritage-with-the-help-of-unemployed-people> [access: 12 June 2021].

Multifaceted Challenge: Threats to Cultural Networks and Communities' Resilience

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Contemporary events in the 21st century – with its multitude of asymmetric conflicts, globally operating terrorist networks, attempts at political destabilisation of entire regions by autocratic regimes, a world-spanning pandemic, culture and cultural heritage becoming targets of weapons (or weapons themselves) in extremist political agendas, and radicalisation of large segments of society in Western democracies – pose an immense challenge to the protection of culture and cultural heritage, and thus to the resilience and stability of social groups, indeed of entire societies. We have to ask ourselves whether the conventional institutions, tools, criteria, and beliefs of cultural protection can still serve their purpose in such global circumstances.

Various threats to culture, cultural heritage, and cultural networks

One news item that fuelled the debate about COVID-19 on social networks in Germany in February 2021 concerned guitar dealer Norbert Wolf from Berlin. Internet trade and high rents had long been a problem for the owner of a traditional retail store – the measures to combat the pandemic threatened to drown him: Norbert Wolf was facing insolvency. What seemed particularly explosive about this was that the fate of the store with its attached workshop had repercussions for an entire network of musicians in Berlin: music schools and guitar teachers, professional orchestra musicians, and amateurs alike had been seeking advice from Norbert Wolf for many years, buying instruments from him or commissioning repairs. One reason for the outrage in the social networks was certainly that with the fate of the guitar salesman, the immense damage that the pandemic and health policy measures had inflicted on the cultural sector as a whole became clearly visible.

A little later, on 2 July 2021, the President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin issued the Decree on the National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation. Included for the first time in a document like this is a section entitled “Protection of traditional Russian spiritual and moral values, cultural and historical memory.” In ten paragraphs and fourteen subparagraphs, it asserts the need to defend Russia’s high “moral, spiritual and cultural values” against a Western modernity that has allegedly lost all “traditional and moral reference points and principles.”¹ The programme proposed in the decree has two aims: on the one hand, it constructs a cultural antagonism contrasting “Western modernity” with the Russian Federation. On the other hand, it is an expression of an integral cultural nationalism: culture and cultural heritage are to bring about the “unity of the peoples of Russia [...] on the basis of an all-Russian identity.” This in itself may seem innocuous enough – however, the programme has a counterpart that is supposed to achieve the exact opposite outside Russia.

According to a study by the British and US journalists Peter Pomerantsev and Michael Weiss, the Kremlin decisively “weaponizes” not only information and money, but also culture in order to destabilise social communities outside the Russian Federation: “[...] intellectual influencers, think tanks, political parties, and religious and social movements across the world [are used] as tools to divide and rule, incite, corrupt and co-opt.” Through the network of the Orthodox Church, as well as cultural centres and media outlets financed by Russia, the Kremlin disseminates the narrative of “Holy Russia and Euro Sodom,” opposes EU principles and propagates an authoritarian counter narrative to Western democratic standards.²

Targeting the radical section of society and encouraging its further radicalisation, the Kremlin has its sights set above all on the Russian diaspora and the extreme right in Europe – starting with Victor Orban’s party Fidesz, through the German Alternative für Deutschland (AfD), to Marine Le Pen’s Rassemblement National. In the Balkans, particularly in Montenegro, Serbia, and the Republika Srpska, the Serb entity of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Kremlin relies on the Pan-Slavic narrative and cultural and religious networks to deepen cultural and religious fault

1 Указ Президента Российской Федерации О Стратегии национальной безопасности Российской Федерации, по. 400, 2 July 2021, pp. 34–38.

2 Peter Pomerantsev and Michael Weiss, *The Menace of Unreality: How the Kremlin Weaponizes Information, Culture and Money*, New York 2014, p. 18.

lines and fuel interethnic conflicts. The goal of the comprehensive destabilisation strategy is to secure Russian interests in the region.³

Again two months later, in early September 2021, the trial for the Islamist terrorist attacks of November 2015 began in Paris.⁴ The attacks on the Bataclan concert hall, the Paris football stadium, and shops and cafés in the French capital were the bloodiest so far in a series of terrorist acts against major European cities. Like many others, they targeted culture and Europe's cultural heritage as well as people.

Although they have little else in common, the references to culture and cultural heritage of the European far right are strikingly similar to those of radical Islamists. Just like extremist Muslims – albeit under different auspices and with different goals, some of which are explicitly directed against Muslims – the radical right also deplores an allegedly “decadent” and “degenerate” Western culture and consequently calls for the “death of the West,” which is to be brought about by a “counterculture” or “cultural revolution.”⁵ What seems like a mere fantasy of empowerment in the still relatively small “intellectual” circles of the European far right has already become a terrifying reality with the attack on the United States Capitol on 6 January 2021. Was the storming of Capitol Hill – of the building itself and of the political institution, the US Congress – not an iconoclasm, a *Bildersturm* par excellence? Was it not explicitly directed against the most prestigious cultural heritage of a political system and its obvious symbols? We have learnt from various reports as well as from the still ongoing juridical investigation of the incident that the Capitol Hill insurrection was orchestrated and conducted mainly by some of the most notorious extremist groups of the far right movement of the United States of America.⁶

3 David Clark and Andrew Foxall, *Russia's Role in the Balkans: Cause for Concern?*, London 2014; Pëllumb Kallaba, *Russian Interference in Kosovo: How and Why?*, Prishtina 2017.

4 Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (ARD), “Die Welt beobachtet uns,” [in:] *Tagesschau*, 8 September 2021, <https://www.tagesschau.de/ausland/europa/frankreich-anschlaege-prozess-101.html> [access: 9 December 2021].

5 Alain de Benoist, *Kulturrevolution von rechts*, Krefeld 1985; Martin Sellner, *Identitär! Geschichte eines Aufbruchs*, Schnellroda 2017; Mario Alexander Müller, *KontraKultur*, Schnellroda 2017.

6 Mallory Simon and Sara Sidner, “Decoding the Extremist Symbols and Groups at the Capitol Hill Insurrection,” [in:] *CNN*, 11 January 2021, <https://edition.cnn.com/>

Global pandemic, terrorism, aggressive nationalist cultural politics, destabilisation operations involving cultural fault lines, asymmetric and migrating conflicts as well as cultural extremism determining political agenda form a complex of threats to culture and cultural networks worldwide. Against the background of a new range of affected objects of culture, new, hybrid forms of warfare, the changing structure of conflicts in general, and not least the findings of cultural studies in recent decades, the conventional institutions, strategies, and criteria of cultural protection at national and international level appear, if not entirely anachronistic, then nevertheless as a severely limited perspective on a much more complex problem situation. Studies on Culture in conflict,⁷ international legislation and derived national law-making,⁸ as well as individual studies on legal aspects of cultural protection⁹ reveal a norma-

2021/01/09/us/capitol-hill-insurrection-extremist-flags-soh/index.html [access: 10 December 2021].

- 7 Martin Warnke (ed.), *Bildersturm: Die Zerstörung des Kunstwerks*, München 1973; Peter Moritz Pickshaus, *Kunstzerstörer. Fallstudien: Tatmotive und Psychogramme*, Reinbek bei Hamburg 1988; Alexander Demandt, *Vandalismus: Gewalt gegen Kultur*, Berlin 1997; Dario Gamboni, *Zerstörte Kunst: Bildersturm und Vandalismus im 20. Jahrhundert*, Köln 1998; Robert Bevan, *The Destruction of Memory: Architecture at War*, London 2006; Juliette van Krieken-Pieters, *Art and Archeology of Afghanistan: Its Fall and Survival*, Leiden–Boston 2006; Peter G. Stone and Joanna Farchakh Bajjaly (eds.), *The Destruction of Cultural Heritage in Iraq*, Woodbridge 2008; Lawrence Rothfield (ed.), *Antiquities under Siege: Cultural Heritage Protection after the Iraq War*, Lanham 2008; Lawrence Rothfield, *The Rape of Mesopotamia: Behind the Looting of the Iraq Museum*, Chicago 2009; Laurie Rush (ed.), *Archeology, Cultural Property and the Military*, Woodbridge 2010; Andrew Herscher, *Violence Taking Place: The Architecture of the Kosovo Conflict*, Stanford 2010; Robert Layton, Peter G. Stone, and Julian Thomas (eds.), *Destruction and Conservation of Cultural Property*, New York 2011; Peter G. Stone (ed.), *Cultural Heritage, Ethics, and the Military*, Woodbridge 2011; Joanne M. Mancini and Keith Breshnahan (eds.), *Architecture and Armed Conflict*, New York 2015; Marie Louise Stig Sørensen and Dacia Viejo-Rose (eds.), *War and Cultural Heritage: Biographies of Place*, Cambridge 2015; Helen Walasek (ed.), *Bosnia and the Destruction of Cultural Heritage*, Farnham 2015; Michael Greenhalgh, *Syria's Monuments: Their Survival and Destruction*, Leiden–Boston 2016.
- 8 Geneva Convention (1949 [1977]); Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, The Hague 1954; UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, Paris 1972.
- 9 Dietrich Schindler and Jiří Toman (eds.), *The Laws of Armed Conflicts: A Collection of Conventions, Resolutions and Other Documents*, Geneva 1981; Rudolf Streinz, *Internationaler Schutz von Museumsgut*, Wiesbaden 1998; Jiří Toman, *Cultural Property in War: Improvement in Protection*, Paris 2009; Sabine von Schorlemer, *Kulturgüterzerstörung: Die Auslöschung von Kulturerbe in Krisenländern als Herausforderung für die Vereinten Nationen*, Baden-Baden 2016; Sabina Eichel, *Kulturgüterschutz im bewaffneten Konflikt*, Hamburg 2017.

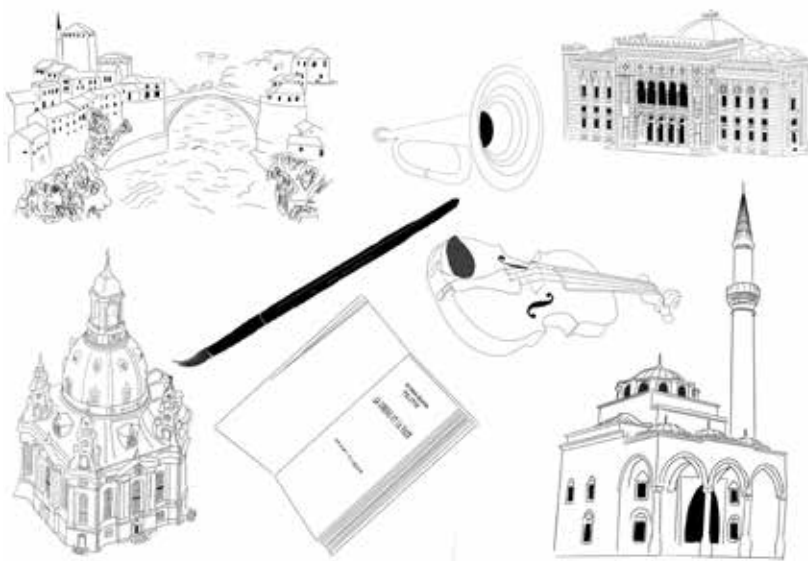


Figure 1. A normative understanding of culture forms a strong filter that allows objects fulfilling certain exclusive criteria to become visible while other objects remain invisible.
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tive, universalistic, sometimes totality-oriented and partly anachronistic understanding of culture. Almost without exception, objects of culture that are supposed to be particularly representative of a social group understood as a totality (nation, ethnicity) or an abstract world community (all peoples) are considered worthy of protection. They focus on the *Kulturgut* (cultural good), the “good of the culture,” forming a strong filter that allows objects that fulfil certain exclusive criteria to become visible, while a large part of the objects of culture affected in the complex conflict scenarios described above remain completely invisible.

This understanding of culture is rooted in the cultural theory of the humanist authors of the Enlightenment in Europe¹⁰ as well as traditional monument conservation with its roots in historicism.¹¹ Cultural

10 Johann Gottfried Herder, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, Riga 1784–1791; Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte*, Berlin 1837.

11 Norbert Huse, *Denkmalpflege: Deutsche Texte aus drei Jahrhunderten*, München 2006.

protection according to this understanding formulates criteria which are exclusive, abstract, universal, decisionistic, and in large parts anachronistic. Its representatives operate with a theoretical toolbox from the 20th century while confronted with the disparately more complex conflict scenarios of the 21st century. However, culture and cultural heritage threatened by the war in Syria, exploited in a destabilisation operation in Bosnia and Hercegovina, locked down in a global pandemic, forgotten in a failed state like Mali, targeted during terrorist attack in Paris, and destroyed by urban development in Western Africa can hardly be identified, monitored, evaluated, and protected by the same panoply of instruments and from the same institutional perspective.

Resilience, culture, and heritage: developing inclusive criteria

Resilience, according to its basic definition, is the “healthy, adaptive and/ or integrative functioning over time after a traumatising experience.”¹² Among the significant risk or stress factors that demand resilience from individuals or groups are “conflicts, war or natural disasters.”¹³ One of the ways in which trauma or crisis is overcome by a resilient individual or group is through “recourse to personal and socially mediated resources.”¹⁴ One of the most important resources or “protective factors” in this context is culture.¹⁵ The special worthiness of protection of culture is readily apparent from this.

“Culture” here, however, does not refer to the canon of a few particularly representative objects selected according to the exclusive criteria of a normative understanding of culture, as it still dominates in national and international institutions of cultural protection. Rather, according to the understanding of contemporary cultural theories, culture appears as a “complex of systems of meaning or [...] symbolic orders with which acting individuals create their reality as meaningful and enable and restrict

12 Leonhard Thun-Hohenstein, Kerstin Lampert, and Ulrike Altendorfer-Kling, “Resilienz: Geschichte, Modelle und Anwendung,” [in:] *Z Psychodrama Soziom*, vol. 19 (2020), p. 13.

13 Ibidem, p. 10.

14 Klaus Fröhlich-Gidhoff and Maike Rönna-Böse, *Resilienz*, München 2019, p. 13; see also Rosmarie Welter-Enderlin, “Resilienz aus der Sicht von Beratung und Therapie,” [in:] *Resilienz: Gedeihen trotz widriger Umstände*, eadem and Bruno Hildenbrand (eds.), Heidelberg 2012, p. 13.

15 L. Thun-Hohenstein et al., *Resilienz...*, op. cit., p. 10.



Figure 2. An understanding of culture at the level of contemporary cultural theories makes other objects appear more relevant than is the case with a normative understanding of culture. © Tobias Strahl

their actions in the form of knowledge orders.”¹⁶ Potentially every conceivable object, tangible or intangible, is part of a symbolic order of meaning and knowledge – and therefore an object of culture.

In order to identify cultural assets that are of importance to social groups but are directly endangered, whether by conventional or asymmetric (armed) conflicts, terrorism, global pandemics, aggressive nationalist cultural policies, destabilisation measures at cultural fault lines, and (cultural) extremism, we need criteria that differ from those of conventional cultural protection. These criteria should be inclusive, specific, participatory, and appropriate to the context. Instead of focusing on objects that are considered by a comparatively small elite of experts to be particularly representative according to an understanding of cultural heritage that is as abstract as it is universal, these criteria would place the emphasis on objects that are considered significant by the individuals of the group concerned. Instead of being abstract and universal, this criteria would have to be specific and contextual. Instead of being

¹⁶ Andreas Reckwitz, *Die Transformation der Kulturtheorien*, Weilerswist 2012, p. 84.

decisionistic, they would have to be situational and adequate. The criteria as such should stand up to the following questions: Is the selected cultural asset crucial for communication within the social group concerned? Does it enable participation in social activity, in economic income, in the negotiation of issues concerning the coexistence of the group and the negotiation of shared values? Is it an essential element for the self-image of the group and its individuals? Is it therefore suitable for strengthening the resilience of the group and its individuals?

If we were to apply these (and other possible) integrative criteria for the protection of culture, a completely different picture of a cultural landscape would emerge than the one we recognise under the strong filter of a normative understanding of culture.

Instead of monuments in the classical sense of heritage protection, libraries, concert halls, churches, and mausoleums, we would perhaps recognise kiosks, coffee houses, public transport systems, trade routes, unofficial meeting places, workshops – and maybe even snail shells or the like.

The object that embodies the abovementioned criteria of inclusivity, concreteness, participativity, and appropriateness in an almost ideal way is the traditional marketplace. Marketplaces enable communication and social participation. They provide income and feed social communities worldwide. Nevertheless, marketplaces are among the most endangered and least protected cultural assets in the world. Terrorists very often choose marketplaces for their attacks because they are particularly vulnerable and because an attack with many civilian casualties has a special impact within the targeted social groups and a larger audience. However, culture means more than just marketplaces. Nevertheless, the abovementioned criteria can also be usefully applied to other cultural objects, as the following example will show.

Two examples – two different strategies

During the Post-Yugoslav Wars in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosovo, two thirds of the region's cultural heritage was damaged or destroyed.¹⁷ After the end of the wars, several institutions of the international community (Council of Europe, UNESCO, GOS, NGOs)

¹⁷ Tobias Strahl, *Kultur, Erbe, Konflikt: Kulturgutzerstörung in Kroatien, Bosnien-Herzegowina und Kosovo 1991–2004*, Wien–Köln–Weimar 2018.

supported selected reconstructions of destroyed objects. However, instead of a careful analysis of the complex and conflict-laden cultural landscape of the region (there were, after all, reasons for the destruction), the criteria of a classic Western agenda of monument protection were applied indiscriminately. In other words, particularly prestigious objects were selected whose high-profile reconstruction would above all make the donors look good and active. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, these were the Gradska Vijećnia, the country's city hall and university library, and the Stari Most, the Old Bridge in Mostar. Whether these reconstructions actually served the full-bodied declared goal of promoting reconciliation between the warring parties was never seriously considered at any time. Therefore, the Gradska Vijećnia and the Stari Most with their reconstruction were once again instrumentalised as political symbols. These symbols, however, did not (and do not) refer to Bosnia's ethnic groups, whose reconciliation, moreover, they did not support in any way – in fact, these groups remain more divided than ever. Rather, the two buildings became symbols of the condescending (albeit ill-informed) benevolence of the so-called West towards the Balkans.¹⁸

A completely different approach was chosen in 2002 by the organisers of Dokufest, Kosovo's documentary film festival,¹⁹ which has since become one of the best-known and most important festivals of its kind worldwide. Photography enthusiast and cineaste Veton Nurkollari and psychologist Aliriza Arenliu – both ethnic Albanians – after the war asked themselves which cultural medium would be suitable to overcome the traumatic consequences of war and the deep rifts between the ethnic groups of the region. Both many conversations with friends and acquaintances, as well as literature studies and interviews with contemporary witnesses suggest that it was precisely the built cultural heritage that proved to be conceivably unsuitable for this purpose because it was actually mosques, churches, monasteries and a large part of the vernacular built cultural heritage in which the interethnic conflicts were *de facto* conserved. It was the built cultural heritage that was used in the Socialist Federation of Yugoslavia and before to sublimate conflicts

18 Compare Helen Walasek et al., *Bosnia and the Destruction of Cultural Heritage*, Farnham 2015; Emily Gunzburger-Makaš, *Representing Competing Identities: Building and Rebuilding in Postwar Mostar, Bosnia-Herzegovina*, New York 2007.

19 See Dokufest, www.dokufest.com [access: 14 December 2021].

that could not be dealt with openly in repressive state systems. But there was indeed cultural heritage that was equally valued by all nations and ethnic groups of Yugoslavia: rock music, mountain sports, and feature films. Bands like Bijelo Dugme, Riblja Čorba, or Divlje Jagode were (and continue to be) appreciated equally in Belgrade, Zagreb, Prishtina, or Sarajevo by Serbs, Croats, Kosovars, and Bosnians alike. The stamps and stickers of the climbing clubs of the various Yugoslav republics were (and continue to be) found everywhere in the huts and summit books of the Prenj, Durmitor, Triglav, and Midžor mountains. And finally, the films that have won awards at the famous film festival in Pula since 1954 have been watched with enthusiasm in every Yugoslav household.

In 2011, for its tenth anniversary, the Dokufest in the city of Prizren in southern Kosovo screened 200 films over five days at seven venues. As many as 12,000 guests from all over the world attended the festival, which was organised by 150 volunteers from all over the former Yugoslavia. The 2011 Dokufest brought three million euros into the empty coffers of the city of Prizren. In the meantime, the organisers of the festival have co-founded the Balkan Documentary Network, which is dedicated to the cinematic-documentary reappraisal of the region's history. The Dokufest organises annual documentary film workshops for young people from Serbia, Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Northern Macedonia²⁰ – an achievement that seems unthinkable in any other (political) context in the region. There is hardly any film festival of this kind in the world today where one of the Dokufest organisers is *not* amongst the members of the jury. In 2022, Dokufest will celebrate its 21st anniversary – more successful than any other cultural protection initiative in this region.

Conclusion

The criticism of the imbalance observable in the UNESCO's World Heritage List is old and often voiced. UNESCO and its member countries have been making efforts for some time to even out the imbalance of entries in the list. This means increasing the number of recognised World Heritage Sites particularly in Africa and the Arab States. Despite all efforts, in 2021 almost half of all World Heritage sites are still located in Europe

20 Tobias Strahl, "Mehr als der Krieg," [in:] *Dresdner Neueste Nachrichten*, 5 August 2011, p. 9.

and North America, while the other half is spread over the “rest” of the world.²¹ There is little to suggest that the ratio will change significantly in near future.

However, the whole debate seems misleading in the face of the complex scenarios of culture in conflict described above, simply because it misses the real issues. It should be clear from what has been said so far that we are confronted above all with a problem of *representation*: would an increase in the number of World Heritage sites, for example, in Africa really mean that Africa’s cultures are better represented in the World Heritage List – or rather that the Western concept of culture has become better presented in Africa? The question is applicable to any non-Western cultural context. Or from another perspective: doesn’t our very limited and outmoded focus on (armed) conflict mean that we cannot even recognise a large part of the scenarios in which culture is threatened? Moreover, we are confronted with a problem of *adequacy*: although not solely responsible for cultural protection in its hundreds of facets worldwide, UNESCO and its advisory institutions ICOMOS, ICOM, and ICCROM have a decisive influence on our *idea*, our *concept* of culture and cultural protection. Like no other institution, they embody a normative, unmistakably Eurocentric understanding of these subject areas. Is this form of intellectual cultural hegemony still adequate in view of the complex scenarios of culture in conflict described above? Wouldn’t a fundamental conceptual reorganisation of cultural protection be imperative against this background? Shouldn’t we first generally put our concept of culture and cultural heritage to the test? Instead of culture and cultural heritage, should we not rather ask about objects of regional significance if we do not want to expose ourselves to the accusation of imposing our concepts on every context, no matter how different it may be?

21 UNESCO, World Heritage List Statistics, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/stat> [access: 14 December 2021].

Preserved and Lost Landscape Heritage under Agglomeration Pressure: The Case Study of Pilisi Sziklák Nature Park

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Introduction

The expansion of urban areas poses several concerns worldwide, such as disproportional land take, loss of natural habitats, as well as decline in traditional land use and traditional landscape character.¹ Researches also highlight that uncontrolled urban sprawl can cause economic losses in touristic areas in which the form of landscape has been degraded.²

After the political changes in Hungary (1990), an intensive and extensive suburbanisation process took place around the larger cities and the capital, Budapest, compared to the controlled movement of socialism. The agglomeration zone of the capital includes eighty-one settlements. After 1990, Budapest lost approximately 250,000 inhabitants from its total of two million people. This strong suburbanisation process changed the character of rural settlements and triggered extensive growth of urban areas, especially in the metropolitan region of Budapest, but also

1 Martina Artmann, Luis Inostroza, and Peilei Fan, "Urban Sprawl, Compact Urban Development and Green Cities: How Much Do We Know, How Much Do We Agree?," [in:] *Ecological Indicators*, vol. 96, no. 2 (2019), p. 120; Marc Antrop, "Landscape Change and the Urbanization Process in Europe," [in:] *Landscape and Urban Planning*, vol. 67, no. 1–4 (2004), p. 226.

2 John E. Hasse and Richard G. Lathrop, "Land Resource Impact Indicators of Urban Sprawl," [in:] *Applied Geography*, vol. 23, no. 2–3 (2003), p. 225; EEA, "Urban Sprawl in Europe: The Ignored Challenge," [in:] *European Environment Agency Report*, no. 10 (2006), p. 60.

around other larger cities in Hungary.³ This article highlights the endangerment of landscape heritage of suburban settlements through the example of a nature park established near the Hungarian capital, and draws attention to the importance and tools of preservation of the remaining natural and cultural heritage values. The COVID-19 crisis also had an unexpected negative effect on natural values close to urban centres where recently increased tourist pressure has been detected.⁴

The Pilisi Sziklák Nature Park is a special, multifaceted region of Hungary. The study area is characterised by a thousand-year-old historical permanence, with the presence of former royal hunting forests, monasteries, and rich cultural heritage. However, due to the close proximity of the capital (Budapest), dynamic changes and, consequently, heritage impairment can also be detected.

The research started in a student workshop organised by the Department of Landscape Protection and Reclamation and the Department of Landscape Planning and Regional Development at the Hungarian University of Agriculture and Life Sciences (former Szent István University) in 2019. During the student workshop, data collection, as well as GIS processing and analyses were carried out under the supervision of the authors of the present article in order to collect data for and elaborate the scientific background for the foundation of Pilisi Sziklák Nature Park in 2019.⁵

The objectives of the research were the following:

- ▶ to define the directions and intensity of land use changes;
- ▶ to define the stable land use forms and those characteristic landscape elements which are under threat;
- ▶ to define the threats to the traditional landscape character and explore solutions for their preservation, as well as highlight the role of the nature park in the study area.

3 György Enyedi, "The Stages of Urban Growth," [in:] *Space and Society*, vol. 25, no. 1: *Urban Sprawl in Europe: Similarities or Differences?*, ed. Viktória Szirmai (2011), p. 140; Vera Iváncsics and Krisztina Filepné Kovács, "Analyses of New Artificial Surfaces in the Catchment Area of 12 Hungarian Middle-Sized Towns between 1990 and 2018," [in:] *Land Use Policy*, vol. 109 (2021), p. 14.

4 Borbála Benkhard, "Hiking in the Pilis and Visegrád Hills: The Problem of Access," [in:] *Tourism Bulletin*, vol. 21, no. 3 (2021), p. 53.

5 Nóra Hubayné Horváth et al. (eds.), "Táji örökségen alapuló vidékfejlesztés a Pilisi Natúrpark területén," proceedings of a student workshop, Szent István University, Faculty of Landscape Architecture and Urbanism, Budapest 2019, p. 256.

Materials and methods

Methods

The landscape study, as well as the analysis of the landscape features and the design were carried out based on field trips and using a large geographic database. The first step in the research was a desk study to collect available GIS databases. The databases were drawn from several sources covering several thematic areas. Among the freely available sources, the OpenStreetMap⁶ database, the Shuttle Radar Topography Mission (SRTM),⁷ the Aster elevation models,⁸ and the EU Copernicus Land Monitoring Services⁹ databases are worth highlighting. Among the land use databases, the time-series Corine Land Cover (CLC) layers showing land use change have proved to be particularly useful for landscape-scale analyses. For the analysis of the natural conditions, the agro-ecopotential map and genetic soil maps¹⁰ were used to describe the state of the soil. For the description of the nature conservation situation, the Natura 2000 database¹¹ and the data of the Nature Information System¹² on nationally protected areas were used. Digital maps of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd military surveys¹³ (Military Surveys made for the Kingdom of Hungary and for the Habsburg Empire (1782–1785, 1841–1859, 1869–1887), the Military Survey of Hungary from 1941, and the so-called Topographic Maps made between 1980–1990 and Google Satellite image in 2019) were used for landscape history research and the definition of contemporary landscape structure.

The analysis of landscape heritage was based on historical and GIS databases, as well as on surveys and data collection from the study area. As part of the student workshop we organised field trips for getting

6 Open Street Map, <https://www.openstreetmap.org> [access: 1 June 2019].

7 Jet Propulsion Laboratory, *U.S. Releases Enhanced Shuttle Land Elevation Data*, <https://www2.jpl.nasa.gov/srtm/> [access: June 2019].

8 Jet Propulsion Laboratory, *ASTER Global Digital Elevation Map Announcement*, <https://asterweb.jpl.nasa.gov/gdem.asp> [access: June 2019].

9 Copernicus Land Monitoring Service, <https://land.copernicus.eu/> [access: June 2019].

10 ATK TAKI, <https://www.elkh-taki.hu/hu> [access: 1 June 2019].

11 Natura 2000 Network Viewer, <https://natura2000.eea.europa.eu/> [access: 1 June 2019].

12 Nature Information System, <https://web.okir.hu/map/?config=TIR&lang=hu> [access: 1 June 2019].

13 Arcanum Maps, <https://maps.arcanum.com> [access: 1 June 2019].

a better impression of the area, mapping conflicts and valuable natural and cultural elements. We conducted interviews with the most important stakeholders (mayors, representatives of civil organisations) to capture the everyday problems of the local population.

To define the landscape-changing tendencies, we applied GIS methods in the analysis of the military maps. We identified those historical land uses of the study area (such as forests, arable lands, meadows, vineyards and orchards, built-in areas) that have been stable over the past 200 years. Special attention was paid to the analysis of changes in green infrastructure. We assessed the increasing anthropogenic influence of the study area by elaborating a hemeroby map.

The main part of the research was to define and collect the natural and cultural heritage elements of the study area. Our research was based on desktop study and field survey. After using the available databases (heritage website,^{14,15} *Táj-Érték-Tár* [Inventory of Landscape Values]¹⁶ websites of the settlements, historical maps) on the spot we looked for the heritage elements, we mapped them, took photographs and described their state.

The analysis of touristic features based on landscape heritage was made using the Godsave A4¹⁷ model.

Case study area

Pilisi Sziklák Nature Park (10,559 hectares) has a unique and favourable location, sixteen kilometres away from Budapest, the capital of Hungary. The spatial structure and trends of the nature park are formed by opposite poles: Piliscsaba (8108 inhabitants), Pilisjászfalu (1734 inhabitants), Pilisszántó (2606 inhabitants), and Pilisszentkereszt (2167 inhabitants) are part of the Budapest Agglomeration Area, while Keszthely (2720 inhabitants), Piliscsév (2494 inhabitants), and Esztergom (Pilisszentlélek) belong to Komárom-Esztergom County.¹⁸ The Nature Park is

14 Műemlékem.hu, <https://www.muemlekem.hu/> [access: 1 June 2019].

15 Lechner Tudásközpont, <https://ivo.lechnerkozpont.hu/> [access: 1 June 2019].

16 Tájépítész Szövetsége Főoldal, <https://tajepiteszek.hu/teka> [access: 1 June 2019].

17 Michalkó Gábor et al., *Turisztikai terméktervezés és fejlesztés*, 2011, <http://www.eturizmus.pte.hu/szakmai-anyagok/Turisztikai%20term%C3%A9ktervez%C3%A9s%20%C3%A9s%20fejleszt%C3%A9s/book.html#d6e32> [access: 1 December 2021].

18 Hungarian Central Statistical Office, www.ksh.hu [access: 1 June 2019].

also situated close to the Slovakian–Hungarian border, and it is an active member of the Ister–Granum Euroregion founded in 2001 with the seat of Esztergom–Šturovo.

The nature park has a varied, diverse landscape structure; it covers both Pilis Mountains and Pilis Basin landscape character units. A high proportion of the Nature Park is covered by forests, while on the foothills grasslands, forest-patches, and in the basin arable land is the dominate formation. The area of the formerly dominant vineyards, orchards, and meadows mostly disappeared or decreased, but the preserved vineyards and cellars are still character-forming landscape elements. The area is rich in historical values (Roman roads, royal hunting grounds, forests, monasteries, lime kilns, vineyards).¹⁹ The diverse landscape is protected by the Duna–Ipoly National Park and Buda Landscape Protection Area.

The micro-region has diverse social groups and civilian society maintaining the old traditions. In some settlements the ratio of the Slovak minority reaches 20% (Pilisszentkereszt, Pilisszántó, Keszölc); furthermore, 2–3% German population live in most of the villages (in Piliscsaba 7%).

The study area is located on the western–northern peripheries of the agglomeration zone of the capital city. The region has excellent accessibility from the metropolis by public transport (railway and road transport). There is a strong pressure of population growth and urban sprawl up till now.

The majority of the settlements have growing population with the exception of Pilisszentlélek, and the Nature Park has favourable social and demographic trends: since 1990, the proportion of population with tertiary education has grown, and the proportion of children is higher than the national average.

In Hungary, nature parks represent a similar initiative to the German Nature Parks and French Regional Natural Parks, which enhance local cooperation for endogenous rural development focusing on natural and cultural values. As stated by the European Regional Nature Parks Declaration, nature parks, as integrative protected areas for humans and nature, combine the protection, use, and development of landscape within sustainable development; however, nature parks are not necessarily nature protection areas. The initiative is a completely bottom-up

19 Eszter Zsuzsa Pető, “Roman or Medieval? Historical Roads in the Pilis Forest,” [in:] *Hungarian Archeology E-Journal* (autumn 2014), p. 9.

approach without central financing, and the municipalities decide about the cooperation.²⁰

More than fifty years have passed since the creation of the first nature park in Europe. One of the most important tasks for nature parks in Hungary is to be sustainable and resilient regional examples and guidelines of life in a way that they respond to the environmental, social, and economic challenges of our time. The nature park is a rural area which is acknowledged nationwide based on its valuable local heritage and landscape, its sensitive territorial characteristics, and networks of cooperation. In 2021, the Hungarian Nature Park Network was composed of seventeen members with 325 municipalities.

The objectives of the Pilisi Sziklák Nature Park as a newly established (2019) local cooperation initiative focus on the following activities:

- Community: bringing together the members of the local community and the municipalities as well as the entrepreneurs, farmers;
- Development: strengthening community-based activities for the realisation and enforcement of innovative and environment-friendly policies and guidelines, forums in the area of spatial planning, economic, social, and cultural development;
- Tourism: discovering and creating possibilities for recreation, recharging, leisure-time activities and catering along with the improvement of the landscape identity in the Pilis.

Results and discussion

Landscape change, conserved and lost landscape heritage, landscape character

The landscape in our focus is characterised by centuries-long stability, but at the same time, the transformation, destruction, and loss of values can also be observed. The population is growing intensively, threatening landscape heritage and traditional land use forms. Traditional land uses might be abandoned and the cultural diversity of traditional minorities may disappear.

As a result of our research, a heritage inventory was created using GIS methods. By comparing the current cultural heritage elements with

²⁰ European Regional Nature Parks Declaration, Regional Nature Parks – Working for Europe, <https://www.european-parks.org/downloads/european-regional-nature-parks-declaration.pdf> [access: 1 November 2021].

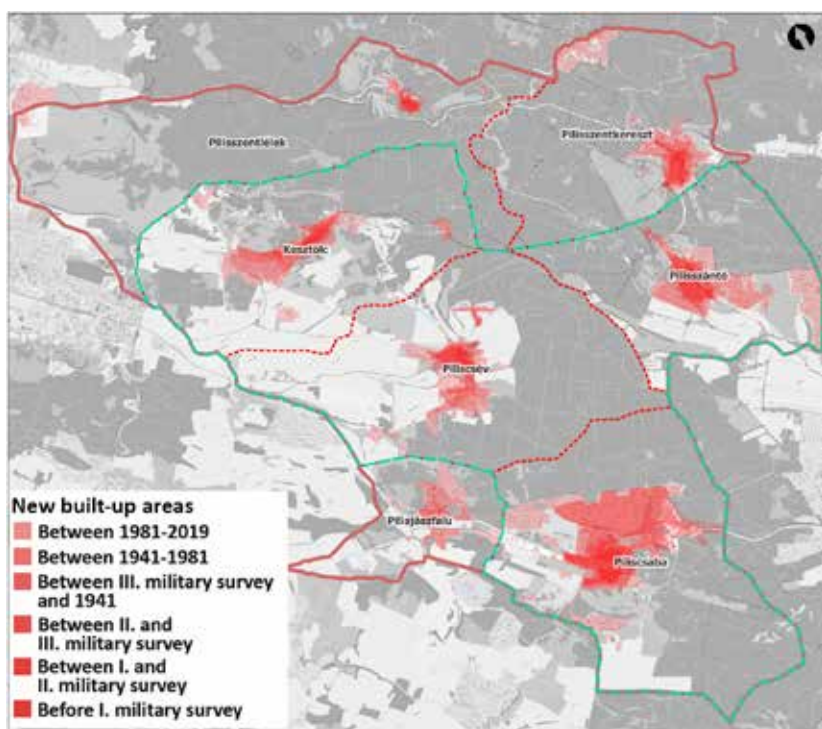
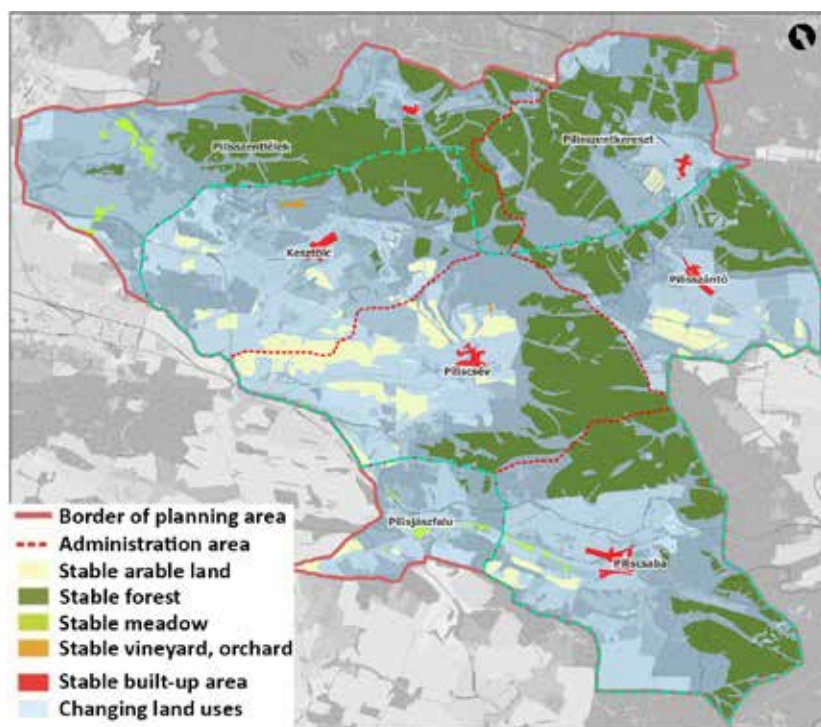


Figure 1. The change of built-up areas in the last 200 years in the study area (map produced during the student workshop)

those detected on historical maps, lost heritage elements were identified, which mostly disappeared from the analysed area due to the suburbanisation process.

The analyses of the landscape history maps show that the forest areas increased by 30% in the study area from the 1780s onwards, while the extent of meadows and arable lands has halved. Viticulture reached its heyday in the 1880s; since then the extent of vineyards and orchards has decreased by one sixth. Unfortunately, viticulture is shrinking intensively, though it formerly had a very significant traditional role in the Pilis area. The former wetlands and meadows with trees have completely disappeared. On the other hand, there is an intensive growth of built-up areas. In the last two centuries, the total extent of built-up areas (such as residential, industrial and commercial areas, recreational areas) was multiplied by fifteen in the study area (Figure 1).



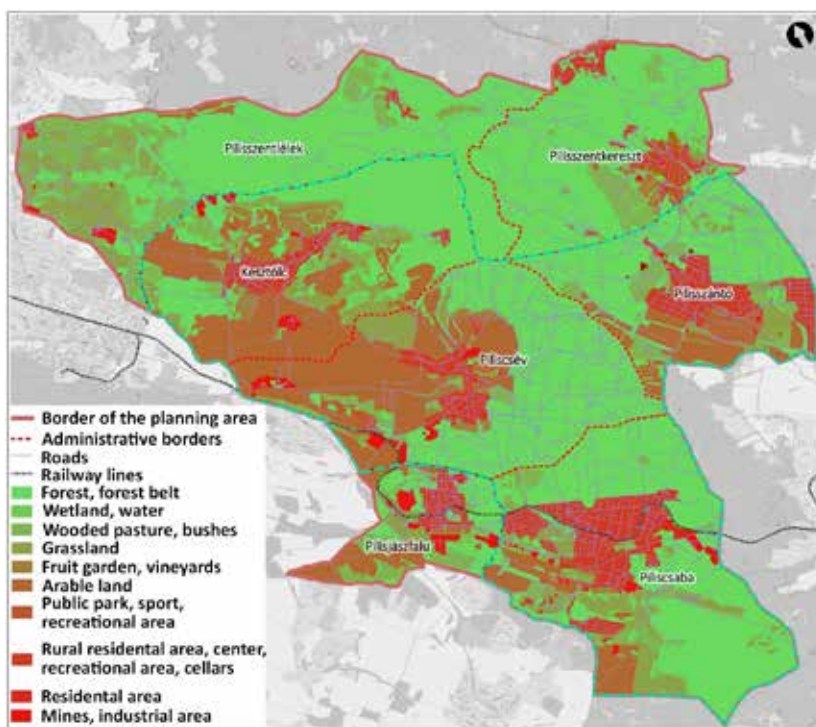


Figure 3. The degree and pattern of human influence (hemeroby) in the study area (map produced during the student workshop)

natural areas, rock formations, springs, and caves. The analysis shows that landscape heritage can be categorised as follows: 20% – natural values; 14% – cultural heritage; 60% – unique landscape values; and 6% – archaeological sites. The proportion of protected areas is extremely high in the case study area, as 89.7% of the total area is under some kind of protection, of which 63% is internationally protected (for example Biosphere Reserve or Natura 2000 area).

Unfortunately, there are a lot of values, elements of cultural and natural heritage, that have been lost during the last decades – such as Roman and medieval roads, lime burning kilns, and water mills.²¹ In addition, the most preserved value of Pilis landscape is its breathtaking scenery. The hemeroby map shows the degree and the pattern of human influence (Figure 3).

²¹ See E. Z. Pető, op. cit.

The dominant new residential and commercial areas bring modern and uniform character to the historical landscape. In spite of the spatial tendencies of the last thirty years, the mountains and forests of Pilis, the preserved historical, cultural, and sacral heritage form a unique landscape character. The area of the formerly dominant vineyards and meadows mostly disappeared or decreased, but the preserved vineyards and remaining cellars are still character forming landscape elements.

Tourism in the Pilisi Sziklák Nature Park

Tourism as the fourth pillar of nature parks is strong in the study area as well. There are many different attractions, and cultural and natural values in the tourism supply of the Pilisi Sziklák Nature Park. In addition to cultural heritage elements, sport and recreational elements are significant. Hiking trails, greenway, thematic roads, and pilgrim routes cross the Pilis Region. The culture of the three ethnic groups of the region (Hungarian majority and Slovakian and ethnic Swabian minorities) are considered as tourist attractions, as well as the events of settlements and various organisations operating in the region (such as religious groups). Special gastronomic traditions and cultural programmes characterise the Nature Park. Based on the types of attractions and accommodations, the conditions are most favourable for cultural and hiking tourism. This is followed by the pilgrimage tourism and then, in a smaller proportion, by education, sports, conference, and health tourism. Visitors to the region are mainly hikers, cyclists, pilgrims, and gastro-tourists.

During pandemic restrictions, the interest in the excursion destinations close to the capital has increased significantly, so some popular hiking trails were overcrowded. We found that tourism infrastructure is mostly obsolete, and the tourism management of the area has not been solved.

Threats: urban sprawl, population growth

The suburbanisation process intensively forms some settlements in the study area. The population of Piliscsaba and Pilisjászfalu has almost doubled since 1990.

Piliscsaba, Pilisjászfalu, Pilisszántó, and Pilisszentkereszt are part of the Budapest Agglomeration Area, just forty kilometres away from the capital, and all of the settlements witness the negative effects of the strong agglomeration tendencies. Large new residential areas and

industrial zones reshape the traditional urban character; furthermore, the commuting traffic causes noise and air pollution, and also traffic jams. With the development of the road and rail networks, the accessibility of the area and the pressure of agglomeration have even increased. The continuous growth of immigration as a result of suburbanisation process can lead to the emergence dormitory settlements destroying the traditional communities. As the number of people moving out of Budapest increases, more and more agricultural land is turned into built-up areas. The traditional rural character is being replaced by suburban character. The traditional farming practices are disappearing, and land ownership in settlements is transferred to landowners living outside of the region. The vineyards marked on 19th-century military maps have mostly disappeared, and the cellars have lost their function. More and more abandoned and unused areas have replaced the former vineyards and gardens. Traditional local communities have been transformed by the growing number of settlers, and links within communities have weakened. New forms of tourism, such as cycling, horse riding, and motorcycling emerged after the “boot tourism” of the 1970s and 1980s.

Conclusion

While the study area is rich in natural and cultural values, it is situated close to the capital and remains under strong suburbanisation pressure. So the region has to maintain a fragile balance between development and protection, giving space for new residential areas, service areas etc. and protecting the old, traditional landscape and settlement character. Stopping new developments is neither possible nor necessary, but it should be kept under strict control, and the cooperation of the communities is vital in order to preserve landscape values.

The Pilisi Sziklák Nature Park looks for and tests regional solutions to global problems based on lessons learned from landscape history and innovative approaches to climate protection, preservation of cultural and biological diversity of agglomeration areas, and new job opportunities that are optimally suited to the conditions in the region.

The COVID-19 crisis again draws attention to the advantages of living in a suburban zone, and there is growing significance of natural areas close to the capital. Furthermore, the quarantine proved the importance of locality, local economy, and the availability of local services.

Nature and heritage protection

Based on our researches, we identified the most important threats and tried to find solutions for reaching a fragile balance between protection and development.

Table 1. The most important threats and possible solutions in the study area

Threats	Solutions
Intense urbanisation process of questionable quality and quantity (development of new residential areas, commercial and industrial areas)	Stricter regulations and restrictions of development; support for “fit into the landscape” constructions with specific recommendations (Urban Design Guidelines for Pilis Landscape)
Loss of traditional settlement character	Preserving the distinctive historical settlement structure, character, and image
Change of the traditional landscape structure and character, and the challenges to reduce and soften urbanisation effects	Elaboration of a regional development plan; finding ways of integrating and mainstreaming heritage protection into the spatial plans; identification of landscape character areas and types and elaboration of management plans
Lack of spatial coordination; ad hoc developments; de-emphasised protection of natural areas and landscape values	Stricter control of spatial development; cooperation between settlements; supporting the balance between protection and development; heritage-led urban development
Possible effects of transportation development, motorway construction	Conscious prevention of cumulative effect
Shrinking of former vineyards (abandonment of gardens, change to recreational areas, urban growth)	Protection and support for the maintenance of valuable vineyards and cellars; organisation of community activities in vineyards
Loss of cultural traditions of minorities and degradation of local communities due to the presence of newcomers	Community development; maintenance of minorities’ traditions (Slovak ball, folk song circles, folk costume, establishment of country houses, ethnic schools); integration of newcomers
Intensive, focused tourist pressure (hiking, cycling, and horse riding)	Spatial distribution of tourist pressure; support of gentle tourism; balanced development of tourism infrastructure and programmes in less known, less visited places; regional management of tourism

One of the main problems of a region in transition is the change of the traditional landscape structure and the challenges to reduce and buffer the urbanisation effects. Nature and heritage protection is in a difficult situation in the region, and although there is a relatively strong legal background for nature protection, there is no development plan with a regional approach focusing on values. The greatest challenge in the region is to find ways of integrating and mainstreaming heritage protection into the various sectoral, regional, and municipal plans and development concepts. In addition to the protection of elements at the site level, territorial protection can provide a solution for the conservation of landscape and regional heritage elements. This type of protection aims at preserving the distinctive, historically evolved settlement structure, the overall appearance of the settlement, its streetscapes, and its relationship with the landscape. Similarly, urban regeneration can only be successful from a heritage conservation point of view if it takes into account landscape as a whole. It is necessary to think and act on a larger scale, not only on individual properties – in other words, it would be important to prioritise the principles of heritage-led urban development, regeneration of historic municipal centres, and rehabilitation of historic landscapes. Another new opportunity is the identification of landscape character areas and types fostered by the European Landscape Convention and elaboration of management plans.

One of the key issues for the conservation of the landscape heritage of the region is the extent to which local stakeholders (municipalities, local businesses, service providers, local residents) are involved in this process. A long-term vision for heritage conservation can only be achieved through a consensus-based development idea that is widely discussed and agreed upon. This development plan can be the nature park landscape management plan with an integrative role between the various spatial actors and stakeholders.

Special role of the Nature Park in the agglomeration

The Nature Park founded in the study area as a bottom-up movement tries to preserve and use the remaining landscape heritage through local community development and active- and eco-tourism programmes for both the locals and the inhabitants of the agglomeration area. The aim of local community development is to create a nature park community with strong landscape identity and local networking. An existing and active nature park community is able to take in and integrate new members

who are moving into the villages of the Nature Park. This community network could serve the capacity building for the future local development and tourism. The nature park community, which integrates the competencies and connections of new members, is able to discover, valorise, and develop landscape heritage during the coordinated land use planning, as well as established short food supply chains and local food systems in the agglomeration. The nature park in the agglomeration could serve as an excellent basis for co-working houses, which might minimise both traffic and travelling time, while also strengthening the local connections and consumption.

A nature park management plan, as an integrated package of protection, restriction, and development measures, can contribute to the protection of the landscape and natural heritage, the development of regulated and controlled tourism, as well as the preservation of traditional land uses and the reduction of urbanisation.

Tourism

The unique character of the *Pilis Region* should be strengthened. Our goal is to implement the tourism developments based on existing conditions, keeping in mind the vulnerability of the area. To expand tourist supply, it is also necessary to develop existing attractions and create new ones, based on the local resources and answering the actual tourism demand.

By designing new thematic tours (e.g. lime burner's tour, postmen's tour), tourists could visit the less known parts of the mountains, thus balancing the pressure on the Nature Park. Slovak and German traditions are also valuable attractions in the area from a gastronomic and cultural point of view. Organisation of festivals and folk dance events can draw the attention of tourists to the living traditions. All year round, Slovak restaurants and inns attract gastronomy tourists.

As a fully new attraction in the tourism supply, a regional greenway was planned, which connects the attractions of the Pilis Mountains along a non-motorised route. New innovative programmes for young people are also necessary in the area, such as graffiti competitions in the abandoned military site, spartan races, geocaching programs, and archery performances and competitions. Wine tours can be established by linking the wineries of the area. An exhibition showcasing the mining traditions and geological values, as well as guided tours in the abandoned mines can draw attention to the region. The tradition of furniture painting in Pilisszántó can be preserved by organising summer furniture painting

camps with a permanent exhibition. The areas where local products are manufactured can also attract visitors (e.g. liqueur, spring, and other local food products).

Linked to the Nature Park, a unified modern image should be developed, which can make the nature park attractive to the potential interests. It would be very important to develop an organisation in the area that would coordinate the tourism management of the whole region. The most important prerequisite of tourism development is to include locals in the decision-making processes and in the regional cooperation, which could be supported by the new Nature Park. The diversity and territorial distribution of cultural and natural attractions allow a higher number of tourists to arrive in the region without congestion, which is also a solution in pandemic periods.

Patterns of Subjugation of Cultural Heritage to Political Strategies Analysed on the Examples of Selected Polish Museums

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Museology in Poland after 1989

1989 was a turning point in the history of Poland, involving mainly the political, but also social, economic, and cultural transformations. The reform of local governments, introduced in 1990, meant a significant revolution with regard to institutions management, providing regions and cities with more political independence, also in terms of money distribution.¹ Many local authorities were motivated to redefine or come up with a new image and vision of the future for their cities.² Robin Ostow justly proves that the end of the Cold War marked an important breakthrough in identity policies all over Europe, giving voice to those who had not been heard before, and for whom very often museums became the agora for practicing civil activism and developing identification processes.³ On the other hand, as some scholars especially inspired by the thought of Michel Foucault rightly observe, culture institutions became convenient tools for practicing soft diplomacy.⁴ This kind of instru-

1 Wanda Szpilewska, "Problemy muzealnictwa w okresie przemian systemowych," [in:] *Muzealnictwo*, vol. 37, Warszawa (1995), p. 5.

2 Marta Karkowska, *Pamięć kulturowa mieszkańców Olsztyna lat 1945–2006 w perspektywie koncepcji Aleidy i Jana Assmannów*, Warszawa 2014, p. 227.

3 Robin Ostow, "Introduction: Museums and National Identities in Europe in the Twenty-First Century," [in:] *Revisualizing National History*, ed. idem, Toronto 2008, pp. 3–4.

4 See Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*, London–New York 1995; Zbyszko Melosik and Tomasz Szkudlarek, *Kultura, tożsamość i edukacja: Migotanie znaczeń*, Kraków 2009; Rhiannon Mason, "Cultural Theory and Museum Studies," [in:] *A Companion to Museum Studies*, ed. Sharon Macdonald, Malden 2006, pp. 23–26; Kylie Message and Andrea Witcomb, "Introduction: Museum Theory. An Expanded

mentalisation, which aims at the implementation of cultural and identity policies through and with the help of public museums and other culture institutions, has been practiced by the policy makers with various levels of intensity. In this way, museums inevitably became an important part of the public debate, as well as the subject of political interest. Such circumstances naturally encouraged museums to rethink their traditional structures, communication channels, and educational activity profiles.

The actual museum boom in Poland is dated between 1995 and 2005.⁵ In this period the major reforms had already been introduced and incorporated; moreover, in 2004 Poland became part of the European Union, which enhanced the international contacts and exchange, as well as extended the scope of financing possibilities.⁶ Museums started to be increasingly active and creative in stimulating the development of culture and societies within their cities and regions, becoming significant agents in the evolution of the heritage industry and politics of heritage.⁷

Selected methods of subjugating cultural heritage to political strategies

Thinking about the examples of methods of subjugating cultural heritage to political strategies, I would like to suggest three fields of operation which are helpful in observing the occurring processes:

1. Architecture and site:
 - a. rebuilding, renovating and adapting historical architecture for museum purposes becomes a way of preserving the continuity of tangible heritage;

Field," [in:] *The International Handbooks of Museum Studies*, vol. 1, eds. Sharon Macdonald and Helen Rees Leahy, West Sussex 2015, pp. xxxvii-xxxviii.

- 5 Paweł Kowal, "Społeczny, cywilizacyjny i polityczny kontekst polskiego boomu muzealnego," [in:] *Muzeum i zmiana: Losy muzeów narracyjnych*, eds. Paweł Kowal and Karolina Wolska-Pabian, Warszawa-Kraków 2019, p. 47.
- 6 Anna Ziębińska-Witek, "Przedmowa," [in:] *Teorie muzeum, Anke te Heesen*, ed. Anna Ziębińska-Witek, trans. Agata Teperek, Warszawa 2016, p. 8.
- 7 Dorota Folga-Januszewska, "Muzea w Polsce 1989-2008," [in:] *Muzealnictwo*, vol. 50 (2009), p. 29 (18-46); Arjun Appadurai and Carol A. Breckenridge, "Museums Are Good to Think: Heritage in View in India," [in:] *Grasping the World: The Idea of the Museum*, eds. Donald Preziosi and Claire Farago, London-New York 2016, p. 696.

- b. erecting new buildings that serve the functions of monuments or sites of memory not only legitimises selected narrations, events, or people, but also might imply close relations with the founding authorities, resulting in the lack of political neutrality, as well as the implementation of particular visions of memory.⁸
- 2. Establishing canons:
 - a. promoting selected esthetical conventions and forms of narrations, creating new heroes, reconstructing history, and fixing the past in line with particular politics of history and heritage.
- 3. Communication strategies:
 - a. introducing modern ways of communication adjusted to the needs and demands of contemporary audiences (including the attractive and creative use of new, often spectacular technologies) as a way of establishing the bond with the visitors, building loyalty circles enhancing the emotional relations with the institution, as well as fulfilling the civilisational needs of the modern audience;⁹
 - b. introducing fashionable and innovative offerings, like VR zones, impressive multimedia happenings, or attractive contemporary promotional gadgets as a way to reduce the distance between the institution and its audience, allowing the public to participate in a programme that is less hermetic and more closely related to popular entertainment, but also often tailored to fit the strategical needs of the cultural policies observed by particular museums.

The following analysis of selected Polish culture institutions will rely on the three areas of operation highlighted above. It will be based on the field studies carried out on site in the institutions, including the analysis of their permanent exhibitions. On the other hand, it will take into consideration the priorities highlighted in various cultural policies introduced by selected Polish cities renowned for their key role on the Polish cultural, historical, and political scene: Warsaw, Krakow, and Gdańsk.

8 "Pomnik," [in:] *Modi memorandi: leksykon kultury pamięci*, eds. Magdalena Saryusz-Wolska and Robert Traba, Warszawa 2014, p. 630.

9 Jan Ołdakowski, "Dlaczego powstają muzea historyczne narracyjne?," [in:] *Muzeum i zmiana...*, op. cit., pp. 73–77.

Museums as fields for the implementation of political strategies: selected examples from Poland

Warsaw

The Warsaw Rising Museum was opened in 2004 as a municipal institution. It was the first narrative museum in Poland planned and organised with a full awareness of postulates formulated by new museology.¹⁰ Its establishment dates back to the decision taken in 2002 by the then Mayor of Warsaw, the late Lech Kaczyński. The rationale behind the concept of the museum anticipated the upcoming city development strategy introduced in 2005.¹¹ Among its priorities, the revitalisation of historical heritage was included – in the case of the Warsaw Rising Museum an electric plant built in the early 20th century was adapted for the museum's purposes. It was a marked and attractive addition to the city's cultural offer, becoming Warsaw's new cultural trademark. It introduced a new vision of patriotic education based on active, hands-on audience experience. The implemented practices and solutions strongly relying on the use of new technologies that shaped new communication methods became the model to be followed by numerous institutions established in Poland in the following years.

The abovementioned development strategy of Warsaw also strongly emphasised the need to strengthen the local traditions based on cultural heritage.¹² Its updated version from 2018 additionally underlined the role of the inhabitants in the active co-creating of the local cultural identity.¹³ This local approach is strongly represented by the Museum of Warsaw established already in 1936 and currently composed of nine different branches.¹⁴ The exhibition in its main seat, located in one of the histori-

10 Dorota Folga-Januszewska and Paweł Kowal, "Definicja muzeum narracyjnego," [in:] *Muzeum i zmiana...*, op. cit., p. 49.

11 Urząd Miasta Stołecznego Warszawy, *Strategia Rozwoju Miasta Stołecznego Warszawy do 2020 roku*, 2020, https://www.um.warszawa.pl/sites/default/files/Strategia_Rozwoju_m.st._Warszawy_do_2020_r.pdf, p. 34 [access: 11 June 2021].

12 Urząd Miasta Stołecznego Warszawy, *Strategia Rozwoju...*, op. cit., p. 34.

13 Urząd Miasta Stołecznego Warszawy, *Strategia #Warszawa2030*, <http://2030.um.warszawa.pl/strategia-warszawa2030/>, pp. 8–9 [access: 26 February 2021].

14 Muzeum Warszawskiej Pragi, Muzeum Woli, Centrum Interpretacji Zabytku, Muzeum Farmacji, Muzeum Drukarstwa, Korczakianum, Barbakan, Muzeum – Miejsce Pamięci Palmiry, and Muzeum Ordynariatu Polowego. See *Muzeum Warszawy*, <https://muzeumwarszawy.pl/> [access: 22 February 2021].



Figure 1. Warsaw Rising Museum.
Photo: Marta Wróblewska

cal houses by the Old Town Market, was rearranged in 2017. The current permanent display titled *The Things of Warsaw* is composed of 7000 objects arranged by theme and genre in twenty-one cabinets. The tangible objects, representing all kinds of areas of life in Warsaw, are the starting point for telling numerous micro-histories concerning people, events, and processes which shaped the contemporary image of Warsaw.¹⁵ These often banal everyday objects, such as tourist souvenirs, postcards, pieces of clothing, wrappings of goods produced in Warsaw, and old city maps, function as traces of memory, taking the viewer on a time travel into the past, but also bringing them closer to the real, everyday city and its inhabitants.

The Praga Museum of Warsaw [Praga being one of the city's administrative districts] goes even further. Referring to a particular district and its inhabitants, it naturally narrows down its area of interest and activities to that particular territory with its unique local identity. Delivering a comprehensive image of Praga district within its permanent exhibition titled *Praga Histories*, the museum concentrates on selected historical

¹⁵ See Muzeum Warszawy, <https://muzeumwarszawy.pl/wystawa-glowna-rzeczy-warszawskie/> [access: 22 February 2021].

facts, meaningful places, and most of all the inhabitants. The presence of the latter is especially strong within the archive of oral history established by the museum, including the statements of many generations representing various social statuses, jobs, points of view, experiences, and memories. Another project presented in this space, titled *Praga Interpretations*, consists of contemporary artistic productions especially commissioned by the museum. They address a vast array of local issues, thus bringing the museum narration up to date and closer to the local community which inspired it. This project also constitutes a fine example of self-referential activities undertaken by an institution conscious of its immediate beneficiaries as well as the surroundings in which it exists and functions. In this way the museum not only musealises the local history, but also creates and negotiates it on a current basis.

Krakow

The current development strategy for the city of Krakow introduced in 2018 defines the local culture as the material and spiritual repository accumulated over many centuries, closely based on the ideals of national identity and tradition.¹⁶ The local cultural attractions are conditioned by the unique *genius loci* – the unique and impossible to define spirit of the city – as well as its aspirations to hold the position of the symbolic deposit of Polish national heritage recognised worldwide.¹⁷

The Museum of Krakow, composed of nineteen branches listed on the institution's website, explores numerous possibilities to implement various directives defined in the city development strategy. One of its most prominent characteristics is the utilisation and revitalisation of historically relevant venues for the purposes of its permanent exhibitions.¹⁸ This is the case of smaller branches constricted to one specific subject or person, like the Eagle Pharmacy or Pomorska Street, but also the flagship venues presenting comprehensive narratives concerning selected periods of political and social history strongly connected with

16 Rada Miasta Krakowa, Strategia rozwoju Krakowa: Tu chcę żyć. Kraków 2030, Kraków 2017, p. 6, https://www.bip.krakow.pl/?dok_id=167&sub_dok_id=167&sub=uchwala&query=id%3D23155%26typ%3Du [access: 26 February 2021].

17 Rada Miasta Krakowa, Strategia rozwoju Krakowa..., op. cit., p. 11.

18 Cf. Zofia Gołubiew, "‘Nowe Sukiennice’ i inne projekty Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie," [in:] *Muzealnictwo*, vol. 47 (2006), pp. 103–104.



Figure 2. Oskar Schindler's Enamel Factory.
Photo: Marta Wróblewska

the city, like Oskar Schindler's Enamel Factory or Nowa Huta Museum. An interesting line of narration developed by the Museum of Krakow is devoted to commemorating the 20th-century Polish history and martyrdom. Three of its branches: Pomorska Street (former Gestapo prison), Eagle Pharmacy (a place of rescue of the Jews from the Krakow's ghetto), and Oskar Schindler's Enamel Factory (presenting Krakow under Nazi occupation, accompanied by the story of the rescue of the Jews working for Schindler), together with the former concentration camp – the memory site KL Plaszow – form a Memory Trail, commemorating the history of Krakow that developed within the period of 1939–1945–1956, presented in a wider national and international context. One might observe in the case of the abovementioned museums a peculiar emotional approach to the presented historic content, which supports and encourages subjective interpretations.

The counterbalance for the martyrdom narration is offered by the Home Army Museum opened in Krakow in 2012 in an impressively restored historical fortress. The revalorisation and restoration of this historic building complex itself was part of the then binding development

strategy for Krakow introduced in 2005.¹⁹ The museum presents comprehensively a wide range of subjects connected with the Polish underground military forces active during World War II.²⁰ However, it does not primarily concentrate on individual heroes (with a few exceptions concerning high-ranking officers or prominent partisans), focusing rather on the political and military history illustrated with combat strategies, war activities, and enumeration of forces and names, supported by countless archive materials and military exhibits. It represents the new approach to patriotic education, emphasising heroism and encouraging the feeling of national pride.

Gdańsk

Gdańsk's memory is shaped by two major themes: the material losses due to World War II followed by the reconstruction and preservation of local historical heritage, and the postwar exchange of inhabitants. The latter was the reason for the discontinuity of the local memory and identity. It also inspired the invention of new local myths and traditions, especially strong after 1989.²¹ One of them is Gdańsk's multicultural past, which as some researchers point out is a way to come to terms with its German history.²² Another myth is connected with cultivating the memory of Gdańsk's golden age going back to the times of the medieval Hanseatic League. One of the symbols of the city's historic affluence and international importance is amber. Thanks to the programme "Gdańsk: the World Capital of Amber" launched by the local authorities in 2006, the Museum of Amber was opened in the same year in the Prison Tower, which is a part of the city's medieval fortifications.²³ The ambitions to

19 Rada Miasta Krakowa, *Strategia rozwoju Krakowa*, Kraków 2005, p. 37, https://www.bip.krakow.pl/?dok_id=2040&lid=70202937&vReg=2&metka=1 [access: 28 February 2021].

20 Muzeum Armii Krajowej, <https://muzeum-ak.pl/wystawy-i-zbiory/ekspozycja-stala/> [access: 28 February 2021].

21 More on the phenomenon of inventing traditions: Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds.), *Wprowadzenie: Tradycja wynaleziona*, trans. Mieczysław Godyń and Filip Godyń, Kraków 2008, p. 10.

22 Jarosław Załęcki, *Kontakt międzykulturowy a obraz Niemca w świadomości gdańszczan*, Gdańsk 2008, p. 10.

23 "Światowa Stolica Bursztynu," *Gedanopedia*, https://www.gedanopedia.pl/gdansk/?title=GDA%C5%83SK_%E2%80%93_%C5%9AWIATOWA_STOLICA_BURSZTYNU [access: 28 December 2019].



Figure 3. European Solidarity Centre.
Photo: Marta Wróblewska

cultivate this symbol of the city are growing – their best evidence being the museum’s new seat opened in July 2021 in the freshly restored medieval Great Mill.

In the 2000s Gdańsk started to be referred to in the local promotional materials as “The City of Freedom.” The development strategy for the period 2004–2015 emphasised the traditions of freedom and openness as major qualities defining the city.²⁴ This intangible heritage is in Gdańsk quite site-specific, as it is represented by the history connected with the local shipyard where communism was overthrown in 1989. At the shipyard’s edge the European Solidarity Centre was erected and opened to the public in 2014. Its modern architecture was inspired by rusty ships, which are still being repaired just around the corner. The institution itself is often referred to as a living monument to the victory brought by the peaceful revolution of the Solidarity movement, composed mainly of the shipyard workers led by Lech Wałęsa, which marked the beginning

²⁴ Urząd Miejski w Gdańsku, *Strategia rozwoju Gdańska do roku 2015*, <https://www.gdansk.pl/strategia/strategia-rozwoju-gdanska-do-roku-2015,a,27981> [access: 9 December 2021].

of the times of freedom and democracy in Poland.²⁵ In accordance with its name and mission statement, the institution represents this history in a large European context.

As the site of the outbreak of World War II, Gdańsk would not be complete without a proper museum dedicated to this event. Initiated in 2007 by the then Prime Minister Donald Tusk, the museum was built in Gdańsk's Old Town and not – as might be expected – on Westerplatte peninsula, where the first shots on 1 September 1939 were actually fired. The “pyramidal” architecture of the museum, however, quickly became a new symbol of the city. The main exhibition space was placed a few levels underground so as “to hide the entire evil there.”²⁶ The war was pictured as frightful terror and suffering happening on all fronts, the main intention being to present “the human dimension”²⁷ of this military conflict.

The institution's opening to the public in 2017 was accompanied by a serious political conflict.²⁸ The right-wing successors of Tusk and his political party had a different vision of the museum's narration. According to the central authorities in power (Law and Justice Party), the globally presented history of the war was allegedly in conflict with the presentation of the Polish perspective, while excessive emphasis of the suffering of civilians and soldiers took place at the cost of manifesting their heroism.²⁹ In consequence, two weeks after the museum opening the Ministry of Culture announced the merger of the Museum of the Second World War with the Museum of Westerplatte and 1939 War. This allowed for personal changes, and thus the first museum's director and the co-author of its permanent exhibition Paweł Machcewicz, initially nominated by Tusk, lost his position. Some changes to the permanent exhibition

25 Katarzyna Żelazek (ed.), *ECS, Europejskie Centrum Solidarności 2007–2011: Portret*, Gdańsk 2011, p. 9.

26 Marcin Szumny, “7 rzeczy, które musicie wiedzieć o Muzeum II Wojny Światowej: ‘Całe zło ukryte jest pod Ziemią,’” <https://pomorskie.eu/7-rzeczy-ktore-musicie-wiedziec-o-muzeum-ii-wojny-swiatowej-cale-zlo-ukryte-jest-pod-ziemia/> [access: 16 November 2018].

27 Paweł Machcewicz, “Po co nam Muzeum II Wojny Światowej,” [in:] *Muzeum II Wojny Światowej: katalog wystawy głównej*, Gdańsk 2016, p. 7.

28 See idem, *Muzeum*, Kraków 2017; also Paweł Adamowicz, *Gdańsk jako wspólnota*, Gdańsk 2018, pp. 252–253.

29 Jacek Lepiarz, “Eskalacja sporu o Muzeum II Wojny Światowej w Gdańsku,” *dw*, <https://www.dw.com/pl/faz-eskalacja-sporu-o-muzeum-ii-wojny-%C5%9Bwiatowej-w-gda%C5%84sku/a-45823653> [access: 4 November 2019].

followed, in order to “correct” the identified mistakes. An additional set of war heroes (including Polish partisans) was introduced, the terror and genocide of the totalitarian regimes were emphasised, the part concerning Poles rescuing Jews from the Holocaust was expanded, names of German soldiers were removed from the list of World War II victims, and the traumatising effects of the war were stressed.³⁰ The film concluding the exhibition presenting Poland and the world after 1945 was replaced by a new animated movie called *The Invincible*, made in the convention of a major film production with superheroes. All this resulted in a lawsuit for copyright violation filed by the authors of the original exhibition script – Paweł Machcewicz and Janusz Marszałec.

Westerplatte itself until 2017 was under the jurisdiction of the city of Gdańsk and functioned as a former battlefield with just the Monument to the Defenders of the Coast erected in 1966 and a few ruined original buildings and bunkers spread around the area. After its takeover by the ministry-run Museum of the Second World War new development plans for the area were proposed. They include, among others, controversial reconstructions of selected historical buildings which were destroyed during or after the war. The modern infrastructure and adaptations of the area on Westerplatte are aimed at satisfying the needs of contemporary visitors and “introducing a new spirit into the historical space.”³¹ Such practice, however, is not entirely in accordance with the international laws concerning restoration (cf. The Venice Charter from 1964),³² which stress the value and respect for original material and authentic documents concerning the reconstructed monuments.

Gdańsk development strategy also strongly emphasises local intangible heritage through establishing a pantheon of praiseworthy members of the local community, who contributed to the development of

30 See Muzeum II Wojny Światowej, Raport z działalności MIIWŚ za rok 2018, p. 79, <https://muzeum1939.pl/sites/default/files/pdf/44aeff3a28of173eed07cbf94b360af412687.pdf> [access: 9 December 2021]; also Muzeum II Wojny Światowej, Raport z działalności MIIWŚ za rok 2017, p. 46, <https://muzeum1939.pl/sites/default/files/pdf/5a2e7a46fe341fb0812be527c8719deb8485.pdf> [access: 9 December 2021].

31 Muzeum II Wojny Światowej, “Westerplatte Historia i Pamięć,” <https://muzeum1939.pl/westerplatte-historia-i-pamiec/film/1460.html> [access: 14 May 2021].

32 ICOMOS, International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (The Venice Charter), 1964, https://www.icomos.org/charters/venice_e.pdf [access: 13 June 2021].

the cultural, scientific, or political image of the city. Their meritorious attitudes serve as paragons of virtue to be followed by contemporary members of the local community. The strategy published in 2004 listed some of the following names of persons whose legacy shaped the local spiritual heritage: Johannes Hevelius, Daniel Fahrenheit, Arthur Schopenhauer, Lech Wałęsa, Daniel Chodowiecki, and Günter Grass.³³ The latter two became patrons of an institution known as the Daniel Chodowiecki and Günter Grass House, established in 2018 as the fourth branch of the Gdańsk City Gallery in a 17th-century Charity House and Orphanage.³⁴ The abovementioned strategy emphasises the fact that Grass inscribed Gdańsk into the international literary heritage thanks to his Nobel Prize winning novels. Through his narration he mediated between the German past and the Polish present of the city, as well as revived and drew attention to its multicultural legacy, which is simultaneously in line with the local history policy.³⁵ On the other hand, Chodowiecki, with his German, Polish, French, and Huguenot background, seems to perfectly illustrate the cultural and ethnic past of the city, which is currently subject to revival in order to broaden and diversify a fairly homogenous local community.³⁶ Thus, the figure of the 18th-century printmaker and draughtsman became the epitome of the multicultural image to which the city is aspiring. Chodowiecki as an epitome of a European is associated with the enlightenment features, such as tolerance, creativity, reason, ambition, hard work, love for art, and respect for money, which seem to

33 Urząd Miejski w Gdańsku, *Strategia rozwoju Gdańska...*, op. cit., p. 10; also Program operacyjny do Strategii rozwoju Gdańska do 2015 r.: Gdańsk – Kultura. Wolność kultury. Kultura wolności. 2012–2015, pp. 9–10, <https://www.gdansk.pl/strategia/kultura-i-czas-wolny,a,2012> [access: 9 December 2021]; Program operacyjny Kultura i czas wolny 2023 do Strategii rozwoju miasta Gdańsk Plus 2030, p. 127, <https://download.cloudgdansk.pl/gdansk-pl/d/20160471492/program-operacyjny-kultura-i-czas-wolny.pdf> [access: 9 December 2021].

34 See Urząd Miejski w Gdańsku, Act No. 57/1705/18: Statutes of Gdańsk City Gallery, https://baw.bip.gdansk.pl/UrzedMiejskiwGdansk/document/537772/Uchwa%C5%82a-LVI_1705_18 [access: 28 November 2021]; also https://www.ggm.gda.pl/pl,174,178,0,Historia_obiektu,0,0,index.php [access: 12 January 2021].

35 Jarosław Załęcki, “Tożsamość Gdańska oraz postawy obywatelskie jego mieszkańców w perspektywie zmiany społecznej,” [in:] *Rządzący i rządzeni*, eds. Sylwia Bykowska, Edmund Kizik, and Piotr Paluchowski, Gdańsk 2015, pp. 238–239.

36 Ireneusz Krzemiński, “Polska tożsamość niemieckiego Gdańska,” [in:] *Tożsamość miejsca i ludzi: Gdańszczanie i ich miasto w perspektywie historyczno-socjologicznej*, eds. Małgorzata Dymnicka and Zbigniew Opacki, Gdańsk 2003, p. 176.

reverberate in the current city development strategy listing the desired features of the contemporary representatives of the local community.³⁷ It also brings the synthetic understanding of the local cultural identity closer to the heterogeneous specificity of the European identity.³⁸ After the tragic death of Mayor Paweł Adamowicz, the idea for this particular institution further evolved. In 2022, in accordance with the intention of the new Mayor, Aleksandra Dulkiewicz, the Daniel Chodowiecki and Günter Grass House was transformed into the Literature House, with the main motto: "Free word: Authors against autocracy," thus obtaining a more universalised vision and spectrum of goals.³⁹

Conclusion

Considering the undeniable worldwide museum boom over the last two decades,⁴⁰ it seems quite obvious that the drive to musealise has become a common sign of our epoch.⁴¹ It is closely related to the growing intensity of the development of the heritage industry and politics of heritage.⁴² It results from changes in societies, which are increasingly headed towards oblivion or cultural amnesia.⁴³ These generate the need

37 Maria Bogucka, "Gdańskie korzenie Daniela Chodowieckiego," [in:] *Gdańsk – Polska – Europa: praca zbiorowa ofiarowana profesorowi doktorowi habilitowanemu Władysławowi Zajewskiemu w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, vol. 2, ed. Zdzisław Kropidłowski, Gdańsk 2001, p. 47; also Kalina Zabuska, *Daniela Chodowieckiego przypadki: Rzecz o artyście spełnionym z Gdańskiem i Berlinem w tle*, Gdańsk 2018, pp. 279–280; *Strategia rozwoju miasta Gdańsk Plus 2030...*, op. cit., pp. 42–43.

38 Cf. Marian Dobrosielski, "Tożsamość narodowa a świadomość europejska," [in:] *Rozmyślenia gdańskie: Materiały z sesji "Miejsce Gdańska w procesie powstawania narodowego państwa polskiego"*, eds. Renata Korewo and Małgorzata Makowska, Gdańsk 1998, p. 23.

39 "W Gdańsku w miejscu Domu Rosyjskiego ma działać czasowo Dom Literatury," <https://booklips.pl/newsy/w-gdansk-w-miejsku-domu-rosyjskiego-dzialac-ma-czasowo-dom-literatury/> [access: 23 May 2022].

40 Cf. Michaela Giebelhausen, "Museum Architecture: A Brief History," [in:] *A Companion to Museum Studies...*, op. cit, p. 223; Rosmarie Beier-de Haan, "Re-staging Histories and Identities," [in:] *A Companion to Museum Studies...*, op. cit., p. 186; also Andrzej Rotterdam, "Muzea – perspektywy," [in:] *Muzealnictwo*, vol. 56 (2015), p. 8.

41 P. Kowal, "Społeczny, cywilizacyjny i polityczny kontekst...", op. cit., p. 47.

42 A. Appadurai and C. A. Breckenridge, *Museums Are Good...*, op. cit., p. 696.

43 Benedict Anderson, *Wspólnoty wyobrażeniowe*, trans. Stefan Amsterdamski, Kraków 1997, p. 197; Sharon Macdonald, *Memorylands: Heritage and Identity in Europe Today*, London–New York 2013, p. 1.

for a narration which would embody continuity and stability.⁴⁴ This task is very often taken up by museums, which bear social responsibility for disseminating knowledge and culture.⁴⁵ At the same time, their objectives remain based on notions such as longevity, tradition, heritage, and memory, which are crucial fundamentals of the mechanisms underlying cultural identity formation processes.⁴⁶ This is why it is justifiable to refer to museums as “sites of memory,” understood by Jan Assmann as active agents shaping collective identity.⁴⁷ Perceived in this way, they function as deposits for local and national memory, implementing commemorating practices which lie at the core of heritage preservation.⁴⁸ This understanding of museums goes along with the definition of *lieux de mémoire* coined by Pierre Nora.⁴⁹ The role played within society by these sites of memory is at the same time material, symbolic, and functional.⁵⁰ It seems particularly applicable in Poland, where after 1989 the growing amnesia with respect to the traumatic past has gone along with the drive to invent a better future also by reinventing memory.

Museums and political authorities are institutions which construct and shape cultural identities and heritage policies.⁵¹ According to Michel Foucault, they are closely related to the distribution of power, as they not only produce knowledge, but also plan, select, and emphasise particular

44 B. Anderson, *Wspólnoty...*, op. cit., pp. 197–198.

45 Tadeusz Alek-Kowalski, “Wyzwania cywilizacyjne a tożsamość świata wartości poznawczych,” [in:] *Kultura wobec kręgów tożsamości: Materiały konferencji przedkongresowej*, Poznań 19–21 października 2000, eds. Teresa Kostyrko and Tadeusz Zgółka, Poznań–Wrocław 2000, p. 233.

46 Tomasz F. de Rosset, Ewelina Bednarz Doiczmanowa, and Aldona Tołysz (eds.), *Muzeum a pamięć: forma, produkcja, miejsce*, Warszawa 2018, p. 9.

47 Robert Traba, *Wstęp do wydania polskiego. Pamięć kulturowa – pamięć komunikatywna: Teoria i praktyka badacza Jana Assmanna* [in:] *Pamięć kulturowa: Pismo, zapamiętywanie i polityczna tożsamość w cywilizacjach starożytnych*, Jan Assmann, trans. Anna Kryczyńska-Pham, edit. Robert Traba, Warszawa 2016, p. 18.

48 Cezary Obracht-Prondzyński, “Muzea w lokalnych społecznościach: Doświadczenia pomorskie,” [in:] *IX Konferencja Muzealnictwa Morskiego i Rzecznego, Gdańsk – Tczew – Gdynia 2008*, ed. Jerzy Litwin, Gdańsk 2010, pp. 52–53; Andrzej Szapociński, “Tożsamość narodowa w perspektywie kulturalistycznej,” [in:] *Kultura wobec kręgów tożsamości...*, op. cit., p. 10.

49 Pierre Nora, “Entre Mémoire et Histoire: La problématique des lieux,” [in:] *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, vol. 1: *La République*, ed. idem, Paris 1984, p. xxxvii.

50 Ibidem, p. xxxiv.

51 Z. Melosik and T. Szkudlarek, *Kultura, tożsamość i edukacja...*, op. cit., p. 30.

elements of reality. Some researchers, especially Tony Bennett, go as far as perceiving museums as tools for implementing the ambitions to control the society by controlling the meanings and important sites.⁵² The examples analysed above clearly show that there neither is, nor can ever be, any independence between public institutions and their organisers, being the source of budgeting and administrative support. The question is to what extent the institutional freedom to implement their own programmes and visions is respected.

⁵² Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*, London–New York 1995, p. 6; also Z. Melosik and T. Szkudlarek, *Kultura, tożsamość i edukacja...*, op. cit., p. 27.

Part 3

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Building Peace through Heritage: Appeal 2019 Launched by the Life Beyond Tourism® Movement of the Fondazione Romualdo Del Bianco.® The Conclusion of a Project Originally Presented at the ICC in Krakow on 26 May 2006

Paolo Del Bianco

President of the Fondazione Romualdo Del Bianco – Life Beyond Tourism (Italy)

Premise: a practice developed by the Compagnia Alberghiera Italiana COMI SpA in Florence

More than fifteen years ago, on 26 May 2006, I delivered a presentation in the International Cultural Centre in Krakow at the invitation of Professor Andrzej Tomaszewski, President of the ICOMOS International Scientific Committee on the Theory and Philosophy of Conservation and Restoration. As the President and Managing Director of an Italian hotel company with five hotels located in the World Heritage Site that is Florence, and an expert in the field of hospitality, I spoke about the practices of our Italian Hotel Company within the fields of welcome and hospitality. The title of my presentation was “Recovery and Restoration of the Values of Socialisation,” and it was delivered at the conference on Cultural Heritage in the 21st Century: Opportunities and Challenges.

Fifteen years later, in the same prestigious venue, at the 6th Heritage Forum of Central Europe, I shared the product of our efforts: a project that we had christened Life Beyond Tourism: Travel to Dialogue. My presentation was a summary of our publications,¹ all stemming from the awareness that as a company we owe our existence to Florence as a World Heritage Site and embracing the noble duty of “welcome” and “hospitality.” My hope is that our project and the initiative to which it gave

¹ For the list of our publications see <https://www.lifebeyondtourism.org/resources-2/>.

rise will further develop with the assistance of the International Cultural Centre, in particular in connection with two themes:

- the five-year programme of the photographic exhibition entitled *Florence in the World – the World in Florence*, which is an exercise in the interpretation and communication of one's territory. The project has already enjoyed a positive reception also in Poland;²
- the DTC – LBT 2018 Certification for intercultural dialogue and its development in 2021.³

It is important to point out that the Florence Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Crafts (CCIA) has recently embraced our position, recognising our activity as: “the exercise of hotel and restaurant business [...], with the enhancement of the area's welcome and hospitality with its culture and its produce.” This is obviously a cultural and social transition of exceptional importance – the shifting of perspective from “I” to “we” – because it explicitly acknowledges the extent to which services rendered by individuals impact a territory's overall enhancement; the upshot being that the service industries in the tourism chain are openly raised to the noble rank of purveyors of “welcome” and “hospitality,” and thus are no longer regarded merely as accommodation, board and lodging, travel organisation, and booking services. The basic principle of this business is elevated to the rank of “enhancement of the area's welcome and hospitality,” with “its landscape, its culture, its traditions and its produce.” It is a decision that will influence territorial development policy.

The meaning of “welcome” and “hospitality” in the “tourism” years has been diluted in the galaxy of consumer-driven services; nevertheless, these terms are strategic in relation to the appreciation of values of a particular destination, whose heritage is open to masses of travellers, stimulated to learn and appreciate an increasing number of new realities over time. Thus a territory that stakes its candidature to hosting them

2 See, for example, the cultural storytelling produced by the Academy of Fine Arts of Lodz: *Life Beyond Tourism*, “Festival FWWF II DAY Cultural expressions from Lodz Academy of Fine Arts of Lodz Poland,” https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aob_Ka8GB_8 [access: 23 January 2023].

3 Corinna Del Bianco, Aurora Savelli, and Simone Giometti (eds.), *La Certificazione per il Dialogo tra Culture – Life Beyond Tourism® nei siti patrimonio mondiale: Workbook*, Firenze 2020; Fondazione Romualdo Del Bianco® – Istituto Internazionale Life Beyond Tourism by COMI spa, *The Certification for Dialogue among Cultures: Life Beyond Tourism® DTC-LBT: 2018*, Firenze 2018.

will become all the more attractive for the traveller, the more structured and transparent its programme of presentation and involvement for understanding the nature of the place, its environment, its history, its skills and traditions are, thus determining its personality well beyond the offer of consumer-driven services; welcome and hospitality will impact this cultural contribution.

The hotel company, with its Fondazione Romualdo Del Bianco, had promoted a model of the “welcome” and “hospitality” initiatives in its hotels in Florence, a World Heritage Site. On 26 May 2006, I illustrated the model that we had created shortly after the fall of the Wall, at the time of the Gulf Crisis of 1991 and the SARS-1 crisis of 1992, with our hotel rooms empty due to the collapse of tourist demand.

At first, our project of free and organised hospitality was approached with caution by the guests, who had to come strictly from the countries of the former Soviet Union and Soviet Bloc, but it blossomed in the academic year 1996–1997. The hotel company thus endeavoured to contribute not only to engineering a rapprochement between young people from different countries, but also to engineering a rapprochement between their countries and Europe.

With a properly defined programme, we hosted university students from three to five countries on a weekly basis, with approximately fifty people each week; these people were offered both a welcome and hospitality, with a study programme planned in cooperation with their teachers. The programme included visits to museums, thanks to the admirable cooperation of the Soprintendenza; in addition, participants pursued research under the supervision of their teachers, but always in international working groups. Each week ended with an exhibition of the work they produced and a convivial farewell ceremony was organised at the end.

The letters received from participants and, in particular, those received from Soprintendente Antonio Paolucci, subsequently Italy’s Minister for Cultural Affairs, marked for us the achievement of an outstanding goal and they provided us with fresh stimuli for pursuing our project with the same, if not greater, degree of enthusiasm.

These young people, accustomed to being united by a political force, found themselves united in Florence by the harmony of Heritage. The constituent elements of our programme were: young people, cultural heritage, international working groups, harmony, a project for each group, and prizes awarded at the end of the week, yet without any trace

of inter-country competition, precisely because each group was international in its makeup.

The conclusion was generally extremely satisfying for the participants, a satisfaction frequently displayed in the form of tears of emotion for the intercultural dialogue they had experienced in the course of the week. In fact, one of the young participants from Slovakia is the designer of the Fondazione's logo, which skilfully illustrates our approach.



The young people who enjoyed their Florentine experience with their teachers fully grasped both the concepts of “welcome” and “hospitality,” and also the fact that when it comes to heritage, “use” and “enjoyment” are equally important factors as “protection” and “enhancement.” They vastly contribute to the civic purpose of creating opportunities for interpersonal acquaintance and appreciating cultural diversity; not only do they encourage respect for these values, but also for the exercise of dialogue and the achievement of harmony among various cultures. All of the above may help to overcome the huge challenges our world is now facing – one has but to think of safeguarding the biosphere of our planet Earth, the one and only home that we all share.⁴

In other words, we might say that in Florence, a whs, during the week with students from different countries, heritage provided opportunities for encounter, communication, and knowledge centred around the themes such as conservation and the economy of the site – the terms we chose to name the five petals of our flower, whose fruit is the product of “the opportunities waiting to be seized beyond tourism,” in fact,

4 Paolo Del Bianco, “Heritage for Planet Earth® 2017 Smart Travel, Smart Architecture, Heritage and its Enjoyment for Intercultural Dialogue,” [in:] *HERITAGE for PLANET EARTH® 2017 Smart Travel, Smart Architecture, Heritage and its Enjoyment for Dialogue: Workbook Abstracts Book*, ed. Corinna Del Bianco, Firenze 2017, pp. 13–19.

“the enormous opportunities lying well beyond tourism based on consumer-driven services,”⁵ “Life Beyond Tourism” in our world, which may well be globalised at the economic level, but which is still inadequately prepared for knowledge and respect for cultural diversity. We should also remember that we are heading towards a global population of ten billion people, so equal and yet so different, who need to get to know one another in order to be able to respect one another and to build their children’s future.

We consider that the encounters organised by the hotel company and its Fondazione successfully promoted exercises for interpersonal knowledge and respect for diversity, in heritage, with heritage, and for heritage. These exercises shone a spotlight on “us,” allowing the participants to forget the invasive “I” for a week. In that exercise one could clearly perceive that our culture needed to transition from “I-Phone” and “I-Pad” to “We-Phone” and “We-Pad”!

whs take responsibility for “Awareness Centres” to disseminate a new sensitivity and consequently a new cultural and commercial offer with a different ethic

Sites must manage the richness represented by the number of cultures simultaneously present in them, with the same aptitude for listening and paying attention, thus promoting dialogue among peoples. It is worthwhile recalling that before the pandemic, in Florence’s Piazza Duomo alone we had a huge number of visitors every single day; we may estimate that at least fifty to a hundred different nationalities were present there at the same moment, with the same aptitude for listening and paying attention, but as far as we are aware, no one has ever tried to take advantage of that opportunity, nor did visitors feel the need to trade contact information.

This enormous wealth (1.4 billion travellers a year according to UNWTO 2019, i.e. before the pandemic, most of whom were on vacation in whs and cultural venues) must be directed with purpose-designed programmes towards the growth of a sustainable international community in the context of peaceful coexistence. The achievement of such a goal

5 Paolo Del Bianco, “Cultural Heritage for Intercultural Dialogue with Life Beyond Tourism,” [in:] *The Image of Heritage, Changing Perception, Permanent Responsibilities: Proceedings of the International Conference of the ICOMOS International Scientific Committee for the Theory and the Philosophy of Conservation and Restoration*, eds. Andrzej Tomaszewski and Simone Giometti, Firenze 2011, pp. 37–48.

will enhance the international community's capacity for dialogue and peace, which in turn will guarantee the safety of heritage itself (since it is usually endangered in the times of conflict).

These are the enormous opportunities lying "well beyond a tourism based on consumer-driven services: *'Life Beyond Tourism,'*" which has the ring of an immense hope.

We have no choice but to conclude that for WHS hosting multicultural-ity this commitment is "an act of duty" for the conservation of heritage; thus programmes for intercultural encounter will be part and parcel of their Management Plans for a pathway comprising encounter, knowledge, respect for diversity and friendship, and consequently a pathway for peace: Heritage for Building Peace!

Sites that appreciate this strength and set up programmes to facilitate intercultural dialogue will become "Awareness Centres."⁶ Conscious of their potential, they will be amenable and creative in making a virtuous contribution to the sustainable growth of the international community in the context of peaceful coexistence.

In "Awareness Centres," professionals in the travel chain, day after day, increasingly appreciate the importance of:

- involving their communities in the process of "welcome" and "hospitality,"
- the need for constant learning and appreciation of their professions' role in the success of the transformation of travel on a global scale from "tourism based on consumer-driven services" to "opportunities for training to the growth of a sustainable international community in the context of peaceful coexistence," hence the term that we have used for these professionals in the travel chain: "learning communities."⁷

While rightly continuing to pursue their business interests and their efforts to make their concerns profitable, they feel the need for their work to aim to foster harmony among visitors, respect for diversity, friendship, and peace; thus their work also becomes a form of "insurance,"

6 Fondazione Romualdo Del Bianco,[®] *I Siti per il Dialogo: Il Patrimonio per il Dialogo Interculturale con il Viaggio Life Beyond Tourism*,[®] Firenze 2016; Fondazione Romualdo Del Bianco,[®] *Learning Communities for Intercultural Dialogue for Territorial Development: A New Commercial and Educational Offer "Culture for Dialogue" – "Travel for Dialogue."* *Life Beyond Tourism*, Firenze 2016.

7 "[...] those institutions, administration, professionals and individuals involved in the development of territories for intercultural dialogue." Corinna Del Bianco and Aurora Savelli, *The Life Beyond Tourism Glossary*, Firenze 2018, p. 47.

a “guarantee” for protecting both heritage and tourism, which is thus raised to the rank it deserves as an “activity of welcome and hospitality,” as the Florence Chamber of Commerce, Industry, and Craft (CCIAA) has noted. This way travel will once again be driven by “ideals,” “humanism,” and “romanticism” for the benefit of the traveller, their host, and those who take care of them by triggering a new cultural and commercial offer,⁸ without damaging legitimate business interests in any way. With Life Beyond Tourism, the international community appeals to the world of Heritage to become the architect of this change.

All of our Fondazione’s Experts have contributed to defining this new philosophy of “major opportunities, lying well beyond a tourism based on consumer-driven services,” and “Life Beyond Tourism,” which was successfully presented for the first time in Baku in 2007 at the conference entitled “21st Century: Historic Islamic Cities,” then in Florence in the Salone dei Duecento on 15 March 2008, followed by presentations on four continents.

The management of WHS not only protects and enhances heritage, but also favours the International Community by encouraging the worldwide exercise of intercultural dialogue between visitors in the same place and at the same time, with the same aptitude for listening, promoting a virtuous synergy between the UNESCO Conventions 1972,⁹ 2003¹⁰, and 2005.¹¹

Our publications, particularly those released after 2014, testify also to the practical implementation of a territorial¹² model capable of adap-

8 Paolo Del Bianco, “Heritage for Intercultural Dialogue, a New Commercial Offer for the Tourism Market with Life Beyond Tourism,” [in:] *Technical Transactions: Architecture*, vol. 7/A (2015), pp. 7–13; Fondazione Romualdo Del Bianco, *Learning Communities for Intercultural Dialogue...*, op. cit.; Paolo Del Bianco, *Slides Book: Learning Communities for Intercultural Dialogue for Territorial Development. A New Commercial and Educational Offer “Culture for Dialogue” – “Travel for Dialogue,” Life Beyond Tourism*, Firenze 2016; Corinna Del Bianco, Aurora Savelli, and Simone Giometti (eds.), *The World Forum to Change through Dialogue: Building Peace through Heritage 2020*, Firenze 2020.

9 UNESCO, *The Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, Paris 1972.

10 UNESCO, *The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, Paris 2003.

11 UNESCO, *The Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*, Paris 2005.

12 Paolo Del Bianco et al., *Life Beyond Tourism: Travel for Dialogue with Heritage for Sustainable Development*, Firenze 2014; Paolo Del Bianco, “Heritage for Intercultural Dialogue: the Philosophy, the Life Beyond Tourism (LBT) Model and Certified Travel,”

tation to every site involved, with a manual in three languages (Italian, English, and Russian), entitled *Travel for Dialogue*.¹³

Dialogue in the land of heritage, in the course of cultural travel, will lead to a form of globalisation that will no longer be purely economic, but rather extended to knowledge and respect for cultural diversity; consequently, it will also be a sensitive and respectful globalisation with a significant cultural impact. For that very reason, the Fondazione has identified and has been backing, for years now, a synergy between the UNESCO 1972 Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, the UNESCO 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, and the UNESCO 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions.¹⁴ All of these conventions arouse enormous interest in a vast audience at the global level and therefore motivate travel. As a result, they all offer opportunities for fostering dialogue and especially for knowing and appreciating the diversity of cultural expressions with appropriate programmes for training visitors to respect diversity. But then we cannot forget that tangible heritage satisfies a need perceived, thought, studied, planned, deliberated, funded, implemented, and used, with form, with those materials and with those dimensions by the culture of the place that has perceived the need for that given material asset at a given moment in its history, in a given economic and social situation, and thus we can understand the importance of the intangible value.

Mass tourism to date has been predominantly preoccupied with meeting the individual's need to say "I've been there." Now, in the travel chain, we need to encourage tourists to utter a different phrase with equal conviction: "There is so much to understand!" The knowledge of diversity and respect for other cultures form the basis of a globalisation that is not restricted simply to the economy, and as we have already seen, it is what our international community needs for sustainable growth in

[in:] *Heritage and Landscape as Human Values: Conference Proceedings, 18th General Assembly of ICOMOS (Firenze, 9-14 novembre 2014)*, ed. Maurizio Di Stefano, Napoli 2014, pp. 101-105.

13 Fondazione Romualdo Del Bianco, *Life Beyond Tourism: Travel and Dialogue*, vol. 1, Firenze 2014.

14 Fondazione Romualdo Del Bianco, *I Siti per il Dialogo: Il Patrimonio per il Dialogo Interculturale con il Viaggio Life Beyond Tourism*, Firenze 2016; P. Del Bianco, *Slides Book*, op. cit.

the context of peaceful coexistence, which is a crucial precondition for safeguarding WHS's heritage, economy, and harmony.

All of this must take place in an operational context in which DTC – LBT 2018 Certification for Intercultural Dialogue¹⁵ and its evolution guarantees the validity of the processes and ensures that the user, too, can gauge the results achieved.

The “B&B Hotels Italia” hotel company, which subscribes to the principles of the movement, considers DTC – LBT 2018 Certification to be a valuable and strategic contribution to its own values of Corporate Social Responsibility, at such a sensitive time as the revival of welcome and hospitality activity in the urban locations of its current number of fifty-three hotels in Italy.¹⁶ In the footnote, we list a selection of references after Krakow 2006.¹⁷

WHS could experiment with a post-pandemic reversal of the hitherto predominant deterioration of the travel experience

This new cultural and commercial offer relies on global scale “knowledge initiatives,” transforming the hasty tourist into a “Temporary Resident,” induced to obtaining a deep knowledge of the place, its wonders, culture, and traditions, thus favouring friendship, mutual respect, and peace.

The grievous pandemic experience will help to foster a reflection and to firmly set in motion the change so dear to the heart of United

15 Fondazione Romualdo Del Bianco® – Istituto Internazionale Life Beyond Tourism by COMI spa, *The Certification for Dialogue among Cultures – Life Beyond Tourism® DTC-LBT: 2018*, Firenze 2018.

16 B&B Hotels, <https://www.hotel-bb.com/> [access: 28 November 2022].

17 The circle of universities that cooperate with us and that have actively participated in and applauded the Life Beyond Tourism initiative; ICOMOS CSI Theory 2006 invited us to take part in the Committee as board members; ICOMOS GA 2008 in Quebec subscribed to our Life Beyond Tourism message; ICOMOS GA 2014 in Florence subscribed to our Life Beyond Tourism message; ICOMOS GA 2014 Resolution 2014/42 specifically highlighted the initiative in its practical application; UNESCO, WH Committee in 2018 in Manama accepted our application to present our work; UNESCO, WH Committee in 2019 in Baku accepted our application to present our work; ICOMOS ISC for Cultural Tourism in Sukhothai, Thailand; ICOMOS 50th anniversary in Warsaw on 23 June 2015; ICOMOS ISC Committee for Cultural Tourism, our involvement in updating the cultural tourism charter for 2021; the publication of contributions from all the experts who have accompanied this project over the years, allowing us to reach the level achieved; numerous conferences on four continents in which the result of our project's implementation has been presented.

Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-moon in his speech to the United Nations in 2014 entitled *The Road to Dignity by 2030*: “Transformation is our watchword.”¹⁸

As we have already noted, Life Beyond Tourism is a “Cultural and Commercial Revolution”¹⁹ in the sense that it remodels the market, turning the tourist into a “temporary resident,”²⁰ fully involved with the host territory.

At the same time, Life Beyond Tourism – Travel to Dialogue (LBT – TTD) also represents a Commercial Revolution because it fosters a virtuous commercial competition in the offer of Welcome and Hospitality. A new product, a new service for the market, which both enhances its own quality and helps to enhance the quality of the host territories.

A winning project

Life Beyond Tourism – Travel to Dialogue (LBT – TTD) is a winning project because it is based on virtuous economic competition under the banner of working for the common good.

All of this becomes a concrete contribution to the growth of the international community, which is itself the safeguarding of heritage, thanks to heritage and travel, all over the world, with the huge strength and even distribution of the global organisation of travel, well beyond tourism, in “Awareness Centres” with the strength of the “Learning Communities,” aware of their responsibility and potential implicit in this change, and with the strength of the local authorities of the many WHS with Management Plans designed to facilitate this potential.

A WHS will present its reality with increasing success even beyond the confines of its heritage, while the visitor will be turned from a hasty tourist into a “temporary resident.” At the same time, the offer of the WHS site, partly thanks to the guidelines imparted in the Management Plan and by the Learning Communities, will prompt the visitor to choose their

18 “Transformation is our watchword. At this moment in time, we are called to lead and act with courage. We are called to embrace change. Change in our societies. Change in the management of our economies. Change in our relationship with our one and only planet.” Ban Ki-moon, United Nations, *The Road to Dignity by 2030: Ending Poverty, Transforming All Lives and Protecting the Planet Synthesis Report of the Secretary-General on the Post-2015 Agenda*, New York 2014.

19 C. Del Bianco, A. Savelli and S. Giometti (eds.), *The World Forum...*, op. cit.

20 C. Del Bianco and A. Savelli, *The Life Beyond Tourism Glossary*, op. cit., p. 74.

journey also on the basis of programmes devised by individual sites to “get them to understand” in order to contribute to the highly anticipated growth of the global community.

Beyond the pandemic: practices 2021–2025

As presented and published on various other occasions, during the pandemic the Fondazione promoted an initiative of “silent dialogue,” a dialogue in images. This has spawned a five-year programme from 2021 to 2025 run by the Life Beyond Tourism Movement. The Movement’s announcement reads as follows: “Florence in The World, the World in Florence®: intercultural dialogue with images,” providing opportunity for cooperation with the universities and institutions in the Fondazione’s network. The initiative is split into two phases:

Phase 1: Florence in the World

An international photographic exhibition entitled *Florence in the World* comprised fourteen photographic triptychs prompting the visitor to discover Florence through its details and cultural expressions with “online expansion and interaction” (NFC technology). The exhibition and photographs were by Corinna Del Bianco, who offered the visitors her interpretation of the urban, suburban, and productive context of the territory as a resident.

The exhibition has been hosted the in Azerbaijan (November 2020), Latvia (December 2020), United Kingdom (January 2021), Georgia (March 2021), Kyrgyzstan (April 2021), Poland (April 2021), Slovakia (July 2021), Japan (July 2021), Kosovo (August 2021), India (November 2021), Taiwan (December 2021), Czech Republic (February 2022) Russia (different locations, until January 2022), Lithuania (June 2022), and Armenia (September 2022), and in the coming months it will be going on show in Mozambique, the Congo, Cameroon, Morocco, China, the USA, Spain, Kazakhstan, Portugal, and Ecuador.

Phase 2: The World in Florence (Florence, November 2021)

A photographic exhibition *International Festival of Territories* was displayed on panels of the same format as the Florence exhibition. They presented landscapes, culture, cultural expressions, and points of interest that express their personality.

Participation was open to institutions and organisations at the international level.

A specific section of the Festival was devoted to storytelling projects produced in the context of the Back to Life: Revitalisation of Places Post-COVID19 initiative curated by students in various universities in the International LBT Network Infopoints. They presented their own territories, their skills, and the products of those skills and their landscape, in accordance with the Life Beyond Tourism® philosophy.

So far ninety-three subscriptions have been achieved, from twenty-two countries: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Cameroon, China, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Georgia, Greece, India, Italy, Kosovo, Kyrgyzstan, Japan, Lithuania, Madagascar, Mozambique, Poland, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Taiwan, Ukraine, United Kingdom.

The current forecast for subscriptions, including the organisational aspect, is as follows:

- 2023 edition: no more than 150 subscriptions from five continents;
- 2024 edition: no more than 250 subscriptions from five continents;
- 2025 edition: no more than 500 subscriptions from five continents.

This exercise in communication through images stimulates young people in the universities that have hosted the Florence exhibition to interpret and present their own territory, always with the help of NFC (Near Field Communication).

The idea has been widely welcomed; the exercise owes a huge debt to the ICOMOS-Ename Charter for the Interpretation of Cultural Heritage Sites, for which the Fondazione is grateful.

This practice is accompanied by the DTC – LBT 2018 Certification for Intercultural Dialogue, which is crucial in creating guarantees for the proper implementation of the model at the international level with identifiable, quantifiable results that can also be measured by the end user.

Conclusion

“Heritage for Building Peace” is therefore an appeal to the international community to pay attention to these issues and to facilitate their development.

“Heritage for Building Peace” is not simply an idealistic, humanistic, and romantic appeal, as it may at first appear, because it is backed up by concrete intent based on economic activity, but on the basis of a different ethic in order to guarantee and improve one’s business model, aiming to benefit the common good at the global level, thus promoting mutual cultural respect, sustainable growth of the international community in

the context of peaceful coexistence, heritage protection, and safeguarding the health of the planet that we all share.

The economic lever ensures the widespread dissemination of this philosophy driven by a strong commercial interest, which in this case makes its effects virtuous; as we have seen, quality certification guarantees the stability of its dissemination and the measurability of results against the stated intentions.

Through “Familiar” Monuments of the Controversial Era to the Fundamental Cultural Heritage of the State and the Unity of Society

Serhii Diachenko
Kherson (Ukraine)

One of the most important areas of the activities of the NGO “Urban Re-Public” founded in 2015 by Yuliia Manukian, curator and art critic, and myself, is the protection and popularisation of cultural heritage sites. We have highlighted the item “social sustainability” as specific for Ukraine. The attitudes towards cultural heritage in Western and Eastern Europe differ significantly due to the peculiar historical formation of the statehood of Eastern European countries in general, and the seventy-year-old communist regime in particular. Communism instilled a stable view of the historical heritage as unnecessary and unimportant in the building of communism. Today, under the influence of the incessant information war, the civil society of Ukraine is polarised not only politically, but also in relation to self-identification and cultural values.

Architectural monuments have played a huge role in the development of European cities. The point is not only in the aesthetic aspect, but also in fixing the key stages of the consistent evolutionary formation of a comfortable environment in specific identity-forming conditions – including climatic, cultural, and social aspects. If such a foundation is ignored, inevitable degradation occurs. The substitution of “folklore” for the concepts of “cultural heritage” that was formed by the intellectual elite exacerbates the problem. They are not the same thing. This has already led to the fact that in Ukraine, for example, the profession of a restorer has not been in demand. Citizens of the country do not have an understanding of the value of architectural monuments and urban planning; cities are turning into residential areas, in which there can be no talk of a comfortable urban environment, or of the preservation and development of self-identity.

Our organisation is engaged in educational and research work, part of which is the protection and popularisation of cultural heritage. We try to adapt and convey information to each specific target audience, and in relation to the cultural heritage object to increase its significance for people.

An old iron bridge

An example of our work with one of the objects of cultural heritage in the city of Henichesk on the shores of the Sea of Azov can be considered as illustrative. This is an old iron railway bridge that is not currently in use in any other capacity than as a fishing ground. Its owners began to talk about its dismantling and scrapping. At the same time, local activists insist that the bridge remains one of the most important objects that form the urban landscape of the city and should be considered as one of the city's calling cards. Still, their votes were clearly not enough to influence the final decision.

In 2016, we came to Henichesk with our team of artists to gather local activists and develop several art actions. But before that, a study of the bridge and its history had been carried out, which turned out to be a daunting task. Apparently, it was built by German engineers in Belarus during World War II, and only in 1951 was it moved to Henichesk. In fact, this was all we knew.

In the course of our inquiries, it turned out that the structure of the bridge was developed by the Austrian engineering firm Waagner-Biro during World War I. The company is still actively working in the field of metal structures – for example, it took part in the construction of the new dome over the Bundestag in Berlin, the roof of the courtyard of the British Museum, the 30 Saint Mary Axe skyscraper in London, stages for the Sydney Opera, and several other contemporary architectural masterpieces. The information about the connection of the object with the global history and culture is very important for us, since it not only restores our connection with the world, but also increases the value of the object for local residents, especially in small depressed towns and villages. It is very important, therefore, to find and show some “object of pride” for the local residents.

Thus, we found out that a young Austrian engineer Friedrich Roth, working at the Waagner-Biro during World War I, proposed the design of a collapsible railway bridge, which required a minimum of the assembly equipment and time. This enabled swift replacement of destroyed



Figure 1. Opening of the iron bridge in Henichesk and contemporary reconstruction of the photo



Figure 2. The exhibition of “selfies with the bridge”

wooden bridges and building new ones where needed. Dozens of similar bridges were built in Eastern Europe, but only a few have survived (one

of them is in Vienna). The first such bridge was built in Serbia in 1915 (not preserved), with exactly the same design as that in Henichesk. A photo of its opening has been preserved.

We decided to reconstruct this first photo, especially given that exactly one hundred years have passed since the documented event. We invited the mayor of Henichesk, employees of the district administration, and the heads of communal services to play the role of the engineers in the photo. Such involvement in artistic activity of the people on whom the future of this object depended had a significant impact on their perception of the bridge. Each of them received a unique souvenir – their photos in the context of world history.

In addition, the music and dance performances were held on the bridge, an exhibition of “selfies with the bridge” was installed there, a new theatrical performance was staged at the local cultural centre, and an art exhibition and exhibition of souvenirs related to the bridge were presented. All these actions were actively supported by the media and on social media.

Thus, the bridge really became a brand of the city, and the attitude of the city authorities towards it has radically changed. The problems of the bridge have since become a problem for the city authorities. The bridge has gained immense popularity, and the story of the Viennese firm has increased the local inhabitants’ pride in their city.

“Back to the Future”

The latest project (2020–2021) was dedicated to the popularisation of architectural monuments of the era of modernism in Kherson and was called “Kherson Modernism: Back to the Future; it was curated by Yuliia Manukian.

None of the modernist objects in Kherson is listed in the registries of cultural heritage objects, and therefore they have been mercilessly rebuilt and destroyed. However, it occurred to us that the insignificant age of these objects should be viewed as a clue. People who were taught to renounce the past suddenly turned out to be associated with this era, which now has already become the past. They created their present, which in the eyes of their own children becomes just as “outdated” and “unnecessary.” We decided that we would be able to explain the meaning of monuments in general through endowing the objects of modernism with the value of objects of cultural heritage.

Kherson Modernism

АРХІТЕКТУРА МОДЕРНІЗМУ



Figure 3. Logo of the project “Kherson Modernism: Back to the Future”

After the adoption of the law on decommunisation, another problem arose. The era of modernism for Ukraine coincided with the existence of the Soviet Union, and all the monuments of this time are associated by the new generation with the time of totalitarianism. We saw in this conflict an opportunity not only to discuss this topic, but also to reconcile the two generations and overcome the split in society, at least as far as cultural heritage is concerned.

According to experts, Kherson, a city at the mouth of the Dnieper, had nothing to do with the best practices of “modernism.” Moreover, local residents did not find anything attractive at all in the Soviet architecture of functionalism. The topic appeared to be difficult even for our group. Fortunately, archives, interviews with architects of the older generation, memories of old-timers, and photographs from personal archives made it possible to restore the picture of the formation of modernism architecture in Kherson from the 1920s to the 1990s. We highlighted the most striking objects of the era, including those that we recommend for inclusion in the registry of cultural heritage. Based on these studies, historical references were compiled for selected objects, tourist excursions around the city were developed, and video lectures were prepared. We managed to launch the term “modernism” into the media, making it understandable for journalists and ordinary people. It is now possible to speak meaningfully about the monuments of modernism.



Figure 4. A postcard with the complex of the port elevator

Modernism in Kherson

The era of modernism in the Soviet Union is divided into two parts: the 1920s until 1935 and 1955 until the 1990s. From 1935 to 1955, a struggle was waged against this direction, as alien to the Soviet system. Architecture was dominated by Stalinist classicism. Kherson in the 1920s and 1930s was underdeveloped, as state policy reduced it to servicing the agricultural sector. Since the industry did not actually develop, the objects of constructivism and functionalism were isolated.

From the objects that have survived to this day, one can distinguish the building of the Marine Station and the Port Fire Department, as well as the complex of the port elevator from 1930–1932 and some residential buildings.

The heyday of the second period spanned from the late 1960s to the late 1980s. From this era, we singled out the Fregat Hotel (1977–1989), the building of the publishing house of the central regional newspaper (1985), the Jubilee cinema and concert hall (1968–1970, based on the concept by the American architect of Polish origin Matthew Nowitzki), and the building of the Regional Scientific Library (1977–1987).



Figure 5. Residential building



Figure 6. Regional Scientific Library (interior)



Figure 7. Residential building

It should be noted that the information we had collected was made public for the first time. Even architects were unaware of it in full scope and it aroused huge interest in the community.

We created the Facebook group “Kherson Modernism” that rapidly gained significant popularity. The number of the group followers instantly grew, and the number of shares was impressive. Then we invited artists to create art projects devoted to the Kherson Modernism, including a guest photographer and curator from Lithuania Darius Vaichekauskas, head of the Klaipeda Branch of the Lithuanian Photographers Association. Within this project, several art projects were developed, artist talks were carried out, stencil murals were created; in addition, calendars, eco-friendly handbags, and T-shirts with images of modernist objects were designed. We tried to cover the most diverse segments of the population, uniting them around the promotion and protection of modernist architecture. We also succeeded in drawing the attention of the city authorities, which had previously ignored the problems of cultural heritage.

Project assessment

What have we achieved? First and foremost, the monuments of “Soviet modernism” for those involved in the project have lost their political

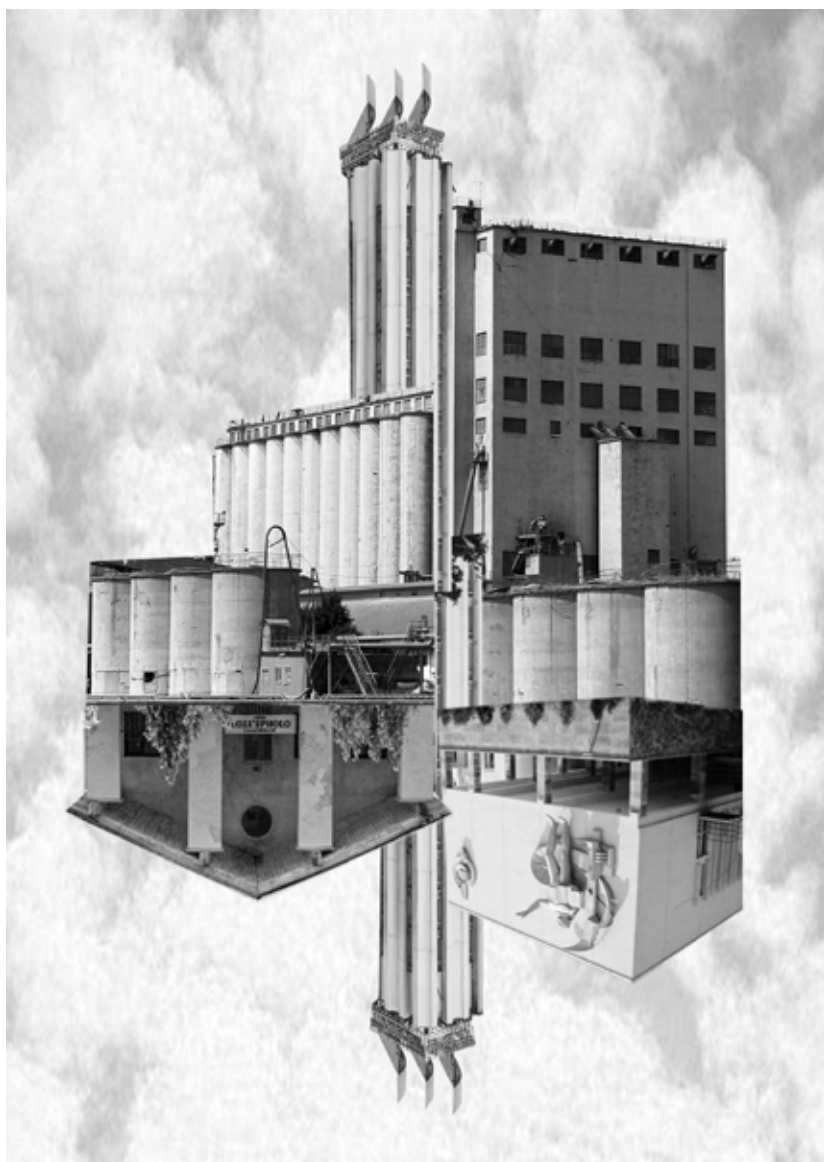


Figure 8. A series of postcards “Kherson Modernism” by Olena Humeniuk

connotation and have come to be regarded as part of the world heritage. We managed to explain that history is what is happening now, that each object of cultural heritage was an innovation at the time of its creation, which means that all eras deserve proper evaluation and respect for their

cultural heritage. Also, modernism has European roots, and therefore it brings us closer to the European tradition and removes us from the traditions of totalitarianism, which tried to fight it in the 1930s and 1950s.

Involvement, complicity, comprehensible language, literally familiar and close objects, built by the hands of our near ancestors – all these help to explain rather complex theses. We have managed to establish an emotional connection linking residents to these monuments.

Although the Fregat Hotel is currently under the threat of being rebuilt into an ordinary residential building, now this and similar “vandalising” projects are under close public scrutiny and most likely will not be implemented. The city authorities are now forced to pay attention to such objects. One of the artists, photographer Denys Maksymov, said the following about his project:

These grey and cold buildings of modernism – I grew up among them – did not evoke positive emotions in me. To put up with them, I applied retro technologies in my practice, creating colour images – to make these buildings less gloomy. I can’t say that I fell in love with them, but having learned so much new information about them, I felt them and understood this architecture.¹

Now the Lithuanian city of Kaunas is preparing to become the European Capital of Culture in 2022. We were very pleased to know that they launched a similar project – “The Modernism for the Future,” involving artists reflecting on the modernist heritage, in order to develop a strategy for the preservation, interpretation, and promotion of modernist heritage. Their goal is the same as ours – to instil in the residents a sense of responsibility for the environment and create an emotional connection with the urban landscape and culture.

According to the results of the all-Ukrainian creative project-competition “Art-Nova” of the First International Triennial, a participant of our project Olena Humeniuk received the Grand Prix for the art book *The Decay: A Million Years of Our Era*, created within the framework of our project “Kherson Modernism: Back to the Future.”

¹ Denys Maksymov, photographer, project participant.

Exhibitors:

- Li Biletska, project “The Meridians of Beauty”
- Stanislav Ostrousov, project “Lost in Modernism”
- Denys Maksymov, project “(Non)Gray Everyday Life of Modernism”
- Olena Humeniuk, project “The Decay: A Million Years of Our Era”
- Tetiana Kladkova, installation “The Eternity through Time”
- Mychailo Kliokta and Andrii Lutsyk, project “Modernism: Hidden Light”
- Viktoriia Pagels, author of the project poster and the Kherson Modernism merchandise

City Recycling: Local Activists and Heritage in Włocławek (Poland)

Justyna Marcinkowska

Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań (Poland)

The Cellulose Factory was the reason why Włocławek was called an “America” in the 19th and 20th centuries. In 1993, the factory was closed, and the huge complex of buildings transformed into ruins. Unemployed workers turned into scrap collectors who dissembled the construction until the production hall collapsed, causing two fatalities.¹ Then the local authorities decided to destroy the remaining factory buildings. The moment of blowing up the factory chimney was broadcast on national television. The symbol of Włocławek’s prosperity has fallen.

Economic development in post-industrial cities, forced into the de-industrialisation process after 1989, remains an unsolved problem in many Central European cities. As the result of political, economic, and social transformation, these urban areas were hit by a serious crisis. The middle-sized cities, which were mainly industry-oriented, were afflicted particularly hard. In light of these new circumstances, finding a new path of development has proven to be challenging. The case study of Włocławek illustrates the typical problems that peripheral, post-industrial cities have to face: unemployment, the peripheralisation of status and emigration of inhabitants, as well as the disappearance of social, political, and cultural institutions.

However, the crisis has also brought out the strength of human creativity, transforming the ruins of the previous economic system into a resource used by activists. A specific, grassroots version of culture emerges

¹ For more on collecting and exploiting hidden niches of the environment and the related “new ecology” see Tomasz Rakowski, *Łowcy, zbieracze, praktycy niemocy: Etnografia człowieka zdegradowanego*, Gdańsk 2009, pp. 91–119.

owing to the efforts of bottom-up activists – individuals working in their communities beyond institutions, people who represent their personal ideas through their actions rather than policies of institutions, especially those related to the authorities.²

The factory became the focus of many actions initiated by local activists several years later. Events with outdoor cinema screenings among the ruins of the buildings, interviews with former employees, debates with regional historians, creating documentaries about the factory, and even a grassroots idea to open a Museum of the Cellulose Factory³ – these are just some examples of actions related to the Cellulose Factory, evoking the ghosts of the past and initiated by bottom-up activists. The other remains of the industry in Włocławek became the subject of similar projects. Increasingly often, local activists in Włocławek have been taking action in regard to the forgotten past of the city's golden age of prosperity, using tangible (e.g. factory buildings or tenements) as well intangible heritage (e.g. memories of residents and former employees).

The appearance of bottom-up activists showed that not only tangible, but also intangible industrial heritage may be used as a cultural value for building the city in future. While projects performed by politic and economic power tend to concentrate on aesthetic functions⁴ (like factory buildings transformed into new objects), bottom-up activists operate on the periphery of cultural capital of the industrial heritage and use resources laid aside by, for instance, workers discussed by Michel

2 Bottom-up culture is a term used by scientists trying to diagnose recent new phenomena in culture. See Mirosław Filiciak, Anna Buchner, and Michał Danielewicz, *Kulturotwórcy: Niekulturocentryczny raport o kulturze*, Warszawa 2014, p. 94; Sylwia Słowińska, *Sensy oddolnych inicjatyw kulturalnych w interpretacji ich realizatorów*, Zielona Góra 2017, p. 324; Anna Rumińska, "Inicjatywy oddolne między budynkami, czyli kto, gdzie i jak ożywia miasto," [in:] *Przestrzeń publiczna Wrocławia*, eds. eadem and Dariusz Dziubiński, Wrocław 2016, pp. 69–86; Agnieszka Łuczak et al., *Raport z diagnozy potrzeb społeczności lokalnej w ramach projektu „Mój pomysł na coolturę+ Inicjatywy oddolne”*, Włocławek 2014, p. 25; Łukasz Maźnica, "Zależności między kulturą a rozwojem z perspektywy oddolnych inicjatyw kultury społecznej," [in:] *Kultura i Rozwój*, vol. 2, no. 3 (2017), pp. 35–49; Karolina Dudek (ed.), *Oddolne tworzenie kultury: Perspektywa antropologiczna*, Warszawa 2016, p. 123.

3 The organisers started a fanpage on <https://www.facebook.com/muzeumcelulozy/>.

4 The problem of reusing industrial heritage mainly by using aesthetic functions is diagnosed in British heritage studies. See e.g. Judith Alfrey and Tim Putnam, *The Industrial Heritage: Managing Resources and Uses*, London–New York 2003.

de Certeau.⁵ Their actions filled the significant gap in the city's damaged identity not by restoring the tangible elements of the factories, but rather by reinstating the space of intangible heritage related to the newest history.

Different actors in the local network – officials, historians, or local activists – have various strategies how (and for whom) to transform objects and memories into heritage. It seems important to establish how different groups act to include the industrial history into the field of heritage. Because heritage can revive a city, but it may also terminate it.

This way of perceiving heritage as a process is close to the concept proposed by Laurajane Smith, who describes the act of heritage as “a discourse that individuals, groups, communities, nations and a range of institutions use to create and define identity and social and cultural meaning in and about the present.”⁶ I will demonstrate what the act of heritage performed by bottom-up activists looks like and how heritage is practiced by them: how bottom-up activists produce heritage in order to use it and, as the result, construe the city at a social, cultural, and physical level. This process consists of using, reusing, producing, and reproducing, but sometimes also reducing the city space.

This perspective emphasises not only the struggle for heritage resources, but also the complementarity of different actors in the local network, who act at different stages of the heritage circle. As John Tunbridge notes, the importance of heritage underlies not the pure objects, but rather the meanings ascribed to them.⁷ However, there is not only the importance of meanings, but also the importance of practical usages producing or transforming the meanings in return.

What is the role of bottom-up culture in the deindustrialisation process that cities are going through? I will attempt to answer this question by conducting a case study in Włocławek (100,000 residents), one of the post-industrial, middle-sized cities in Poland. I will consider how bottom-up activists' actions influence its tangible heritage, as well as impact the creation of intangible heritage and different narratives in history.

5 See Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1988.

6 Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, London-New York 2006, p. 87.

7 John Tunbridge, “The Changing of the Guard: Heritage at the Turn of the Century,” [in:] *Heritage and Society*, eds. Robert Kusek and Jacek Purchla, Kraków 2019, p. 23.

In-depth interviews with local activists, a participant observation during their actions and desk research were conducted. However, the autoethnographic perspective is also a significant part of my study because Włocławek is my hometown and my place of work as a local activist. It enabled me to better understand the long-term process of heritage production. Furthermore, I also use the perspective of anthropology of emotions to present not only facts, but also feelings strongly involved in the process of heritage production. "Our engagements with heritage are almost entirely figured through the politics of affective registers such as pain, loss, joy, nostalgia, pleasure, belonging or anger."⁸ This conclusion by Divya P. Tolia-Kelly, Emma Waterton, and Steve Watson expressed in their book *Heritage, Affect and Emotions* may also explain why bottom-up activists find Włocławek's heritage such a fertile ground for their undertakings.

The case study of Włocławek: development, degradation, redevelopment

The political, economic, and social transformation in Włocławek after 1989 was a phenomenon similar to the symbolic uricide. The term, introduced by the writer Michael Moorcock, points at two aspects: the gravity of this destruction and the purported exterminatory logic that underpinned the assault on the built environment.⁹ However, while the effects of deindustrialisation were not as drastic as the sudden moment of physical destruction, the transformation process had similar results: the collapsing of the continuity of the city identity.

The best summary of the process is the headline of a local newspaper: "These are not the ruins of a Teutonic castle, but remains of the Faience Factory. But, like a Teutonic castle, it is a 'scare' right in the middle of the city..."¹⁰ This process has befallen many objects built as the result of the industrial revolution in Włocławek. In the case of industrial buildings, it was a consequence of physical abandonment and loss of their pragmatic uses. In the case of tenements, it is related to the loss of their

8 Divya Tolia-Kelly, Emma Waterston, and Steve Watson, *Heritage, Affect and Emotions: Politics, Practices and Infrastructures*, New York 2017, p. 3.

9 Martin Coward, *Uricide: The Politics of Urban Destruction*, London 2008, p. 176

10 Barbara Szmejter, "Wrzawa w 'trójkacie,'" [in:] *Gazeta Pomorska*, <https://pomorska.pl/wrzawa-w-trojkiacie/ar/c3-6567841> [access: 1 June 2021].

grand status. The most visible example of this process is Aleja 3 Maja, the most opulent street in Włocławek – a shopping arcade with luxurious shops until the time of the transformation. After the political transformation, the street turned into one of the most dangerous and neglected places with empty premises that no one wants to rent.

Nevertheless, a redevelopment of the city space was undertaken at the beginning of the new millennium. The revitalisation plan was passed in 2006. According to it, a cultural centre was built in the restored old brewery called Browar B. The complex was spectacularly revitalised, containing five exhibition halls, studios and workshops, a luxurious restaurant, and a coffee shop. Most of the events and activities organised in this venue have a paid admission. Although the object may empower some groups of people, it has also the opposite effect, enhancing physical and social divisions in the city space.¹¹ On the social level, it excludes residents unable to play the role of consumers. On the physical level, it remains isolated – a fenced, monitored building that contrasts with the surrounding neglected tenements.

Paradoxically, the most successful case of redevelopment in Włocławek is the revitalisation of the ruins of the Faience Factory, rebuilt as a shopping mall. Although the investment moved urban life from the old town to a new complex (a final nail in the coffin of the old town as an attractive area), the investment demolished a significant hurdle – the ruins of the factory that split the city into two parts. The commercial space established in place of the ruins started to be used by residents not only as a commercial space, but also as a useful passage linking two hitherto separated parts of the city.

The problem of the model of revitalisation encouraged by political and economic powers in Włocławek is related to the locals' lack of interests in cultural capital. The diagnosis made when establishing the revitalisation plan was that low social capital is the most important problem

11 The model of revitalisation based on creating a spectacular object to breathe new life into the surroundings is frequently used in towns and cities around the world. The goal is to have a breathtaking transformation of one object, which would then create a local brand for the whole area. This model was first implemented through futuristic architecture in a degraded port district in Bilbao, Spain. The outstanding object is supposed to trigger transformation, attracting consumers. The mechanism known as the "Bilbao effect" consists of three elements: people, activity, and the force of attraction. For more information see Ewa Rewers and Agata Skórzyńska (eds.), *Sztuka: kapitał kulturowy polskich miast*, Poznań 2010, pp. 133–144.

of Włocławek.¹² Then local authorities established several institutions aimed at activating residents, for instance the Civic Café, which is a voluntary centre aimed to support residents' initiatives, managed by non-profit organisations.

The diagnosis submitted by local authorities is focused on the social and economic capital. However, Pierre Bourdieu distinguishes also cultural capital. Cultural capital, as one of various forms of capital, determines the position of the individual in society.¹³

Still, we can see the absence of cultural capital in the process of revitalisation and displacement of the industrial history of the city. It is particularly notable in the case of spectacular restorations and creating flagship sites. A development according to this model has the appearance of "islets" of development¹⁴ – idealised and enchanted spaces belonging to a dream future. The shopping mall in place of the Faience Factory was restored according to the guidelines of the conservator of monuments. Even the line of the old stove was preserved. Yet, the history of the site is absent.

We can see the same effect in the case of the cultural centre. On the one hand, thanks to the investments, the old factory buildings were saved, and the value of the site was not forgotten. Moreover, this strategy is relatively fast and spectacular. In the case of medium-sized cities, located at geographic peripheries, the value is also related to the symbolic connection of the city with larger cities and other cities revitalised in the same way. The view of the city, revitalised according to the same pattern, is even visually similar. It can produce the experience of being part of undefined metropolises, a new kind of a non-place.¹⁵

Nevertheless, the intangible heritage related to these places is absent. It seems that the goal of the revitalisation process was to connect the city to the future, not to the past. History was absent in the plan of revitalisation; the ghost of the past came back into the streets owing to

12 Barbara Moraczewska et al., *Narzędziownik, czyli ścieżki realizacji Gminnego Programu Rewitalizacji Miasta Włocławek na lata 2018–2028*, Włocławek 2019, p. 10.

13 Tomasz Zarycki, "Kapitał kulturowy: założenia i perspektywy zastosowań teorii Pierre'a Bourdieu," [in:] *Psychologia Społeczna*, vol. 4, no. 1–2 (2009), p. 13.

14 Jacek Grądecki, "Trudny 'rejs' obiektu flagowego: Spojrzenie na Centrum Sztuki Współczesnej w Toruniu w kształtowaniu kapitału kulturowego miasta," [in:] *Sztuka: kapitał kulturowy polskich miast*, op. cit., pp. 135–136.

15 Marc Auge, *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*, London 2009.

bottom-up activists, who make the newest history of Włocławek – especially its industrial history – part of the public discourse. Until their involvement, the history of Włocławek was the domain of professional historians, like Włocławskie Towarzystwo Naukowe [Włocławek Scientific Society] established by the local tertiary school. The field of heritage included mainly medieval monuments, for which Włocławek is famous.

There has been a huge increase in the number of recent events related to history, such as lectures, debates, shows, games, walks, and memorial evenings. The events are related to two main topics: World War II and the city's industrial past. The activities are organised mainly through the cooperation of amateurs and professional historians working in public institutions, like the National Archives or the Museum of the History of Włocławek.

The transformation of heritage

As we can see, industrial sites are in the midst of a dynamic transformation. The first stage of this process is losing previous functions and meanings. Next, we can see the process of returning these sites to the city with a new status. However, as is the case with other transitions, there is a liminal sphere between these two stages. It is a specific time when the previous rules are suspended and the new order has not been established yet. According to Victor Turner,

The attributes of liminality or of liminal personae ('threshold people') are necessarily ambiguous, since this condition and these persons elude or slip through the network of classifications that normally locate states and positions in cultural space. Liminal entities are neither here nor there; they are between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial.¹⁶

Bottom-up culture as a part of mainstream culture has emerged to fill the gap which arose as a result of the breakdown of the former order. We can see that on the example of the Faience Factory. Before 1989, the local design of faience, for which Włocławek is famous, was controlled by Cepelia, the public institution related to folk craft in Poland. The importance of the institution eventually declined and the value of Włocławek

¹⁶ Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, Chicago 1969, p. 94.



Figure 1. A walk along the trail of architectural details, 2019
© Ari Ari Foundation Archive

faience was not institutionally protected. Nonetheless, bottom-up initiatives have assumed that responsibility. The artist known as “Fajansiara” [Faience girl] has created her own brand based on the faience design from Włocławek. Another activist, Dominik Cieślíkiewicz, has started his own line of souvenirs using the faience design.

Although the moment of unstable rules led to a heyday of grassroots initiatives, it seems to have been merely a stage in the whole process. Eventually, the local authorities decided to create an Interactive Centre of Faience. The opening of the museum is planned for 2022. Moreover, the Festival of Faience was established and the award “Włocławki” for the best faience design in Poland was launched as a part of the festival.

It seems that the faience from Włocławek is returning to the city with a new, stable status. As Valdimar Hafstein notes, reforming practices of perceiving and using includes the need to “formalize informal relations and centralize dispersed responsibilities.”¹⁷ This process of reinstitutionalisation began. Although the appearance of bottom-up culture seems to

17 Valdimar Hafstein, “Intangible Heritage as a Festival; or, Folklorization Revisited,” [in:] *The Journal of American Folklore*, vol. 131, no. 520 (2018), p. 128.

be the effect of the ongoing transformation, it is also a significant catalyst of future changes. In my opinion, the advent of bottom-up culture in the moment of the liminal stage also enables another process: the democratisation and popularisation of intangible heritage. This process acts simultaneously with the reinstitutionalisation process and is currently more visible in Włocławek. Heritage seems to be force field acting, reacting and interacting with each other.

The appearance of bottom-up activists

One of the main motivations of the bottom-up activists is to show that Włocławek can be a good place to live. This is an attempt to combat the vision of the city collapsing after the deindustrialisation process. For the activists, heritage is one of the tools to improve not only the quality of life, but also the image of the city they live in. The importance of improving the city's image is, for instance, the main reason why Fundacja Ładowarka [the Charger Foundation] was established. It is a group of people led by a twenty-five-year-old student, who also started to work in the town hall as a result of his projects. He often uses LEGO bricks to encourage people to build their dream Włocławek. He has also created a board game based on Monopoly, called *Włocławscy Milionerzy* [Włocławek millionaires]. The game is set in the 19th century and the players can buy Włocławek's factories or the palaces of manufacturers.

Another reason why activists use heritage is to search for a sense of belonging to the place where they live. While local activists do not feel personally related to the industrial history, they are looking for the roots of their city. This motivation is particularly visible in the actions organised by the informal group "Pokochaj Włocławek" [Love Włocławek], which brought together enthusiasts of the history of the city. Every year, the group organises a city game to popularise Włocławek's heritage. However, the most important part of their activities are online practices. The activists have created several fanpages and websites which connect people around the topic of the local history. The most popular fanpage, "Włocławek, jaki pamiętamy" [Włocławek that we remember], is one of the most significant websites about the city, with over 23,000 followers. The webpage is used to share old photos, press clippings, memories, and other traces of old Włocławek. There are also amateur historians looking for various aspects of history in professional archives. The website has become a kind of a social archive and it is used also by local journalists and historians. The reason why the activists decided to take action was



Figure 2. Outdoor film screening in a former nail factory (Gwoździarnia. Podwórkowe Kino Plenerowe)

© Ari Ari Foundation archive

to produce a sense of place and identity.¹⁸ Their actions are focused on reviving the sensation of “being part of something” – a feeling that disappeared as a result of the transformation process.

As in many other cases, the moment when objects are incorporated into heritage occurs as a result of the threat of disappearance.¹⁹ Some of the activists have discovered the value of the 19th- and 20th-century history and perceive the vanishing industrial history as their local heritage in need of rescue. It is threatened by demolition as well as redevelopment, which has already caused a loss of the previous functions and meanings of heritage sites. However, first of all, local heritage is in danger of oblivion. We can see this process in the actions initiated by Fundacja Ari Ari [Ari Ari Foundation] that concentrate on industrial and economic heritage in Włocławek. Their most popular initiative is related to historical walks. The titles of their projects say a lot about the organisers’ motivations – suffice it to mention “Śledztwo w historii” [Investigation in history] or “Pamięć o przeszłości dla przyszłości” [Remembering the past for the future]. The chief reason why members of the group started to work with local heritage is their growing sensation of alienation from the local

¹⁸ L. Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, op. cit., p. 217.

¹⁹ V. Hafstein, *Intangible Heritage...*, op. cit., p. 128.

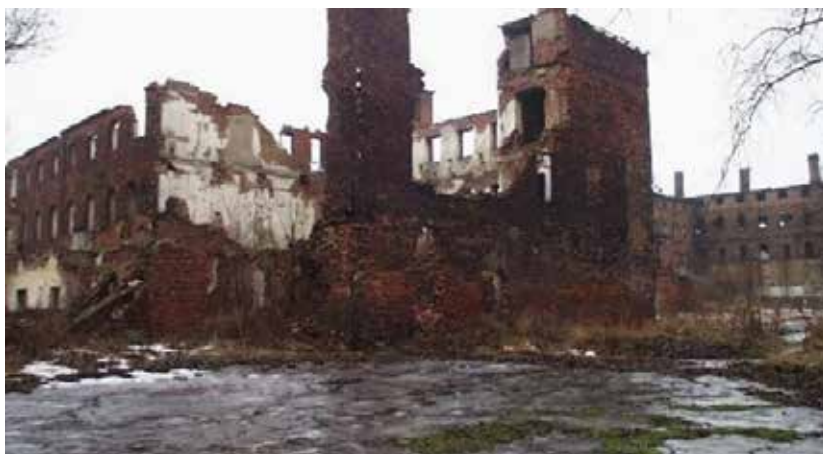


Figure 3. The ruins of a former faience factory, 2002

© B. Szmejter, "Wrzawa w 'trójkacie'" [in] „Gazeta Pomorska”, <https://pomorska.pl/wrzawa-w-trojkanie/ar/c3-6567841> [access: 1st June 2021].



Figure 4. Former faience factory in the first and second decade of the 21st century, now transformed into the Wzorcownia Shopping Centre, 2010

© Wikipedia: Wzorcownia, <https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wzorcownia> [access: 1st June 2021].

history. Their projects offer the act of discovering the history that seems to be forgotten. In fact, that history seems largely excluded from the public discourse and virtually unknown by younger residents. The same conviction was visible in the project about old cinemas in Włocławek. During the whole project members of the group were trying to find information about film theatres that operated in the city in the 20th century, but local institutions (like local archives) did not have any data concerning this topic. When the historical walks started, it turned out that participants could offer information about the old cinemas which far exceeded the data collected during the projects. The problem lied in assessing the legitimacy and relevance of these memories.

The material dimension of the city

The effect of bottom-up actions includes both material as well symbolic levels. It uses (and produces) both tangible and intangible heritage.

At the physical level, the result of bottom-up actions is changing the public space. We can observe this process on the example of historical walks organised by Fundacja Ari Ari. The idea of the walks originated from the popularity of similar walks in larger cities, offering the occasion for residents to discover the history of their surroundings. The first walk was organised to discover modernist architecture, which in the common perception is not part of cultural heritage at all. This architecture, underrated in Włocławek, was appreciated by Michał Pszczółkowski, professor from the Academy of Fine Arts in Gdańsk, who wrote a book about modernism in Włocławek.

City walks refer to the concept of flaneurism and seem to have an equally subversive potential. Firstly, they explore places “outside the boulevard,” crossing the boundaries between privileged spaces and ghost districts.²⁰ Secondly, the key quality of the walk is its slow pace, which allows the participants to overcome the dominant functionalist vision of the city. Instead, the image that is emerging is the city that privileges everyday life.²¹

20 Blanka Brzozowska, *Spadkobiercy flaneura: Spacer jako twórczość kulturowa – współczesne interpretacje*, Łódź 2009, p. 12.

21 Ibidem, s. 45, quoted in Heinz Paetzold, “Miasto jako labirynt: Walter Benjamin i nie tylko,” trans. Andrzej Zaporowski, [in:] *Przestrzeń, filozofia, architektura: osiem rozmów o poznawaniu, produkowaniu i konsumowaniu przestrzeni*, ed. Ewa Rewers, Poznań 1999, p. 113.

The routes are concentrated in degraded downtown, developed in the 19th and 20th century, and include not only particular objects like palaces of manufacturers, but also the history of the whole streets or squares. The degraded space, used as place of democratic freedom of speech and action,²² is contemplated and contextualised during the event. Thus, the walk seems to be an act of enhancing the public character of the space.

There is a space of experiencing the past with the whole (both geographical and historical) context. Then memory can be more active and participants can find their own way of memorising and commemorating the past. Thus, the walks offer a platform creating conditions to reproduce the residents' right to exercise control over everyday life.²³

As Laurajane Smith notes, "the place of its doing grants a legitimacy to both the ritual of the performance itself and the memories which were the subject of that performance."²⁴ Tangible heritage has a power that intangible heritage does not possess: "symbolic ability to control desired, fetishized and prized objects reinforces not only the identity, but the power of the identity of the nation, group or individual in possession."²⁵ It is because tangible heritage is not only a historic place, but a landscape creating an identity;²⁶ buildings, landscapes, and artefacts have a possibility to trigger memory to start the process of reminiscing.²⁷ Thus, it is possible to cultivate the continuity of identity between the past and the future. Bottom-up activists try to return material heritage to history by contextualising the object.

Bottom-up activists use not only public space, but also places with unclear status. The first type of the latter are, seemingly, public spaces. Public space, described by Jurgen Habermas, is a space for articulating various needs and clashing opinions. However, as Magdalena Saryusz-Wolska observes with reference to the shopping mall Manufaktura in Łódź, Poland – a result of postmodern changes (including privatisation) – it "began to be more market freedom than democratic freedom of speech

22 Jurgen Habermas, *Strukturalne przeobrażenia sfery publicznej*, Warszawa 2008.

23 Marek Krajewski, "Przeciw inżynierii wizualnej: Ożywianie i uśmiercanie miasta," [in:] *Sztuka – kapitał kulturowy...*, op. cit., p. 186.

24 Ibidem.

25 L. Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, op. cit., p. 53.

26 Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, London 1995, p. 132.

27 L. Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, op. cit., p. 213.

and action,”²⁸ excluding the presence of marginalised groups from this area. The same problem can be seen in revitalised sites such as the cultural centre Browar B or the shopping mall Wzorcownia.

Another sort of space visited by bottom-up activists are semi-private spaces – yards of tenements or side streets perceived as too dangerous or too hidden for outsiders to explore these places. Although officially the yards are public, unofficially they belong to the residents of tenements. Surprisingly, it is harder to go to the seemingly public spaces, such as the cultural centre Browar B, fenced and monitored, than to visit the backyard of the notorious tenements to discover architecture details in a backyard of a tenement house. As a result of practices of walking and using spaces, the status of semi-private places seems to have changed. Gradually these locations are becoming considered as a part of the public space. Thus, the public space is not only strengthened, but also broadened and produced. For tour participants, it is an occasion to admire sites that turn out to be very different from what they would expect.

The action sometimes broadens the space of local inhabitants’ heritage – railings, stairs, stained glass in the staircases are now seen as valuable. It also raises the residents’ self-esteem. In consequence, they can find their place precious, even if it is neglected. Because the walks to their yards are a surprise for them, some residents are interested: they look out of the windows, listen to stories and some of them feel the need to add their own memories. This is a moment during which they can feel as an important part of the city community. Many of them try to add their memories to the story told by the guide.

But more of them are silent. Some of them are trying to use the interest of the audience to complain about their living conditions and publicise the matter. Local history and the details found in the yards seem precious especially to the visitors, not to the residents. The unique value of the place is used as cultural capital by activists. While some residents find the tour interesting, others may have the sensation that their private space is violated. Surprisingly, reluctant reactions are more frequent in the public space, whose status is obviously public. No attempts to interfere in the performance have occurred in the yards, while there have been at least several such attempts in the main streets (e.g. shouting,

28 Magdalena Saryusz-Wolska, “Łódzka Manufaktura: przemiany przestrzeni publicznej i muzealnej,” [in:] *Sztuka: kapitał kulturowy polskich miast*, op. cit., p. 116.

insults, noise, playing loud music). The reason may be related to the residents feeling as hosts in the yards as opposed to the need to assert dominance in the space whose status is not clear (unlike the yards, which are definitely appropriated by residents).

The effects of the walking tours could multiply because every event in urban space has a life on the internet, too. The photo-relations are available on local fanpages and some articles are released in newspapers. Every event is also accompanied by marketing materials, such as postcards, maps, and leaflets. Because of that, the real audience of the event is much larger than the number of participants.

The symbolic dimension of the city

The results of bottom-up activist performances also include negotiating the field of heritage by undermining the established order. It is done by adding the perspective of marginalised communities and changing the existing hierarchy. The role of these performances is not only to rethink who should be remembered and who should be forgotten. It is also to rethink who is entitled to perform the act of remembering and commemorating.²⁹ This is especially visible in the case of ex-labourers, whose life was strongly related to the factories, and the communities around the manufactures. Their workplaces disappeared as the result of the transformation process, but the meanings of buildings were appropriated by aesthetic functions as a result of neoliberal changes in the market. The space for collective memories concerning the labour history of Włocławek has vanished. Ironically, the former workers were hit the hardest by the degradation and currently they have the least access to the revitalised factories.

Bottom-up activists produce a material as well as a symbolic space – a collective history of the city constructed by the community. We can find some specific tactics related to the rules about constructing heritage. The first tactic is making history more about everyday life – looking for ordinary practices rather than extraordinary facts. It can be observed in activities related to looking for the history of particular streets or districts, like the project of untold history of Grzywno, a working-class district in Włocławek before World War II. Contemplating old photos, attempts to determine where exactly the photo was taken, identifying which houses are

²⁹ L. Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, op. cit., p. 213.

depicted, and who is in the photo or what their outfit looked like – these topics seem to be the most important. These practices validate ordinary life not only in the past, but also in the present because familiar streets and – sometimes – people in the photo and their families are connected to the present.

The field of heritage in bottom-up activists' undertakings is a space linked not so much with facts as with emotions. It is particularly visible on the fanpage "Włocławek, jaki pamiętamy." As we can read in the group's status, "Photos posted by members can be used for the purpose of evoking nostalgia." This is the main goal of the group – to trigger emotions. The practice of recalling the past by sharing old photos is the act of commemorating. However, the act of affirmation related to reminiscing is at the same time the act of validation of memories by placing them in the public sphere. As Natalia Alonso Rey notes in relation to old photographs taken by emigrants from home, "The meaning and importance of these pictures imply the confluence of biographies (of subjects, of objects), emotions and sensory effects."³⁰ The author studied the effects with respect to emigrants. It is important to say that many of the users of the "Pokochaj Włocławek" fanpage emigrated from the city many years ago (including the founder, who currently lives in London). Although the initial goal of the website was to evoke nostalgia, it has become a useful tool for triggering the "homing"³¹ process in residents still living in Włocławek.

Another direction of changes in the field of heritage involves adding the perspective of marginalised groups. It is related mostly to the heritage of the disinherited. Before World War II, a large proportion of the city's population represented various minorities. The city was a melting pot of Jewish, German, and Russian culture, all of which played an important role in the urban life.³² Individuals of these diverse backgrounds opened numerous factories and built residences that remain the city's most representative buildings to this day. Yet the memory of their contribution to

³⁰ Natalia Alonso Rey, *Memory in Motion: Photographs in Suitcases in Memories on the Move. Experiencing Mobility, Rethinking the Past*, eds. Monika Palmberger and Jelena Tošić, Oxford 2016, p. 115.

³¹ Ibidem, p. 103.

³² See e.g. Tomasz Dziki, *Przemysł włocławski w latach 1870–1918: Gospodarcze i społeczne aspekty industrializacji*, Toruń 2004; Mirosława Stojak, *Utkane sercem włocławskim Żydom*, Włocławek 2015.

the development of the city has mostly vanished, together with the tragic history of their disappearance.

The memories of Jewish survivors and their descendants have not been exposed until the group “Pokochaj Włocławek” started a project named “A Forgotten Street: The Street of Death.” On the other hand, Fundacja Ładowarka organised the series of meetings titled “Zapomniani mieszkańcy Włocławka” [Forgotten residents of Włocławek], dedicated to magnificent families from the past, mostly manufactures and craftsmen, many of them Jewish and German investors. It is also the moment of acknowledging the complicated roots joining different cultures by marriages and, consequently, the complicated status of “shared heritage.”

Moreover, not only cultural minorities have been disinherited from tangible heritage. The factories where they used to work are now managed by people from another social strata and intended to attract people of other social backgrounds than their own, especially the middle class. The city they built is gone and the era of workers has passed, too. The memories of living in tenements, recollections of their factories and shops are the only way to survive in this new period. Remembering the forgotten minorities of Włocławek has a tangible effect – making space for excluded people in the collective memory of Włocławek. This is a multilateral process of renegotiating the scope that history should talk about.

The effect of activists working with heritage is to restore the forgotten history of Włocławek. Yet while the former workers are closer to these actions, they are still beyond the main focus.

The role of activists in culture

We can see bottom-up culture as a one of actors in the field of power. In this perspective, different agents strive towards their goals by using cultural capital. However, we can also see bottom-up culture not in a synchronic, but in a diachronic perspective. Then bottom-up activists appear as subjects in the food chain. This perspective insists on the cooperation between agents and points to them as indispensable to one another.

According to the metaphor of the food chain, bottom-up activists perform the role of producers as well reducers of the city. As reducers, they “bury” untouched trauma and unburied memories. The significant aspect related to that issue is the psychotherapeutic effect. While for younger participants it is a chance to reintroduce to the public discourse places and memories they have not known, for older participants it is an opportunity to remember old places and memories. An emotional journey

into the past, which was a time of prosperity, results in the possibility of not only a nostalgic return, but also a mourning experience. Significantly, this experience is interactive – the role of the audience is not only to listen to the stories of others, but also to share their own memories in public. Transferring their own, emotional memories to the public is an act of validating their own experiences, often left unsaid until that point.

This process is related not so much to the coping with the trauma of the collapse of particular factories, but rather to coping with the city's collapse as the result of deindustrialisation and later becoming excluded as a part of peripheral discourse. Therefore, this experience is common, and it applies not only to the witnesses of history. In this perspective, the role of the bottom-up performances resembles rites of passage – transforming personal memories, especially difficult ones, into cultural capital.

Conversely, the role of bottom-up activists as producers is to rebuild the city's identity. They achieve this goal by producing a useful cultural capital in place of ruins and next using it. Firstly, it is done by producing the sensation of being the part of the community. The popularity of bottom-up actions using heritage may also be the proof that there is a huge need among people to find a reason to be proud of the place where they used to live. The task of grassroots initiatives is to negotiate the right to feel part of this history by exposing connections. It is important to highlight that bottom-up actions do not create different spaces of heritage, but mostly look for links to broaden the space we can name as our "common heritage."

Secondly, it is a process of producing the sensation of pride. In bottom-up actions, the past becomes a potential source of strength.³³ This is why the activists highlight the golden age of the industrial time in the 19th and 20th centuries and create a mythical history of prosperity. There are very few mentions about the dark sides of the industrial era (like the poverty district). The problems of the past are presented as problems that came from the outside world – like World War II. In contrast, the industrial revolution is presented as an internal project of developing the city by local residents.

Residents' memories of the industrial era seem to exclude political issues, like class or national conflicts. But does such account of history – sanitised of problems – pose a risk of becoming pure nostalgic

33 Jacek Purchla, *Dziedzictwo a transformacja*, Kraków 2005, p. 18.

entertainment?³⁴ Although the story of the past seems depoliticised, memories do not exist without the present context – a degraded, marginalised position of the city and its communities. Thus, this seemingly sentimental set of memories may result in a very political approach. The story about the former prosperity not only empowers residents, enhancing their self-esteem, but also helps to articulate their interests, chief among which is not being excluded. This coincides with the main reason why the activists organise their performance – to show that Włocławek may be also a good place to live.

Conclusion

Creating shared heritage is the basic condition for the community to survive and for a city to still exist as a cultural space. As Roy Strong notes: “The heritage represents some kind of security, a point of reference, a refuge perhaps, something visible and tangible which [...] seems stable and unchanged.”³⁵

In this context, the role of bottom-up culture is to connect by blurring divisions. Firstly, it is a physical effect of transforming meanings of places and buildings. Bottom-up activists concentrate on the element of the city situated beyond the local authorities’ scope of interest. Akin to de Certeau’s workers, they choose side streets, ornaments on the tenements, small and unspectacular places – outside of the interest of the agents of power. The effect is a unique recycling of the objects’ meanings and their renewed inclusion into the symbolic city.

Secondly, it is a social effect related to empowering a community composed of different groups of people. Activists integrate different generations, residents of different districts, losers and winners of the deindustrialisation process. The distance between different parts of the community is diminished as a result of collective activities and shared recollections.

Thirdly, it is a cultural effect – creating the community of culture passed on from one generation to the next. Furthermore, it results in validating different cultural and social experiences by “asserting the wider social relevance.”³⁶ Experiencing places in Włocławek allows the inhabitants to include different stories about them and different memories are

³⁴ L. Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, op. cit., p. 69.

³⁵ John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, London 2002, p. 99.

³⁶ L. Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, op. cit., p. 227.

authorised. It is done by inviting local historians (both professional and amateur) and finding connections between the memories of still living people and the perspective of the agents of power.

Last but not least, connecting is also done by crossing borders between the past and the future by producing heritage and using it to shape the city.

The process of democratisation and popularisation of heritage is related to a significant inquiry about the model of thinking about heritage. The first model is sacred heritage – assuming that heritage should remain under the control of authorities and should not be adapted, but rather conserved and admired. The use of objects is thus limited by the rules established by agents of power. As Jacek Purchla notes, “reading heritage in terms of the sacred naturally detached it from the sphere of economy and development.”³⁷ In the second perspective, heritage is seen as changeable and subject to use. It is a profane heritage. The process of democratisation and popularisation entails the effect of turning to the concept of profane heritage, which is used by bottom-up activists as a specific way of symbolic recycling.

The most significant mode of acting employed by bottom-up culture is to join heritage to people’s lives. This link between the past and the future is done by crossing the sacred and the profane in the field of heritage. Firstly, through sacralisation of everyday life – making the everyday life sacred. Secondly, by including the sacred element into the everyday experience. This process of connecting is important to the creation of not only of a city of urbs, but also a city of civitas.³⁸

37 J. Purchla, *Dziedzictwo a transformacja*, op. cit., p. 37.

38 M. Saryusz-Wolska, “Łódzka Manufaktura...,” op. cit., p. 112.

City Therapy: Urban Heritage as the Main Resource for Grassroots Health Activities

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The city, along with its diverse repertoire of material heritage, for centuries has served various functions, corresponding to specific social needs. Currently, in the era of progressing civilisation diseases, the ageing of society, lengthening of life expectancy and constantly growing number of city inhabitants, one of the most urgent needs is to maintain the urban dwellers' good health. There is no doubt that the mental and physical well-being of the population determines the efficient functioning of both urban and state structures. Together with education, it is the most decisive factor for economic growth.¹ The question is, then: how cultural heritage assets (tangible and intangible) can be used to improve the well-being of city dwellers?

There is no doubt that it is currently essential to take preventive and remedial actions in the area of health policy as well as from the functional and spatial point of view. Although numerous revitalisation programmes, often implemented at a high financial cost, introduce solutions which improve the living conditions of the residents and minimise negative phenomena affecting their health, very often they are inadequate in terms of effective health protection. Heritage preservation and health care are treated as two completely different fields, whereas in fact they can complement each other, leading to the "regeneration" of humans, their social bonds and the historic fabric. The new challenge faced by 21st-century society is the need for symbiosis with the city, instead of fighting against

1 Ewelina Nojszewska, "Społeczno-ekonomiczne czynniki determinujące status zdrowotny społeczeństwa na przykładzie Polski," [in:] *Ekonomia i Prawo w Ochronie Zdrowia*, vol. 1 (2016), p. 60, https://ochronazdrowia.sgh.waw.pl/files/1/12/ekonomia_i_prawo_1-2016_04_ewelina_nojszewska.pdf [access: 10 December 2021].

it or running away from it. Specific, deliberate, day-to-day behaviour and measures taken by the city's inhabitants, through grassroots initiatives that take into account the potential of their surrounding heritage, can offer simple and cost-free remedies to adverse civilisational and climatic changes, while also providing guidelines for municipality authorities.

As Volker Welter explains, city inhabitants should be actively involved in their designing, building, and managing.² Also Paolo Neirotti emphasises the importance of employing the creativity of residents in this regard.³ The inhabitants' right to the city is, after all, a natural right, as Henri Lefebvre points out.⁴ Thus, for the time being, it might be appropriate to introduce a model of health-promoting prevention using knowledge from different fields and the potential of the existing urban environment and its structure: architecture, art, landscape, paving, urban furniture, parks, and gardens. The research on the pro-health function of the city was based on a review of the literature on the subject, statistical analyses, and formal studies on revitalisation (laws, analyses). Observation combined with photographic documentation and empirical research on a pilot group played a no less important role. The aim of the study was to encourage those responsible for health awareness and policy, as well as the academic community, to look at urban space differently and appreciate its health-promoting potential.

Problem outline

Historical cities are to a large extent inhabited by senior citizens and people with reduced mobility due to disease or injury. A significant problem for them is the existing infrastructure, usually not adapted to their abilities or needs. Moreover, proper implementation of new recreational zones in such areas is either impossible or difficult due to the high density of structures or the fact of its being a conservation area. As for the new districts, dominated by a policy of maximum area development, public spaces with a recreational and pro-health function are also lacking or exist only symbolically, disproportionately to the needs. It seems, therefore, that the city cannot meet the requirements posed, not only in terms

2 See Volker Welter, *Biopolis: Patrick Geddes and the City of Life*, Cambridge 2003.

3 Paolo Neirotti et al., "Current Trends in Smart City Initiatives: Some Stylised Facts," [in] *Cities*, vol. 38 (2014), pp. 25–36.

4 Henri Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities*, Oxford 1996, p. 158.

of function and space, but also due to the inefficient form and vision of its management.

Currently more than two-thirds of Europe's population lives in urban areas and this figure will continue to rise.⁵ A report by the international organisation UN Habitat shows that by 2050 the number of people living in urban areas will increase to 70%.⁶ Along with a regularly growing urban population, there will also be an increasing number of elderly people and those with serious health issues.⁷ The most common health disorders afflicting older population cited in studies include hypertension, lower back pain, osteoarthritis, coronary heart disease, diabetes, obesity, and cancer. With age, the probability of dementia also increases. While the underlying causes of these diseases are varied, it is clear that factors contributing to poor health include lack of the following: physical exercise, sensory stimulation, memory training, and social interaction. In consequence, the number of people in need of care will continue to grow, and the public health service may become inefficient. On the other hand, it is expected that in the near future there will be also a greater number of persons aged sixty or more with a high level of education and in good financial and physical condition, which, according to Ewa Lechowska, will probably translate into growing expectations concerning urban space, combined with a desire to spend time actively.⁸ However, it should be remembered that the financial situation of most households necessitates economising. Therefore, free health promotion and treatment programmes can be of key importance here.

Many researchers point to the cities' lack of adequate preparation for the above problems. The aforementioned factors also contribute to one of the biggest challenges for city management. Years of urban planning

5 Zbigniew Przygodzki, *EKOMIASTO#ZARZĄDZANIE: Zrównoważony, inteligentny i partycypacyjny rozwój miast*, Łódź 2016, p. 10.

6 Oyebanji O. Oyeyinka (ed.), *Planning Sustainable Cities: Global Report on Human Settlements 2009*, London 2009, p. xxii.

7 According to the Polish GUS demographic forecast data, by 2050 the number of people aged 65+ will have increased from 19% to 35% in Polish cities. According to the GUS study, the majority of older people will suffer from health problems. See Główny Urząd Statystyczny, *Sytuacja demograficzna osób starszych i konsekwencje starzenia się ludności Polski w świetle prognozy na lata 2014–2050*, Warszawa 2014.

8 Ewa Lechowska, "Miasto przyjazne starzeniu w kontekście dostępności przestrzennej na przykładzie Łodzi," [in:] *Biuletyn KPZK PAN*, vol. 272 (2018), p. 227.

focused on profit rather than on the inhabitants' needs have led to functional and spatial deficiencies, whose overcoming will often involve considerable financial expenses. The World Health Organisation recognised this problem as early as 1988. This was when the decision was made to implement the Healthy Cities project as part of the Health for All strategy. The overarching goal was to improve the health conditions of city dwellers through health promotion and disease prevention, and to ameliorate the state of the natural environment through ecological activities. The project was developed as a response to issues of prevention and diseases.⁹ It was based on the concept of health understood not only as the absence of disease, but above all as a state of physical, mental and social well-being.¹⁰ After all, it is urban citizens who determine the efficient functioning of the city and the state. It is also in line with the idea contained in the World Health Declaration adopted in 1998, according to which the improvement of people's health and well-being was considered the highest goal of social and economic development.¹¹ The measures taken are expected to result in an increased awareness and improved health status of the urban community in the future.¹²

The potential of urban space in preventive health care

According to the ancient holistic concept of health, a balance between the human organism, the social environment and the physical environment is necessary to maintain good health. Nowadays, as a result of the accumulation of many unfavourable factors, this balance is largely disturbed, which affects the sense of well-being and general health of the population. Admittedly, health promotion programmes and revitalisation projects play a significant role in improving the health, well-being, comfort, and safety of city dwellers; nevertheless, they are still insufficient. Revitalisation programmes include designing places for

9 Miasto Zdrowia, Warszawska Izba Gospodarcza, https://wig.waw.pl/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/03_miasto_zdrowia.pdf [access: 10 December 2021].

10 Description of the Healthy City project in Łódź: <https://uml.lodz.pl/dla-mieszkancow/zdrowie/zdrowe-miasto/> [access: 10 December 2021].

11 World Health Organisation, *HEALTH21: An Introduction to the Health for All Policy Framework for the WHO European Region*, 1998, https://www.euro.who.int/__data/assets/pdf_file/0003/88590/EHFA5-E.pdf [access: 10 December 2021].

12 Rafał Tarkowski et al., "The Promotion of Health Care in Practice," [in:] *Journal of Clinical Healthcare*, vol. 4 (2017) p. 15.

active recreation, public spaces and adjusting architectural structures to the needs of the elderly and disabled. In terms of municipal health promotion programmes, various events are organised, yet often the city only serves as a setting. Moreover, these are usually short-term or one-off events. These include sports competitions (such as the Krakow Championships for Seniors 60+ in several disciplines). Seniors' Activity Centres, in turn, offer regular physical activities; however, these mostly take place indoors. Programmes encouraging whole families to engage in physical activity include cycling events, family swimming, or football picnics.¹³ There is a large number of such activities on offer, but their common feature is that they are mostly cyclical, as well as very selective.

Another problem is also the lack of a coherent concept in which the city is treated as an outdoor facility of sorts, inspiring its inhabitants to engage in physical activity all year round. Such an approach would fit in with the city's programmes for the prevention of poor body posture, combating obesity, preventing/delaying dementia, and others. Not only sports fields, playgrounds, running tracks, recreation areas, and outdoor gyms can contribute to the local inhabitants' well-being and health – in fact, the same can be said about architecture, landforms, and urban furniture. Therefore, the concept proposed in this paper focuses not on creating new spatial structure or introducing modifications, but on using the existing one as a preventive health measure and as a complementary therapy for musculoskeletal dysfunctions. Yet, it requires the education of users by making them aware of its possibilities and potential positive effects. Grassroots forms of urban management through social and individual pro-health initiatives can bring the most effective (namely, long-term) results in the form of improving the quality of physical and mental health in society. According to the 2017 State of the City Report, institutional health care measures are much less important than lifestyle, which is evaluated, among others, by using parameters such as diet, use of stimulants, personal hygiene, physical activity, stress, natural environment, and preventive health care. Lifestyle is one of the most essential

13 Manchester City Council, Manchester's State of the City Report 2017, 2017, https://www.manchester.gov.uk/downloads/download/6773/state_of_the_city_report_2017_whole_document [access: 10 December 2021].

factors in social health, its role ranging between 50–80% contribution to overall social health.¹⁴

Building façade as inspiration for exercise

The city's architecture, both historical and contemporary, can serve as an impulse and inspiration for preventive health care activities – largely due to its potential for affecting the senses as well as encouraging social and physical activities. As early as thirty years ago, Krzysztof Wojciechowski pointed to the aesthetic values of landscape, stressing that they constitute essential components of the ever-present quality of life and a factor contributing to one's well-being.¹⁵ Aesthetics, spatial order and harmony enrich the user's psyche, allowing them to forget about their worries, but also enhance their creative and cognitive engagement and facilitate psychophysical regeneration. On the other hand, spatial chaos, negligence, and devastation of space lead to mental poverty, and subsequently to violence or apathy.

Apart from the above mentioned concept of urban beauty and ugliness, architecture can also be interpreted as an extremely complex instrument for multidimensional health prevention, since it allows for the stimulation of all the senses, while also mobilising the brain and cognitive functions. The façade of a building, with its entire repertoire of varied shapes, details, colours, windows, and door openings, has an evident effect on the sense of sight. Varied textures provide an immediate connection with the sense of touch. All these elements can also encourage physical activity. Double pilasters stretching over the entire height of the façade may inspire people to stretch both arms up and stand on tiptoe; an arcade – to tilt the torso to one side, which among other things stretches the quadratus lumborum muscles; a triangular gable – to extend the legs to form a triangle and to bend forward, which is also a good stretching exercise; a line of roofs to twist the head, which is an exercise engaging the cervical section of the spine. Intentionally devised movement tasks, using the potential of historical architecture, encourage people to be active outdoors and look at their surroundings, as well as stop for a moment

14 Aleksander Lipski, "Styl życia jako problem zdrowia społecznego," [in:] *Ruch prawniczy, ekonomiczny i socjologiczny*, vol. 60, no. 1 (1998), p. 151.

15 See Krzysztof Hubert Wojciechowski, *Problemy percepcji i oceny estetycznej krajobrazu*, Lublin 1986, p. 38.

and think about their physical fitness, well-being and state of health. If we add walking or marching between buildings to properly structured exercises, the health-promoting effect will be intensified. The positive effect of walking on health and well-being has been repeatedly proven in numerous studies.¹⁶ Moreover, conscious walking in the city increases the emotional bond of the user with the area. This relationship is affirmed by Yi-Fu Tuan, according to whom sensory and aesthetic feelings in interaction with architecture and greenery influence the sense of belonging to a place.¹⁷ Walks, especially in the immediate vicinity, are particularly valuable for older people. This is because individual buildings can be transformed into distinctive landmarks that facilitate mental mapping and orientation in the city.

The concept proposed in the present article is based on the idea of city walks, the so-called heritage healing paths, during which the senses of sight and hearing as well as proprioception and balance are activated, engaging the motor system. This way, during a conscious walk in the city, combined with the use of its topographical and architectural specificity, it is possible to work on multiple systems simultaneously, which consequently contributes to maintaining and improving health. In order to achieve a pro-health effect, such “urban preventive and therapeutic sessions” should take the form of profiled walks of a certain duration and intensity. These are best developed by an interdisciplinary team of specialists, who may draw up a sample route together with the residents, for example in the course of a grassroots neighbourhood workshop. The walks themselves can be conducted by a suitably prepared guide/carer and/or designed as a pdf file or a phone application for individual use at any time.

The heritage healing walks prepared in this way have a number of benefits. First of all, they can contribute to a reduction in the amount of time spent in a seated position, while also suggesting a new way of using urban space, thus inspiring users to explore the city and engage in physical activity. If performed regularly, they can reduce musculoskeletal discomfort. Furthermore, their nature is conducive to social contact

16 Web page of the network of health walks in England: <https://www.pathsforall.org.uk/what-is-a-health-walk> [access: 9 February 2022].

17 Yi-Fu Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perceptions, Attitudes, and Values*, New York 1990.



Figure 1. Bonerowska tenement house in Krakow. Wikipedia © Piotr Cholewa

and establishing interpersonal bonds through the opportunity for collective participation.

Interpretation and application of an architectural object for health-promoting purposes

An example of the interpretation and application of an architectural object for health-promoting purposes:

Familiarisation with the object, its history and architecture	A brief history of the building and its inhabitants. Basic information about façade divisions (axes, storeys) and decorative elements, which will be helpful in performing the exercises correctly. In the meantime, selected terms can be explained, e.g. attic, coat of arms, grotesque, herms.
Exercises to stimulate memory and cognitive functions	Counting window openings, images with faces, and vases. Drawing attention to colour differences. Searching in memory for objects with similar colours.
Exercise for correct body posture	Position facing the building, in the central part, at the height of the central arcade. Posture correction: e.g. lowering the shoulders along the arcade line; feet slightly apart to the width of a single three-part window; arms hanging freely along the body in the line of the window divisions.
Strengthening exercise	Performing the number of squats/half squats corresponding to the number of windows on the first floor. Step to the side towards the side arcades.
Stretching exercise	Stretching the sides of the body by bending the torso sideways in line with the arcade/portal arc. It can also be combined with moving one arm sideways behind the head.
Exercise to increase mobility of upper limb joints	Alternate raising the arms up in line with the pilasters in the attic. Raising the arms while imagining the movement of taking down the individual vases crowning the top of the attic and depositing them on the lowest cornice.
Breathing exercise	Taking long, slow breaths while imagining closing and opening windows on the second and third floors. Performing short inhalations to the rhythm of the window divisions on the first floor.

Conclusion

There is a therapeutic value to be found in architecture, topography, and special characteristics of an urban area; nevertheless, it is often overlooked, underused, or ignored. By treating the city as a space which can inspire an intentional psycho-physical activity, the health and well-being of many city dwellers can be improved. Such an approach and interpretation of urban space requires, however, that citizens be properly educated and made aware of the possibilities, potentials, and positive effects it offers. A prominent role can be played here by communal and individual initiatives due to their local character and easier access to the target group. This kind of approach to the immediate environment can lead to its creative use. The city can therefore be treated as a multidimensional space and source of inspiration, activating specific pro-health activities and behaviours.

The above-mentioned approach offers a means of implementation of the Global Health for All strategy at local level. According to the Leipzig Charter, Europe needs strong cities and regions where people live well.¹⁸ However, to make this possible, actions need to be implemented in many areas, both top-down (local governments, etc.) and bottom-up. The prevention activities proposed in this article can serve, on the one hand, as a transitional phase (in waiting for top-down spatial changes), on the other hand, as a form of coping with the many challenges and social problems by using already available resources. People's agency in this area is built on individual, everyday decisions that can contribute to long-term positive change.

¹⁸ The New Leipzig Charter: The Transformative Power of Cities for the Common Good, 2020, https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docgener/brochure/new_leipzig_charter/new_leipzig_charter_en.pdf [access: 10 December 2021].

GDR Art and Architecture as a Medium of Social Integration? Post-Reunification Debates in the East Germany

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In August 2019, shortly before the celebrations of the thirtieth anniversary of the Reunification of Germany, President Frank-Walter Steinmeier publicly announced that he was going to decorate his castle residence in a very special way.¹ Several large-sized paintings of the so called non-official artists from the GDR period were exhibited on his initiative. The exhibition was intended as a tribute from himself and the whole society to the artists who were guided by their own free spirit and conscience in the age of the socialist autocratic system. The important gesture of the president included an implicit message to the people in East Germany, publicly stressing at least two aspects: firstly, that the society in the former GDR did not consist solely of regime supporters, as it is repeated in some prejudices. Secondly, that the emergence of the democratic reality in which we live was not self-evident. According to this statement, the reunification was an outstanding achievement, dangerous for many. Simply speaking: the exhibition was a gesture of appreciation.

The same year 2019 was politically a very important period in the east of Germany because of the forthcoming elections in Brandenburg, Saxony, and Thuringia. In the framework of the political campaign even the far-right party AfD [*Alternative für Deutschland*] evoked many terms and symbols known from the peaceful revolution of 1989² and demanded

1 *Ausstellung von Kunst aus der DDR in Schloss Bellevue*, <https://www.bundespraesident.de/SharedDocs/Bilder/DE/Termine/Frank-Walter-Steinmeier/2019/08/190829-Haengung-DDR-Gemaelde-1-Rede.html> [access: 15 December 2021].

2 Deutschlandradio, *Wem gehört die Friedliche Revolution?*, 6 November 2019, <https://www.deutschlandfunk.de/die-ddr-wende-und-die-afd-wem-gehoert-die-friedliche-100.html> [access: 15 December 2021].

to “complete” the political change that had “commenced” thirty years before (which, by the way, might have been a lesson learned from the Polish party PiS, constantly evoking similar arguments). The elections proved indeed to be quite trilling, even if eventually the AfD did not gain full control over one of these eastern states. Considering this difficult situation, the exhibition in the president’s castle can be interpreted as a part of cultural policy aimed at social integration of all those in East Germany who are disappointed by the present reality and vote for radical parties.

Troubles linked with the historic achievement?

The reunification of Germany was a geopolitical move of great relevance for Central Europe; among other reasons, it has contributed to the creation of a vast and stable market and political anchor for the EU. Looking from the perspective of an outsider, the changes taking place after the end of the GDR have provided a great progress because of large-scale infrastructural improvements. This historically unique modernisation of the former socialist country was fuelled from the beginning with European funds. This circumstance might have awoken a kind of envy in the eyes of observers from other post-socialist states, which had to manage their problems on their own and with less resources. But the fast track transformation in the east of Germany have cost a high social price.³ The privatisation process of the former state-run industry and service sector has been coordinated by the Treuhand, a federal agency whose activities are still an object of controversy and highly emotional discussions.⁴

The high unemployment rates in the 1990s are not, in fact, the main point of the critique. The most important factor is the long-lasting consequences of the specific way of domination by the West German companies in this period. This, as well as the massive exchange of the ruling elites in East Germany,⁵ were but few of the factors fostering the specific feeling of economic and political domination, which in turn has turned

3 Ulrich Busch and Michael Thomas (eds.), *Ein Vierteljahrhundert Deutsche Einheit: Facetten einer unvollendeten Integration*, Berlin 2015.

4 Wolfgang Schluchter and Peter Quint (eds.), *Der Vereinigungsschock*, Weilerswist 2001.

5 Hans-Ulrich Derlien, “Elitezirkulation zwischen Implosion und Integration,” [in:] *Die Transformation Ostdeutschlands*, eds. Hans Bertram and Raj Kollmorgen, Opladen 2001, pp. 53–76.

into a still ongoing cultural conflict between the eastern and western parts of Germany. Moreover, in the initial years after the Reunification the narrative of the GDR as a “backward and oppressive state” proved very useful in terms of justifying the efforts and the sense of national reunification. However, this one-sided narrative has overshadowed all other aspects of reality and ultimately heightened inferiority complexes of many people in the new part of the present Germany.

The political party which traditionally articulated the standpoint of the East after 1989 was Die Linke [the Left Party], which represented extreme leftist positions over a couple of years. However, since this party moderated its strategies, gained more stable ground and took responsibility for ruling in the eastern federal states Brandenburg and Thuringia, a significant part of their former (protest) voters became the electorate of the strongly nationalistic and xenophobic AfD party. Their voters in the East are – to use a slight exaggeration – poorly educated and mostly rural, removed from larger urban centres. They have a latent feeling of losing their dignity and sense of betrayal by the representatives of democratic institutions. Thus we recognise a similar mechanism to the one known from many other countries.

Social integration through appreciation

Hanging up the GDR paintings in the Bellevue Castle was not the only token of commitment given by President Steinmeier. Slightly earlier, in the summer of 2019, he had participated in the opening of a large and prestigious exhibition of GDR art from the 1980s, which took place in Potsdam.⁶ However, the Potsdam exhibition was not sponsored by the state. It was a private contribution of Mr Hasso Plattner, a tech-billionaire and co-founder of the SAP corporation, whose involvement in the reconstruction of great baroque objects in Potsdam and organisation of excellent exhibitions of classic European art is well known. Why was this action astonishing?

For a better understanding of the local context, it needs to be stressed that the centre of Potsdam, the former proud residence of the Prussian kings, was exceptionally meticulously rebuilt in the socialist era, in

6 Michael Bienert, “Geste der Anerkennung: Bundespräsident holt kritische DDR-Kunst nach Bellevue,” [in:] *Tagesspiegel*, 30 August 2019, <https://www.tagesspiegel.de/kultur/geste-der-erkennung-bundespraesident-holt-kritische-ddr-kunst-nach-bellevue/24958442.html> [access: 15 December 2021].

order to diminish the Prussian splendour and create a new socialist, modern townscape. In recent years the issue of what the city should look like turned to be a constant battleground for the supporters and opponents of the reconstruction of the former baroque townscape. The latter advocate for the maintenance of art in public spaces as well as preservation of the modernist architecture from the socialist period. These friends of socialist townscape, constantly protesting against the baroque-like reconstructions, have been in the defensive for a long time, but the situation is presently changing because the communal authorities decided to take them more seriously. Besides, since Plattner has long been associated with the fraction of the baroque lovers, he surprised general public by buying an endangered restaurant building from the GDR period in Potsdam in order to maintain it and use as a site for exhibiting his collection of GDR art.⁷ By doing so, Plattner has extended a gesture of appreciation to those involved in the preservation of socialist art and architecture. In a wider, indirect sense, the patron has done the same as President Steinmeier intended to do: he indirectly contributed to the social integration of all these people in the East who have been experiencing the subjective feeling of being ignored and who could potentially become “protest voters” in a critical moment.

A theoretical model for the tensions between ignored and ignorant people has been provided by German conflict theorist Axel Honneth.⁸ According to him, what is behind social conflicts and protests are not only aspirations to power or material goods. One of the basic reasons for such conflicts is also a lack of appreciation. Honneth developed his theory based on the assumption that people generate self-acceptance only through reciprocal, intersubjective relations. They want to be seen as more than merely creatures with specific needs and need to be accepted as more than just equals in society. They want to be appreciated as unique and important contributors as well.

7 “Potsdam bekommt durch Hasso Plattner ein weiteres Museum: das ‘Minsk,’” [in:] *Berliner Zeitung*, 9 June 2020, <https://www.berliner-zeitung.de/politik-gesellschaft/potsdam-bekommt-durch-hasso-plattner-ein-weiteres-museum-das-minsk-li.86689> [access: 15 December 2021].

8 Axel Honneth, *Kampf um Anerkennung: Zur moralischen Grammatik sozialer Konflikte*, Frankfurt am Main 1992; see also Völker Schmitz (ed.), *Axel Honneth and the Critical Theory of Recognition*, Cham 2019.

Art in public spaces of the (late) GDR period

Both cases described above indicate that recently art is often perceived (among other means) as a part of cultural policy and as a medium of encountering massive identity problems in East Germany. In the following, we should shed more light especially at art in public spaces, respectively the *Kunst am Bau* [art in architecture] from the late socialist period. In recent years, the subject has been attracting more attention in art history, conservation, museology, as well as ethnology. This matters for both the historical analysis of several phenomena⁹ and the question how to preserve and curate this legacy in our times.¹⁰ Even if not every object is to be seen as an example of art, we should keep in mind that many of them have had a major impact in the processes of socialisation of several generations, whether they realised it or not. Therefore, we should see them as important and unique witnesses of social and political history of East Germany, useful for educational purposes. They have the potential to be helpful in explaining the cultural and social policy in the semi-authoritarian regime and to tell us more about its interaction with the individuals who behaved very differently on the scale between loyal and subversive attitudes.

Advocacy for these disappearing objects has been generated first by certain young architects and historians of architecture working in a bottom-up manner,¹¹ or, to use the notion proposed by Laurajane Smith, in the frame of the “nonauthorized heritage discourse.”¹² They have initiated the process of slow heritagisation, taking place in the last

9 Focusing on German literature, one can name but a few chosen publications: Peter Guth, *Wände der Verheissung: Zur Geschichte der architekturbezogenen Kunst in der DDR*, Leipzig 1995; Martin Maleschka, *Baubezogene Kunst DDR*, Berlin 2019; Bundesministerium des Innern, für Bau und Heimat (ed.), *Kunst am Bau in der DDR*, München 2020.

10 Mark Escherich (ed.), *Denkmal Ost-Moderne*, Berlin 2011; Veronica Kölling et al. (eds.), *Unbequeme Baudenkmale des Sozialismus: Der Wandel der gesellschaftlichen Akzeptanz im mittel- und osteuropäischen Vergleich*, Berlin 2013; Arnold Bartetzky, Christian Dietz and Jörg Haspel (eds.), *Von der Ablehnung zur Aneignung? Das architektonische Erbe des Sozialismus in Mittel- und Osteuropa*, Köln-Weimar-Wien 2014; Mark Escherich (ed.), *Denkmal Ost-Moderne II*, Berlin 2016; Philipp Schorch and Daniel Habit (eds.), *Curating (Post-)Socialist Environments*, Bielefeld 2021.

11 Danuta Schmidt, “Im Einsatz für die Ostmoderne,” [in:] *Baunetz Woche*, no. 515 (21 June 2018), pp. 7–23, https://www.baunetz.de/meldungen/Meldungen-BAUNETZWOCHE_515_5427406.html [access: 15 December 2021].

12 Laurajane Smith, *The Uses of Heritage*, London–New York 2006.

ten–fifteen years under the keyword *Ostmoderne* [East Modernity, meaning the post-Stalinist architecture of the socialist period]. Meanwhile – as shown above – this process is slowly reaching the mainstream, which enables its social and political use in the top-down manner.

We should now briefly present these objects from the post-Stalinist GDR period. Next, we can turn to explaining its afterlife, after the dissolution of the GDR and to the processes of heritagisation.

The late 1960s and the 1970s are internationally known as a period in which remarkable amounts of money were spent in order to introduce more experience and orientation in the urban planning.¹³ This matters also for towns, especially bigger towns, in the whole socialist zone. In the GDR, especially in the period of Erich Honnecker, a consumerist attitude brought a slightly larger degree of freedom for artists,¹⁴ who were no longer obliged to depict the heroes of socialist work and who were – at least – allowed to travel to other socialist countries. In this period many outstanding works of public art were created in East Germany. Some of the monumental works (Figures 1 and 2) by such “official artists” as Walter Womacka or Josep Renau show international influences coming from the realm of global socialism, and above all from the Mexican post-revolutionary style known as *muralismo*. On the one hand, they are a means of individualisation of public buildings; on the other, they are more than a decoration. Some of them have a great impact on the whole cityscape.

Because the urban development took place as a coordinated (and of course controlled) collective work, the question of interdisciplinary cooperation between urban planners, architects, artists, and craft-workers became the subject of extended theoretical elaborations. And indeed, many works are of reasonably high quality, as every artist participating in public contracts was expected to have been educated in an art academy. In socialist cities the impact of these works of art was strong (stronger, in fact, that we can imagine nowadays) as there were almost no commercial advertisements in public spaces, which means that art had no visual competitors. Every *Bezirksstadt* [regional administrative centre] has been

13 Vittorio Magnano Lampugnani, *Die Stadt im 20. Jahrhundert: Visionen, Entwürfe, Gebautes*, vol. 2, Berlin 2011, pp. 789–811; Malcolm Miles, *Art, Space and the City*, London 1999, p. 5.

14 Paul Kaiser, “Zum Auftrag, System und Wandel architekturbezogener Kunst in der DDR,” [in:] *Kunst am Bau in der DDR*, ed. Bundesministerium des Innern, für Bau und Heimat, München 2020, pp. 56–59.



Figure 1. Walter Womacka, *Human Being: The Measure of All Things*. The mosaic was originally placed in the building of the Ministry of Construction. The photograph shows the work after its translocation to a different venue in Berlin. © Wikipedia, Achim Bodewig 2013

supplied with lots of small sculptures, ceramic works, or wall-paintings. All great trade or educational organisations had to decorate their buildings with works of art.

To accomplish this, a certain percentage of the overall costs of any public building (usually 1.5–2% of the total expenses)¹⁵ was reserved for art and individually created decoration. This regulation was a part of an old tradition deriving from the Weimar Republic and its support for the modernist artists suffering due to the restricted commission markets.

The themes of these large-scale objects circulated around the progress of civilisation, peace or specific goals of a particular building or place. There is also a high number of small-scale objects placed in pedestrian spaces (see Figure 3), which show more intimate scenes, such as a mother playing with a child or animals intended as toys for children. All in all, the majority of the works created from the 1960s onwards do not express

¹⁵ In the 1980s this percentage was reduced to 0.5 percent. This would, however, vary from town to town, depending on the “financial creativity” of local planners.



Figure 2. Josep Renau, *The Peaceful Use of Atomic Energy* (1970), placed above the entrance to the office building of the state-owned energy enterprise in Halle. © Wikipedia, Spree Tom 2012

any direct political messages. However, we have to keep in mind that every object affirming a normal and peaceful way of life in an unjust state should be understood in the broader frame of the state's legitimization.

Between disposal and heritagisation

What happened to this legacy after the Reunification of Germany? For nearly twenty years, the vast majority of art was ignored and neglected. The “old socialist world” was overshadowed by the overarching restructuring of the whole industry, public services, social life, and state ideology. The disappearance of local brands and jobs, as well as takeovers of local, ineffectively working companies are, of course, known from other transformation states across Central and Eastern Europe. However, nowhere was the transformation flanked by an almost complete exchange of elites and a kind of cultural hegemony provided by the other part of the same nation. It is actually a very unique feature of the German transformation.

The whole territory of the former GDR suffered huge losses of population. In cities like Halle, Leipzig, or Frankfurt (Oder) around thirty percent of inhabitants emigrated, mostly to the western part of Germany.



Figure 3. Walter Kreisel, *Young Boy with a Fish*. A small bronze sculpture from the 1970s in the Oder-Promenade in Frankfurt (Oder). © Wikipedia, Sicherlich 2006

The rural regions in the poorest areas of Saxony or Mecklenburg-Vorpommern have become actual reservoirs for far-right parties, which easily utilised the negative emotions of many unemployed and desperate people for their own ideological purposes. All this contributed to the explosive social and political background, which is of crucial importance for the understanding of the current cultural appropriation of the art and architecture from the GDR period.

Under these circumstances, it is by no mean surprising that art as well as many remains of the material culture of the GDR became meaningless for a couple of years. This resembles the so called “rubbish theory”

proposed by Michael Thomson.¹⁶ According to this theory, the objects whose function is lost can be revalorised – if they survive the section of time when they are seen as rubbish. The cancellation of any values and the almost demonstrative destruction of iconic objects was nowhere as clear as in the case of the Palast der Republik in Berlin, the central representative GDR building, erected in 1976 on the site of the former royal castle (destroyed by the communists in 1950). The decision to demolish the socialist Palast and rebuild the royal castle was taken in 1990 by the Parliament (at that time fully controlled by West German politicians) and executed in 2006–2008 – means many years after that initial decision. The long period between the first decision and eventual demolition provided a time frame for a long critical debate.

The case discussed above was similar to many other situations running at the same time in several East German towns, such as Weimar, Dresden, Erfurt, or Potsdam. In all these places iconic sites from the socialist period came under threat, which caused the awakening of some protesters. The running plans related to the remastering of urban structures (including demolitions) gave many young people an occasion to become engaged in the planning policies. Incidentally, this was the first lesson of democracy and “free self-determination” after the fall of the semi-totalitarian state. The widening of the debate related to the cultural appropriation of the socialist modern legacy reached momentum around 2010, when several academic institutions expressed their interest. Even earlier, one particular institution was dedicated to researching the architectural history of the GDR,¹⁷ but now the conferences and publications offered by universities gave rise to appropriate terms and actors visible in the public.¹⁸

Finally, I would like to mention my own experiences in Frankfurt (Oder, a medium-sized town on the German–Polish border. The former socialist *Bezirksstadt* lost more than thirty percent of its population within a couple of years after the reunification. High unemployment rates

16 Michael Thompson, *Rubbish Theory: The Creation and Destruction of Value*, Oxford 1979.

17 Department for Historical Research of the Leibniz Institute for Research on Society and Space in Erkner near Berlin.

18 In 2011 two international conferences were organised: “Denkmal Ostmoderne” at the Bauhaus University Weimar and “Uncomfortable Architectural Heritage of Socialism: A Comparison of Social Acceptance in Central and Eastern Europe,” organised in cooperation between European University Viadrina in Frankfurt (Oder) and German Historical Museum Berlin.

in the first ten–fifteen years resulted in a deeply depressive mood. Significantly, the town and its population did not build up any relations to the university that was created here after the political transformation. In 2017, together with a small group of activists, I created an exhibition devoted to socialist art and design in public spaces of Frankfurt.¹⁹ We organised several public debates and invited German and French academic colleagues dealing with the GDR history to deliver a couple of lectures. The exhibition had a major impact. Apart from extensive press and media coverage in the Federal State of Brandenburg and beyond, there was the massive presence of local audiences, evidenced in numerous testimonials left in the visitors' book confirming the deep need to experience this type of cultural encounters with the recent past. It became clear in public discussions that the exhibition provided one of the first ever occasions to talk about the rapid political changes as well as the realities that existed before and were entirely pushed aside during the systemic transformation. The opportunity to speak publicly about these themes and to share individual and collective experiences created the momentum of recognition and integration, which explains the great popularity of the exhibition.

It seems that most participants were aware of the big time lapse that divides us from the past as well as the dangers to perceive the former period less than clearly or to become nostalgic. The strategy to include even difficult themes such as ideological indoctrination or infiltration of the cultural milieus of the GDR by the state secret service made the tone of the debate rather criticising. At the same time, however, intriguing and quite positive elements were evoked, such as a subversive obstinacy in the actions of some artists dating from the 1970s onwards and especially in the final period of the GDR, when many were fascinated by the Polish Solidarność movement.

Taking all this into account, the audience was sure that the GDR art in public spaces should be seen as a part of a town's identity and represented in the framework of marketing at the same level as local medieval

19 Paul Zalewski, "Entstaubt: baubezogene Kunst der DDR – Eine Ausstellung an der Europa-Universität Viadrina in Frankfurt/Oder," [in:] *Kulturpolitische Mitteilungen*, vol. 158, no. 3 (2017), pp. 88–89; "Was macht die Kunst in Frankfurt/Oder?," [in:] *Moderne Regional*, <https://www.moderne-regional.de/was-macht-die-kunst/> [access: 15 December 2021]; "Plattenbau – Damals. Heute. Morgen," [in:] *Wohnungsbaugesellschaft Berlin-Mitte*, <https://www.jeder-qm-du.de/tipps-aus-der-redaktion/termine/termin-details/was-macht-die-kunst-frankfurt-oder/> [access: 15 December 2021].

churches. Consequently, the academics are encouraged to work on similar topics. Every project addressing corresponding themes can rely on the support of the municipal administration.²⁰ In this way, the stories from the ambivalent times of socialism are critically evaluated and – whenever possible – interesting or positive aspects of the past are highlighted, which provides an element of recognition for the values of the older citizens. While doing so – and this is yet another outcome of this procedure on the politician metalevel – it becomes more difficult for radical populist parties to claim the authority to interpret, appropriate and misuse the GDR past for their operational purposes, exploiting it for the disintegration and polarisation of the whole society.

²⁰ Like another project created by the author together with students and related to art in public spaces in Frankfurt (Oder). See <https://kunst-im-vorbeigehen.de/> [access: 15 December 2021].

Traditional Crafts as a Means of Social Integrity

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Traditional folk culture is an integral but distinctive part of cultural heritage, whose specificity is that it is alive and, unlike material heritage, is constantly evolving and transforming. This heritage is therefore also part of the so-called living culture. The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage explicitly draws attention to this dynamic aspect.¹

This study focuses on the role of local cultural heritage in integrating new residents in a traditional local community in relation to handicraft workshops in textile techniques. In the text I comment on the geographical region of Moravian Kopanice² in the Czech Republic, and traditional textile techniques of embroidery, while weaving on frame and form and wool processing are discussed to a lesser degree. In the text I will comment on the practical transmission of knowledge of these textile and decorative techniques between the older and younger generations (that is the generational transmission of tradition), but also between the local population and newcomers. Gaining such knowledge helps both groups to better understand each other. At the same time, handicraft activities contribute to people's psychological well-being, which means that it also is a psycho-hygienic activity.

1 Jan Krist, Věra Skopová, and Jarmila Teturová (eds.), *Koncepce účinnější péče o tradiční lidovou kulturu v České republice na léta 2016 až 2020*, Praha 2016, p. 2.

2 Moravian Kopanice (Moravské Kopanice in Czech). Local people often refer to it just as "Kopanice."

Czech ethnologists claim that ethnic and cultural traditions are important in the formation of society's identity:

[It] is a topical social issue that is increasingly coming out in local and regional conditions. It affects not only the ties of society to traditional culture, but also general issues of coexistence, the development of small communities, and leisure [...]. It is an important cultural and social factor in a societal dimension, with overlaps towards the “living” interpersonal sphere and the preservation of cultural heritage, both in historical and contemporary terms, including in international contexts.³

To fully understand the process of the coexistence of the newcomers and permanent residents and the role of traditional handicrafts, I developed and combined several research stages: I used observations⁴ and interviews with both permanent and newly settled inhabitants (empirical investigation); I participated in a local handicraft workshop and an embroidery meeting; I prepared and carried out a questionnaire survey with representatives of the central village⁵ and women from the area; finally, I supported the results with statistical data of the area of Moravian Kopanice. Being an ethnographer by profession and a native of the area (although I no longer live there) was a further benefit.

The region of Moravian Kopanice

The region of Moravian Kopanice is situated in the eastern part of the Czech Republic, on the Moravian and Slovak borders in the White Carpathians Protected Landscape Area. This hilly region with natural forests consists of five villages that have shared the same cultural and historical development. These include the central village of Starý Hrozenkov and the scattered communities of Vápenice, Žitková, Vyškovec, and Lopeník. The geographical location and impoverishment of the inhabitants of this area have had a great influence on the isolation of the region

3 Alena Křížová, Martina Pavlicová, and Miroslav Válka, *Lidové tradice jako součást kulturního dědictví*, Brno 2015, p. 7.

4 Repeated field research in the years 2012, 2015, and 2021.

5 The mayors of the villages of Vyškovec, Žitková, and Vápenice; repeated field research, personal archives of the author, 2021.

and the conservatism of the inhabitants. It was a traditional rural area where most of the inhabitants were self-sufficient farmers. The building of infrastructure, such as electrification, reliable roads, telephone lines, and other modern elements, occurred very late as compared to inland areas. Consequently, many phenomena of traditional folk culture were preserved there until the mid-20th century,⁶ including traditional folk dress, local dialect and customs, traditional crafts, and traditional farming.

Things changed after the communist coup in 1948 and the collectivisation of the land. Most of the inhabitants living off agriculture had to find other work, and they commuted elsewhere. The mobility had a negative impact on the original agricultural structure of the village, and its cultural and social life.⁷ Many people moved to villages or towns where they were closer to their new work, and they lived more comfortably. Nevertheless, they did not forget their old homes. This was also mentioned by one of the respondents to my questionnaire:

Life was hard in Kopanice. Young people left for work, settled down, and began to live a different, easier life. But no native of Kopanice, even if they moved to the other side of the world, stops being a native. They like to return home, at least for a little while, through a book, or embroidery... Everyone wants to have at least a piece of what smells like home.⁸

The life orientation and work rhythm of those who remained in the region of Moravian Kopanice were soon shaped by stimuli other than nature, as it was before. There was no longer the need to use traditional handicraft techniques; they lost their practical functions, they ceased to be used, and the bearers of these skills almost disappeared. Nevertheless,

6 The preservation of certain elements of traditional folk culture has been also observed in other mountain and sub-mountain regions, especially in Slovakia. Cf. Bernard Garaj, "Etnokulturne tradice v oblasti pohronského Inovca vo vzťahu ku Gajdošovu na Slovensku," [in:] *Etnokulturní tradice v současné společnosti*, ed. Marta Toncrová, Brno 2007, pp. 59–60.

7 For more on the transformation of the countryside see Miroslav Válka, "Transformace venkova a tradiční kultura," [in:] *Etnokulturní tradice v současné společnosti*, op. cit., p. 9.

8 Hana Jurigová *1955, Vápenice, 22 June 2021, repeated field research, personal archives of the author, 2021.



Figure 1. Traditional clothing from the Moravian Kopanice area. The Kopaničár and Kopaničárek folklore ensembles at a ceremonial harvest parade. Starý Hrozenkov, 8 September 2013. Photo: Terézia Ondrová

some elements of traditional folk culture have been preserved to this day because of the folklore movement and local folklore groups.⁹

Social structure of the Moravian Kopanice villages

Today, the largest group of inhabitants in the region of Moravian Kopanice are the permanent residents, whose ancestors have lived in the area for several generations. This is even though since 1945 a gradual eviction of residents – especially from the villages with scattered homes, such as Vyškovec, Vápenice, Žitková, and Lopeník – has been observed. The depopulation of small rural settlements in mountain and foothill areas has been related to little or no investment in infrastructure, as well as the shortage of jobs in the area. It is evident that the area is no longer a convenient place to live for the young and working-age descendants of the permanent residents. They complain about unsuitable roads, distant work possibilities, and the lack of village amenities, such as shops and

⁹ There are several active folklore ensembles in the area: the Kopaničár ensemble, Kopaničárek children's ensemble, Čečera women's choir, Male Choir of Vápenice, and the bagpipers of Kopanice.

schools. Most of the current residents of the discussed villages are in their senior years and getting older.

In the 1990s, in the period of the post-communist transformation, the national economy was restructured, which was also reflected in the social structure of rural areas.¹⁰ The area of Moravian Kopanice, distant from big centres and relatively unspoiled by civilisation, has gradually become a cottage area where holidaymakers come for short-term and seasonal stays.¹¹ In some places, the number of holidaymakers is equal to the number of old-timers. Since 2000, and most notably in the 2010s, numerous families from across the country have been interested in settling permanently in Moravian Kopanice. These are often young families who do not want to live a consumerist lifestyle. On the contrary, they want to enjoy a connection with nature, to be self-sufficient and produce their raw material supply, and to farm in a traditional way. Czech environmentalist Hana Librová metaphorically called such incoming families “colourful and green.”¹²

Coexistence and integrity

Concerning the coexistence of cottagers with permanent residents, ethnologist Miroslav Válka states:

Cottagers and newly settled families represent a new element in the village, which is reflected differently by the local permanent residents. Relationships may be neutral or may shift to a positive or negative position. If the newcomers become familiar with the village collective, they may initiate some activities that contribute to the development of local culture and social life.¹³

This applies not only to the coexistence of cottagers with the permanent residents, but also to that of newly settled families with the permanent residents and their families. Various types of relationships

¹⁰ M. Válka, op. cit., p. 10.

¹¹ “The conversion of former farmsteads into recreational facilities for urban dwellers has been a mass phenomenon in the Czech Republic since the beginning of the 1970s, during the period of normalisation. Sociologists state that it was, on the one hand, a compensation for the strictly limited travel to capitalist foreign countries.” M. Válka, op. cit., p. 10.

¹² Hana Librová, *Pestří a zelení*, Brno 1994.

¹³ M. Válka, op. cit., p. 10.

between the permanent residents and newcomers have been observed in the villages of Moravian Kopanice. Due to the age difference between the newcomers, who were represented by dynamic, young families, and the permanent residents, who were older and kept their distinctive opinions, there appeared some initial misunderstandings. The old-timers felt the need to protect their territory and way of life. One respondent, a cottager, provided the following characterisation of the permanent residents:

[There is] a certain hardness and caution in communication, but this can quickly turn into a friendly conversation, sometimes even to the point of exaggeration and telling tall tales among the older generation. In the speech of the local people in Kopanice, one may often hear various expressions and phrases interpreted in a dialect. I have noticed a protective relationship with Kopanice among the old-timers, [who are] sometimes even wary, suspicious towards the newcomers.¹⁴

Another respondent, one of the newcomers, depicted the old-timers of Kopanice as follows: “They are hospitable, curious, suspicious, clever, and cautious...”¹⁵

Nevertheless, difficult multi-generational communication and the co-existence of permanent settlers and newcomers would improve with time, and both groups reached better understanding. Cultural and social events as well as handicraft courses helped in some way.¹⁶ In the following part of the article, I will focus on a specific example of handicraft workshops in the village of Vyškovec.

In the years of 2010–2012, craft courses were organised in Vyškovec on the initiative of the Civic Association of the Czech Union of Nature

14 Anežka Heinzlová, *1990, from Roztoky u Prahy, cottager in Vyškovec, 25 March 2021, repeated field research, personal archives of the author, 2021.

15 Katarína Jiříčková, *1984, Vyškovec, a native of Dubnice nad Váhom (Slovakia), semi-structured interview, Vyškovec, 9 May 2021, repeated field research, personal archives of the author, 2021.

16 Handicraft courses and workshops in the village of Vyškovec were the subject of the BA thesis by Marie Hvozdecká: Marie Hvozdecká, “Řemeslné kurzy na Moravských Kopanicích v obci Vyškovec,” BA thesis, Brno 2012.

Conservationists of Moravian Kopanice.¹⁷ They included teaching folk dances and songs, thatched roof production, traditional textile techniques, restoration of original folk costumes, woodcarving, basketry, carpentry, and wood construction.¹⁸ Through teaching traditional handicraft activities, the organisers aimed to help residents, both permanent and newcomers, to potential income-generating opportunities. The shared activities also improved the relationships in the community. Initially, the courses were frequented mostly by the young people of the newcoming generations, cottagers, and even people from other regions. Village old-timers are not used to leisure-time activities as is evident from their historical memory; instead, they are more accustomed to various all-year-round activities around their households, homes, and vegetable plots. One of the newcoming settlers commented on the lifestyle of the old-timers: “The permanent residents are not used to any major entertainment and activities in the village; everything mostly concerns farming and agriculture and raising children.”¹⁹ Nevertheless, after finishing the course, newcomers and young ones were able to better appreciate the traditional lifestyle of the permanent residents, and to understand their worries.

Courses on traditional clothing

The people of the region of Moravian Kopanice are proud of their traditional clothing and they perceive it as a distinctive element of their local identity. Their traditional folk costumes with rich decoration distinguish them from the surrounding ethnic groups. Many respondents of my research considered the traditional clothing and its typical

17 In Czech: Občanské sdružení Základní organizace Českého svazu ochránců přírody Moravské Kopanice. The association organises handicraft courses, traditional meadow mowing, and other activities supporting the life of the inhabitants of the village of Vyškovec in the White Carpathians. For more, see ZO ČSOP Moravské Kopanice, www.moravskekopanice.cz.

18 Courses in folk dances and songs were held on 9–11 July 2010, carving course on 13 November 2010, thatched roof making on 28–30 December 2010, basketry on 4–6 February 2011, carpentry and woodwork on 30 April 2011. The dates of the courses on traditional textile techniques and restoration of the original folk costume of Moravian Kopanice are listed further in the article.

19 Katarína Jiríčková, *1984, Vyškovec, a native of Dubnice nad Váhom (Slovakia), semi-structured interview, Vyškovec, 9 May 2021, repeated field research, personal archives of the author, 2021.

decoration an outstanding feature of Kopanice, and a local symbol: “It is a beautiful folk costume, which in all its details captures the region of Kopanice and its people as they were.”²⁰ This is also why in my research I preferred to focus on two specific courses: one course on traditional textile techniques (held on 8–29 October 2010 and 28–30 December 2010), and the other on the restoration of the original folk costume (24 September 2011, 8 October and 22 October 2011, 10 December 2011 and 12 May 2012). The course on the restoration of the original folk costume met with great interest: it was prolonged due to popular demand, and it also had the highest number of attendees. At single workshops, participants learnt about the traditional way of processing wool (wool crimping, carding, spinning on a spinning wheel) and pre-scaling techniques (weaving on a frame, mould, and plates, which are now extinct in the area). The tradition of the original Kopanice embroidery is still alive in the area, so learning its techniques and subtleties was most demanded by attendees. One of the participants of the course explained her interest in traditional Kopanice embroidery as follows:

I am not a native of Kopanice; I can see that other newcomers admire this technique too and are interested in learning it. Some of my friends across the country, even in Prague, are also interested in the Kopanice folk costume, and some have even learned the basic techniques of this art of embroidery.²¹

Another participant, who has returned permanently to her original region after many years, and regularly attends embroidery meetings, commented on the integration of newcomers into the local community of old-timers: “People who move here are different; some try to integrate, they embroider, and if you don’t know where they came from, you won’t even think that they are newcomers. Be welcome, whoever comes in good [intentions]...”²²

20 Mariana Masaříková, *1987, now living in Tvarožná u Brna, a native of Starý Hrozenkov, 19 March 2021, repeated field research, personal archives of the author, 2021.

21 Anežka Heinzlová, *1990, from Roztoky u Prahy, cottager in Vyškovec, 25 March 2021, repeated field research, personal archives of the author, 2021.

22 Hana Jurigová, *1955, Vápenice, 22 June 2021, repeated field research, personal archives of the author, 2021.

The main lecturer and organiser of the courses was Jarmila Konečná, a cottage owner from Vyškovec. She contacted Eliška Křížková, a local expert on folk embroidery, treatment, and modification of traditional folk clothing from the central village of Starý Hrozenkov, and invited her to conduct the courses.²³ Among the local community, the wider public, and scholars, Křížková is considered the greatest expert on folk clothing, accessories, and especially embroidery from the area. She teaches textile decoration techniques to all people who are interested in it and has managed to raise several very good successors. She herself learned to embroider at the age of ten from her aunt Anastázia Kubáníková from Vápenice. Křížková has been instrumental in reviving the unique local technique of hand sewing a woman's woollen belt (*sak*), which is part of women's folk costume. She is also proficient in tailoring and embroidery (embroidery and the technique of embroidering on cloth). She reconstructs old costume components as well as cleans and maintains costumes for local folklore groups and choirs, and other interested parties anytime they need to repair, clean, or sew and embroider Moravian Kopanice folk costumes.

Křížková was enthusiastic about the interest of newcomers in this decorative textile technique. She could see the potential in preserving traditional embroidery for future generations: "Many people left Kopanice in the course of history, yet they retained their relationship to it. That is why their descendants are returning to embroidery and costume [...]. I am glad that people from other parts of the country are interested in this craft too [...]." ²⁴ The fact that traditional embroidery will remain alive in this area and will not disappear is one of the important outputs of the course. Many attendees highly valued the skills they learned and information they obtained:

Nowadays few people know how to match what belongs together, where to put which pattern and what colour. It is important that this wealth is preserved for future generations and that people

23 Eliška Křížková, *1946, embroiders, repairs, and takes care of traditional clothing for local folklore groups. She is often approached by professional institutions for cooperation (e.g. the J. A. Komenský Museum in Uherský Brod, the Slováké Museum in Uherské Hradiště, the Museum of the Bojkovice Region in Bojkovice).

24 Eliška Křížková, *1946, Starý Hrozenkov, 22 March 2021, repeated field research, personal archives of the author, 2021.



Figure 2. A detail of a woman's sleeve, traditional handmade Kopanice embroidery. Starý Hrozenkov, 2 May 2021. Photo: Terézia Ondrová

know where it came from and who their ancestor was. When they see the embroidery, they say, this is where I come from, and I'm not a stranger.²⁵

I personally like the fact that more and more younger people are taking up embroidery. You can see that it is part of our wealth, and we are glad that it is not going to disappear.²⁶

It is thus evident that the art of embroidery and other elements of traditional culture are perceived by both the old-timers and newcomers as essential for the preservation of local traditions and cultural heritage.

Embroidery in focus

In the past, the technique of the Moravian Kopanice embroidery was naturally passed down in the family from mother or grandmother to (grand)

25 Jana Babrnáková, *1994, Vápenice, 22 March 2021, repeated field research, personal archives of the author, 2021.

26 Dana Strapinová, *1982, Starý Hrozenkov, 19 March 2021, repeated field research, personal archives of the author, 2021.

daughter. Women used embroidery to decorate traditional folk clothing such as women's and men's shirts, summer dresses (bodices sewn with skirts), aprons, and women's bonnets, as well as interior textiles such as tablecloths and cushions, and religious textiles. Today, working on embroidery is considered mainly a leisure time activity, a handicraft hobby. This art is rarely passed on in families today; more often, those interested come for advice and instruction to Eliška Křížková. Girls and women are currently creating the following items: bags, mobile phone cases, clothing accessories such as ties, bow ties, pictures, and baptismal shrouds. Experienced embroiderers also produce components of folk clothing or interior textiles. A cottage owner from Vyškovec says:

At present, various accessories, even traditional folk dress components, are embroidered in homes in Kopanice, and there are certainly many women interested in the craft. I am not afraid that hand embroidery will stop; it belongs here.²⁷

The Moravian Kopanice embroidery is considered archaic with minimal interventions and developmental changes. Changes have occurred only in the material used, which is no longer produced, and the size of the embroidery. The oldest preserved embroideries²⁸ in museum collections are simpler in character, take up less space on textiles and are less colourful. The embroideries were made on homemade hemp or flax linen, which was later replaced by bought cotton linen. Nowadays, most embroidery is done on textiles called *panama*. There have also been changes in the material and colour of embroidery yarn. Originally, natural hemp and wool yarns were used. Already at the beginning of the 19th century these were partially replaced by dyed wool (red, blue, green, and yellow) called *halabur*. Today, individual embroidery is done with cotton "pearl" thread or *mulinka*. Experienced embroiderers have returned to embroidering on hemp linen, flax linen, or cotton linen woven by hand on a loom, but they must buy it elsewhere.

27 Female, *1957, Brno, a cottager of Vyškovec, 25 March 2021, repeated field research, personal archives of the author, 2021.

28 The oldest surviving dated embroideries in museum collections come from the early 19th century, but it is possible that they are much older. When we study them in detail, we find that their form, and especially their technology, has remained almost unchanged until the present day.

The original form and shape of the Moravian Kopanice embroidery has survived – though in a slightly altered form – thanks to the strict rules of embroidery that were passed down orally in the local women’s society. This textile technique is carried by the counted thread of the backing cloth. Each pattern, especially on traditional folk clothing, must be precisely calculated to meet the aesthetic considerations. The embroidery creates geometric patterns that alternate rhythmically. They can only be used in a certain combination and in the right colour scheme. This is strictly monitored by the local women’s society so that the continuity of this traditional art is not disturbed. A local woman from the village of Vápenice says: “I am glad that people outside the Kopanice area are also interested in embroidery; if they follow the rules of the Kopanice embroidery, it is only to its benefit.”²⁹ In the embroidery patterns one can find stylised plant elements and objects of daily use of the Moravian Kopanice people.

It is evident from this continuous adherence to the rules of embroidery that the Moravian Kopanice people are very proud of their traditional clothing and folk embroidery, and highly respect the handiwork of their ancestors. After the success of the handicraft workshops, especially traditional embroidery, the embroiderers began to meet regularly at the Cvrček children’s centre in Vyškovec. At first, they met from time to time, and later at regular intervals. The organisers made their meetings known through social networks or by sending online invitations. One of the regular attendants of the course comments on a what kind of people were at these handicraft gatherings: “At the beginning, there were more old residents than newcomers – ratio 7:4; mostly people with ties to Kopanice, and women who needed advice; occasionally someone would come from other villages or towns, for instance people from folklore groups.”³⁰ After some time, the name of the meeting was established as “The Circle of Kopanice Embroidery.” It is no surprise that the meetings continue, only due to the COVID-19 epidemic there have been periodical interruptions.

29 Jana Babrnáková, *1994, Vápenice, 22 March 2021, repeated field research, personal archives of the author, 2021.

30 Katarína Jiříčková, *1984, Vyškovec, a native of Dubnice nad Váhom (Slovakia), semi-structured interview, Vyškovec, 9 May 2021, repeated field research, personal archives of the author, 2021.



Figure 3. The Circle of Kopanice Embroidery in Vyškovec. Vyškovec, 1 May 2017. Photo: Hana Jurigová

Conclusion

Due to its popularity, the course in traditional textile techniques naturally continued with regular unofficial meetings of women and girls who wanted to improve their skills in this decorative textile technique. Gradually, women from other surrounding villages joined in. The smooth and unimpeded continuation of the course is very important for the preservation of the local cultural heritage. The folk embroidery courses continue to this day, but they have moved from Vyškovec to a nearby village of Vápenice. Embroidery sessions have become regular social events, where women talk about life in Kopanice and the local history, as well as share their life experiences. Permanent residents appreciate the newcomers' interest in traditional local handicraft and the young people's respect for the traditions of their ancestors. Even the long-standing residents themselves have gained some practical benefits from the courses: they re-learned textile techniques that their ancestors knew but which have since disappeared from Kopanice, such as weaving on a mould and frame. Unofficial sessions contribute to a better understanding of the mentality of the permanent residents on the part of the newcomers; in addition, they deepen their knowledge of the local area, which helps achieve better understanding between both groups. Neighbours are more willing to help one another, which is a feature the inhabitants in these villages

cannot do without. Through embroidery, the new residents are strengthening their local identity and want their children to grow up in the area that has already become their home. Individual items of clothing for their children and baptismal shrouds, hand-embroidered by mothers and sisters, have become a natural part of the lives of the newly settled families. As Eliška Křížková explains: With the current demographic development – the decline of the population of Kopanice – I am glad that the Kopanice embroidery can survive in this way.³¹

³¹ Eliška Křížková, *1946, Starý Hrozenkov, 19 March 2021, repeated field research, personal archives of the author, 2021.

Part 4

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Upper Silesian Post-Industrial Dilemmas and New Perspectives: Rethinking the Heritage of Magna Industria from the Perspective of Contemporary Deindustrialisation

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As the entire region is facing rapid technological transformation, the majority of industrial sites – mines, iron works, and power stations, collectively known as “Magna Industria,” or Great Industry – have proved economically inefficient and, as a consequence, are gradually being decommissioned. However, some of them have acquired a “second life” as commemorative monuments with the aim of promoting and preserving historical heritage and local tradition by means of a new variety of new public attractions. The ending of the active Great Industry simultaneously marks the birth of its myth as a document of history. In the arena of economics and civilisation it is gradually being replaced by new areas of economy. This process is happening spontaneously as the final closing down of the communist era. However, in its thirty years of existence the Third Polish Republic has not yet created a comprehensive project to transform all the areas of its post-industrial economy, which gave rise to numerous social and political conflicts.

At this juncture, it is worth examining the sites which transformed in a modern way into centres of cultural memory of this former industrial heritage. They have become exhibits, artifacts, and places of memory transformed by the use of multimedia. They are mainly the projects of local governments. Although there are numerous sites of this type, I will focus on four of them as examples of different methods of design and interpretation.

Tarnowskie Góry

Tarnowskie Góry is a town of silver, lead, and zinc ore mining, as well as metal smelting with traditions dating back to the Middle Ages. Here we can find the Black Trout Tunnel (Sztolnia Czarnego Pstrąga, 1959),



Figure 1. Tarnowskie Góry, Historic Silver Mine Museum, general view. Photo: Ewa Chojecka



Figure 2. Tarnowskie Góry, Historic Silver Mine Museum, interior view. Photo: Ewa Chojecka



Figure 3. Tarnowskie Góry, Steam Engine Open Air Museum.
Photo: Ewa Chojcka

Historic Silver Mine (1976), Museum with a Winding Tower (1976), and the Steam Engine Open-Air Museum. Steam engines were first introduced here in the late 18th century, first from England and later from Germany. Goethe was one of the visitors who marvelled at them. The historic complex, which originated in the interwar period as a tourist attraction, is the work of the Friends of Tarnowskie Góry Association. The Museum building created by Rudolf Witwicki (1930–2007) is particularly noteworthy. It is a postmodern architectural design with two parabolic shells. It houses an excellent multimedia exhibition set up in 2012. Outside, the visitors can also enjoy a small open-air railway. In 2017 the entire complex was included in the UNESCO World Heritage List.

Zabrze

The historic coal mine “Guido” in Zabrze (established in 1855 and named after Guido Henckel von Donnersmarck) is currently a tourist centre, with attractions including the Long Night of Museums, concerts, and the tour of the original system of underground mining tunnels. The site is included in the Industriada – an annual event commemorating post-industrial heritage.

Katowice

The “Wujek” Mine in Katowice is still a working mine. It is also a site commemorating the victims of the pacification of the miners’ strike during the martial law in Poland in December 1981. Ten years later, in 1991, a monument with a high cross, designed by Andrzej and Alina Grzybowski, was erected near the mine buildings to commemorate those killed during the strike. A museum dedicated to the events of December 1981 has recently been created next to the mine.

The Silesian Museum, marked by numerous political and ideological conflicts, is located on the site of the now defunct Ferdynand-Katowice coal mine. The underground and aboveground buildings designed by Riegler-Rieve Architekten are located on the site of the former dismantled mine shafts. The museum was opened in 2015. The buildings of the National Radio Symphony Orchestra and the Congress Centre have also been constructed within the grounds of the former mine. Apart from the newly added winding tower, which serves as a viewing point, the architecture of the new buildings has no association with the former mine. The only echoes of the mine are the two small aboveground structures of the mine hall and the engine building that now serve as exhibition halls. The whole complex only loosely alludes to the original mine.

Conclusion

The historic complex in Tarnowskie Góry and the Silesian Museum in Katowice are diametrically different in terms of commemorating post-industrial heritage. The handling of the heritage is more a testament of our time and would require in-depth future analysis and interpretation in a broad European context. Currently, the topic has bearing only in the regional context, and is not part of the culture of remembrance on the national level. The sites are simply tourist attractions or have a purely commercial value, as in the example of the Silesia City Centre. The motto “Heritage and Development” remains rather ambiguous in this context.

ps Chorzów

The deliberations presented above were made two years ago. Time flies.

During that time an important facility associated with post-industrial heritage and its contemporary commemoration has emerged. It is certainly worthy of our attention. This facility is the Metallurgy Museum in Chorzów. It is located in the historic and revitalised main hall of a power plant, the Kościuszko Ironworks, the remnant of the former Królewska



Figures 4, 5. Metallurgy Museum in Chorzów, interior view.
Photo: Ewa Chojecka

[King's] Ironworks (*Königshütte*), closed down after 1989 and partially demolished. This modern "Kingdom of Iron," bringing to mind John Baidon and Johann Friedrich Wedding, the founding fathers of Great Industry in the early 19th century, presents the theme in a new and interactive way, comprehensible to all age groups, whatever their education. This includes children, who are greeted by Przetopek, a jolly dwarf. The interactive exhibition displays historic hammers, a hydraulic press, rolling mills, and keepsakes of the lives of the ironworkers. The whole is rounded off in a multimedia presentation of Adolph Menzel's famous painting *The Iron Rolling Mill* from the Alte Nationalgalerie in Berlin. The exhibition opens up a whole new perspective on the interpretation and shaping of images of memories associated with a difficult topic.

A Critique on the Scope, Methodology, and Impact of the Urban Renewal Project at Tarlabası in Istanbul¹

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Dark streets descend into a floodplain as poor houses line both sides... It is possible to find shrimp sellers, bakers, vinegar makers, carpenter's apprentices, waiters, barbers, accordionists, *kitara* makers, bar singers, revue dancers, and tailor's apprentices all along on both sides of the street from all religions and sects, Turkish, Russian, Armenian, Greek, Nestorian, Arab, Gypsy, French, Catholic, Levantine, Croatian, Serbian, Bulgarian, Persian, Afghan, Chinese, Tatar, Jewish, Italian, and Maltese from this neighborhood...

Sait Faik Abasıyanık, "Yorgiya'nın Mahallesi"²

1 The paper is based on data collected at the Studio of Urban Conservation for Graduate Studies Program on Architectural Restoration and Preservation at FSMVÜ, 2020–2021 Spring Term, successfully coordinated by Associate Professors Mine Esmer, Ömer Dabanlı (İstanbul Technical University), and Lana Kudumovic, with Assistant Professor Ruba Kasmı, and Lecturer Dr E. Selcen Cesur (İstanbul Governorship). Site surveys were carried out by the following graduate students: Serkan Akın, Ayşenur Yelda Can, Ayberk Soyuyiğit, Beyza Hilal Altunışık, Rumeysa Yıldıztaş, İmen Ben Saber, Talha Mertel, Ayşegül Açar, Ömer Faruk Akman, Esmâ Yılmaz, Feyza Nur Karamehmetoğlu, Aybüğge Güven, Muhamed Avlar, Sidre Dilara Ersoy, Mustafa Tahir Sönmez, Mesut Yılmaz, Merve Başlı, and Özgü Develi.

2 Sait Faik Abasıyanık, "Yorgiya'nın Mahallesi," [in:] *Mahalle Kahvesi-Havada Bulut, Bütün Eserleri*: 4, 8th ed., Ankara 1990, p. 173.

Introduction

In his collection of short stories published in 1946, Sait Faik documents the physical and sociodemographic characteristics of Tarlabası and Dolapdere neighbourhoods. It is clear from his story that at the time the neighborhoods more or less retained their ethnolinguistic diversity inherited from the late Ottoman period. Tarlabası and Dolapdere were parts of a larger urban area in Istanbul called Pera in the 19th century. Pera was the area outside of the walls of Galata. Today Beyoğlu, which is a district of the city located north of the Historic Peninsula and the Golden Horn, comprises both Galata and Pera. Cadde-i Kebir (İstiklal Caddesi), which is the main backbone of Beyoğlu (formerly Pera), ends at Taksim Square as part of an urban development line.

The majority of the urban development of the district took place in the 19th century, after the Pera fire of 1870, which led to the advent of an urbanisation project New City (Nouvelle Ville) that included streets, wide squares, theatres, and hotels.³ However, the urban changes were not of a similar nature throughout the district. Tarlabası Street marked the boundary between different socioeconomic groups.⁴ While Tarlabası was the residential area of the middle and lower-middle classes, Pera, to the south, was destined for the upper class. With the increase in land prices, the traditional adjacent houses in Tarlabası were transformed into four- or five-storey masonry apartments. These apartments followed the same trends and styles as those in Pera, but they were built in a more modest manner.⁵ Therefore, in addition to displaying the lifestyle and culture of the non-Muslim middle class bourgeoisie of Istanbul, Tarlabası is regarded as an exceptional example of late Ottoman urban modernisation.⁶

After flourishing in the 19th century, Beyoğlu (Pera) district changed in the 20th century according to the economic policies of each period, as well as the cultural and ideological preferences of the ruling classes, since the built environment can be seen as a reflection of the prevailing

3 Nur Akın, 19. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera, 1st ed., Istanbul 1998, p. 30.

4 Behzat Üsdiken, “Tarlabası,” [in:] *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, ed. Tarih Vakfı, vol. 7, Istanbul 1994, pp. 218–219.

5 Ibidem.

6 Mehmet Rifat Akbulut, “Tarlabası Bulvarı,” [in:] *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, op. cit., vol. 7, pp. 217–218.

ideologies.⁷ Beyoğlu in particular has gone into physical decline and was increasingly stigmatised. Hence, it has acquired an additional symbolic value in Istanbul as a place of urban conflict where hegemons struggle to impose their power and meaning.

The marketing of Istanbul to the global capital, which has been taking place since the 1980s, greatly accelerated in the 2000s.⁸ Given its very favourable location close to one of the busiest centres of consumption and cultural economy in Istanbul, Tarlabaşı has become the target of speculators, big and small alike, who seemed to feed on the process of stigmatisation to justify their intervention, presenting it as a necessary cleanup, even a salutary rescue. Thus, the renewal project Taksim 360 began after the adoption of law 5366, known as the “renewal law.”⁹ It was claimed that the transformation of the neighbourhood would attract international capital, revitalise many sectors, increase employment opportunities and boost the welfare level of all segments of society. However, the realised works failed to fulfil the urban conservation principles in preserving the social and urban fabric, reviving the spirit of the place and retaining the traditional building techniques. The project has sparked controversy and generated additional threats to the remaining historical fabric of the area.

Setting the context: the “Renewal Law” and its application in the historic areas of Istanbul

The following part of the article explains the Renewal Law and similar projects developed under this law in order to give a broader perspective on the current threats to historic urban areas in Istanbul. After neoliberal urban policies began to reshape urban economies which have influenced urban landscapes around the globe, the consequences were seen in the form of increased migration, regional imbalances, and ethnic tensions.

7 Asuman Türkün, “Tarlabaşı’na Tarihin Toplumsal Katmanlarının Işığında Bakmak,” [in:] *Tarlabaşı Bir Kent Mücadelesi*, TMMOB Mimarlar Odası İstanbul Büyükkent Şubesi Yayını, İstanbul 2018, p. 17.

8 Mücella Yapıcı, “Neoliberalizmin 40 Yıllık Şantiyesi: Tarlabaşı,” [in:] *Tarlabaşı Bir Kent Mücadelesi*, TMMOB Mimarlar Odası İstanbul Büyükkent Şubesi Yayını, İstanbul 2018, p. 136.

9 Jean-François Perouse, “Emergence et résorption annoncée d’un territoire de transit international au cœur d’Istanbul: le cas de Tarlabaşı (1987–2007),” [in:] *Maghreb-Machrek*, vol. 199 (2009), p. 85.

The historic neighbourhoods were often the most affected, since they tend to have poor physical and sanitary conditions, and the residents were often marginalised groups, such as migrants or immigrants with low incomes.¹⁰ Thus, the concept of urban renewal was developed as a solution for governments to respond to the new demands and dynamics. However, the historic areas, especially those in city centres, attracted the attention of local authorities, investors, and developers as potential sources of economic benefits only through the exploitation of their real estate values.

As part of Turkey's neoliberal urban policies, many legislative and institutional frameworks were initiated in the 2000s. Among the legislative tools, Law no. 5366 on the Conservation through Renewal and Utilisation through Revitalisation of Deteriorated Historic and Cultural Properties, known as the "Renewal Law," issued in 2005, played a key role in transforming many historic areas. With this law, the Council of Ministers is able to designate "urban renewal sites" while transferring a great deal of power over these projects to the local authorities (municipalities), contrary to the conventional planning system.¹¹ Hence, the law was criticised and questions were raised about its effectiveness as a proper planning tool. It was particularly criticised for the following aspects:

1. The conceptual contradiction of strategy: the law envisages the urban transformation using two opposite concepts: "renewal" and "conservation."
2. The fragmentation of planning decisions: while the historical areas are planned according to the Law no. 2863 (the "Conservation Law"), the renewal areas, despite their historic nature, are planned according to the Law no. 5366 (the "Renewal Law").
3. The scope of transformation: the law disregards the social, economic and cultural context of the renewed areas, thus reducing the process to a mere physical intervention.
4. The violation of legal rights: the law fails to provide financial support to the owners to repair their historic properties, while easing the process of expropriation. Should owners be unable to afford the repair costs,

10 Neil Smith, "New Globalism, New Urbanism: Gentrification as Global Urban Strategy," [in:] *Antipode*, vol. 34, no. 3 (2002), pp. 427–451.

11 Historic Areas of Istanbul Site Directorate, *Istanbul Historic Peninsula Management Plan*, Istanbul 2018, p. 74.

the law enables local authorities to expropriate the historic buildings and even to sell them to third parties. Moreover, the law transfers the negotiation of property rights of the owners to the private sector, favouring gentrification.¹²

As the largest city in Turkey, Istanbul possessed the largest number of renewal areas, with a total of twenty-three between 2005–2017.¹³ There is a vast amount of literature focused on the implemented renewal projects and their controversial impacts on heritage values. The first renewal area in 2006 was Sulukule. Located along the Theodosian Walls, which have been on the World Heritage List since 1985, Sulukule was once home to a thousand-year-old Roma community and a centre for music, food and fortune-telling. In 2006, there were 5000 people living in the area, 3500 of whom were Romani.¹⁴ The houses in the area were typically two to three stories, often clustered around courtyards, with basic amenities and services provided at minimal levels. With the nearby monumental City Walls, a few substantial historical buildings interspersed throughout the dwellings added to the historic value of this neighbourhood. Nine hectares of the neighbourhood were used to implement the renewal project. Its goals included improving the quality of life for local residents, conservation of cultural heritage (both tangible and intangible), and integration with the city. The preservation of forty-two historic buildings within the project zone was intended. However, 571 of the 621 buildings were demolished, indicating that the balance was heavily skewed in favour of development interests rather than regeneration. As a result of the demolition of a large number of buildings and construction of new buildings with identical façades, the traditional urban layout of the area was completely altered, while the amount of green spaces dramatically decreased. Moreover, the new apartments were too expensive for

12 For further reading on the dilemma caused by Law no. 5366, see Özgün Özçakır, Güliz Bilgin Altınöz, and Anna Mignosa, “Political Economy of Renewal of Heritage Places in Turkey,” [in:] *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, vol. 35, no. 2 (2018), pp. 241–242; İclal Dinçer, “The Impact of Neoliberal Policies on Historic Urban Space: Areas of Urban Renewal in Istanbul,” [in:] *International Planning Studies*, vol. 16, no. 1 (2011), pp. 47–48.

13 Ö. Özçakır, G. Bilgin Altınöz, and A. Mignosa, “Political Economy...,” op. cit., p. 232.

14 Arzu Kocabaş and Mike Gibson, “Planned Gentrification in Istanbul: The Sulukule Renewal Area 2005–2010,” [in:] *International Journal of Sustainable Development and Planning*, vol. 6, no. 4 (2011), pp. 432–435.

the residents, who were forced to move; most of them were provided alternative housing in a suburb about forty kilometres from the city centre.

Similar projects also exerted significant impact on the historic urban fabric, such as of Ayvansaray, located in the northwestern corner of the Historic Peninsula, where the Land Walls meet the Golden Horn Sea Walls. With its long history and numerous monuments dating back to the Byzantine period, the area has the characteristics of an urban archaeological site. During the Ottoman period, it was developed as a Muslim neighbourhood and was characterised by its traditional timber houses. The displacement of the original inhabitants, their replacement with poor immigrants, the pollution of the Golden Horn, and the large-scale demolition of the shoreline all contributed to the dilapidation of the area.¹⁵ In 2006, the Ayvansaray Turkish Quarter Urban Renewal Project was commissioned. It was declared that the aim was to preserve the historical identity of the area by restoring listed buildings and emphasising the traditional characteristics of timber houses. In the end, the implementation of the project failed to meet its announced goals. The historic buildings were reconstructed, thus losing their historical and architectural values; moreover, the area is now dominated by a huge new hotel built on seven plots, which were merged against the principles of international charters. Other heavy criticisms of the project refer to the displacement of original inhabitants and the arrangement of the new buildings, as well as their appearance, clashing with the remains of the city walls.

Due to the increasing criticism by academics and professionals of heritage conservation and the active role of local community groups, some renewal projects have been suspended, as in the Fener-Balat neighbourhood. The Greek Patriarchate is located in Fener, which was predominantly a Greek neighbourhood from the Ottoman period until the 1960s, and Balat was a Jewish-dominated neighbourhood that flourished as a fishery and port management hub. Similar to Ayvansaray, Fener-Balat was negatively affected by the outward movements of the original inhabitants and the demolition associated with the clearance of the Golden Horn coastal line. Churches, mosques, and synagogues still stand in the area, in addition to row houses with bay windows and intricately ornamented

15 Mine Esmer, "Criticism of Unsustainability at Ayvansaray as an Urban Archaeological Site," [in:] *Book of Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on New Trends in Architecture and Interior Design ICNTAD'16*, Zagreb 2016, pp. 148–157.

façades designed in the 19th century.¹⁶ The area was designated for urban renewal in 2006. The project entailed removing encroaching structures around the historical city wall, reconstructing dilapidated buildings, and merging small plots in order to build larger buildings.¹⁷ The new project was to be mainly financed by the private sector, so it was predicted that it would aim to restore the historic urban landscape as rapidly as possible, resulting in the gentrification of the area and relocation of the current residents. In the announcement of the concept designs, these expectations were confirmed. The concept introduced proposals that led to irreversible changes in the urban patterns, contradicted the architectural features of the area and imposed drastic functional changes. In addition to these threats, the potential violation of the inhabitants' property rights by merging plots caused a harsh public outcry. Although the project was halted and related architectural firms withdrawn from the process, the Fener-Balat quarters are still under threat.

The history of Tarlabası and changes in its urban fabric and socio-demographic structure

Outside the walls of Galata, at the end of the 15th century Pera was a sparsely inhabited area with numerous vineyards, except for small Muslim communities around Mesneviyhane, Şahkulu, and Asmalı Masjids and the Ağa Mosque. On the other hand, Galata, the ancient suburb of Istanbul, had the largest minority population inside its walls, which corresponded to one tenth of Istanbul's population. Arguably, until the 19th century, Galata constituted the main settlement to the north of the Golden Horn. In the 16th century, beyond the walls of Galata, Beyoğlu was mostly open land dotted with just a few European embassies, an Ottoman military barrack, and a Muslim dervish lodge.^{18,19}

16 Müge Akkar Ercan, "Challenges and Conflicts in Achieving Sustainable Communities in Historic Neighbourhoods of Istanbul," [in:] *Habitat International*, vol. 35, no. 2 (2011), pp. 299–302.

17 Evren Aysev Deneç, "The Re-production of the Historical Center of Istanbul in 2000s: A Critical Account on Two Projects in Fener-Balat," [in:] *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, vol. 31, no. 2 (2014), pp. 172–173.

18 Skarlatos Vyzantios, *Konstantinoupolis*, vol. 2, Athens 1862, pp. 64–65.

19 Robert Mantran, "xvi. ve xvii. Yüzyıllarda İstanbul'da Azınlıklar, Meslekler ve Yabancı Tüccarlar," [in:] *Tarih ve Toplum*, vol. 3, no. 16 (1985), p. 20.

The Pera region became more crowded in the 18th century, with foreigners and non-Muslim minorities concentrating around the embassies, especially during the reign of Selim III (1789–1808). With Mahmut II's reforms (1808–1839), Pera's importance increased further. The establishment of the Medical School in Galatasaray, in addition to the embassies and their surroundings, also enhanced its importance.²⁰

In 1856, the Reform Edict led to the formation of a trade and finance bourgeoisie in Galata.²¹ Beyoğlu developed as the residential quarter of these rising classes, with its modern schools, churches, cultural institutions, and venues for public gatherings.²² Carnivals, proms, concerts, theatres, and spring festival celebrations were introduced to society.²³ A new fashionable profession of the time was photography, which was usually offered by companies run by foreigners or minorities.²⁴

Grand Champs des Morts (Taksim Bahçesi) and Petit Champs des Morts (Tepebaşı Bahçesi) are two former graveyards at Beyoğlu, which were converted by the municipality into parks in the 19th century. A plot of land at the edge of the territory scorched by the great Pera fire of 1870, known as the Harik-i Kebir, was acquired by the Wagons-Lits company in 1892 in order to serve those arriving on the Orient Express in Istanbul. The site looked out on a municipal garden called Les Petits-Champs (Tepebaşı Bahçesi, the former graveyard), which city planners had created after the fire.²⁵ But within a few years, the grisly past of the park was forgotten and the street became the city's newest hotel row. Few visitors were aware that the exotic-sounding street "Kabristan," to which they were directed by their guides, actually meant "graveyard." The Pera Palace stood at the centre of the city's new commercial and financial district. A string of four- and five-story buildings, many constructed by local Greek and Armenian business leaders and financiers, gave a radically

20 N. Akın, 19. Yüzyılın İkinci..., op. cit., p. 12.

21 R. Mantran, "xvi. ve xvii. Yüzyıllarda...", op. cit., p. 20.

22 Mustafa Cezar, xix. Yüzyıl Beyoğlusu, Istanbul 1991, pp. 108–134, 187–254.

23 N. Akın, 19. Yüzyılın İkinci..., op. cit., pp. 47–62.

24 Ibidem, p. 83.

25 Charles King, *Midnight at the Pera Palace: The Birth of Modern Istanbul*, New York 2015, p. 37.

new look to the neighbourhood. Their well-proportioned façades and expansive windows would have been at home in contemporary Paris.²⁶

In Beyoğlu, including Pera, Galata, and Tophane, in the last decades of the 19th century, around 80% of the population was non-Muslim, of which Greek Orthodox were the largest, most prominent and visible group.^{27, 28, 29} The Armenian population of Taksim was 3233 according to the 1842 census, in which only men were counted.³⁰ At the end of the 19th century, moving to Beyoğlu represented a move up the social ladder, in the economic and cultural capital of the Ottoman Empire.³¹ Ayşe Ozil argues that the move of the Zafiropoulos family, one of the most prominent families of the period, from the neighbourhood of Cibali in the old city to Tepebaşı in Beyoğlu was not merely a change from one quarter to another, but also a major spatial, social, and cultural shift. The High Bourgeoisie, comprised of prominent bankers and business executives, was accompanied by a developing middle class of doctors, architects, teachers, and lawyers, who also adopted Beyoğlu as their home. Lower social classes and poor urban residents of Tarlabası, Kasımpaşa, Dolapdere, and Tophane also took part in the new cityscape at Beyoğlu.³²

A significant change in the socio-demographic fabric of the area ensued from wars, migrations, and populations exchange during the 20th century. The 1915 exile of Armenians from the Ottoman Empire created a social and demographic change at Beyoğlu.³³ After the establishment of the Republic, the obligatory exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey decreased the number of Greek citizens. Between 1922–1924 the Greek population of Istanbul decreased by 150,000 (which was equal to half of

26 Ibidem, p. 38.

27 Kemal Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830–1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics*, Madison 1985.

28 For a detailed reading on the Greeks of Pera, see Io Tsokona, *To Pera ton Ellinon, Stin Konstantinoupoli tou Hthes kai tou Simera*, Atina 2021.

29 Ayşe Ozil, “Skyscrapers of the Past and their Shadows: A Social History of Urbanity in Late Ottoman Istanbul,” [in:] *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, vol. 21 (2015), p. 80.

30 İlknur Taşköprü, “Zakarya Mildanoğlu: Gezi Parkı ‘Taksim Bahçesi’ yken Beyoğlu’nda Ermeniler,” [in:] *Agos Gazetesi*, 19 August 2013, <http://www.agos.com.tr/tr/yazi/5461/gezi-parki-taksim-bahcesiyken-beyoglunda-ermeniler> [access: 11 October 2021].

31 A. Ozil, “Skyscrapers of the Past...,” op. cit., p. 84.

32 Ibidem, p. 88.

33 Lerna Ekmekçioğlu, *Bir Milleti Diriltmek*, Istanbul 2021, p. 24.

the population), who included mostly intellectuals and businesspeople.³⁴ Following the introduction of the wealth tax (*varlık vergisi*) in 1942, many non-Muslim communities left the country and settled elsewhere, abandoning their former homes. The pogrom on 6 and 7 September 1955 against the properties of non-Muslim communities, apart from material damage, had a devastating effect on the demographics of Beyoğlu and drastically altered the sociocultural identity of the district.³⁵ This was followed by the deportation of Greeks from Istanbul in 1964, which led to the last period of rapid population decline for the Greek Orthodox inhabitants of Istanbul.³⁶

After the 1960s, the abandoned properties were gradually repopulated by migrants from Anatolia, seeking jobs in a rapidly industrialising Istanbul. The most important change in demographics at Tarlabaşı occurred in the 1980s, due to the mandatory immigration from eastern and southeastern Turkey. Besides these, several groups representing “the other” began to settle at Tarlabaşı, which included LGBT people, African migrants, and Romani.³⁷ After the coup d’état in 1980, with the introduction of neoliberal economic policies, 370 buildings were destroyed in Tarlabaşı by Bedrettin Dalan, Istanbul’s then mayor, including 167 registered buildings.^{38, 39} Tarlabaşı Boulevard created a great spatial and social cleavage. While the İstiklal Avenue (southern) side of the boulevard was transformed into Istanbul’s cultural and entertainment hub and preserved its vitality, the northern side (known as the “Tarlabaşı neighbourhood”) was deliberately left in ruins. This territory is stigmatised

34 Aleksandros Massavetas, *Diadromes sto Fanari, ton Mpilata kai tis Blahernes*, Istanbul 2013, p. 112.

35 Enno Maessen, “Reading Landscape in Beyoğlu and Tarlabaşı: Engineering a ‘Brand New’ Cosmopolitan Space, 1980–2013,” [in:] *International Journal for History, Culture and Modernity*, vol. 5, no. 1 (2017), p. 51.

36 Aleksis Aleksandris, “İstanbul’un Rum Azınlığının Son Göçü (1964–1974): İstanbul’daki Yunan Uyrukluların Sınırdışı Edilmeleri,” [in:] *İstanbullu Rumlar ve 1964 Sürgünleri*, ed. İlay Romain Örs, Istanbul 2019, p. 157.

37 Şükrü Aslan, “Tarlabaşı’nın Demografik Yapısı,” [in:] *Tarlabaşı Bir Kent Mücadelesi*, TMMOB Mimarlar Odası İstanbul Büyükşehir Şubesi Yayını, Istanbul 2018, p. 47.

38 Cemal Sami Yılmaztürk, “Bir Kentin Yıkımı ya da Yıkılan Kente Ağıt,” [in:] *Tarlabaşı Bir Kent Mücadelesi*, op. cit., p. 95.

39 Seçil Özalp, “İstanbul’da Neoliberal Kentleşme Dinamikleri: Kamu Yararı ve Kentsel Rejim Analizi,” doctoral dissertation, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü, Istanbul 2017, p. 157.

in literature (e.g. *Ağır Roman*, 1995), cinema, television series (e.g. *Kayıp Şehir*, 2012), and, above all, in dominant media and political discourses.

An evaluation of the urban renewal project at Tarlabaşı (Taksim 360)

The project known as the “Tarlabaşı Renovation Project” or “Taksim 360” was announced in 2006, covering an area of 20,000 square meters with nine building blocks (360, 361, 362, 363, 385, 386, 387, 593, and 594), which is 4% of the Tarlabaşı district, and encompassed 278 buildings, of which 213 (77%) were registered as cultural assets.⁴⁰ The majority of residents in the project area belonged to low-income groups. The physical and socio-economic degradation, together with the security concerns in the area, were used as an excuse to avoid the long-term, difficult, and expensive procedures required to protect registered buildings. Despite the criticism of the Turkish Chamber of Architects and many experts of urban preservation, the contract for the implementation of the project was signed on 4 April 2007.

One of the most criticised aspects pertained to architectural and planning decisions. In the scope of the project, the proposal was to restore the registered buildings preserving their original features. For buildings whose structural systems were destroyed, it was envisaged that some of them would be reconstructed with the same plans as the originals, while for others only façade organisation would remain the same. The majority of the buildings, however, were described as “degraded in authenticity,” and their interior load-bearing walls were removed, while only part of their façades were preserved and the rest was demolished. Due to this change, their plan schemes and interiors were completely altered, resulting in the loss of the original structures. Furthermore, original building materials and construction techniques were not used in the construction of the new replicas.

On the urban level, the decisions made in the project altered the original urban fabric in both vertical and horizontal dimensions.⁴¹ The adja-

40 Seçil Özalp and Gülden Erkut, “Kamu Yararı Perspektifinden İstanbul’da Kentsel Müdahaleler,” [in:] *Planlama Dergisi*, vol. 26, no. 3 (2016), p. 234.

41 Zeynep Ahunbay, “Tarlabaşı’ndaki Mimari ve Kentsel Dokuya ilişkin Saptamalar,” [in:] *Tarlabaşı Bir Kent Mücadelesi*, TMMOB Mimarlar Odası İstanbul Büyükkent Şubesi, İstanbul 2018, p. 38.



Figure 1. The silhouette of Tarlabası before (left) and after the Taksim 360 project (right). Only the replicas of the previous façades are currently extant and it can be evaluated as a complete loss of the collective memory of the city.

SALT Research, online archive of Eleonora Arhelaou (1937–2021), <https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/210957> [access: 24 November 2022].

Project website: <https://www.taksim360.com.tr/tr/> [access: 24 November 2022].

cent small-sized blocks were almost entirely merged into a single large plot and huge new buildings were built. Furthermore, three or four additional floors were added above the existing historic buildings (Figure 1). The project comprised a multi-faceted land use including residential (52%), commercial (12%), touristic (17%), and business functions (14%), which necessitated an additional number of parking lots and resulted in more traffic through the already narrow streets and dense urban fabric. No changes were made to the street names in the project; only the Eski Çeşme and Fıçıacı Abdi streets parallel to Tarlabası Boulevard were pedestrianised. To solve the traffic and parking problems caused by narrow streets and dense urban terrain, the project envisaged creating a parking area, which required the addition of underground floors beneath the plots of historic houses, causing their demolition.

In addition to the physical transformations, the project has been criticised for its profit-driven approach, resulting in the gentrification

of the area that forced out the current residents.⁴² Initially, Beyoğlu Municipality and the owners of the buildings were declared to be the owners of the Tarlabası Renewal Project. Then, the studies of the project declared that 40% of the buildings in the project area were vacant and 71% of the residents were tenants rather than owners.⁴³ Therefore, the property owners were presented with three options: they could sell their property, become partners in the project by cooperating with the municipality, or take another property in the city instead.⁴⁴ However, there were many recorded cases in which the ownerships were terminated in one way or another and the owners were forced to leave the area without any compensation. For all these reasons, the Taksim 360 project cannot be regarded as a successful example of urban renewal of a historic area.

An analysis of the current state of conservation at Tarlabası

The existing threats at Tarlabası along with the negative consequences of similar projects developed under the Renewal Law led us to choose the area as the case study of the Graduate Urban Conservation Studio at FSMVU in the spring semester of 2020–2021. The working area covered about 640,000 square metre with a total of 4265 buildings, of which 1651 (about 39%) are registered as cultural assets within its boundaries (Figure 2). A historical, architectural, and urban evaluation of the area and its assets was conducted with the aim of proposing an alternative renewal strategy that would strike the right balance between the preservation and revitalisation needs. Overall, the assessments of the building stock and the urban fabric were conducted and the collected data was illustrated on analytical maps showing the historic periods of the buildings, their ownership, structural systems, materials, heights, physical conditions, and states of preservation. The urban assessments included the solid-void ratio of the urban fabric, the existing green areas and traffic scheme, in addition to the original and current land use. Detailed inventories were completed for the existing monuments and

42 Tolga İslam and Ayşen Ciravoglu, “Soylulaştırma ve İstanbul,” [in:] *Mimarist*, vol. 21 (2006), pp. 37–38.

43 Müge Özkan Özbek and Derya Yaman, “Sınırdaki Olanlar-Marjinaler ve Mekânsal İzdüşümleri,” [in:] *Mimarist*, vol. 58 (2017), pp. 85–89.

44 E. Maessen, “Reading Landscape...,” *op. cit.*, p. 59.



Figure 2. The working area in Tarlabası, showing the boundaries of the Taksim 360 project (above); a close-up map depicting the surveyed streets marked in red (below; July 2021).

traditional residential buildings, in which observations on changes and interventions were documented. Finally, the silhouettes of several streets were surveyed based on orthographic photographs generated from point clouds produced by a terrestrial laser scanning device and a drone.

Currently, there is heavy traffic, accompanied by a shortage of parking lots, and the irregularity of the sidewalks, occupied for commercial purposes, which disrupts the pedestrian flow. The street network contains one main boulevard (Tarlabası), which is flanked on both sides by branches of narrow streets. Though Tarlabası Boulevard severely altered the urban fabric, traditional patterns have largely survived along secondary streets. There are attached buildings with backyards, leaving an open space in the middle of each block. Building heights range from

Table 1. Examples presenting the physical and preservation condition of the registered buildings in the study area (July 2021)

Integrity and authenticity		
Original	Partly changed	Totally changed
		
Well-preserved buildings with all its parts. It contains high level of integrity and authenticity in general and in details.	Buildings are usually well preserved with most of their architectural elements including details, while they could contain some of modifications or additions.	This type of buildings of has lost most of its architectural values, and currently is results of reminiscence (reconstructed or rebuild)
Interventions should involve restoration and rehabilitation to preserve their authentic appearance.	Restoration and rehabilitation are allowed to reverse their authentic forms or in some cases to apply appropriate re-design for new buildings annexes.	For the buildings with quasi historic appearance some of the elements may be subject of redesign (to be in consistency with the surrounding or to be kept as replicas).





three–four floors up to six–seven floors. In many cases, one or two floors have been added.

Tarlabaşı was built in accordance with the Roads and Building Regulation of 1875 (Turuk and Ebniye), replacing the traditional wooden homes destroyed by the Great Pera Fire in 1870.⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ The renovation works after the fire resulted in masonry buildings being constructed to suit

⁴⁵ Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*, London 1993, pp. 64–65.

⁴⁶ Lorans Tanatar Baruh, “1870 Yangınından Sonra Beyoğlu’nda iki Bina Yatırımı ve Bir Sokak,” [in:] *Mimarist*, vol. 57 (2016), pp. 42–51.

Table 2. Examples presenting the integrity and authenticity of the study area (July 2021)

Structural State of conservation			
Excellent	Good	Poor	Ruin
			
Well-preserved integrity of the buildings including their structural stability.	Minor damages without severe impact on structural system.	Structural stability is endangered	Deteriorated structures with major stability problems.
Constant maintenance work is needed to prevent uncontrolled changes and damages.	Basic enhancements and interventions are required to assure no required to assure no damages.	Needed interventions range from structural strengthening, toward the less invasive interventions. Immediate measures safety are required.	The building or its remaining part have to be replaced with newly constructed (or reconstructed) structure, depending on the available data.

the varied plot sizes and narrow layout of the area. The buildings express the styles of the 19th century with their characteristic elements. Most of them are currently registered as cultural assets⁴⁷ (Table 1). The registered buildings demonstrate a high level of authenticity: 25.3% are in a good physical and preservation condition, 40.4% are in an acceptable condition, 22% are in poor condition, 6.3% were reconstructed, 4.4% are in ruins, and 1.3% were destroyed (Table 2). Furthermore, the area's authenticity is enhanced not only by the individual structures, but also by the overall streetscapes, scenic silhouettes, and street contours.

Several streets were surveyed for the purpose of better understanding the current preservation status and to prepare strategies of dealing with the challenges and opportunities for conserving the area. In

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47 Z. Ahunbay, "Tarlabaşı'ndaki Mimari...", op. cit., p. 31.

particular, this study selected the streets which were not altered by demolitions associated with the opening of Tarlabası Boulevard, as they have preserved much of their genuine urban and architectural characteristics. These included Kalyoncu Kulluğu, Kurdela, Sakızağacı, Taksim Yağhanesi, Taksim Fırını, Keresteci Recep, Harman, Emin Camii, Camcı Musa, Kahya Bey, and Gümüş Küpe streets (Figure 2).

As a result of comparing the survey results with the historic maps of Goad (1904–1906) and Pervititch (1944), it was found that the solid-void ratio and building masses along the selected streets have mostly been preserved. A few cases of contiguous plots being combined resulted in large, wide façades that disrupt the rhythm of the street silhouette. Such were the cases of plots 12 and 13 in Taksim Street, which were joined for the construction of structures larger in mass than the rest of the urban fabric.

Street façades are often dynamic due to the projections of bay windows in simple rectangular forms. The bay windows are often positioned in the middle of the façades and run for one or two floors, supported by stone or iron buttresses. Generally, the façades are quite simple except for the eaves, floor cornices, window parapets, bay windows, and pediments. Some façades were designed to look like stone and have fake joints on the plaster. Originally, houses had three–four floors, while apartment buildings had five–seven floors. In general, the integrity of the traditional street silhouette was disrupted by new incompatible buildings, extra floors, and chaotic shop fronts associated with commerce. The architecture of many new buildings, such as those in Keresteci Recep Street, can be improved by redesigning their façades to make them more compatible. Furthermore, the façades of historical buildings suffer from neglect, improper repairs, as well as additions, such as signboards, antennas, air conditioners, and cables.

The rhythm of the street silhouettes is occasionally disturbed by buildings that rise abruptly from the street profile. In the instance of Gümüş Küpe Street (on the northern façade of block 444), two new buildings were built with low floor levels that differ considerably in height. As another example of a problematic street silhouette, there is a registered building with an addition on the southern façade on plot 9 in Taksim Yağhanesi Street. This compromises the authenticity of the historic building. The same street also has empty plots that are registered, meaning that the number of plots registered does not match the number of preserved properties. On the western side of Kalyoncu Street, the traditional urban fabric is interrupted by enormously tall concrete buildings

with the highest flooring elevations in the area, while the façades are arranged in a manner that does not match the traditional framework (such examples are visible on block 449, plots 40 and 33, and on block 436 plots 34 and 27).

The western side of Kurdela Street is more dynamic due to the rise and fall of its buildings from two to seven floors. Almost all of the structures are registered, but their façades are usually deteriorated and have added elements, or they have simply been neglected. The façades of the new structures do not adhere to the historic context, either in terms of height or arrangement. Nonetheless, two buildings from the 1950s and 1960s can be found in Tarlabası with architectural styles typical of that period's homage to the Turkish modernist movement. Unlike the western façade, the eastern façade of Kurdela Street has predominantly registered buildings of similar heights that are in a low state of conservation, and the ground floors usually have lost their authentic appearance due to being used for commercial purposes (Figure 3). On plot 37 of block 446, there is an empty area currently used as a parking lot. A new building design providing access to the inner area that serves as an inner courtyard can add more value to the space than its present use as a parking lot.

An alternative approach to renewal at Tarlabası

The consequences of rapid changes in historic fabric can be seen in the recently implemented Taksim 360 project, which has had a negative impact on both the buildings' users and the fabric of the project area. However, our survey reveals that the rest of Tarlabası retains much of its historic fabric and an alternative approach should be considered to preserve it properly.

According to the Valletta Principles for the Safeguarding and Management of Historic Cities, Towns, and Urban Areas, adopted by ICOMOS in 2011, the tangible and intangible elements of historic urban tissues should be preserved, and their protection and integration into contemporary society constitute the basis of town planning and land development. It is important to maintain the urban patterns as defined by the street grid, plots, green spaces, and relationships between buildings and green and open spaces; the form and appearance, interior and exterior of buildings as defined by their structure, volume, style, scale, materials, colour, and decoration, the relationship between the town or urban area and its surroundings, both natural and man-made. In addition, it is critical to

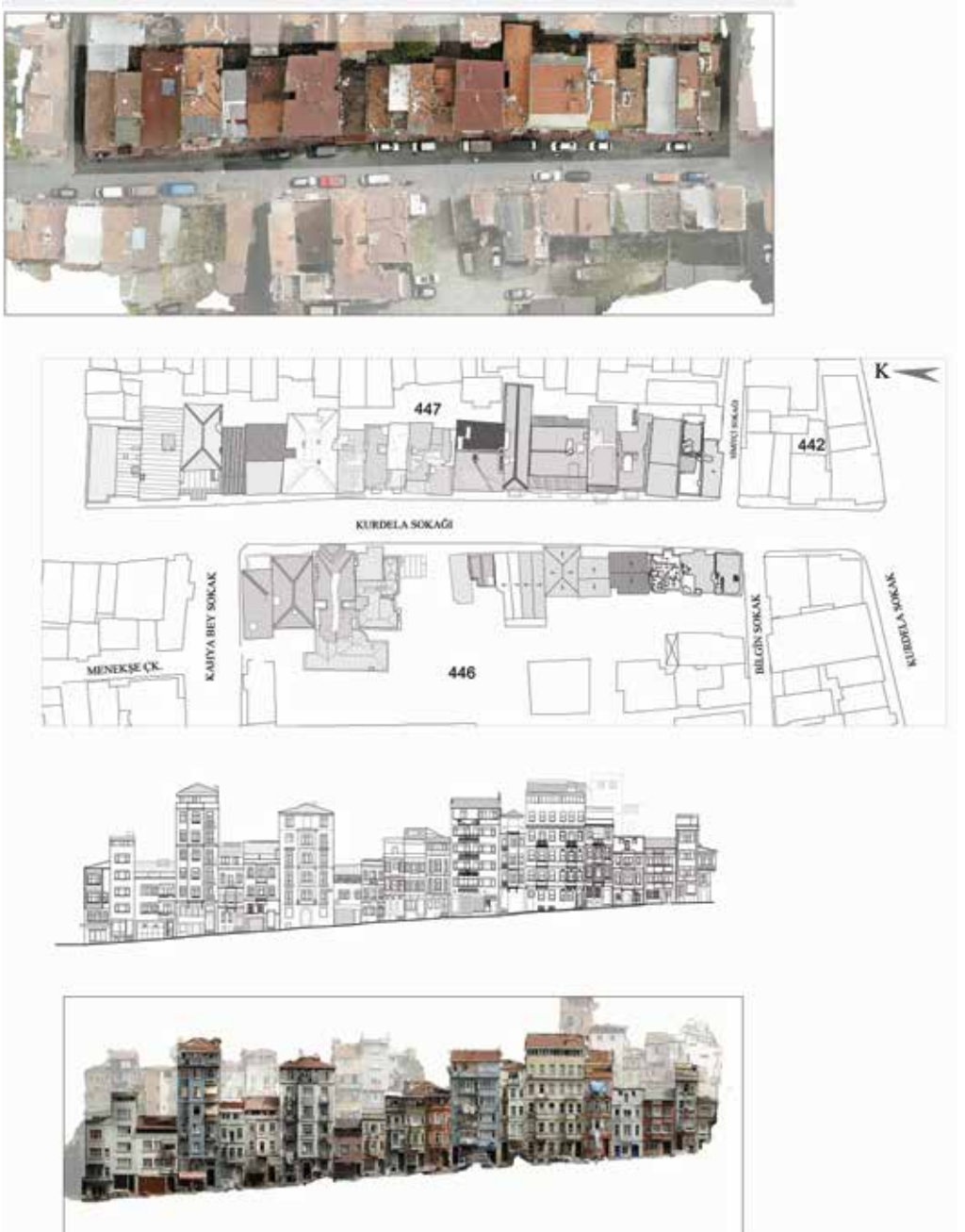


Figure 3. Survey of Kurdela Street, building block 447 eastern façade, with roof plan and silhouette as orthophotos and CAD drawings, conducted by a group of graduate students: Serkan Akın, Ayşenur Yelda Can, Ayberk Soyyiğit, Beyza Hilal Altunışık, Rumeysa Yıldıztaş, İmen Ben Saber, and Talha Mertel in July 2021

control the rapid changes and potential gentrification caused by urban development demands.⁴⁸

Therefore, the revitalisation of Tarlaşaşı should occur at a slow pace and every proposed intervention at the urban and architectural levels requires adequate justification. The alternative social scenarios should maintain the socio-demographic structure of the neighbourhood as much as possible, without being limited to one particular group or allowing the displacement of the current residents. The most influential change to achieve such an approach would be the cancellation of Renewal Law 5366 for the area and the application of Preservation Law 2863.

On the urban scale, the proposals of the studio work recognise the importance of shaping the streets a way that allows for free walking lines for pedestrians by eliminating occupied sidewalks, renewing the pavements and rearranging building entrances in accordance with street inclination, which will also help to reduce vehicle traffic. It also highlights the problem of vacant buildings. Adaptive reuses are proposed for some buildings corresponding to the needs of the current residents, such as buildings with health, educational, cultural, and social functions.

With regard to the registered buildings, it is emphasised that not only the preservation of their façades, but also the placement of the buildings in relation to the plots, their heights, the structural systems, and the use of traditional building materials should be taken into account. In other words, developing suitable solutions for each plot separately on a block is necessary for successful urban fabric preservation, so that the blocks are not considered as a whole, but rather as a mosaic of separate plots, each needing a particular approach. The types of acceptable interventions for single structures are defined as preservation, restoration, and rehabilitation, according to the state of conservation, values, authenticity, and overall integrity. These interventions may necessitate the removal or demolition of inappropriate additions and the completion of missing elements according to the results of the study on the traditional architectural features in the area. On the basis of our site work, it is proposed that 45% of the registered buildings should have only their façades repaired; 18% need partial interventions like basic repair and maintenance, and

48 ICOMOS, The Paris Declaration on Heritage as a Driver of Development, 1 December 2011, https://www.icomos.org/images/DOCUMENTS/Charters/GA2011_Declaration_de_Paris_EN_20120109.pdf [access: 25 November 2022].

33% need comprehensive restoration, while only 4% need to be reconstructed due to their extremely bad physical condition. This preservation approach is totally different from the renewal approach adopted by the Taksim 360 project, where almost all of the registered buildings were demolished and reconstructed, resulting in the loss of the physical authenticity of the nine building blocks on which the project was implemented. Finally, for decreasing the negative impact of the new incompatible buildings on the quality of the urban fabric, interventions such as façade redesigning, partial demolition of extremely high buildings, demolition, and rebuilding the ones with poor structural conditions and infills are suggested.

As such, the upgrading of such a valuable urban fabric in the centre of the city by restoring and rehabilitating it will ensure its historical and cultural continuity, as well as its economic and sociological development. In order to create spatial strategies suitable for today's Tarlabaşı, we should ensure the participation of current inhabitants, create investment programs, and plan in advance the areas that should be considered within these investment programmes. Finally, international practice has proved that successful urban transformation projects involving the collaboration between the public and private sectors as well as non-governmental organisations will result in the improvement of the physical appearance of the city, decrease in unemployment, increase in economic activities, and elimination of social divisions, poverty, and exclusion.

Moldovan–Polish Relations: The Case of Soroca Castle¹

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Introduction

Soroca Castle is part of the network of fortresses on the Dniester defending Moldavia’s eastern border. The castle is situated on the right bank of the river, on an old ford used for crossing over the river (Figure 1). The stone construction replaced earth and wooden fortification. In the Middle Ages and the modern period, these fortifications were subject to several sieges, devastation, and fires, whose traces are imprinted in the archaeological layers, and its stone walls are streaked with bullet and cannonball marks.

The stone castle in Soroca has a circular plan and is endowed with five towers placed at equal distances from each other. Four towers are cylindrical in shape, while the fifth is rectangular (Figure 2). On the first and second floors the circular towers had gun loops that allowed cross-fire meant to defend the curtain walls. On the upper level the flanking towers, the gate tower, and the curtain walls were provided with a crenelated parapet. Through the passage on the lower level, the rectangular tower serves as a gateway to the castle.² The inner courtyard of the castle

1 This study was developed within the project Research and Capitalisation of Medieval Archaeological Heritage in the Republic of Moldova – CVPAM, no. 20.80009.1606.06, implemented by the State Pedagogical University “Ion Creanga” in Chisinau, and supported by the National Agency for Research and Development of the Republic of Moldova through the State Programmes 2020–2023, strategic priority IV: societal challenges, strategic direction, tangible and intangible heritage.

2 Tamara Nesterov, “Arhitectura cetății Soroca: un argument important în datarea fortăreței,” [in:] *Revista de Istorie a Moldovei*, vol. 2, no. 70 (2007), p. 31; eadem, “Cetatea Sorocii: între legendă, mituri și ipoteze,” [in:] *Soroca: Almanah*, vol. 3 (2009), pp. 6–14.

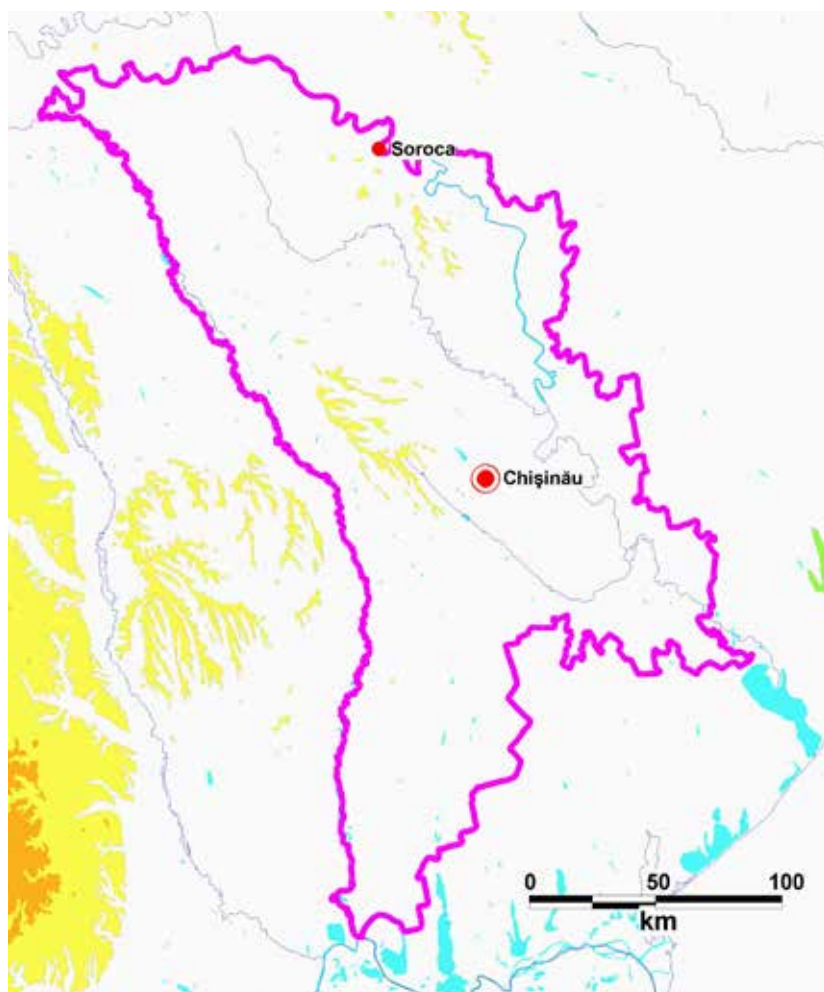


Figure 1. The map of the Republic of Moldova and the location of Soroca Castle

is a circle with a diameter of 30.5 m. The thickness of the castle walls, including the circular towers crenelated at the top, ranges from 3.0 to 3.10 m. From the outside, the castle walls were about 19–20 m high. At the bottom, next to the foundation, the walls are angled, and provided with a glacis to increase stability. In the initial period of building the stone citadel, the courtyard was free of wall construction. Later on, thirteen deposits of stone with a trapezoidal plan were built around the perimeter of the castle walls. The stone-walled dwelling spaces were built on the upper part of the deposits. The plan and the architecture of Soroca Castle



Figure 2. Soroca Castle before restoration, 1960. © Soroca Museum Collection

are original and do not find analogies in east-central Europe. Although in the 18th–19th centuries Soroca Castle was considered a Genoese fortress, the evidence supporting this view has not been certified.³

The interest in the history and significance of Soroca Castle originated in the 18th century; from that point onwards, and especially in the 20th century, the number of articles and their variety of topics increased depending on the archaeological work, its restoration or development. Today Soroca Castle is a national monument protected by the state as part of the Register of Monuments of Moldova Protected by the State – number 2608, and represents one of the most important, well-known, and visited historic and cultural sites in the Republic of Moldova.

Moldovan Policy for Archaeology and building heritage

The Republic of Moldova became independent in August 1991, but the first law on cultural heritage preservation was approved only in 1993. The preservation and use of the national cultural and natural heritage are regulated by the government in agreement with the parliament. It is the parliament that develops state policy on cultural heritage

³ Ibidem.

preservation, but the government has to prepare an efficient mechanism to implement these policies. Preservation and use of the national cultural heritage are established by the government in agreement with the parliament by the laws of the Republic of Moldova. The Ministry of Culture is the official national body responsible for listing, preservation, and evaluation of monuments. Under the Ministry of Culture are two national agencies responsible for cultural heritage: the Agency for Inspection and the Restoration of Monuments of the Republic of Moldova, and the National Archaeological Agency. The first agency deals mostly with architectural heritage, while the second is directly involved in the preservation of archaeological heritage. Consequently, the Ministry of Culture is directly responsible through its subordinate institutions and bodies for the protection of the archaeological heritage, starting with the elaboration of policies, strategies, and national programmes and ending with, among others, the coordination of yearly programmes and the issue of authorisations for archaeological excavations. So, during the last thirty years, the legislation concerning the protection of cultural heritage in the Republic of Moldova has been slowly developing. At present, the Republic of Moldova has signed and ratified ten European and international cultural heritage conventions and approved eight laws in this field. Among the recent laws are the Law on Archaeological Heritage Preservation (no. 218/17 September 2010) and the Law on the Preservation of the National Immovable Heritage (no. 280/27 December 2011).

The legislation of the Republic of Moldova establishes, as in many other European countries, the supreme right of the state over the archaeological heritage, regardless of the form of ownership of the land in which it was recovered or where it is located. The Law on Archaeological Heritage Preservation opened new perspectives for Moldovan society to improve the situation in the field, and to combat looting and illegal trafficking of antiquities. With this legislation, the Republic of Moldova aligns itself with other European countries and honours its commitments, especially those made with the signature of the Valletta Convention, and second, other European and international field conventions. The current legislation clearly defines the protection area of archaeological sites as an area with a special protection regime around an archaeological site within a fifty to 200 metres radius, depending on the type and importance of the object in question. Also, archaeological heritage discovered by chance is delimited within a radius of fifty metres, with a temporary protection regime over all the archaeological works, which cannot last for

more than twelve months, within which period a research programme is to be set out and a future protection regime established. The law stipulates a few situations that were absent in previous Moldovan laws, such as the prohibition of the unauthorised use of metal detectors and other remote-sensing equipment in areas with archaeological heritage, as well as trade and unauthorised possession of illegal metal detectors and other remote-sensing equipment.

In the context of the new European opportunities for the Moldovan authorities, the local public administration in Soroca initiated a rehabilitation project of the medieval fortress Soroca as part of a cross-border project Medieval Jewellery: Hotin, Soroca, Suceava Fortresses, financed by the European Union under the Joint Operational Programme Romania-Ukraine-Moldova, (2007–2013). As a result of this project, a big part of Soroca Castle was restored. The second stage of the restoration process was launched in 2021 under the project Ștefan cel Mare Common History, Common Heritage, Soroca-Vaslui, I HARD/2.1/50, financed by the EU through the Joint Operational Programme Romania–Republic of Moldova ENI 2014–2020 (1 April 2021 – 31 March 2023). So, the recent conservation and restoration projects constitute a real contribution towards the rehabilitation of one of the most important historic monuments in the Republic of Moldova and transform it into an attractive and sustainable tourist attraction site.

Historical and archaeological research in recent years has significantly contributed to elucidating the history of the stone fortress in Soroca, bringing us closer to solving problems related to the chronology, the phases of construction, as well as the existence or absence of other fortifications and buildings in the area.

Soroca Castle and the Moldovan–Polish relations

One of the earliest written references on Soroca is from 1475 and appears in connection with an attack of the Cossacks on the east borders of medieval Moldavia.⁴ Another important source where Soroca was mentioned is the so-called Bâchoveț Chronicle. It states that in 1497 the Poles were planning an attack on Moldavia and one of the directions was through Soroca. After the defeat of the Polish armies led by king John Albert (1492–1501) in Codrii Cosminului, a peace treaty was concluded

4 Grigore Ureche, *Letopisețul Țării Moldovei*, Chișinău 1971, p. 97.

between Stephen the Great and John Albert [Olbracht], king of Poland, on 12 July 1499. Among the signatories of the peace treaty in 1499, “Coste, chief magistrate of Soroca” is mentioned.⁵ He was a member of Stephen the Great’s princely Council,⁶ and his rank of the chief magistrate of a district [pârcălăbia] constituted one of the highest dignities in medieval Moldavia.⁷

In addition to being signatories to several treaties with Poland and Lithuania in 1499, the headmen of Soroca are also mentioned in two other international treaties: one was signed in Kamenetz on 22 January 1510, and the other one in Krakow on 20 March 1510, between Bogdan the Third (1504–1517), the ruler of Moldova, and Sigismund (1506–1548), the king of Poland. It is important to mention that in these acts, in the foreground of the contracting parties are the commercial-economic aspects, the circulation of merchants and goods, and the settlement of possible disputes. It was pointed out in those treaties that

Polish and Lithuanian merchants will be free to pass through Moldova [...] by paying customs and keeping places of deposit, according to the old laws [...]. [I]f our liegemen are wronged by the liegemen of ruler Bogdan-Voda, then they will address the Moldovan headmen from Hotin, Cernauti, and Soroca, and they will judge them with the fullness of the right.⁸

The phrase “according to the old laws” refers to the previous commercial privileges, most notably the one granted in 1408 by Alexander the Good (1400–1432) to Lviv’s merchants involved in the trade-in

5 Ion Bogdan, *Documentele lui Ștefan cel Mare*, vol. 2, București 1914, pp. 417–435.

6 Mihai Costăchescu, *Documente moldovenești de la Bogdan voievod (1504–1517)*, București 1940, pp. 466, 481.

7 Andrei Eșanu, Valentina Eșanu, “Administrarea cetății și a ținutului Soroca (sec. xv – începutul sec. al xix-lea),” [in:] *Revista de istorie a Moldovei*, no. 1–2 (1999), pp. 38–56; eidem, *Moldova medievală: Structuri executive, militare și ecclesiastice. Studii*, Chișinău 2001, pp. 76–108.

8 Mihai Costăchescu, *Documente moldovenești...*, op. cit., pp. 466, 481; Ion Eremia, “Statutul juridic internațional al Moldovei la sfârșitul secolului al xiv-lea – omagiul din 1387,” [in:] *Tyragetia*, vol. 25 (2006), pp. 128, 139.

Moldova, and the transit law⁹ from the late 14th and early 15th century, as well as to the tribute of ruler Peter Musat to Lviv in 1387.¹⁰

The first documents that referred directly to Soroca Castle were issued in the early 16th century. The information is found in two letters from the ruler Bogdan III (1504–1517). The first is a letter to the Polish king Sigismund I (1505–1548) dated 1 July 1512, in which Soroca Castle is referred to as the “protection against the heathendom.”¹¹ The second document which mentioned the Soroca castle is perhaps the most important for the understanding of the evolution of the fortification on the fords of the Dniester. It is a charter from 17 January 1517, by which Bogdan the Blind (Bogdan III) signs away the town of Solonets to Calian. It was given by his father, prince Stephen (the Great), in exchange for some villages, and “Stephen the Great returned those three villages, namely Cosaceuți, Trincinți, and Strigacouți, to obey our castle, Soroca.”¹² In 1528, an anonymous foreign traveller mentions Soroca Castle among the main fortresses and towns of Moldavia.¹³ The chronicler Miron Costin wrote about Soroca Castle: “As I understood, Soroca Castle had been made by Pătru-Vodă...”¹⁴ In this context, we need to mention the letter to the governor Petru Rareș (1527–1538 and 1541–1546) from 23 April 1543, by which the ruler calls a craftsman from Bistrița to work at Soroca Castle.¹⁵ In the summer of 1538, Soroca Castle was occupied by the Ottomans with a nominated Sancak-bey, who had probably stayed until 1541 when a new chief magistrate, the nobleman Tăbuci, was already attested. In a letter from 1543, the Moldovan ruler Petru Rares calls a craftsman from Bistrița to fortify Soroca Castle. During the Ottoman–Polish wars (1672–1699) the Polish army controlled Soroca Castle in the years 1686–1699. About that, the French diplomat Francois Gaston noted that on 23 August 1686,

9 Mihai Costăchescu, *Documente moldovenești înainte de Ștefan cel Mare*, vol. 2, București 1932, pp. 630–637.

10 I. Eremia, *Statutul juridic internațional...*, op. cit., pp. 96–102.

11 M. Costachescu, *Documente moldovenești de la Bogdan...*, op. cit., pp. 500–501.

12 Idem, *Arderea târgului Floci și a Ialomiței în 1470*, Iași 1935, pp. 154–155.

13 *Călători străini despre țările române*, vol. 1, București 1968, p. 199.

14 Miron Costin, *Letopiseșul Țării Moldovei: De neamul moldovenilor*, București 1979, pp. 214–215.

15 Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki and Nicolae Iorga, *Documente privitoare la Istoria Românilor*, vol. 14, București 1915, p. 432.

“the king of Poland [John Sobieski], wishing to ensure total power over Moldavia, occupied with the help of the Cossacks a powerful castle on the Dniester called Soroca and installed a numerous garrison there.”¹⁶

Thus, a Polish garrison was installed in Soroca, which was stationed there until 1699. In 1691 John Sobieski sent to Soroca the engineer Archibald Andrzej Głower de Glaydeny, who coordinated the construction works. Archaeologist Gheorghe Cebotarenco claims that it was the Poles who filled the castle towers with earth to increase their ability to defend against heavy artillery. The architect Mariana Șlapac claims that during this period the second well was built inside the castle; on the first floor thirteen stone casemates were used as storage spaces, and on the second floor living spaces were arranged.¹⁷ In all likelihood, the fortification measures took effect, as the Poles resisted the attacks of the Moldovan-Ottoman-Tatar allies in 1692, which lasted from 27 September to 9 October 1692. Polish colonel Krzysztof Rappe, commander of Soroca, mentioned in his diary more details about this siege:

1 October – the Tartars came to our places, the Poles retreated to the New Vallum, and while the Tartars and Vlachs attacked the city, greeted them with cannon shots, and burned the city. 4 October – they were 30 steps away from the New Vallum between the ditches [...] 8 October – the Tartars laid mines in various places of the New Vallum, which, despite the Polish mines installed underground, withstood [...] 9 October – the Tartars made some excavations in the New Vallum, which the Poles tried to repair; at dawn the enemy destroyed part of the Vallum with the help of the mine and caught the general attack [...].¹⁸

16 *Călători străini despre țările române*, vol. 7, București 1980, p. 407.

17 Mariana Șlapac, “Fortificațiile bastionate de la Soroca (sec. XVII-XVIII),” [in:] *Cetatea Soroca: istorie, memorie și tradiții seculare*, conference proceedings, Soroca, 4–5 April 2014, ed. Sergiu Musteață, Chișinău 2015, p. 122.

18 The Journal and Report of Colonel Rapp, commander of the Polish garrison from Soroca Fort, to the Polish king John Sobieski, from the year 1692. Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu, manuscript 3003, c. 51–52.

Although the Poles resisted the siege, they lost 150 soldiers and 2000 allies. After the Karlovitz peace treaty, Poland was forced to withdraw its army from Moldova and return to Soroca Castle.¹⁹

After the Russian-Turkish wars of the late 18th century – early 19th century, and especially after the annexation of Bessarabia by the Russian Empire, Soroca Castle lost its military and strategic importance. As can be seen from the above, the written sources do not offer a clear answer on the construction of the stone castle. Therefore, researchers have turned to archaeological sources.

Archaeological evidence

During the 20th and early 21st centuries, archaeological investigations were conducted inside and outside the castle. The largest excavations were conducted by Gh. Cebotarenko during 1959–1960 and 1968–1969 in the context of the Soviet authorities' decision to restore the castle and include it in the touristic network.²⁰

The archaeological research undertaken during recent years (2012–2021) has allowed the identification of the remains of some old fortifications – a whole defence system represented by ditches, belonging to the fortified settlement made of earth and wood. Soroca defence system was composed of a circular fortification with a wooden palisade and an adjoining ditch, supplemented with several other lines of defence.²¹ Among those fortified elements, some were built long before the stone citadel, overlapping them, while others, such as “Old Ditch,” were used at the same time as the fortification of the wall, being mentioned until the pre-modern period.²² The limited character of the investigations did not allow for the historical reconstruction of the whole fortified system, but only to

19 M. Şlapac, “Fortificațiile bastionate de la Soroca...,” op. cit., p. 123.

20 Ggheorghii Fedorovič Čebotarenko, *Otčet po raskopkam 1959–1960 gg. Sorokskaja kreposti*, Chişinău 1960; idem, *Otčet o raskopkah v Sorokskoj kreposti v 1968–1969 gg.*, Chişinău 1970.

21 Virgil Apostol and Ştefan Balici, “Rezultate preliminare ale cercetării architectural-arheologice de la Cetatea Soroca, Campaniile 2012 şi 2013,” [in:] *Cetatea Soroca...*, op. cit., pp. 58–66. The same circular shape was also characteristic of the fortifications of the oldest cities in Moldova, Siret and Suceava. See Victor Spinei, “Generalities on the Genesis of Medieval Towns in Moldova,” [in:] *Medieval Archaeology*, vol. 1 (1996), p. 41.

22 The Journal and Report of Colonel Rapp, op. cit.

make clarifications about some constructive and defence elements, and also about the chronological framing of the site.

Coins are one of the most important categories of archaeological goods which help us with chronological and economic interpretations. Although extensive archaeological research was conducted during the 20th century, the number of coin discoveries in Soroca's Castle was quite modest. Archaeological investigations carried out in 2012–2016, 2019, and 2021 proved the opposite, with discoveries of an impressive batch of coins, valuable both numerically and due to the diversity of their origin or value nominal. The numismatic discoveries from Soroca Castle are composed of copper, silver, and gold coins of Moldovan, Ottoman, Polish, Roman-German, Russian, and Swedish origins from the 15th–19th centuries.

Thus, we note a large share of Polish coins from Alexander I (1492–1506), Sigismund I (1506–1548), Stephen Bathory (1575–1586), Sigismund III (1587–1632), to John Casimir (1648–1668), including counterfeits, which demonstrate both economic contacts and the presence of Poles in Soroca. In the third place are the Ottoman issues, dating from the late 15th to the 19th century. We also mention the presence of coins issued by the son and nephew of Stephen the Great, Bogdan III (1504–1517), and Stephen IV (1517–1527).²³ Of all the coins of Polish origin, the most numerous are those from the time of Sigismund I (1506–1548), which appear in the same context as the Moldavian coins from the time of Bogdan III (1504–1517) and Stephen IV (1517–1527). This situation demonstrates the high intensity of Moldovan–Polish relations in the first three decades of the 16th century and the share of the Polish currency in local economic affairs. Unfortunately, so far, no coin has been discovered from the time of Stephen the Great, when Moldova reached a high level of development and when, for the first time, a chief magistrate appears in Soroca: “Coste, pârcălab of Soroca” (1499).

Conclusion

Based on the results of the archaeological investigations in the years 2012–2021 and the archaeological research in previous years, we can say that the wooden and earth fortification discovered under the foundation of the stone castle was built in the 15th century. As for the stone castle, we

23 Ana Boldureanu and Adela Chiroșca, “Descoperiri monetare din cetatea Soroca,” [in:] *Cetatea Soroca...*, op. cit., p. 67.



Figure 3. Soroca Castle after restoration. © SergiuMusteață, 2021

believe that the whole logistics of inviting architects (presumably Italian), the design, and the beginning of the construction of the stone foundation of Soroca Castle were initiated by Stephen the Great (1457–1504) in the late 15th century. However, Soroca Castle was constructed mainly in the time of Bogdan III (1504–1517) and possibly finalised soon after. In that period or the days of Stephen IV (1517–1527), certain works may have been carried out within the stone castle by its carpenters. Another defence system of the stone castle, a fort of wood and earth, was identified around the castle at a distance of about 22 m, which may have been a part of the defence system of the 15th century or was built shortly before the beginning of the stone construction.

Although the Polish relationship with Soroca in the medieval period was more of a military affair, and Poles only took actual control of the castle for a short period, the traces of these contacts can be observed in both the archaeological strata and collective memory. However, to better understand Moldovan–Polish relations, it is necessary to continue research and exchange of information between Polish and Moldovan scholars. At the same time, we mention the need to explore the archives in Turkey, which could contain important documents regarding the events in which Soroca Castle was involved, and the importance of the realisation of some cross-border research projects.

Historical and archaeological research of recent years has significantly contributed to elucidating the history of the stone castle in Soroca, helping us to get nearer to solving the problems related to its chronology and phases of construction, as well as the existence or absence of other fortifications and buildings in the area. However, even at this stage there remain some issues that raise questions and only conducting further investigations will allow the discovery of the unexplored facts in the history of this original monument in Moldova, which played an important role in Moldovan-Polish relations during medieval and modern periods.

Heritage and Sustainable Urban Development: Croatian Case Studies

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Introduction

Due to its important geopolitical position and turbulent multicultural history at the crossroads of European cultures, Croatia is characterised by a rich diversity of cultural landscapes and historic towns, marked by distinctive historical cores and unique heritage. Emphasised regional cultural diversity and highly developed urban culture are the key characteristics of Croatian heritage cities: Dubrovnik, Split, Poreč, Šibenik, Zadar and Trogir have already been listed as UNESCO World Heritage. However, there are still unique and very rich multi-layered cultural landscapes which, as living witnesses to European multicultural past and due to their outstanding universal value, should be adequately valorised.

The article analyses current challenges and perspectives related to urban renewal in selected historic cities on the Adriatic coast, bearing the title of UNESCO World Heritage or the European Capital of Culture: Pula, Poreč, Rijeka, and Šibenik. All these cities are characterised by a great sustainable development potential of the former industrial and military heritage as well as the transition from the mass to special interest and cultural tourism.

Looking for new urban models in the challenging global context, the authors applied the concept of cultural economy, or the economics of uniqueness, which implies sustainable urban development based on the strategic mobilisation of local cultural and creative resources and local participative democracy, using the past as the foundation for the future. The economics of uniqueness is a concept which emphasises the benefits of investing in unique local cultural resources as a way of improving life quality as well as enhance job creation and local economic development in order to differentiate the city from competing

destinations, thus helping the city attract investment and experts in various fields.¹ Recent strategic and policy documents, such as the European Cultural Heritage Green Paper² and the New European Bauhaus, emphasise the role of the key cultural and creative resources in “shaping more beautiful, sustainable and inclusive forms of living together,”³ creating a community-driven urban environments for the green transition, promoting solidarity and togetherness in harmonious co-existence with nature.

Besides indicating key challenges faced by the Croatian historic cities, the aim of the article is to reflect on the multidimensional role of cultural heritage in promoting the key values of the European identity as well as to discuss the possibility of measuring the impact of cultural heritage on sustainable urban development by elaborating on UNESCO Culture for Development Indicators (CDIs) and other available cultural statistics at the local and national level.

Measuring cultural heritage development potential

Measuring multiple benefits of investing in unique local cultural resources to improve the quality of life and sustainable development through urban renewal is a challenge both for local and national authorities as well as the European Commission and international organisations. As Urošević and Afrić point out,⁴ measuring the multidimensional role of culture in sustainable development, and harmonisation of statistics and indicators at the international level poses a major challenge not only for new EU members such as Croatia. Culture statistics by Eurostat⁵ provide a comparative insight and list the main indicators such as cultural

1 Guido Licciardi and Rana Amirtahmasebi (eds.), *The Economics of Uniqueness: Investing in Historic City Cores and Cultural Heritage Assets for Sustainable Development*, [Washington, D.C.] 2012.

2 Europa Nostra, *European Cultural Heritage Green Paper: Putting Europe's Shared Heritage at the Heart of the European Green Deal*, <https://www.europanostra.org/our-work/policy/european-cultural-heritage-green-paper/> [access: 31 July 2021].

3 European Commission, *New European Bauhaus*, https://europa.eu/new-european-bauhaus/index_en [access: 10 October 2021].

4 Nataša Urošević and Kristina Afrić Rakitovac, “Measuring the Multidimensional Role of Culture in Sustainable Development,” [in:] *EU Perspectives: Innovation, Entrepreneurship and Economic Policy*, eds. Danijela Rabar, Ksenija Černe, and Robert Zenzerović, Pula 2015, pp. 373–388.

5 European Commission, Eurostat, *Culture Statistics*, 2019.

employment or share of general government expenditure on culture as well as culture-related education, cultural participation, and household expenditure on culture, but indicators related to heritage sustainability are missing.

In addition to rare studies focused on the elaboration of assessment frameworks able to capture the multidimensional benefits of cultural landscape conservation and provide empirical evidence to demonstrate that cultural heritage valorisation is an investment and not a cost,⁶ the research conducted in the framework of the project Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe⁷ attempted to analyse assessment frameworks related the economic, social, cultural, and environmental impacts of cultural heritage. It showed that cultural statistics and indicators in Croatia were still underdeveloped in the years immediately following its EU accession: only basic indicators were in use, accompanied by few cultural statistics available at the national level; in addition, the data was often out of date. The authors proposed the use of an internationally comparable system of cultural statistics, such as UNESCO Culture for Development Indicators (CDIS).⁸ In the meantime, in terms of improving the role of culture in development processes and better positioning of culture in strategic planning of sustainable development as a tool for measuring the impact of culture on development processes, in 2015 and 2016 the Croatian Ministry of Culture and the Croatian Commission for UNESCO applied a novel methodology proposed by UNESCO.

UNESCO Culture for Development Indicators (CDIS) is a policy tool that assesses the multidimensional role of culture in development processes, covering seven key policy dimensions with twenty-two indicators. Their main goal is to demonstrate with data how culture and development interact and enrich each other, assess the environment in place for sustaining

6 Francesca Noca, "The Role of Cultural Heritage in Sustainable Development: Multidimensional Indicators as Decision-Making Tool," [in:] *Sustainability*, vol. 9 (2017); Federica Appendino, "Heritage-Related Indicators for Urban Sustainable Development: A Systematic Review," [in:] *Urban Transportation and Construction*, vol. 4, no. 1 (2018); Paloma Guzmán, Ana Pereira Roders, and Bernard J.F. Colenbrander, "Measuring Links between Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Urban Development: An Overview of Global Monitoring Tools," [in:] *Cities*, vol. 60 (2017), pp. 192–201.

7 *Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe: Full Report*, Krakow 2015.

8 N. Urošević and K. Afrić Rakitovac, op. cit., p. 380.

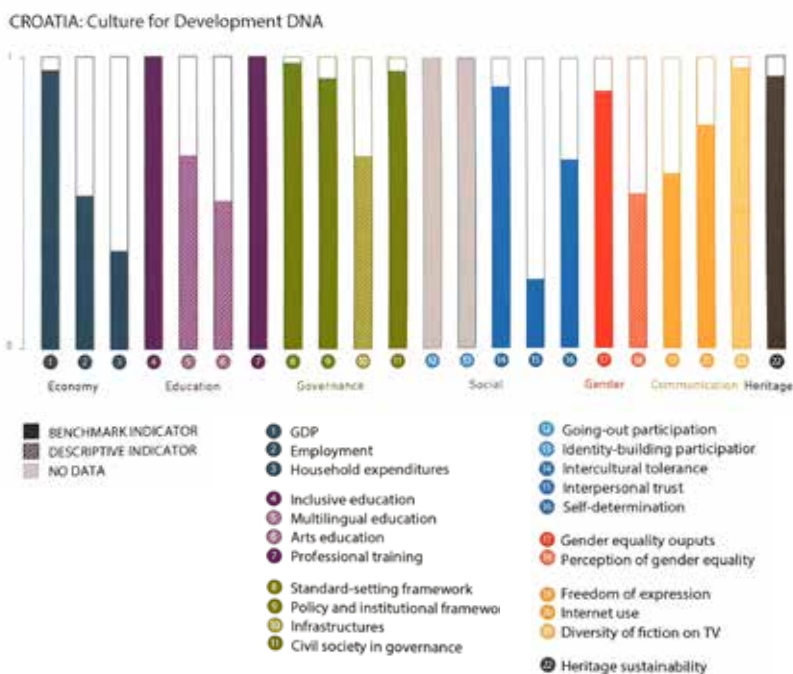


Figure 1. UNESCO Culture for Development Indicators. Source: Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia

and enhancing cultural assets and processes for development; and offer a global overview of national challenges and opportunities, informing cultural policies and development strategies to fully profit from the potential of culture. The key objective of the CDIS project, which was tested and implemented in twelve countries around the world, was contributing to a better positioning of culture in planning and implementing economic development and development of capacities for the achievement of new statistical standards for the purpose of connecting culture and development. The wealth of quantitative data generated through the implementation of CDIS promotes better informed cultural policies and the integration of culture in development strategies. New data generated by applying CDIS not only contributed to the inclusion of culture in development strategies, but also signalled flaws in cultural statistics and monitoring systems.⁹

⁹ UNESCO Culture for Development Indicators: Technical Report of the Republic of Croatia, Zagreb 2016, pp. 1–69.

The implementation of indicators created a solid basis for defining a strategic development plan in line with the main development goals of the European strategic documents. On the other hand, by detecting shortcomings in cultural statistics CDIS contributed to the harmonisation of national statistical systems with European standards.

The results of the conducted research showed a significant contribution of culture to the national economy (9.52% in GBP), high percentage of cultural employment (5.25%), with 3.34% of household cultural consumption. The results related to heritage sustainability indicate “a well-established multidimensional framework for heritage protection, preservation and promotion, however, further involvement of the local community as a custodian of heritage and raising awareness of the benefits of heritage preservation and revitalization is recommended.”¹⁰ Bearing in mind these recommendations, after obtaining available data related to CDIS indicators from the Ministry of Culture, the authors investigated the availability of cultural statistics and plans at the regional and local level too, by contacting responsible departments for culture in Croatian heritage cities and requesting data comparable with CDIS indicators or other cultural statistics frameworks. The only data available were budget allocations for culture and investments in heritage, which we presented.

The economics of uniqueness of Croatian historic towns

Investing in historic city cores and cultural heritage assets to improve livability, create jobs, and attract creative class which will stimulate sustainable development and urban regeneration is the current challenge for many historic cities in Croatia. Some of them, mostly tourist-historic cities on the Adriatic coast, are faced with both the advantages and disadvantages of (over)tourism and its impact on sustainable urban development. On the other hand, many cities in the continental areas affected by the devastating earthquakes in 2020 and 2021, including the capital city of Zagreb, are looking for models of effective reconstruction, using European solidarity funds, but also relying on the valuable experiences and assistance of international partners.

Tourist metropolis Poreč, which accounts for 10% of Croatian tourism results and hosts the only UNESCO World Heritage site in Istria, the Euphrasian Basilica from the 6th century, represents the prevalent model

¹⁰ Ibidem, pp. 3–4.

of mass tourism (with extreme seasonality in the summer months), but also displays great potential of special interest tourism development, while lacking investment in the key cultural assets. The most important Croatian port and industrial city, Rijeka, was given the opportunity to present and revitalise its neglected industrial heritage after been selected as the European Capital of Culture 2020. The unique historic urban landscape of Pula,¹¹ with its ancient urban core abundant in Roman monuments and well-preserved fortifications and former military zones around the city harbour with Arsenal, has been already twice nominated for inscription on the UNESCO list, but the application was withdrawn both times. It seems that Šibenik, the only Croatian city with two UNESCO World Heritage sites, has been the most successful in participatory heritage governance: by investing in its distinctive assets, four forts in the historic core in the framework of several EU projects, it started the process of social revitalisation and regeneration of neglected urban tissue. The authors' analysis shows that, if valorised in a proper way, urban heritage could act as a catalyst for sustainable development, bringing environmental, economic, social, and cultural benefits to the local community.

The article applies the concept of cultural economy or the “economics of uniqueness,” which implies sustainable development based on the strategic use of local culture, local resources, and local participative democracy. A city's conserved historic urban landscape could differentiate that city from competing locations – branding it nationally and internationally – thus helping the city attract investment and talented people. The most successful in attracting investment and creative class to improve the living standard and employment are the cities which promote inclusion and harness all of their resources, including their heritage. Besides investing in key resources, such as historic city cores, the economics of uniqueness links investments with economic development, job creation, development of infrastructure and services, as well as city branding. It connects integrated conservation and development, identifying the acceptable level of change and the extent of adaptive reuse, as well as a dialogue between public and private sectors to promote a combination of public

11 Nataša Urošević, “Historic Urban Environment and Sustainable Development: A Case Study of Pula, Croatia,” [in:] *Heritage Counts*, eds. Koen Van Balen and Aziliz Vandesande, Antwerp 2015, pp. 269–281.

and private investment.¹² The keystone of sustainable urban development is the participation of the local community in the decision-making process. To ensure this participatory approach and enable the locals to formulate their sense of identity and connect to their own culture, understanding its uniqueness, it is important to organise awareness-raising and capacity-building campaigns as well as educational and information programmes by and for the community. Since the most important local heritage resources are often misinterpreted and neglected by local residents, who do not assist in their maintenance or marketing due to their lack of knowledge and connection to this heritage, the awareness-raising activities must be planned on a long-term, education-for-life basis, allowing a sustainable community to live in harmony and dignity, and become more sensitive not just towards the heritage value of their own place, but also towards the world around them.¹³

Case study: Šibenik

Šibenik is the only Croatian historic city with two World Heritage Sites: St James' Cathedral and St Nicolas' Fortress, inscribed in 2017 in the framework of transnational nomination of Venetian fortresses in the Adriatic. The oldest native Croatian town on the Adriatic coast is unique also because of St James' Cathedral, built entirely from stone. Besides being the first city in the world with streetlights powered by a polyphase system of alternating current by Nikola Tesla, another famous inventor, a polymath and bishop Faust Vrančić, was born in the city.

The city of Šibenik is considered a good practice model in strategic valorisation of unique local cultural resources and EU funds for creating a sustainable platform for communication and coordination of all key stakeholders. Social, economic, environmental, and cultural dimensions of sustainability are taken into account, so Šibenik is an example of a medium-size Mediterranean city well on the path towards integrated, holistic, and sustainable urban development.

Besides creating management plans for local cultural assets through several EU projects, its institutions developed long-term strategic plans

12 G. Licciardi and R. Amirtahmasebi, *The Economics of Uniqueness*, op. cit., pp. xiii-xxix.

13 Patricia De Camargo, "Using Tourist Resources as Tools for Teaching and Creating Awareness of Heritage in Local Community," [in:] *Cultural Tourism, Global and Local Perspectives*, ed. Greg Richards, New York 2007, pp. 239-255.

Table 1. Investment in culture and heritage from the city budget and key projects (in EUR)

City of Šibenik	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
Total budget	27,066,162	26,606,277	28,953,480	30,161,258	37,370,761	50,785,055	59,990,709
Social activities budget	11,197,159	11,041,741	12,217,866	13,084,743	15,324,706	22,788,904	25,508,261
Budget for cultural activities within social activities budget	3,121,375	3,487,955	4,052,823	5,148,317	6,146,260	5,833,565	6,682,991
Planned investments in heritage facilities in the city budget	1,377,928	1,243,612	2,276,727	1,623,598	4,074,324	717,499	8,067,330
Key projects	Revitalisation of the Barone Fortress; permanent exhibition in the city museum; reconstruction of a former cinema into a multifunctional venue	Funding the "Fortress of Culture" cultural institution; permanent exhibition in the city museum; reconstruction of a former cinema into a multifunctional venue	Revitalisation of St John's; permanent exhibition in the city museum; arranging access to the Barone Fortress	Revitalisation of Saint John's Fortress; Brešan project; reconstruction of national theatre; permanent exhibition in the city museum	Revitalisation of St John's Fortress; project Fortress ReInvented; reconstruction of a former cinema into a multifunctional venue; permanent exhibition in the city museum	Reconstruction of a former cinema into a multifunctional venue	Revitalisation of St John's Fortress; Croatian Coral Center Zlarić

Note: all data shown in EUR by fixed conversion rate of HRK to EUR 7,53450 HRK = 1.00 EUR

Source: City of Šibenik

related to regional, national, and EU goals. Their cultural management model includes local participatory democracy and the bottom-up model: the main cultural institution, Fortress of Culture Šibenik, started as a civil initiative. It employs forty experts, who with 4000 members of the Club of Friends of the Šibenik Fortress take care of four forts, annually visited by 200,000 tourists, enjoying over fifty cultural events and generating an annual income of 1,2 million euros! Šibenik accounts for 11% of the city budget for culture and 13% of investments in heritage.

During the process of urban revitalisation, it was of great importance to involve all key stakeholders, including the local population, in the process of participatory decision-making. The local government and local community were partners in the process of urban renewal, which has become one of the important strategic goals of spatial policies and integrated models of preservation, planning, implementation, and management of urban revitalisation.

The Society of Friends of Šibenik Antiquity and the “Juraj Dalmatinac” Society for the Preservation of Šibenik’s Heritage started with awareness-raising and capacity-building campaigns, documenting, analysing, interpreting, and presenting the local fortified heritage on the voluntary basis. In 2014, the Šibenik City Museum opened a department to lead the upcoming EU funded project of revitalisation of St Michael Fortress. Two years later, in 2016, the Public Institution Fortress of Culture Šibenik was founded and detached from the City Museum, and from that year the city budget has shown continuous growth and the budget for social activities and culture has been slowly increasing as well. Today the institution manages three revitalised fortresses in Šibenik: St Michael’s, Barone, and St John’s Fortress. The Fortress of Culture continued with new revitalisation projects as the cultural programme. To identify local needs, opinions, and attitudes, the city of Šibenik commissioned the Comprehensive Report on Local Needs in 2015 as a part of JEWEL project. The main task of the project was to create a kind of a cultural incubator in which the local community could exchange all the important information about a desired urban transformation and assume a significant role in decision-making. The main goal of the project was to revitalise the historic city core. Special emphasis was put on the socio-economic aspect and cultural heritage potential. The analysis involved all the relevant stakeholders: local community, entrepreneurs, cultural associations, experts in cultural heritage preservation and valorisation, and professionals in infrastructure development. Through

seven focus groups and a questionnaire (n = 240), stakeholders expressed their concerns and problems, and proposed ways of developing and improving life, culture, and infrastructure in the city core. This served as a base for further development plans of the Šibenik historic city core with respect to urban economy, culture, and cultural heritage. The JEWEL project is a great example of participatory approach to city planning and development: actions followed local needs and benefits were multiple. The positive outcome led to another example of a participatory and bottom-up project. To make a higher impact on the local community and its heritage, the Fortress of Culture supports the Fortress' Friends Club, whose main goal is participatory heritage management. In the period of 2016–2018, the members were involved in the preservation of cultural goods in the historical city core of Šibenik. Thanks to such successful cooperation, the image of the city is being improved through creating a new strong narrative about the core values and identity of Šibenik and its heritage. International tourists as well as the local community recognised the universal values and uniqueness of this regional asset.¹⁴

As emphasised in the city's heritage management plans, valorising the city's unique heritage in cultural tourism includes market evaluation and revenue generation, promotion, inclusion in tourist itineraries, signage, carefully prepared presentation, events organisation, and accompanying content based on elements of cultural heritage.¹⁵

In this way, the City of Šibenik was able to revalorise its fortified heritage, giving it a new function and role in the city's life. St Michael's Fortress revalorisation had a goal of sustainable tourism growth, as well as the promotion of employment and development of small and medium-sized enterprises in cultural tourism. The Barone Fortress, on the other hand, had the goal to enhance public and tourism-related infrastructure in order to increase the Šibenik-Knin County welfare, as well as contribute to the promotion of cultural attractions and boosting of local SMEs by providing high-tech innovative services.

14 Nataša Urošević and Danijela Grubišić, "Economics of Uniqueness in Croatian Historic Towns: Looking for new Urban Models," [in:] *Management*, vol. 25 (2020), pp. 143–157.

15 Projekt revitalizacije tvrđave sv. Mihovila, Razvoj branda grada Šibenika kao prvorazredne destinacije kulturnog turizma, <https://www.tvrdjava-kulture.hr/media/27653/kulturnibrandgradaibenika.pdf> [access: 27 July 2021].

Table 2. Increase in investments in heritage facilities in the city budget 2015–2021 (in EUR)							
City of Rijeka	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019.	2020	2021
Total budget	106,082,337	118,304,781	125,922,975	141,272,289	151,911,447	175,150,346	160,712,063
Social activities budget	42,418,562	60,735,018	60,561,417	68,466,087	76,106,966	101,199,611	97,127,809
Budget for cultural activities	13,674,423	15,426,066	17,465,395	30,029,782	39,544,845	43,510,066	35,139,690
Planned investments in heritage facilities in the city budget	No data	4,280,310	5,907,492	16,557,170	21,722,742	22,195,235	22,258,942
Key projects	No data	Museum of Rijeka; ECOC 2020; construction and maintenance of cultural facilities	Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art; Galeb Ship; Trsat Castle; ECOC 2020	The Sugar Factory; City Library; the Children's House in the complex Rikard Benčić	The Sugar Factory; Museum of Rijeka City Library	Galeb ship; The Children's House in the complex Rikard Benčić; City Library	The building of the Croatian National Theater; Dominican convent

Note: all data shown in EUR by fixed conversion rate of HRK to EUR 7.53450 HRK = 1.00 EUR
Source: Authors' work based on data: Proračun-u-malom-za-2021.pdf (rijeka.hr).

Case study: Rijeka

The city had been preparing for the ECOC title for a long time and in a very participatory and inclusive way, involving all key stakeholders. The main idea was to revitalise large post-industrial complexes of the main Croatian port into cultural infrastructure: museums, libraries, and creative spaces. The main topics were: work, water, and migrations, and Rijeka branded itself as the “Port of Diversity,” emphasising multiculturalism, tolerance, and openness of the city as the key values of its European identity. Unfortunately, as the opening ceremony coincided with the start of the pandemic, part of planned programmes had to be postponed or cancelled and cultural employment drastically reduced. Despite obvious problems, 70% of the planned program was successfully organised and Rijeka has retained the rich legacy of the project, such as the beautiful Museum of the City of Rijeka.

The Habsburg Monarchy saw Rijeka as its gates to the world, which led to the development of industry and maritime affairs in the 18th century. In the former Yugoslavia and later in independent Croatia, Rijeka kept the status of the main port with highly developed industry. When a certain part of the industry disappeared due to deindustrialisation, these sites remained abandoned and unused. As the cradle of the industry of this area, Rijeka has more than fifty monuments of industrial heritage, situated mostly around the city port. Cultural statistics for Rijeka indicate the rising allocation of funds from the city budget for cultural activities (22% in the last year) and heritage (14%). As shown in Table 1, to implement the ECOC programme, in the period of 2016–2021 the city of Rijeka increased its spending on investments in heritage facilities fivefold.

The ECOC is one of the most prestigious European programmes; it promotes the idea of European community, the richness of Europe’s cultures and common heritage, cultural diversity, and intercultural dialogue. The host city receives significant funding from the EU to valorise its cultural heritage. Many cities have experienced urban regeneration thanks to the ECOC. In Košice, Slovakia, the private sector united with local universities to show the industrial city its creative potential and become the tourist centre of its region. The ECOC receives a modest 1.5 million euros from the EU, but the title makes it easier to raise money from local and private sources, as well as the EU’s structural and transnational funds. Between 2007 and 2017, each city had an average budget of 60 million euros to run the ECOC project. Reykjavik spent only 5.5 million euros, while Istanbul a fantastic 289 million. In 2016, the city of Wrocław in

Table 3. Planned income and expenses for the Rijeka2020 Programme

Source	Planned income
Funds from the state budget of the Republic of Croatia	€10,000,000
Funds from the budget of the city of Rijeka	€28,190,000
Funds from the budget of the Primorje-County	€3,300,000
Funds from EU funds applications and programmes	€25,500,000
Funds from sponsors and other sources	€4,280,000
TOTAL	€71,270,000
Item	Planned expenses
Infrastructure (reconstruction of facilities)	€44,470,000
Programme	€18,530,000
Promotion and marketing	€4,50,000
Management, administration, other	€3,760,000
TOTAL	€71,270,000

Source: Rijeka2020, <https://rijeka2020.eu/en/about-the-project/what-is-ecoc/rijeka-ecoc-in-numbers/>

Poland raised an incredible 615 million euros in investments. The average is 26.5 million for all purposes. Bologna and Avignon invested 10 million each in infrastructure and Copenhagen 220 million.¹⁶ Cities similar to Rijeka, such as Mons in Belgium and Essen in Germany, ranged from 70 to 100 million euros. According to the European Commission, for every euro of public money invested in Mons, between 5.5 and six euros returned to the local economy.¹⁷ Also, the city of Leeuwarden in the Netherlands in 2018 was visited by a record 5.8 million tourists.¹⁸

Preparing to become an ecoc, Rijeka focused on several large projects to valorise its heritage, the most significant of which was the 27,000-square-metre industrial district of Benčić – an 18th-century sugar refinery turned tobacco factory, which was subsequently converted into an art district with two museums, large library, and the Children’s

16 Lasse Steiner, Bruno Frey, and Simone Hotz, “European Capitals of Culture and Life Satisfaction,” [in:] *Urban Studies*, vol. 52, no. 2 (2014), pp. 374–394.

17 European Commission Report: Ex-Post Evaluation of the 2010 European Capitals of Culture (Essen for the Ruhr, Pécs, Istanbul).

18 European Commission Report: Ex-Post Evaluation of the 2016 European Capitals of Culture.

House. The project also envisaged the arrangement of the Export-drovo storage hall for exhibitions and gatherings. The ship *Galeb*, the former floating residence of the late Yugoslav President Tito, which was declared a cultural asset in 2006, underwent a thorough reconstruction and became the first Croatian museum ship.¹⁹

The main challenge for Rijeka was achieving financial sustainability and managing budget cuts, as well as the lack of experience and knowledge in the preparation of such projects.²⁰ Rijeka could find good practice models in similar post-industrial harbour cities such as Liverpool, Glasgow, Marseille, and Genova, which successfully used the ecoc status to transform neglected industrial heritage into cultural districts and image-boosters to attract visitors and generate economic growth.²¹

In thirty-five years of its existence, the ecoc had never met with such challenges as it faced in 2020, when Rijeka's and the Irish city of Galway's titles coincided with the pandemic of COVID-19 and the closure of borders. To give both cities the opportunity to adjust their programmes to the new circumstances, the European Commission extended the duration of the programmes until April 2021, so the true impact – both economic and cultural – is still to be evaluated. According to the team behind Rijeka2020, in the sixteen months of the duration of the programme there were 1000 cultural events with more than 600 held since 2020; 350 partner organisations were involved and artists came from more than fifty-five foreign countries. Seven new cultural objects were built. If the involvement of the entire community is the main indicator of success, then the number of volunteers testifies to the attitude of the local community towards the event: 1000 volunteers took part in the programme. Their task was most often to measure the temperature of visitors at the entrance, share masks and call for responsible behaviour.

19 Rijeka 2020 Ecoc Programme.

20 Nataša Urošević, "Culture and Sustainable Urban Development: Valuing a Common European Heritage in Croatian Candidates for the European Capital of Culture," [in:] *Culture and Growth: Magical Companions or Mutually Exclusive Counterparts*, eds. Britta Lundgren and Ovidiu Matiu, 8th UNECC Conference Proceedings, Umea 2015, pp. 127–138.

21 Eadem and Luka Krivošić, "Reimagining Cultural Capital: In Search of a Virtual European Dimension," [in:] *European Capitals of Culture: The Art of Reimagining*, eds. Patrick Lonergan and Catherine Morris, University Network of European Capitals of Culture (UNECC) 2021, pp. 8, 11.

As of 2019, all the ECOCs are required to carry out an evaluation in the year after the title to measure the cultural, social, and economic impact. Rijeka hasn't presented any new data to date (January 2023).

To conclude: although many former ECOCs successfully used the EU funds to change their image from gloomy industrial urban environments to vibrant cities of culture, it is obvious that culture cannot replace industry in the national economy and that all former industrial workers cannot become museologists. The experience of Rijeka could be useful to reflect on the future of the ECOC as a kind of universal model of urban regeneration and social revitalisation by using culture.

Case study: Poreč

Poreč is a Croatian mass tourism metropolis, located on the west coast of the Istrian peninsula. Along with Pula, it was the first Roman colony in Istria, with still preserved street layout with its main streets: *Decumanus* and *Cardo Maximus*. Among its rich cultural heritage the only UNESCO site in Istria stands out: the complex of the Episcopal Palace and the Euphrasian Basilica from the 6th century. Pietro Kandler (1845–1872), famous historian, described Poreč as the second Istrian city, after Pula, with the richest ancient heritage,²² and it is precisely the cultural heritage that has attracted many travellers, travel writers, and tourists over the centuries.²³ The modern development of tourism in Poreč began in the middle of the 19th century thanks to the development of the coordinated network of railways and steamship lines of the Austrian Lloyd that connected the eastern Adriatic coast. At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, the earliest modern tourist infrastructure in the city was built and until World War II Poreč developed as a climatic and seaside resort.²⁴ The rapid development of social and mass tourism began in the second half of the 20th century, and in the last few decades the city has become a popular tourist destination. (In 2019 it was the third most visited city in Croatia. According to the Institute for Tourism, the Tourism Development Index of the City of Poreč in 2019 was 37.16,

22 Pietro Kandler, *Cenni al forestiero che visita Parenzo*, Trieste 1845, p. 3.

23 Svein Mønnesland, *Istria and Kvarner through Foreign Eyes*, Oslo 2019, pp. 278–289.

24 Ivan Blažević, *Povijest turizma Istre i Kvarnera*, Opatija 1987.

which, together with Rovinj, positions it at the top of the most developed Croatian tourist destinations.)²⁵

Characterised by the prevalent model of mass tourism (with extreme seasonality in the summer months), but also great potential of special interest tourism development, Poreč realized 10% of Croatian tourism results in 2019 (590,000 visitors, 3.5 million overnight stays). The authors' research indicated a great potential of unique cultural resources and revealed a strong civil sector in organising very popular manifestations, such as Giostra living history programme. Cultural statistics for Poreč show that investments in cultural activities from the city budget are around 5%, and planned investments in cultural heritage about 3%, which is not sufficient for a tourist metropolis with a unique World Heritage site.

Until the 1990s, culture in the city of Poreč had been marginalised for a long time because Poreč was a major tourist centre and priority was always given to tourism. Today, three cultural institutions operationally and strategically manage culture in Poreč: Homeland Museum of Poreč, Public Open University Poreč, and the Poreč City Library.²⁶ The rich tangible and intangible cultural heritage of Poreč represents the history of all great cultures and civilisations in this area: from pre-historic sites, rich ancient Roman heritage, early Christian and Byzantine heritage, Romanesque and Gothic architecture, sacral heritage, remains of fortification heritage, Baroque palaces, Italian and Austrian villas and buildings.²⁷ The old town of Poreč itself is inscribed as a whole in the Register of Cultural Property of the Republic of Croatia and thus represents a protected cultural asset. The individual cultural assets of Poreč include: Roman villa complex on Punta Sorna, underwater archaeological zones (2), underwater archaeological zones (6), a complex of buildings of the Vergottini Palace, Villa Polesini, the complex of the Euphrasian Basilica, the Istrian Parliament, the Gothic House, the House of Two Saints, the Sinčić Palace.²⁸

25 Institut za turizam, *Indeks turističke razvijenosti za 2019. godinu po jedinicama lokalne samouprave*, <http://www.iztg.hr/hr/itr/> [access: 20 November 2021].

26 City of Poreč, *Culture*, <http://www.porec.hr/prva.aspx?stranica=21> [access: 20 November 2021].

27 Milan Prelog, *Poreč, The Town and Its Monuments*, Zagreb 2007; Drago Orlić, *Poreč: povijest, kultura umjetnost, prirodne ljepote, turizam*, Zagreb 2006.

28 Ministry of Culture and Media of the Republic of Croatia, *Register of Cultural Property*, <https://registar.kulturnadobra.hr/#/> [access: 20 November 2021].

In the old city centre, which is a protected cultural asset, the aggressive exploitation of heritage is most present, and the two-thousand-year history of the city's stratification is not visible and presented to the public.²⁹ In order to improve the appearance of the old city centre, the city has commissioned a study with a number of rules for arrangements of buildings and spaces, intended for implementation by 2022.³⁰

The most valuable heritage site of Poreč is the Euphrasian Basilica complex, the only UNESCO monument in Istria County that represents a unique early Christian architecture and the only preserved episcopal complex of its kind in the world. In 1997, the Euphrasian Basilica complex in Poreč was included in the UNESCO list on the basis of criteria II, III, and IV of the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention. The interior of the basilica is adorned with numerous early Christian wall and floor mosaics, including relatively well-preserved mosaics of the central apse; in fact, this mosaic's composition is one of the most important monuments of monumental painting of the 6th century.³¹ 2014 *UNESCO Period Report on the Conditions in the World Heritage Site* identified a lack of management of the Euphrasian Basilica complex and proposed the formation of a management body,³² which has not been formed as of 2022. In the same year, the Management Plan of the Cathedral Complex – Euphrasian in Poreč was adopted, with an elaborate management structure and a strategic management plan,³³ but their implementation is questionable and to date there is no strategy for sustainable tourist valorisation of the complex. It is interesting to note that visitor data, as an indicator of sustainability of the current heritage management model of the World Heritage site, is unavailable. Due

29 Matteo Legović, "Poreč kao destinacija kulturnog turizma," MA thesis, Juraj Dobrila University of Pula, <https://repozitorij.unipu.hr/islandora/object/unipu:4866> [access: 21 November 2021].

30 Jugo Jakovčić and Stefan Vidović, *Elaborat urbane opreme starogradske jezgre grada Poreča*, Poreč 2019, http://www.porec.hr/sadrzaj/dokumenti//ELABORAT%20urbane%20opreme%202020_02.pdf, [access: 21 November 2021].

31 Milan Prelog, *Poreč, The Town and Its Monuments*, Zagreb 2007.

32 UNESCO, *Episcopal Complex of the Euphrasian Basilica in the Historic Centre of Poreč, Periodic Report: Second Cycle*, 2014, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/809/documents/> [access: 20 November 2021].

33 Daniela Angelina Jelinčić et al., *Plan upravljanja katedralnim kompleksom: Eufrazijanom u Poreču*, Institut za razvoj i međunarodne odnose – IRMO 2014.

Table 4. Investment in culture and heritage from the city budget and key projects 2015–2021 (in EUR)

City of Poreč	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
Total budget	22,403,170	18,541,514	24,169,319	30,663,546	22,609,229	22,444,320	34,220,193
Social activities budget	9,166,866	10,134,107	11,555,986	10,783,409	10,439,881	14,541,394	14,042,546
Budget for cultural activities within the social activities budget	2,074,949	1,047,378	953,651	990,906	1,165,344	917,568	1,348,592
Planned investments in heritage facilities from the city budget	72,156	119,194	73,785	54,400	121,270	24,332	0
Allocations for culture through the Public Needs Programme	1,299,184	1,404,851	1,283,186	1,390,525	1,490,161	1,050,187	1,677,735
Key projects	Purchase of Bečić Palace 769,792; repayment of a loan for the reconstruction of the theatre building of the Sinčić Palace (the building of the Homeland Museum of Poreč) 172,185; reconstruction of the Sinčić Palace (the building of the Homeland Museum of Poreč) 69,501	Repayment of the loan for the reconstruction of the theatre building of the Sinčić Palace (the building of the Homeland Museum of Poreč) 126,134; reconstruction of the Sinčić Palace (the building of the Homeland Museum of Poreč) 93,652	Reconstruction of the Sinčić Palace (the building of the Homeland Museum of Poreč) 93,652	Reconstruction of the Sinčić Palace (the building of the Homeland Museum of Poreč) 53,033	Reconstruction of the Sinčić Palace (the building of the Homeland Museum of Poreč) 67,759	Reconstruction of the Sinčić Palace (the building of the Homeland Museum of Poreč) 3,253; project "La mula de Parenzo" 12,231	Reconstruction of the Sinčić Palace (the building of the Homeland Museum of Poreč) 98,214; project "La mula de Parenzo" 191,386
Total:	1,011,478	139,162,832	93,652	53,033	67,759	15,484	289,600

Note: all data shown in EUR by fixed conversion rate of HRK to EUR 7,53450 HRK = 1.00 EUR

Source: Data provided by the administrative departments of the City of Poreč

to the deterioration of certain parts of the complex, conservation and restoration works began in 2019.

As there was no overview of the cultural statistics of the City of Poreč at the local level, it was necessary to contact the cultural institutions and present the basic cultural statistics of the City of Poreč according to the provided data. The collected data indicate that the three main cultural institutions of Poreč employ thirty-five people, organising about 90–100 different events yearly, which are frequented by about 55,000 visitors. Table 4 shows a detailed analysis of the cultural statistics of the city of Poreč from 2015 to 2021, including the total budget, social activities budget, budget for cultural activities within social activities budget, planned investments in heritage facilities from city budget, allocations for culture through the Public Needs Programme, and key projects.

Regardless of the increase of the city budget from 2015 to 2021, there is a low percentage of allocations from the social activities budget to culture and cultural heritage, especially as compared with the data of other cities analysed in this article. In recent years, the main and almost the only project in the field of culture was the reconstruction of the Sinčić Palace, the building of the Homeland Museum of Poreč, which as the main heritage institution of the city had been closed to visitors for more than ten years.³⁴ Also, in 2020 began the allocation of funding for the project La mula de Parenzo, within which an interpretation centre is being built in the first phase dedicated to one of the city's most famous legends: La mula de Parenzo.

High seasonality, mass tourism, partially valorised cultural heritage, lack of partnership of key stakeholders and inadequate strategic management of cultural heritage and development of cultural tourism are the main problems that Poreč faces.³⁵ It is the activation and valorisation of its unique cultural resources that could encourage the sustainable development of year-round cultural tourism, urban regeneration and social revitalisation of the city centre, and raise the quality of life of the local population.

34 City of Poreč, *Projects in Preparation*, <http://www.porec.hr/prva.aspx?stranica=17669&pid=240> [access: 21 November 2021].

35 M. Legović, *Poreč kao destinacija...*, op. cit.

Case study: Pula

Despite being a unique historic city, recognisable for the abundance of cultural heritage sites (with the Roman Amphitheatre – Arena as the iconic symbol of the city), industrial and former military heritage, as well as developed cultural industries and festivals, Pula still does not explore in full the potential of its rich multicultural history and preserved European heritage. The most challenging situation is certainly in the neglected historic urban core, which is a dynamic public space with 3000 years of historic continuity and displaying the largest development potential, as well as in the large former military zones in the city port around the Arsenal.³⁶

After the process of demilitarisation and leaving of military forces from Pula, due to declining of local industry and closure of the famous Uljanik shipyard (which was the most successful Croatian shipyard and a symbol of modern Pula), cultural tourism is becoming very important for the city economy. Since there are no other industries, it seems that investing in key cultural tourist attractions, such as the historic core, fortified and industrial heritage, will be the key priorities in the next period. Due to the current crises, local, regional, and national budget revenues are very limited, and the only opportunity of funding such investments are European programmes and projects. For more than a decade, there have been debates on how to use the most valuable parts of the former military lands around the bay: for public purposes or private investment.

Green, inclusive, and smart urban growth, exploring the city's rich cultural heritage as the main attraction base in sustainable cultural tourism and a tool for community development are the main strategic goals of the *Strategy of Urban Development of the Pula Urban Area* (2017). The Strategy recognised sixty protected locations as the main potential also for branding the city as a unique cultural tourism destination and suggested urban revitalisation through European funds and programmes as one of development priorities.

Cultural Strategy of the City of Pula 2014–2020 (2013) evaluated potentials for urban regeneration by using cultural heritage and creative industries as main drivers of sustainable urban transformation. The conducted analysis elaborated on key problems: neglect of the city, lack of

36 Nataša Urošević, "Urban Identity, Heritage Management and Sustainable Development, a Case Study of Pula, Croatia," [in:] *2nd Heritage Forum of Central Europe: The Limits of Heritage*, eds. Katarzyna Jagodzińska and Jacek Purchla, Krakow 2015, pp. 504–520.

Table 5: Investment in culture and heritage in the city budget and key projects 2015–2021 (in EUR)

City of Pula	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021
Total budget	46,502,698	55,457,013	56,621,625	52,062,617	55,690,356	74,552,148	69,274,698
Social activities budget	16,270,279	16,491,612	16,139,744	16,753,739	17,929,984	28,984,123	29,970,887
Budget for cultural activities	3,886,027	3,788,961	3,824,161	4,008,794	4,978,747	6,392,628	4,447,123
Planned investments in heritage facilities in the city budget	No data	242,797	416,795	201,994	296,259	1,154,062	336,658
Main heritage facilities projects	Urbanistic plan Riva-Štinjan – revitalisation of the former military zones	Project documentation for the forts Maria Luise and Musil; KULTURING – candidacy for the ECOC 2020	Spatial planning of the city – documentation	Dolcevita – sanitation of façades and buildings in the historic centre	Sanation of façades and buildings in the historic centre	Sanation of the building of the Social Centre Rojc	Investments in cultural infrastructure (Rojc, theatre, libraries)
Key EU projects	Pula's fortification system as a new cultural tourism product – 2,693,260 EUR						

Note: all data shown in EUR by fixed conversion rate of HRK to EUR 753450 HRK = 1.00 EUR
Source: City of Pula (pula.hr)

coordination and communication between main stakeholders, and lack of a proper model of heritage management. To resolve this situation, the *Cultural Strategy* proposed establishing of the Coordination for Public Space of the City of Pula as a management body which would coordinate and supervise efforts and projects of sustainable valorisation of the city's unique cultural landscape, preparing EU projects, organising participatory platforms, and formulating common urban narratives to support social cohesion and inclusion (although its founding was planned for 2014, it still has not been realised and the same problems continue to exist). As already mentioned and suggested in the key strategic documents, establishing a governance structure (public institution, agency, city department or similar model) responsible for the coordination and communication between key stakeholders and the preparation of EU projects and management plans will be the crucial step. European and local best practice models, such as the example of Šibenik mentioned above, could be very useful in this process.³⁷

Recent European projects emphasised the sustainable development potential of the former industrial and military zones in the harbour as well as the unique local fortification system. Cultural statistics for Pula show that the city invests about 6% of its budget in culture and about 1% in cultural heritage, which is not enough. On the other hand, there is currently a major project – Pula's Fortification System as a New Cultural Tourism Product – with almost 3 million euros' investment from EU funds.

Conclusion

Elaborated case studies of Croatian historic cities in different phases of more or less successful urban renewal enable reflection on the way local governments and communities valorise their unique cultural resources to foster sustainable urban development. Although characterised by extremely rich cultural and creative capital, which could be valorised through EU projects and in special interest tourism, Croatian historic cities are still underutilising this key development resource.

The comparative perspective and analysis of key cultural statistics and indicators outlined a national best practice in heritage management, as well as revealed the great potential of proper valorisation of unique

37 N. Urošević and D. Grubišić, "Economics of Uniqueness in Croatia Historic Towns...", op. cit., pp. 151–152.

cultural assets in Croatian heritage cities. The research was conducted in the framework of the course Heritage Management at the Interdisciplinary Study Programme of the Juraj Dobrila University of Pula and the current project, with the main goal of training students to valorise their local heritage most effectively.

To conclude, our research showed that the greatest success in attracting investments and visitors can be observed in the cities that mobilised key cultural and creative resources and valorised their unique heritage in a participatory way. Success obviously depends on valorising and promoting the uniqueness of these places. The best way to achieve this are bottom-up initiatives, participatory decision-making and creation of efficient governance structure, which will coordinate the efforts of key stakeholders.

Limitations of this article result from the lack of comparable cultural statistics and indicators used at the local level, which could measure heritage sustainability and provide multidimensional framework for strategic planning of heritage protection, preservation, and promotion, as well as the involvement of the local community as a custodian of heritage and raising awareness of the benefits of heritage preservation and revitalisation.

As recommendations for further research, it is worth suggesting the continuation of the work with local governments and communities in developing comparable indicators and cultural statistics as well as the elaboration of European and national best practice, in search of the most efficient heritage governance model which will enable coordination of local stakeholders and better use of available European funds for culture.

Historic Urban Green Network

Development:

A Case Study of Buda Green Corridor

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Depending on their nature and size, settlements influence and modify the natural landscape of a place to varying degrees. In the case of small agricultural villages and hamlets, this modification is generally not detrimental because land use and building development are adapted to the scenery. In the case of large towns and cities, however, the relationship between landscape, natural environment, and the development and evolution of the settlement, its structure and building systems, are of a different character. The complex set of functions and the scale of the buildings, the extremely high density of development, and the complex network of transport systems are not able to adapt sensitively to the natural features of the place, and transform them instead, often degrading and destroying the very landscape value and potential for which the city was originally established. Therefore, the city is not a form of settlement that fits in with the landscape, but rather it dominates the landscape from the functional, ecological, and visual-aesthetic point of view.

This is particularly true in terms of vegetation and green structure of the place. The city is gradually halving its green space potential, with ever larger areas being intensively built up. The green space system thus created, or rather left behind in the structure of the built-up areas, is

losing its original value and gradually being reduced to progressively smaller fragmented areas. The ecological conditions of a liveable settlement are thus deteriorating at an ever increasing rate. This process is occurring both in the city as a whole and its individual parts. This can also be observed in the development of the Buda Green Axis (BGA), which is now one of Budapest's most important fresh air channels and a key component of the green space system of the capital, a linear element of cultural and historical significance, which links up a string of important public green spaces, parks, and promenades over a 5.1 km stretch above the former Ördögárok [Devil's Ditch].

In this study, we seek to answer two research questions:

1. Is it possible to restore the surface watercourse and integrate it into the urban fabric through landscape architecture?
2. How can the connectivity of a historic green corridor be developed within the established and valuable urban fabric?

The position of the Buda Green Axis in the urban fabric

Today, the BGA is one of the key elements of the urban fabric of Budapest. Its north-west-south-east orientation nearly overlaps with the prevailing wind direction; as a result, in typical wind conditions the valley is very well ventilated (the difference in the level of the axis on the valley floor is about 120 m), which brings clean air from the woodlands of the Buda Hills down to the Danube line and also provides ventilation for the streets of the centre of Pest open to the Danube. The axis is made up of public green spaces and public gardens of significant size and historical character, which play a decisive role in the provision of green spaces in the neighbourhood and the capital as a whole.¹

The development of the distinctive characteristics of the Buda Hills has been characterised by a process of urbanisation and green space development over roughly 150 years, where geography and the vineyard past have been built upon to create the present-day civic development and attractive architecture.² During the urban development, the green linking role of the axis has been repeatedly eroded by new buildings and the introduction of alien functions, but the park and garden chain still

1 Preisich Gábor, *Budapest városépítésének története 1945–1990*, Budapest 1998, p. 173.

2 Zsuzsanna Illyés et al. "Tájkarakterből településképi arculat, a régi Buda szőlőterületeinek átalakulása," [in:] *4D*, vol. 48 (2018), p. 5.

retains its green and urban ecological function and is still its greatest asset.

The historic districts that accompany the axis are typically residential-dominated, with many central functions. A significant proportion of Budapest's high-class population lives in these gated, typically frame-built apartment blocks and detached urban houses. Residential areas in the BGA have a much better green space coverage than the average for the capital, with 26.75 m² of public parkland per resident along the park axis.³ This is mainly due to the urban structure, the nature of the adjacent buildings and the amount of green space. Due to the low area ratio of the adjacent residential areas and their mainly detached character, the number of inhabitants in the daily recreational attraction area is also low, resulting in a very high green space provision of 45 m² per capita.⁴

The original ecological role of the Buda Green Axis has changed with the development of the road network, which has taken motorisation into account. The territorial growth of the city and the motorisation boom have made the role of transport routes and structures along and across the Axis dominant. At present, built structures – transport and built environment – are fragmented, with transport network elements – part of Budapest's main transport network – forming the most difficult barriers to overcome.⁵ This fragmentation is exacerbated by buildings in green spaces and parks and by the dense blocks of closed buildings between parks.

The corridor is located in the vicinity of the Gellért Hill, the Buda Castle, and the Buda Hills, which are popular destinations due to their location. The areas close to the Danube are part of the Budapest World Heritage Site.⁶ It is connected to the neighbouring districts and natural areas by visual and transversal green network links. The proximity to

3 BFTV Kft., *Budapest Zöldfelületi fejlesztési koncepciója, Helyzetelemzés és Értékelés*, Budapest 2017, p. 57.

4 BFTV Kft., *Budapest...*, op. cit., p. 58.

5 The conclusion can be drawn on the basis of a detailed analysis of the urban structure and historical development of Budapest for the study area, which is contained in the founding work part of the development and zoning plans of the capital (BFTV Kft. 2013), known as "Budapest 2030 Long-Term Urban Development Concept."

6 BFTV Kft., *Budapest Metropolitan Settlement Structure Plan*, 2021; see Structure Plan Sheet 3: Protection of the values of the built environment; a) Artistic and heritage protection elements enforced by other legislation.

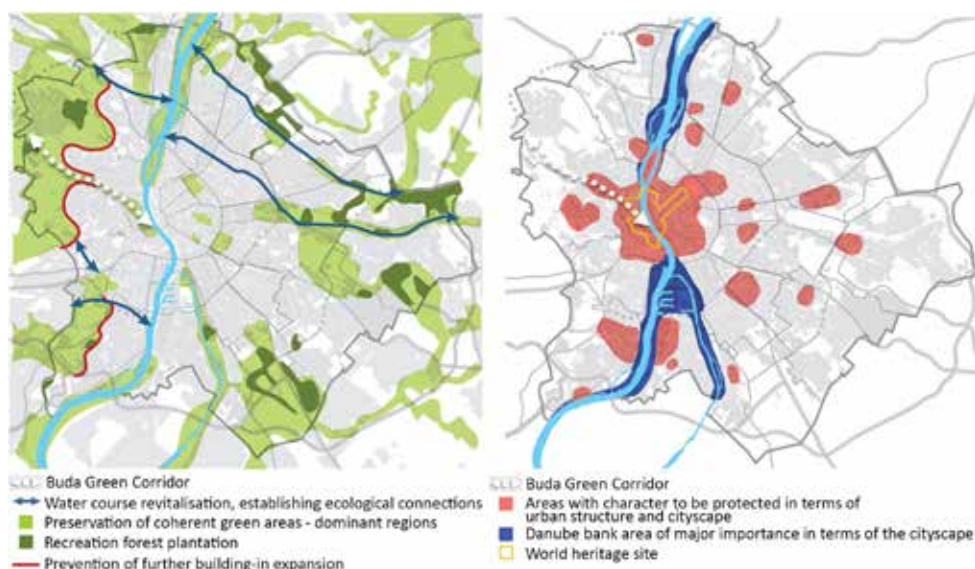


Figure 1. The protected natural and cultural heritage of Budapest including the Buda Green Axis

the central areas of the city and to Széll Kálmán Square and the Déli pályaudvar [South Train Station], the most frequented district centre of Buda, provides excellent accessibility in the inner part of Budapest, with the largest green belt between the main continuous traffic routes and the built-up areas, while also meeting the needs of the surrounding high-class districts and the residential areas accessible through it, as well as allowing for the development of various service and sports functions. For example, over the last 150 years, the original 26 ha area of the city centre has been reduced to around 10 ha by the expansion of the cogwheel railway depot, the construction of an open air theatre at the City Centre High School, and the provision of various sports facilities.⁷

⁷ The estimated statement is based on the comparison of the 1903 map of Budapest (Budapest Historical Museum, Map of Budapest and its surroundings [G I H 1127], mapire.eu) and the present-day situation.

Historical development of the green axis: loss of the stream, expansion of the chain of parks

The corridor's role in the urban structure of Budapest has varied greatly across different stages of its development. The urban nuclei on the left and right banks of the Danube were asymmetrical to the axis of the river, with Buda settling further north and Pest further south. With the exception of a part of the neighbourhood called Taban, the corridor itself was at that point an undeveloped area outside the inhabited settlement, mainly serving as a defensive zone for Buda Castle.⁸

In the early 1800s, the development of Pest to the north and the expansion of Buda to the south affected this earlier structural asymmetry, which is still evident in the location of the central areas of the two sides, and the two dominant districts of Pest and Buda became increasingly opposite each other. The first major building complex in the valley was established in 1724. Henrik Daun, the castle commander, established a manor house and built a villa on the site of today's Városmajor [Town's Field], on the bank of the Ördögárok. From the 1800s onwards, the Városmajor, Buda's first significant public garden, was gradually developed here on an area of about 12 ha. The Ecce Homo meadow and the Bors meadow, situated to the south-east, both served as urban mowing fields. Together, the three publicly used green areas owned by the city amounted to about 33.2 ha. Below the Bors meadow lay the Generalwiese – the empty castle defence area. Consequently, during this period the whole of the axis consisted of essentially contiguous undeveloped land.⁹

Then, between 1850 and 1870, building sites were cleared in several waves from the Városmajor and the Bors meadow was also built up. The direct link between the Városmajor and the Vérmező [Blood Field] was thus broken. In 1873, the lower terminus of the cogwheel was moved to the Ecce Homo meadow. Even the remaining area of Városmajor was

8 The early historical maps, indicating the former built-up areas, clearly show the urban structure that is still visible in the urban fabric today. See e.g. Johann Philip Binder, *The City Map of Pest and Buda*, 1761 (BFL xv.16.d.241/cop14), 1823 (BFL xv.16.d.241/cop1); *Military Map of Pest Buda and Its Surroundings (1810–1820)*, source of base map: Military History Institute and Museum, Geographische Charte des Königreichs Hungaria (B 1X a 1120), mapire.eu.

9 Samuel B. Blaschnek, *Plan der königl. ungarischen freyen Stadte Ofen und Pesth sammt deren Umgebungen*, 1830, BFL xv. 16.d.241/6; Déry Attila, *Pest története és művészete, Budapest építészeti topográfia*, vol. 1, Budapest 2005, p. 4.1.

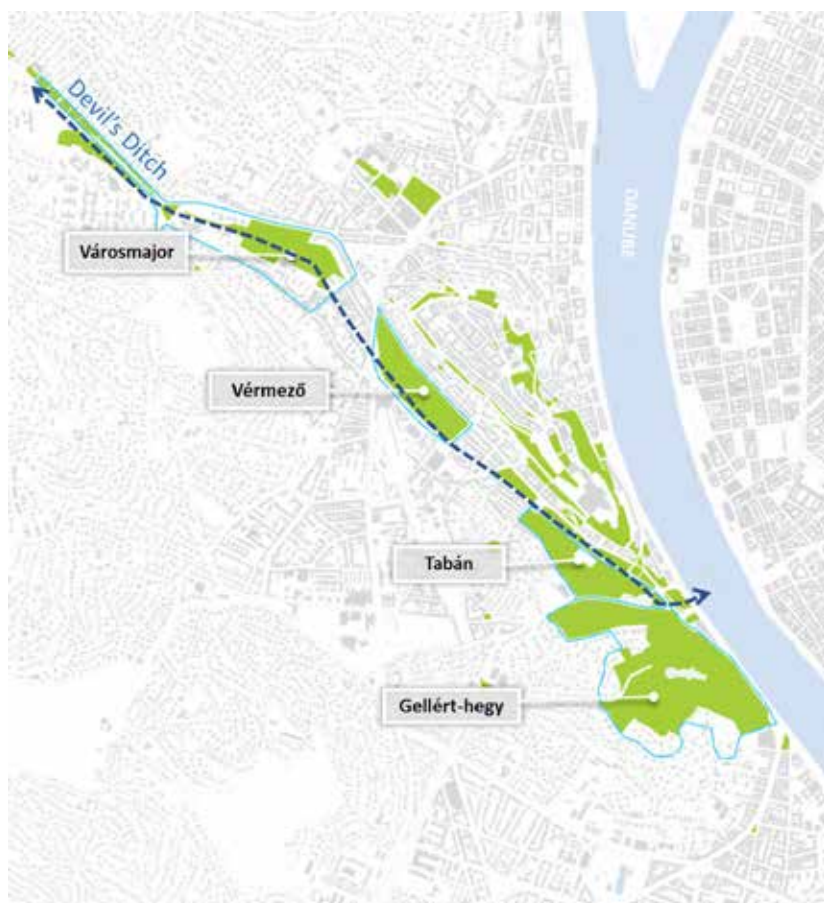


Figure 2. The development of the four public urban parks in the valley of the covered small watercourse Ördögárok

used for non-park functions (tennis courts, sports hall, open air theatre). As a result of the land redevelopment and construction, the originally contiguous public green area of 33.2 ha has been reduced to 10 ha.^{10, 11}

¹⁰ Marek János, *Buda sz. k. főváros egész határának másolati térképe*, 1873, BFL XV.16.a.201/9 (1–40).

¹¹ P. Gábor, *Budapest...*, op. cit., p. 176.

The Tabán was a densely built up with one- and two-storey houses.¹² Between the two world wars, the demolition of the so-called obsolete Tabán and the construction of new high-rise tenement buildings began. By the 1930s, both the Tabán and Krisztinaváros gained their urban character. The planned full development of Tabán was eventually cancelled and the demolished but unbuilt area was converted into the Tabán Public Park and the Horváth Garden. The widened Attila Street and Krisztina Boulevard were gradually built up with multi-storey residential buildings. The South Train Station was also established here. The public park of Vérmező, the fourth major public green space of the axis, remains framed by the built-up areas of the former fortress defence area.¹³ The original natural environment has been transformed by the intermittent covering of the oxbow ditches, which form the core of the green corridor, and by the building of some of the ditch structures.¹⁴

Possibilities and limits of a heritage-based development

The fact that topography, hydrography, transport networks, and history shape the urban fabric is a truism, but urban parks, public parks, public gardens, and tree-lined streets and their interconnected chains or even their island-like appearance can become a dominant element of the urban fabric in development practice. The public green spaces that have developed in the historic urban fabric perform a complex cultural and natural role, and together with water and geomorphology constitute an integral part of urban landscape.¹⁵ They have evolved gradually over time, in parallel with the urban fabric and built heritage, and are therefore part of the heritage protection of the historic settlement.

12 Several photographs from this period have survived to the present day, of which the best known depicts a view of Tabán in 1895, featuring the Serbian Church, with the parish church of St Catherine of Alexandria behind it, and the newly paved town square on the Danube bank (BFL.XV.19.d.1.07.192). A series of photographs of the survey of the ruins after the flood is preserved in the Budapest History Museum, Kiscelli Gallery.

13 P. Gábor, *Budapest...*, op. cit., p.177.

14 On a series of administrative maps of Budapest, 1908, Bp. Szf. Engineering Office (BFL.XV.16.e.251/75) and on the maps of the whole area of Budapest by Manó Kogutowicz, 3rd edition, Hungarian Geographical Institute 1909 (BFL.XV.16.e.251/41b).

15 Martin van den Toorn "A városi parkok jövője Európában; a tájépítészet szerepe a tervezésben és a kutatásban – 1. rész: Városi parkok és tájak tervezése," [in:] 4D, vol. 33 (2014), pp. 2–19.

Climate change and the increasingly noticeable deterioration in the ecological conditions of the municipality call for these green spaces, public parks and public gardens to be preserved and intensively maintained as green spaces where possible, while maintaining their original size and restoring them to their full extent, in order to preserve a liveable urban environment, taking into account the increasing demands and pressures on land use. The task of urban development today is to ensure that these units are not islands but form a functioning part of the landscape network. The fact that it is now possible to talk about the role of the green network in shaping the urban fabric is itself an indication of the recent and still ongoing change in the approach to urban ecology. This approach is reflected in the development plans in force in Budapest.

The long-term urban development concept¹⁶ emphasises the development of the Buda Green Axis from both an ecological and a cultural heritage perspective. The concept defines the axis, which is the result of the landscape structure, as an area with a character that merits protection from both urban structure and townscape perspective, and as a continuous green space that needs to be preserved. The conservation and protection of urban heritage is understood as the protection of historic urban heritage as a whole as well as its interrelationships, to be understood in conjunction with social factors and the dimension of time. The conservation of historic urban landscape includes the protection of natural assets of cultural and historical importance, where the conservation of nature, townscape and heritage are also taken into account. In particular, it is important for the conservation of garden and landscape values that parks are managed in a coherent way, that the overall landscape structure is protected and that character areas are preserved. The Budapest Green Infrastructure Concept¹⁷ identifies the BGA as a development element of the metropolitan level “Urban Park Axis” (extended in the south along the Danube). The Radó Dezső Plan,¹⁸ which supports the implementation of the concepts, designates it as an action area, the “Buda Park Axis,”

16 BFVT Kft. Budapest Municipal Council, *Budapest 2030 Hosszú távú városfejlesztési koncepció*, Act No. 767/2013, 24 April 2013.

17 Eidem, *Budapest Zöldfelületi fejlesztési koncepciója*, Act No. 1255/2017, 30 August 2017.

18 Eidem, *Radó Dezső Terv: Budapest Zöldinfrastruktúra Fejlesztési és Fenntartási Akcióterve*, Act No. 664/2021, 31 March 2021.

where the development aims to protect and renew green space elements and to strengthen cohesion between elements.

Opportunities for restoring a surface watercourse through landscape architecture

The Devil's Ditch played a key role in the development of the BGA. The valley was shaped by surface run-off and the former stream. The valley base, which includes a covered stream bed, is the lowest area of the green corridor and is easily accessible for walking and cycling, with a gentle difference in level.

One of the basic conditions for revitalisation could be to provide adequate space for the open riverbed and its connecting banks, to ensure flood protection conditions, provide sufficient quantity and quality of water in the riverbed, and ensure the stability of the open bank. Though the Devil's Ditch is an intermittent watercourse, permanent water in the riverbed cannot be guaranteed. This prevents the development of any wetland community in the riverbed, which could be attractive in an urban environment. In the dry season, the absence of a permanent groundwater table means that the ditch would be a deep grassy bed (up to 8 m in places) without water. In addition to the construction costs, the reservoirs also generate operating costs. They must be designed to be easy to manage, while also safe and reliable to operate.

Overall, exploring revitalisation options should definitely be done at the basin level of preparation. Stream restoration will require the preparation of a feasibility study and revitalisation master plan detailing technical and economic alternatives, followed by the step-by-step implementation of each technical design element, which is a long-term process. In the meantime, the focus should be on the revitalisation of green spaces and the creation of green network links.

An important task for the near future is to recreate the Devil's Ditch with open space architectural solutions. This can be achieved by enhancing the presence of water in the valley, in public parks and on connecting street sections, but also by creating unique and distinctive open space elements that reflect the Devil's Ditch and its history, such as unique paving architecture, information signage and furniture, which are also important tools for storytelling in the square. The densification of the forms in which water appears in the valley is certainly desirable because, in addition to its allegorical message, it bears an important impact on the local climate, enhancing the mitigating effect of the parks' urban climate.



Figure 3. The green space development of Városmajor Historic Park by removing functions and re-greening the place

Opportunities to improve the connectivity of the historic green corridor

Increasing cohesion is a priority, even if it is not a priority for the Axis to be walkable as a whole. Improving permeability is first and foremost a basis for function sharing between the individual parks, and can also promote the humanisation of the Axis both in its entirety and of its individual elements, as well as enhancing its priority recreational use and climate-conscious urban development. One means of strengthening cohesion is to establish a “role-sharing” between parks. Another possible strategy is to improve physical connectivity. The most important means of overcoming the lack of connectivity is to continuously restore green spaces in historic parks, and to develop and improve pedestrian and cycle links between parks.

Functions and land uses other than the basic purpose of public parks are gradually taking up an increasing amount of land in stages, reducing public green spaces and disturbing park use.

To transform non-green (paved or built-up) land into green areas again:

- ▶ functions incompatible with the parks’ carrying capacity and generating too much traffic (e.g. open air theatre, sports halls) should be moved to another location;

- paved areas without a current function (e.g. former parking or technical support areas, unused sports grounds) should be transferred to green areas.

The development of linear green space elements linking public parks and public gardens and the creation or upgrading associated park gates would help to enhance green network connectivity between parks. The redevelopment of the north-west gateway to the Városmajor, in keeping with the historic park, and the development of the green network along the streets parallel with and also situated at the bottom of the valley, like Maros Street and Pauler Street, would significantly advance cohesion. In addition to ameliorating the pedestrian and cycling axis, reducing and mitigating heavy traffic, it is important to improve the connecting road sections and to increase the blue and green spaces.

The development of a pedestrian axis linking the whole of the BGA and the strengthening of pedestrian-cycle links is possible, given the valuable environmental conditions, primarily through the reorganisation of use within the available public spaces, which requires a transport impact assessment and interventions covering the whole of Buda, including the agglomeration traffic.

The once contiguous green space of the Vérmező and the Horváth Garden is now divided by four built-up blocks. The current design of the main roads, Krisztina körút and Attila út, which are lined with a tree-lined street, but which carry significant motor vehicle traffic, are less attractive for pedestrians and cyclists. In the central axis, Pauler Street, which links Mikó Street, partly follows the historic footprint of the Devil's Ditch. Due to its low traffic volume, as well as the scale and character of the connecting buildings, it can offer favourable conditions for cycling and pedestrian traffic.

The connection between the Vérmező on the one hand and the Horváth Garden and Tabán on the other would be made by reducing the number of traffic lanes on the boulevard, which is also lined with institutions. The main pedestrian axis along Attila Street would be routed through to the squares leading to the castle, where a direct link could be established with Gellért Hill.

Conclusion

The strengthening of the natural and cultural heritage of the Buda Green Axis can clearly be achieved through coherent development of the axis' green spaces. In our study, we have explored the historical green network

connections of the BGA, its current urban structure, and its role in urban ecology. Our assessment specifically addressed the underground exile of the erratic Devil's Ditch, a fetish of revitalisation potential. Today, the stream valley is an important transport corridor, overdeveloped and congested with technical infrastructure. The former contiguous green space is fragmented and narrow. It was interesting to explore how the disappearance of this moody and dangerous stream has brought with it a chain of valuable urban parks. The important public gardens, public parks and wooded promenades that have developed, step-by-step, over the banks of the small watercourse are still important open-air gathering places for the city's inhabitants.

The focus in urban planning is now on climate adaptation and resilience. Stream revitalisation, sustainable stormwater management, and green space development are important tools for urban regeneration. However, the revitalisation of the Devil's Ditch would not only transform the metropolitan residential areas, transport, and utility networks of the historic urban fabric, but also significantly reshape the image of the public parks situated in the area. Integrating the deep, intermittently water-covered, reopened ditch into the urban landscape would not only be a major challenge, but would also result in the loss of useful and valuable parkland. Attractive though the revitalisation may seem, strengthening the historic urban green axis is of a higher priority for the BGA. Loosening the valley, which has been overcrowded and built up over the centuries, readjusting its function, as well as rehabilitating and increasing the green spaces would not only restore the green network heritage, but also increase the resilience and climate adaptability of the district.

Adaptive Reuse of Industrial Heritage for Cultural Purposes in Slovakia on the Example of Cvernovka in Bratislava¹

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Introduction

As a consequence of globalisation and socio-economic changes, the past decades have seen a decline in industrial production with many industrial sites losing their original function. In a number of cities all over the world we can currently observe their transformation to serve also for the purposes of artistic and cultural activities. Galleries and concert halls, theatre stages, and venues of literary meetings and alternative festivals are the most frequent functions that breathe new life into unused industrial buildings.² This phenomenon can also be observed in Slovakia, mainly in the form of cultural, creative, and community centres that are created “bottom-up,” on the initiative of individuals and civil collectives. However, the state policies for the protection of cultural heritage and the promotion of culture and creative industry in Slovakia do not fully reflect this trend yet. The result is the dominance of private interests, which, combined with insufficient protection of monuments, threatens industrial heritage and local independent culture.

The aim of this study is to analyse the current state of transformation of the industrial architecture for cultural purposes and to formulate

1 This scientific study was prepared in the framework of the scientific project VEGA No. 2/0064/21 The Process of Eventisation in the Festive Culture of Slovakia in the 21st Century, carried out at the Institute of Ethnology and Social Anthropology, Slovak Academy of Sciences, in 2021–2024.

2 Bojana Plemić, Smiljka Kesić, and Emilija Lipovšek, “Industrial Heritage Creative Zones of Tourism and Hospitality Offer in Belgrade,” [in:] *Hotelplan 2018: Book of Proceedings*, Belgrade 2018, p. 661.

recommendations for a more effective protection and adaptive reuse of industrial heritage in Slovakia. The source of the presented conclusions is long-term qualitative research of Cvernovka – a former yarn- and thread-making factory in Bratislava, which operated as an independent cultural and creative centre and is currently being reconstructed into a modern residential district. My research was conducted in 2017–2019 in Nová Cvernovka [New Cvernovka] – a cultural and creative centre to which artists and creatives moved from the original yarn-making factory in 2016 (today also called *stará Cvernovka* [old Cvernovka]). By means of semi-structured interviews, participant observations and the study of media releases, official documents, and information available on the internet, I also focused on the past and present functioning of this centre with an emphasis on civic activism. The overall story of Cvernovka is intrinsically linked to issues concerning the protection, demolition, and transformation of industrial heritage, the study of which constituted an organic part of my research. To illustrate my statements, I will also present some quotations from interviews with the respondents in my study.

The main topic of this study is thus industrial heritage and its adaptive reuse. These terms should therefore be defined in the introductory part of this study. Industrial heritage can be tangible and intangible. It consists of locations, structures, and complexes, as well as related machinery, objects, and documents that provide evidence of the past or ongoing industrial processes of production, extraction of raw materials, and their transformation into goods, including related energy and transport infrastructures.³ Today, experts consider adaptive reuse⁴ of cultural heritage to be one of the most effective and most environmentally friendly tools of modern urban development.⁵ I define it as an act of finding a new use for the building. It is a process through which structurally healthy older buildings are developed for a new use or for a new context.⁶ The most

3 “The Dublin Principles”: Joint ICOMOS – TICCIH Principles for the Conservation of Industrial Heritage Sites, Structures, Areas and Landscapes. Adopted by the 17th ICOMOS General Assembly on 28 November 2011.

4 In expert literature, we can also find terms such as “conversion,” “adaptation,” “revitalisation,” or “recycling.”

5 Stefania De Gregorio et al., “Designing the Sustainable Adaptive Reuse of Industrial Heritage to Enhance the Local Context,” [in:] *Sustainability*, vol. 12 (2020).

6 R. Allan Forrester (ed.), *Adaptive Reuse: Issues and Case Studies in Building Preservation*, New York 1988.

obvious change is thus a new function of the building, while additional modifications can also be made, such as change of orientation or layout of the structure, the construction of side buildings, or the demolition of some less valuable parts.⁷

Adaptive reuse of industrial sites

Although the very concept of adaptive reuse started to gain increased professional and theoretical attention only in the 1980s, the change of functions of industrial heritage is a phenomenon that can be traced back further than the last few decades. Industrial zones were repeatedly used for various purposes also in the past.⁸ However, these interventions were in many cases performed in a pragmatic manner, without the intention to preserve the building structures in the form of cultural heritage. The driving force for their reuse was based on functional as well as economic reasons. The shift in mindset was due mainly to increased emphasis on the preservation of industrial architecture brought by the 1970s thanks to the attitudes of institutions such as UNESCO, ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites), and TICCIH (*The International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage*).⁹ The approach to the conservation of industrial heritage began to change from preservation efforts into strategies of urban revitalisation and sustainability. Today, adaptive reuse projects are created deliberately, with modern heritage conservation based on values. Owners and developers often focus on the socio-economic effects of the conversion. Especially in the case of protected buildings, this can pose a risk of losing “soft values” that involve historical, sociological, psychological, artistic, cultural, moral, and religious sub-functions.¹⁰

The assessment of values and the very process of adaptive reuse of a building requires a methodological approach and concurrence by several actors – conservationists, historians, architects, investors, and

7 Bie Plevoets and Koenraad Van Cleempoel, “Adaptive Reuse as a Strategy Towards Conservation of Cultural Heritage: A Literature Review,” [in:] *WIT Transactions on the Built Environment*, vol. 118 (2011), p. 156.

8 Keith Falconer, “Sustainable Reuse of Historic Industrial Sites,” [in:] *Understanding Historic Building Conservation*, ed. Michael Forsyth, Oxford 2007, pp. 74–87.

9 S. De Gregorio et al., “Designing the...,” op. cit.

10 B. Plevoets and K. Van Cleempoel, “Adaptive Reuse as a Strategy...,” op. cit., p. 162.

the local community. It was not before the last decade that research has been published demonstrating methodologies which, apart from claims for protection, also reflect models of environmental, economic, and social sustainability of industrial heritage.¹¹ In the case of projects, it is important to pay attention also to the building as such and its context, namely, the surrounding buildings and the needs of the local people. Only in this way it is possible to identify intervention strategies that are truly compatible with the area.¹²

Adaptive transformation of industrial heritage is often initiated bottom up by local communities, artists, creatives, and civil activists. The colonisation of buildings by artists and the creative sector is one of the oldest ways of revitalisation of industrial sites and is even today considered by experts to be a good model of their adaptive reuse. It has the potential to prevent the decay of buildings and vandalism, while also saving heritage from demolition and business interests, enhancing cultural values and diversity, improving the image of the city, and ensuring space for alternative non-commercial activities that also reflect the needs of the local people.¹³ In addition, it ensures the confirmation of symbolic, social and economic values, contributes to education, and forms the knowledge base for the development of a creative society.¹⁴

With the transformation of industrial sites into culture venues, these places serve for public events, thus contributing to the eventisation of the urban space. In this process, different forms of art or leisure activities follow the model of an event or festival to cope better in the jungle of competitive offers. In the context of tourism, eventisation is an effective method of attributing a sign to a place and an important urban

11 See e.g. Mirjana Roter Blagojević and Anica Tufegdžić, "The New Technology Era Requirements and Sustainable Approach to Industrial Heritage Renewal," [in:] *Energy and Buildings*, vol. 115 (2016), pp. 148–153; Sonja Ifko, "Comprehensive Management of Industrial Heritage Sites as a Basis for Sustainable Regeneration," [in:] *Procedia Engineering*, vol. 161 (2016), pp. 2040–2045; Emanuele Romeo, Emanuele Morezzi, and Riccardo Rudiero, "Industrial Heritage: Reflections on the Use Compatibility of Cultural Sustainability and Energy Efficiency," [in:] *Energy Procedia*, vol. 78 (2015), pp. 1305–1310.

12 S. De Gregorio et al., "Designing the...", op. cit.

13 Jasna Cizler, "The Role of Creative and Civil Initiatives in Transforming Post-Industrial Landscapes: A Case of Study of Industrial Heritage Re-use in the Czech Republic," [in:] *Facta Universitatis*, vol. 12, no. 3 (2014), p. 218.

14 Hristina Mikić and Donovan Rypkema (eds.), *Cultural Heritage & Creative Industries: Guidelines for Sustainable Heritage Management*, Belgrade 2016, p. 7.

ritual, whose potential is to make the public space more attractive and enhance diversity.¹⁵ Cultural events are becoming the key part of urban development and revitalisation processes, just like cultural production is becoming an essential element of the urban economy.¹⁶ One of the characteristics of the modern economy is the importance of practical experiences, which has resulted in the definition of the experience economy concept. In addition to services, consumers increasingly seek experiences that are unique and require the interaction between the consumer and the producer in the process of co-creation.¹⁷ Events and festivals are suitable tools in experience economy because they are time-limited and produce a common experience of all those involved.¹⁸ Through adaptive reuse for cultural purposes, industrial sites are thus transformed from places of manufacturing economy into scenes of experience economy. Nevertheless, the benefits of these events cannot be viewed only through the perspective of economy. Their impact on urban environments also includes the creation of new identities, the revitalisation of the urban space, co-creation of the urban atmosphere, and the encouragement of its cultural life – all these effects comply with the concept of adaptive reuse.

Spontaneous occupation of space is important during the early stage of revitalisation of an industrial site. The actors of primary interventions and initiatives are mostly younger urban citizens who are not isolated in their activities, but seek to involve others as well, employing the creation of networks with the actors of the public, private, and civil sector. Cultural heritage and memory related to the historical surroundings are considered important to the local community mainly because they influence the perception of space and the creation of personal and local identity.¹⁹

What is the root of the attractiveness of industrial spaces and why are they sought after by artists, creatives, and civil activists? The deindustrialisation in Western European countries and in the USA during

15 Jolana Darulová, "Lokálne a globálne prvky súčasného zimného sviatkovania v meste," [in:] *Journal of Urban Ethnology*, vol. 15 (2017), p. 11.

16 Greg Richards and Robert Palmer (eds.), *Eventful Cities: Cultural Management and Urban Revitalisation*, Oxford 2010.

17 Joseph Pine and James Gilmore, *The Experience Economy*, Boston 1999.

18 G. Richards and R. Palmer (eds.), *Eventful Cities...*, op. cit., pp. 21–22.

19 J. Cizler, "The Role of Creative and Civil Initiatives...", op. cit., p. 207.

the 1960s and the 1970s brought a transformation of urban regions, in which a number of unused sites emerged. At the same time, the idea emerged that culture is not limited to higher social classes and that everybody should have the same right to cultural experiences. This led to the reconsideration of the places of cultural life, and consequently several abandoned complexes began to be used for cultural purposes. This rehabilitation of industrial heritage has been taking place gradually, from counter-culturalism through the punk movement, communes, ecological collectives, and neighbourhood centres, up to the present-day common form of cultural and creative centres.²⁰ Unused industrial sites were often in bad condition, and were therefore financially more appropriate for the creation of concert halls, galleries, and art studios. Another benefit was their layout in the form of larger production halls, suitable for the organisation of concerts and exhibitions.

Industrial buildings are interesting and valuable also from the architectural and aesthetic point of view. Their geometrical, non-ornamental aestheticism was a major source of inspiration in the early days of modern architecture. Combined with new structures, materials, and production technology, industrial architecture brought new spatial concepts as well. However, these values of industrial buildings are often misunderstood and misinterpreted by a part of the general public. This leads to opinions on the absence of an aesthetic value of such architecture, which are a common argument against its protection and preservation even today.²¹ According to Edensor,²² industrial spaces represent alternative aestheticism and are informal public places where many activities take place free of charge and without restrictions. The very nature of abandoned industrial sites, the lack of a particular meaning and function, unclear borders between the past and the present, and the close relationship to the memory of the place thus make them interesting and important also at the state of abandonment.

20 Peter Lényi (ed.), *Design Handbook for Cultural Centres*, Stanica Žilina-Záriečie 2014, p. 8.

21 Nina Bartošová and Katarína Haberlandová, "Hodnoty industriálneho dedičstva a ich skúmanie: prípad Bratislava," [in:] *Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo*, vol. 5, no. 2 (2017), p. 110.

22 Tim Edensor, *Industrial Ruins: Space, Aesthetics and Materiality*, London 2005.

The story of Cvernovka in Bratislava

Cvernovka – a yarn-making factory – was built at the end of the 19th century and launched production in 1902. While the plant reached its production peak in the 1960s with 2500 workers, its importance began to decline thirty years later. The economic transformation in the 1990s resulted in the discontinuation of production. The decaying space became the property of several investors; however, none of them was able to revitalise the factory. In 2006, the then owner of the factory offered these premises for lease at relatively low prices, which attracted artists, creatives, and activists. Cvernovka became an important and popular point on the cultural map of Bratislava and the venue of many cultural and educational events and urban festivals. However, the presence of artists and creatives in the former factory was only temporary.

Temporary use by local communities, young creative people, and activists is a common model of use of industrial heritage. Unlike owners, who restrict modifications of buildings in the absence of a plan, representatives of the creative and civil sectors accept temporary use and invest in spaces also in the case of an uncertain future. In the case of Cvernovka, the rent was favourable because the decaying building was in bankruptcy and the lease agreements were signed for an indefinite period of time. Nevertheless, the tenants divided the spinning mill building into independent art, design, and architectural studios by means of structural modifications carried out at their own expense. It was the variability and attractiveness of the spaces combined with the low rent that was a great attraction for many, despite numerous limitations and the need to finance the structural modifications, as illustrated by the following words of a respondent:

In principle, what it worked like was that nobody from the owner would come to replace the bulb or fix the door. They did almost nothing to make life easier there. People had to do everything on their own, and perhaps this was the reason why they joined their forces. These people over there did not consider it to be a kind of a business park where all is done for them; they had to take care of it themselves and learn to work together. On the other hand, it was not an ideal condition. One wouldn't normally bring a client there.²³

23 Male respondent, *1982, member of the Cvernovka Foundation, author's archive.

In June 2012, the then owner of Cvernovka ordered the demolition of the oldest building of the dyeing shop from 1903 and of the boiler room from 1912. How could this happen? The expert discussion on the conservation of industrial heritage in Slovakia was not launched until 2008, when a more comprehensive mapping and analysis of the value of industrial buildings began. The problem was that the concept of heritage conservation did not exist at that time; the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic approved it only in 2011 under the title *Monuments Preservation Concept*.²⁴ The problems identified by this document included a high administrative burden, small emphasis on research and the creation of conceptual documents, and the absence of some experts, e.g. in the field of urban studies. In 2008, the insufficiently developed debate on industrial heritage values resulted in declaring only one of the buildings within the Cvernovka site a natural cultural monument – the main building called the Spinning Mill. Thus, the other buildings stayed unprotected. The demolition was preceded by the termination of several rental agreements, and the underlying circumstances caused controversy, as the owner of the site made use of the last days of validity of the inexecutable extension of the demolition permit from the period of the former mayor of Ružinov city district – despite the fact that, at that time, a letter by the Regional Prosecutor’s Office in Bratislava had been waiting on his desk for two weeks, warning him about the incorrectly issued extension of the demolition permit.²⁵ The demolition met with a strong response and a wave of public discontent. Reflections on issues concerning industrial heritage protection, pressure by developers, and inactivity of the competent authorities were typical of Cvernovka activities also in the following years, contributing to the revival of the public debate on industrial architecture. One respondent accurately described this kind of public mobilisation by Cvernovka as “PR in the bud”:

That work, it was like PR in the bud, I would say. Last but not least, there was an exhibition about Cvernovka with a big happening, film

²⁴ Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic, *Concept of Monuments Preservation*, 2011, <https://hsr.rokovania.sk/17456/28-/> [access: 4 November 2021].

²⁵ Jakub Ďurinda, “Bez možnosti na opravák,” [in:] *Cvernovka*, Viliam Csino and Martin Mistrík, Bratislava 2014, p. 319.

screening, a trailer, discussions. And the book afterwards.²⁶ We started to spread it in the public space. [...] A kind of a civic attitude, being in the zone where we saw with our own eyes, through the windows, the demolition of Kablovka, the demolition of Gumovka. We saw the peak form of that wild capitalism, we saw the town, the local authorities and the public sector being completely detached from reality and letting those private players do whatever they wished to do.²⁷

In 2015 it turned out that this community would have to leave the Cvernovka site because of the planned construction of a new residential and office zone Zwirn. Due to these threats and an uncertain future, the Cvernovka community became more organised, which also led to the establishment of the Cvernovka Foundation. Thanks to the partnership with the Bratislava Self-Governing Region, the creatives moved to a new place in 2016 – a former school building where they currently operate under the name “Nová Cvernovka” [New Cvernovka].²⁸

The “old” Cvernovka site is nowadays undergoing redevelopment of the entire urban block in the framework of the Zwirn project, involving housing, offices, shops and, to a lesser extent, culture. The Spinning Mill and the adjacent Engine House, the two buildings preserved from the original yarn-making factory, have already been reconstructed and will be integrated within the new city district. It should be mentioned that an architectural competition was held for the Zwirn project, which was certified by the Slovak Chamber of Architects as the first private project. The high quality of reconstruction of the Spinning Mill national cultural monument is also proven by the fact that the new office building of the Spinning Mill 1900 was nominated for the prestigious CE ZA AR architectural prize in the Civil and Industrial Buildings category. Urban

26 Expert-popularisation book *Cvernovka* (Viliam Csino and Martin Mistrík, *Cvernovka*, Bratislava 2014). In the previous sentence, the respondent refers to the exhibition *Včera predvčerom: Cvernovka a jej príbehy* [Yesterday the day before yesterday: Cvernovka and its stories], which took place in autumn 2013.

27 Male respondent, *1977, member of the Cvernovka Foundation, author's archive.

28 The cultural and creative centre Nová Cvernovka in a former abandoned school building is another positive example of adaptive reuse. However, since this study focuses on industrial sites, I concentrate on the development of the “old” Cvernovka.

planner Adrian Gubčo²⁹ considers it one of the most beautiful industrial monuments in the city and the most important reconstruction in Bratislava of the past period.

The aim of the reconstruction was to restore the Spinning Mill's appearance from the period immediately after World War I. The reconstruction included the renewal of the original form of the façade, refurbishment of some windows, and restoration of the interior elements, such as cast-iron columns with art-deco motifs.³⁰ Nevertheless, the quality of architecture is only one of the criteria of the success of an industrial architecture reuse project. The social and economic benefits of Spinning Mill 1900 (or of the whole Zwirn urban district) and their impacts on the surrounding city districts and the city as such will only become apparent in the longer term, since most buildings are still being constructed. However, the architectural design of the Spinning Mill, the presence of various planned functions of the neighbourhood, the coherence of the block buildings, the new public space of the square, as well as the immediate vicinity of a new bus station and a shopping centre (opened in September 2021) suggest that the Zwirn city district may become an attractive place in the future.

Adaptive reuse of industrial buildings in Slovakia: problems and obstacles

Ultimately, the story of Cvernovka concluded rather positively – the creative community has survived and at least the most valuable protected part of the complex was sensitively renovated with an emphasis on preserving the architectural quality of the building. On the other hand, a number of industrial complexes have been demolished in Bratislava throughout the past twenty years, such as Kablo in Mlynské Nivy, Danubius Elektrik in Račianska Street, Gumon in Košická Street, and the Danubius spinning mill site in Trnavská Street. At that time, Kablo and Gumon were in the process of being declared national cultural monuments.³¹ As we could see in the previous chapter, the demolition of the buildings

29 Adrian Gubčo, *Pradiareň 1900 je skolaudovaná*, 2020, <https://www.yimba.sk/pradiaren-1900/pradiaren-1900-je-skolaudovana> [access: 19 October 2021].

30 Ibidem.

31 J. Ďurinda, "Bez možnosti na opravák," op. cit., p. 316.

within the old Cvernovka site in 2012 was performed under disputable circumstances.

The frequent liquidation of industrial monuments in Slovakia happens for several reasons. According to Nina Bartošová,³² it is due to (1) the incompetent action by decision-making bodies which act without a predefined urban development concept; (2) unsatisfactory links between the activities of the Ministry of Culture SR and of the Monuments Board; (3) lack of experts from various fields (lawyers, economists, environmental experts, sociologists, social anthropologists) specialised in industrial heritage protection; (4) low public interest in this issue; and (5) absence of investors interested in projects that may have nationwide benefits, albeit at the cost of more complex management, financing, and capital return. The destruction of cultural heritage is often due to pressures by investors and developers, justified by the dominance of the market economy and capitalism.³³ This can also be observed in other post-socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe. The interest in the reuse of industrial buildings came to this region through the example of Western conversions. The developments in this field were therefore not organic, and by the time the non-profit and cultural sphere discovered the potential of industrial sites, many of them had already been demolished or in bad condition.³⁴

Therefore, increased emphasis on the conservation of valuable industrial monuments and the acceleration of the process of declaring them national cultural monuments would be helpful. However, a systematic approach and cooperation in identifying, protecting, and filling them with new functions is missing. It is rather characterised by rigidity and a complicated process of approval of monuments, while temporary use

32 Nina Bartošová, "Ako zachrániť továreň: Spinnerei verzus Cvernovka," [in:] *Cvernovka*, op. cit., p. 155.

33 Estela Radonjić-Živkov and Mirzah Fočo, "Valuating Cultural Heritage and Preservation Thereof: Principles, Criteria and Methodological Approaches," [in:] *Cultural Heritage & Creative Industries: Guidelines for Sustainable Heritage Management*, eds. Hristina Mikić and Donovan Rypkema, Belgrade 2016, p. 38.

34 Levente Polyák, "The Culture of Brownfields: The Creative Revitalization of Industrial Spaces in Central Europe," [in:] *Creative Visegrad: City, Culture and Public Space*, ed. Maria Staszkievicz, Prague 2016, pp. 29–30.

of buildings is not recognised or supported.³⁵ The declaration of larger industrial sites as protected spaces is problematic also because, in addition to professional aspects, the process is simultaneously affected by complicated property relations, size and location of the area, or the contamination of the industrial site with harmful substances.³⁶

Even though the threat of gradual liquidation of important industrial sites in Bratislava was obvious already before 1989, it took long before their protection was promoted as a social interest. In Slovakia, the discussion has been limited to the academia, but the problem is the lack of capacities for research, passportisation, and the documentation of monuments. Even the experts themselves, i.e. the conservationists, do not find enough time and space for these activities in addition to their administrative agenda.³⁷ However, the protection of a building does not automatically mean that it is filled with content. This is illustrated by a finding by Jasna Cizler³⁸ from the Czech context, where work with protected buildings is perceived as an inconvenience, as it brings increased architectural and material demands and requires cooperation with the authorities. Many investors are therefore not interested in the renovation and reuse of industrial sites. A similar phenomenon is also present in Slovakia.

The situation where industrial heritage has long been unused, with deteriorating condition, can also be considered a problem. Given the poor flexibility of the legislation and the absence of previous experience or methodology, many local authorities in Slovakia are unable to find a new purpose for their redundant assets.³⁹ The “deterioration of the condition” of industrial heritage involves not only the degradation of its physical

35 Jasna Cizler, “Activation of Former Industrial Areas: Creative and Civil Sector as Main Actors in Overcoming the Institutional Limitations in Serbia,” [in:] *Sociologija i prostor*, vol. 57, no. 1 (2019), pp. 28–29.

36 Nina Bartošová and Katarína Haberlandová, “Hodnoty industriálneho dedičstva...,” op. cit., p. 113.

37 Ibidem, pp. 109–110. As further explained by Nina Bartošová and Katarína Haberlandová, the Monuments Protection Institute was transformed into the Monuments Board of the Slovak Republic in 2001 by Act No. 49/2001 Coll. on the Protection of Monuments. Research activities, which had previously formed an integral part of the institution, were pushed aside, and consequently the Monuments Board of the Slovak Republic was unable to react fast enough to the physical liquidation of valuable industrial sites.

38 J. Cizler, “The Role of Creative and Civil Initiatives...,” op. cit., p. 210.

39 Milota Sidorová et al., *Nepredať! Zveľadiť!: Niekoľko spôsobov, ako revitalizovať nevyužívané budovy a areály vo verejnom vlastníctve*, Bratislava 2020, p. 21.

condition, but also a gradual loss of public interest in the site. With the fall of the Iron Curtain and the emergence of market capitalism, many of the social and political values of buildings became outdated. Where the importance of the values and memories associated with an industrial site is not recognised by a broad consensus, this leads to reduced public interest in preserving these sites as relics of social memory.⁴⁰ As the example of Cvernovka suggests, in addition to targeted activities focused on the raising of awareness about the history and value of the building, the use of such spaces by local communities can also be a source of public interest, as it leads to the opening of the previously closed spaces.

Even though many of the listed problems and limitations are still relevant in Slovakia, an improvement of the situation could be observed in recent years, which was also due to the media coverage of the demolition of the “old” Cvernovka buildings (and other industrial sites in Bratislava that ceased to exist). Progress is manifested mainly in increased public awareness and willingness of some investors and developers to work with industrial heritage. Thanks to this approach, some buildings have been sensitively restored, and the revival of other unused sites is also being prepared. In addition to Spinning Mill 1900, we can also mention the Refinery Gallery’s concert hall within the Slovnaft refinery site, Tabačka Kulturfabrik in the former tobacco factory in Košice, or the recent reconstruction of Jurkovič Heating Plant in Bratislava. As for projects that are currently under preparation, we can also mention the planned transformation of Palma in Bratislava (former factory of plant vegetable fats and oil) into a new city district.

Recommendations for a more effective protection and adaptive reuse of industrial sites in Slovakia

Many of the positive examples mentioned above are not the expression of systematic changes, but rather the result of activities of enlightened developers and local authorities or civil initiatives. The aim of this section is to identify recommendations for a more comprehensive improvement of the situation. The proposals presented in this study arose from my field research and from the study of expert literature from other European post-socialist countries that face similar problems in this area as the Slovak Republic.

⁴⁰ L. Polyák, “The Culture of Brownfields...,” *op. cit.*, p. 33.

For a major recognition of the qualities of industrial architecture in Slovakia, it is necessary to conduct more research and a more complex mapping of the state of this issue. In addition to the dissemination of the academic and expert discourse, and improvement of the methodology of monuments protection, the popularisation of the values of industrial buildings among the public is also essential, as the public is an important actor in the process of conservation and adaptive reuse of industrial monuments. Increased awareness has led to the emergence of civic initiatives which insist on the preservation, protection, and renewal of monuments and have the potential to also create content for industrial sites, as can be seen in the case of independent cultural and creative centres in Slovakia. To simplify the activities of the civic sector, the improvement of the legislative conditions and further educational activities are needed. These may lead to the creation of links and partnerships between various sectors and the institutionalisation of the mechanisms of these forms of cooperation. This, however, requires the recognition and support of bottom-up initiatives by governments and local authorities. The Slovak realities show that, in some cases, civil initiatives or the non-governmental sector substitutes the role of the authorities and local governments in issues and activities, their primary objective being not financial profit, but public interest. The provision of physical (and hence, symbolic) space in their public ownership is a way in which local authorities and civil initiatives can meet halfway and, in an ideal case, establish partnerships.⁴¹

A similar principle is also present in the field of culture in Slovakia, where the so-called independent culture often substitutes the duties of state-established culture. A typical manifestation of independent culture in Slovak cities are larger or smaller cultural, creative, and community centres run by active individuals or civic initiatives. Such centres represent suitable thematic “contents” of unused industrial sites. The example of Slovakia⁴² shows that the success of independent cultural centre projects lies in partnership between local authorities and civic initiatives.

41 M. Sidorová et al., *Nepredať! Zveľadiť!...*, op. cit., p. 22.

42 In addition to Nová Cvernovka, a joint project of the Bratislava Self-Governing Region and the Cvernovka Foundation, the Arta cultural and creative centre in Piešťany, which is currently being established with the support of the Trnava Self-Governing Region, can also be mentioned.

Municipal and regional authorities own many abandoned buildings (including industrial ones), whose sale was not successful, and therefore they remain unused and are deteriorating. The streamlining of legislative processes will also enhance the conditions of cooperation and may inspire future initiatives in the field of independent culture, art, or civic activism.⁴³

Nevertheless, the projects of systematic and long-term adaptive reuse of industrial buildings are demanding both in terms of funds and time, require know-how from various fields (including, for instance, legislation, architecture, and cultural management), and often demand a costly renovation of obsolete buildings. One of the ways of creating such cultural and community centres is therefore through major support for independent culture in Slovakia – either in the form of grants and support mechanisms, simplified bureaucracy and legislation, or as recognition and increased trust by the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic and national and local authorities. The COVID-19 pandemic has revealed the vulnerability of this sphere. The restrictions imposed on public events have resulted in an existential threat to many cultural centres and individuals working in the culture segment.

One of the models of providing financial support for creative centres are funds linked to the European Union. In Slovakia, calls for projects financed from EU funds have been in place since 2012,⁴⁴ mediated by the Slovak Ministry of Culture, which has been subject to several rounds of comments and media criticism. These concerned mainly the excessive emphasis on the economic effect of new centres (such as the number of new jobs created) and concerns about their contents and sustainability. At the end of 2020, the Ministry of Culture selected five projects to receive assistance of 43.5 million euros in total. Three of them focus on the renovation of buildings which are currently hosting independent cultural initiatives, including the industrial site of the former tobacco factory in Košice. However, the reconstruction of the buildings is likely to lead to increased rent, which may be a problem for these initiatives. In

43 The improvement of the conditions of partnerships between the public and the civil sector in reviving abandoned buildings is comprehensively discussed in M. Sidorová et al., *Nepredať! Zveľaďiť!...*, op. cit.

44 Integrated Regional Operational Programme, Priority Axis 3: Mobilisation of the Creative Potential in Regions. One of the objectives is the reconstruction of unused buildings for the purpose of setting up creative centres.

the preparation of new creative centre projects, it is therefore essential to communicate with the existing users of the space and to reflect on their needs and financial possibilities to prevent the disintegration or moving of functioning communities due to costly renovations.

Another form of cooperation – concurrence between authorities and the public administration and their openness towards the application of new approaches – is essential in the valuation and protection of monuments. Valuation is a process of identifying the meanings of a cultural monument to a certain community.⁴⁵ When valuating a monument, the widest spectrum of values possible should be taken into consideration. Buildings under state protection are declared protected monuments because of their values that are recognised and appreciated by professionals. If the experts seek to perceive the complexity of the meaning of any cultural monument without explaining and describing that meaning to the local community, monuments will remain alienated from people, daily life, and the environment that is to preserve and present them.⁴⁶

The traditional rigid approaches to the protection of monuments, which are in place also in Slovakia, are not compatible with these principles. It is therefore necessary to apply a long-term strategic model to support the temporary use of a building and involvement of non-institutional and non-investor initiatives. Through gradual improvement of public spaces and services, community-sensitive and locally “embedded” projects can be more sustainable in the long term than large and costly urban regeneration projects.⁴⁷ Cooperation between competent entities is necessary also from the time perspective. The examples of controversial demolition of industrial sites, mentioned in the study, point to the inertia and poor flexibility of Slovak authorities. In an environment still dominated by investors’ commercial interests, it is essential for the preservation of valuable industrial buildings that they become protected as soon as possible following the end of production. However, placing emphasis on the adaptive reuse of industrial buildings does not mean that the preservation and transformation of all industrial sites must take place at all costs. It is a consensus between qualified experts and the public that should lead to conclusions concerning which sites to

45 E. Radonjić-Živkov and Mirzah Fočo, “Valuating Cultural Heritage...,” *op. cit.*, p. 40.

46 *Ibidem*, pp. 38–39.

47 J. Cizler, “The Role of Creative and Civil Initiatives...,” *op. cit.*, p. 209.

preserve, protect, and use, and which of them to demolish or relieve of any environmental burden, which is often an accompanying phenomenon of the industrial past of many areas.

Conclusions

One of the ways of reviving abandoned industrial sites is their adaptive reuse, namely, restoration in a new context and endowment with new functions. According to experts, the main benefits of this process include revitalisation of the urban environment, reflecting people's needs and revival of local communities, preservation and presentation of social and symbolic values of monuments, contribution to the local economy, and support of local culture and the eventisation process. Culture and art are frequent tools of reviving unused industrial buildings. One such example is Cvernovka, a former yarn-making factory, which became an important place of the independent cultural scene in Bratislava in the period 2006–2016, though the lessors were subsequently forced to leave these premises. Today, a new city district is being constructed at these sites, including the Spinning Mill as a reconstructed national cultural monument.

Through the story of Cvernovka, the study presents the conditions of preservation, protection, restoration, and adaptive reuse of industrial sites in Slovakia. Emphasis is placed on bottom-up initiatives and independent culture. According to the findings, the main obstacles to the adaptive reuse of industrial buildings included their insufficient protection, frequent demolition caused by developers' pressures and inactivity (or slowed-down processes due to overload) of monuments preservation offices and local authorities, deterioration of their condition due to their non-use and passage of time, lack of cooperation between the private, public, and civil sector, and weaker support of culture in Slovakia. These phenomena can also be observed in other European post-socialist countries, as they are the result of social and economic changes after the fall of socialism and later emergence of trends of protection and adaptive reuse of industrial monuments.

The positive examples of the past years, including the thoughtful reconstruction of the Spinning Mill, suggest a shift for the better. However, they often happen mainly thanks to enlightened developers and local authorities or the engagement of civic initiatives. Systematic and legislative changes to improve research processes, as well as the appraisal and protection of monuments ensure their temporary use by artists and

civil activists or efforts to support their transformation towards new functions are also necessary. What is also needed is the creation and institutionalisation of links and cooperation between state and local authorities, developers, architects, and civil actors. In the creation of adaptive reuse projects, it is also necessary to take into account their sustainability – in the economic, social, as well as environmental sense. This can be enhanced by the involvement of local communities and civil initiatives or the definition of new functions according to the needs of the local population. For the creation of projects focused on cultural and artistic functions (for example, in the form of independent cultural and creative centres), stronger support must be given to the independent cultural scene in Slovakia.

In a broader sense, the common denominator of the obstacles mentioned in the study is the insufficient awareness of the public (as well as many investors, developers, and local authorities) about industrial heritage. To trigger these processes, emphasis must be placed on education and raising awareness concerning the importance of the protection of valuable industrial sites and advantages of their repurposing. It is the change of thinking that is the key to enhancing systematic efforts in Slovakia aimed at the transformation of unused industrial sites into vivid places of culture, creative industry, and civil activism.

Challenges of the Sustainable Redevelopment of Historical Psychiatric Hospital Landscapes

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Introduction

Psychiatric hospitals developed as a result of the transformations in society and culture that brought about the birth of psychiatry as a distinct medical specialisation in the 19th century. Lunatic asylums, established in many countries (not only in Europe but also in North America¹ and former British colonies)² emerged as distinctive large-scale institutions intended as therapeutic since there was a strong belief that the mentally ill should be treated in a specifically designed environment away from their homes and factors which disturbed their minds. For over a century asylums were places of therapy but also isolation, although lunacy reformers who designed these institutions emphasised humanitarian means of treating patients; the treatment itself was initially known as “moral therapy.” Paradoxically, while the beginnings of psychiatry referred to Pinel’s “chain liberation,” the asylum offered limited freedom within spatial frames of the institution, which was often perceived as a place of confinement.³

Heavily criticised by advocates of clinical psychiatric treatment, at the dawn of the 19th-century asylums were finally defeated by numbers since largest institutions often accommodated more than a thousand

1 Carla Yanni, *The Architecture of Madness: Insane Asylums in the United States*, Minneapolis 2007.

2 Susan Piddock, *A Space of Their Own: The Archaeology of Nineteenth-Century Lunatic Asylums in Britain, South Australia and Tasmania*, New York 2007.

3 Leslie Topp, *Freedom and the Cage: Modern Architecture and Psychiatry in Central Europe, 1890–1914*, Pennsylvania 2017.

patients. Reaction to overcrowding combined with the introduction of pharmaceuticals led to deinstitutionalisation in the mid-20th century.⁴ While many asylums, especially in Britain and Italy, were closed and later often damaged or redeveloped for different purposes, many modern mental healthcare centres still fulfil their therapeutic mission in historical buildings of former asylums – this refers to, among others, France, Germany, and Poland. The historical psychiatric hospitals which are still in use have been facing many changes over the last century. Most of these changes transcend those resulting from adjustment to medical functions connected with the development in therapy and refer also to the heritage value of their landscape and architectural substance. The present article explores tensions between the necessity for development to serve the patients' needs and efforts to maintain the integrity of those ensembles and protect them as examples of heritage landscapes and architecture. Challenges connected to the redevelopment of historical psychiatric hospitals are linked also with urbanisation pressure on their surroundings and the need to mitigate climate change. In my article, I first briefly discuss the evolution of therapeutic landscapes of mental hospitals. Next, after outlining the main challenges of contemporary redevelopment programmes, I analyse the role of energy, green spaces, and water in the past and investigate how the solutions which are presently being introduced in these fields can support the contemporary sustainable use of the historical substance of mental health institutions using heritage buildings.

Historical psychiatric hospital ensembles as specific landscapes

The birth of psychiatry as a distinct medical specialisation in the late 18th and early 19th centuries is linked with a specific type of landscape and particular architectural models. Sarah Rutherford argues that the landscape of public lunatic asylums in England evolved from a country house estate model which was then adjusted to the therapeutic and medical function of these institutions, accommodating large numbers of pauper mental patients.⁵ Even the infamous Bedlam institution (Bethlem Hospi-

4 Maria Morzycka-Markowska, Ewa Drozdowicz, and Tadeusz Nasierowski, "Deinstytucjonalizacja psychiatrii włoskiej – przebieg i skutki: Część II. Skutki deinstytucjonalizacji," [in:] *Psychiatria Polska*, vol. 49, no. 2 (2015), pp. 403–412.

5 Sarah Rutherford, *The Landscapes of Public Lunatic Asylums in England, 1808–1914*, Leicester 2003, manuscript available online: <https://www.dora.dmu.ac.uk/handle/2086/4783> [access: 13 November 2021].

tal, London) had simple gardens in the form of airing courts for patients. The evolution of the asylum model meant also including green spaces to a greater extent in the plan and their use for recreation in the therapeutic regime and economic functioning. The main source of inspiration were private institutions such as the Retreat established by William Tuke (1796)⁶ and Brislington House established by Sir Edward Long Fox (1806), which also contributed to the inclusion of gardens⁷ in other types of hospitals. An attempt at systemic care for the mentally ill was introduced in England by the County Asylum Act in 1808, according to which public asylums were to be provided in each county. This date marked the beginning of the creation of the network of public mental institutions which defined care for the insane for more than a century. Similar regulations and efforts to provide care for impoverished mentally ill patients in other European countries followed.

Most of the contemporary institutions located in historical sites operate in pavilion-type complexes, in which patients stayed in groups, in separate wards consistent with the classification of disorders from which they suffered, and were not accommodated in one monumental building with a corridor layout, or a complex of connected buildings on the echelon plan.⁸ In addition, these types of hospital landscapes were designed as independent settlements with several ancillary buildings (administration block, kitchen, laundry, boiler house, chapel, often theatre or recreation hall, workshops, accommodation for the asylum staff), where patients could enjoy greater independence and it was easier to conduct occupational therapy on asylum farms. A model and inspiration for many of such plans were Alt Scherbitz and Galkhausen. Many study trips to learn the layout and functioning were conducted especially in Alt

6 Barry Edginton, "Moral Architecture: The Influence of the York Retreat on Asylum Design," [in:] *Health & Place*, vol. 3, no. 2 (1997), pp. 91–99.

7 Described in detail in Clare Hickman, *Therapeutic Landscapes: A History of English Hospital Gardens since 1800*, Manchester 2013.

8 This type of plan was popular in England in the late 19th century and was executed mostly by architect George T. Hine (1842–1916), who dedicated his practice to asylum buildings and was an outstanding leader in this field, supervising works at fifteen large-scale asylums. See also Jeremy Taylor, "The Architect and the Pauper Asylum in Late Nineteenth-Century England: G. T. Hine's 1901 Review of Asylum Space and Planning," [in:] *Madness, Architecture and the Built Environment: Psychiatric Spaces in Historical Context*, eds. Leslie Topp, James E. Moran, and Jonathan Andrews, New York–London 2007, pp. 263–284.

Scherbitz, whose director Albrecht Paetz prided himself on the removal of bars from windows and fences, and considered the colonisation of patients to be an effective method of therapy.⁹ Large-scale institutions – such as the Nieder-Österreichische Landes-Heil- und Pflegeanstalt für Geistes- und Nervenranke “Am Steinhof” opened in 1907¹⁰ – were intended as icons of architectural design for the modern medicinal approach to mental healing, manifestation of state capabilities, and symbols of institutional power.¹¹ At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, a new spatial type of institution emerged, drawing from the example of Alt Scherbitz and simultaneously reflecting the tendencies of urban planning of that time. A number of these institutions are now often referred to as the “garden cities” for the insane, although their link to the idea and the worldwide movement of garden cities popularised by Ebenezer Howard is not as obvious as it may seem when looking at the plans of those asylums.

One of the earliest examples of institutions resembling Howard’s garden-city diagrams built on the concentric radial plan or its section were Irrenanstalt Langenhorn near Hamburg (opened in 1898)¹² and Kingseat Asylum in Scotland (opened in 1904).¹³ My considerations concerning the adaptation of the facilities to the climate change focus on the complexes of contemporary psychiatric centres that still function in hospitals built on the “garden city” type of plan. Due to their structure, size, and connection with garden and park surroundings, they resemble small-scale neighbourhood units or small villages and therefore have a high potential for adaptation to the challenges of sustainable development and climate change. In this study, I investigate issues of sustainability as addressed in selected institutions of this type, such as Klinikum

9 Albrecht Paetz, *Die Kolonisierung der Geisteskranken in Verbindung mit dem Offentür-System, ihre historische Entwicklung und die Art ihrer Ausführung auf Rittergut Alt-Scherbitz*, Berlin 1893.

10 Caroline Jäger-Klein and Sabine Plakolm-Forsthuber (eds.), *Die Stadt außerhalb: Zur Architektur der ehemaligen Niederösterreichischen Landes-Heil- und Pflegeanstalten für Geistes- und Nervenranke Am Steinhof in Wien*, Wien 2015.

11 Leslie Topp, “Otto Wagner and the Steinhof Psychiatric Hospital: Architecture as Misunderstanding,” [in:] *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 87, no. 1 (2005), pp. 130–156.

12 Małgorzata Wójtowicz, “Zakłady psychiatryczne w Langenhorn, Wiesloch i Lubiążu: Komplementarne zespoły urbanistyczne,” [in:] *Architectus*, vol. 42, no. 2 (2015), pp. 41–54.

13 Gillian Allmond, “The First Garden City? Environment and Utopianism in an Edwardian Institution for the Insane Poor,” [in:] *Journal of Historical Geography*, vol. 56 (2017), pp. 101–112.

Weinsberg-Weissenhof (established in 1903, plan of the gardens executed in 1903–1904), Leubus (Lubiąż; opened in 1906) and Krakow-Kobierzyn (planning from 1907, plan of the gardens from 1909, construction from 1910).

Sustainable development is focused on balancing human development goals with the ability of natural systems to provide resources and ecosystem services on which the economy and society rely. While historical hospitals more than a hundred years ago used the resources which are presently regarded as far from being carbon-footprint neutral, they managed them economically and relied mostly on local products and services producing goods also for their own needs. What is more, the fact that many of these facilities have now been in use for more than a hundred years proves that they are adaptable and durable. In the longer perspective, adaptive reuse of existing buildings often proves to be a more cost-effective and attractive policy than demolition and erecting new buildings,¹⁴ which consumes more energy and resources on a life-cycle basis.

While it is generally assumed that healthcare buildings and services are water and energy-intensive, I look at the ways in which historic psychiatric hospitals have been attempting to reduce their environmental impact in the last decade, taking into consideration their current location and characteristic features of architecture and surrounding landscapes. Although the implementation of green solutions to historical hospital buildings is challenging, some aspects of the concept of the green hospital are likely to be implemented.

An overview of challenges connected with conservation and contemporary redevelopment of historical mental hospitals

After years of constant change and the era of pharmaceuticals in the 20th century, modern psychiatric centres in historical buildings are facing several new challenges connected with the development of psychiatry and new treatments, as well as the appreciation of the heritage architectural structures in which they operate. They are connected with providing comfort for the patients and care for building conservation and management of the whole area, even if particular buildings (former

¹⁴ Aidan Duffy et al., *Understanding Carbon in the Historic Environment, Scoping Study Final Report, Prepared for Historic England*, 17 October 2019, <https://historicengland.org.uk/content/docs/research/understanding-carbon-in-historic-environment> [access: 10 December 2021].

wards) house separate though complementary clinics, sometimes run by different administrative bodies.

The adjustment of heritage buildings to the contemporary psychiatric care and treatment standards refers especially to patient accommodation. While historically patients' rooms tended to have large windows oriented to the south in order to provide enough sunlight, they were designed as multiple rooms with shared sanitary amenities located separately; today, such layout poses difficulty since it does not respect privacy and does not comply with contemporary healthcare standards. Single rooms were usually designed as isolation rooms for violent or contagious patients. This often necessitates architectural intervention into the historical structure of the building and its installations. As in many other historical buildings, accessibility also needs to be addressed, since there are no lifts and many architectural barriers occur.

Historical psychiatric ensembles also require thorough architectural conservation, starting from construction investigation and reinforcement through the reduction of damage resulting from passing time, such as biological corrosion and wall dampness, as well as the use of appropriate materials such as plasters, various types of floors, ceramic tiles, and window and door joinery. Interventions of this type not only concern the authenticity of a heritage building, but also are important from the point of view of the building's energy efficiency, which translates directly into patient comfort (inside temperatures, ventilation), as well as lower maintenance costs and minimising the carbon impact.

All of this needs to be balanced with the implementation of sustainable green solutions, since the insensitive renovation of historical buildings for energy efficiency can be at odds with the conservation of heritage values. The European Cultural Heritage Green Paper,¹⁵ while indicating the critical importance of traditional crafts and building knowledge (described as *Baukultur*), lists several conflicting areas between heritage conservation and safeguarding, and the implementation of the technical solutions, which are understood as means of improving buildings' energy efficiency. Issues at stake include, among others, placing photovoltaic installations in cultural landscapes and on historical buildings, and replacing

15 Andrew Potts et al., *European Cultural Heritage Green Paper: Europa Nostra*, The Hague–Brussels 2021, https://issuu.com/europanostra/docs/20210322-european_cultural_heritage_green_paper_fu [access: 23 March 2021].



Figure 1. The biggest newly renovated ward of Babiński Clinical Hospital in Krakow-Kobierzyn. Extensive works were carried out under the supervision of the heritage protection and conservation office with the support of EU funding aimed at improving healthcare infrastructure in Małopolskie Voivodeship, October 2021. Photo: Anna Staniewska

historical wooden windows with seemingly more thermally efficient plastic or aluminium windows. It is also worth mentioning the thermal insulation of outer walls that modifies the historical shape of the façades. Moreover, heritage management researchers outlining potential fields of conflict claim that in the circular economy perspective, cultural heritage represents a long-term resource, an engine of environmental regeneration, a driver of employment and, finally, a connective infrastructure promoting synergies and cooperation.¹⁶ This approach offers a new perspective and postulates searching for “in the adaptive reuse new solutions able to reintegrate economy into ecology and the human paradigm using new tools: from new management models to new evaluation decision support systems.”¹⁷

¹⁶ Antonia Cravagnuolo, “The Role of Cultural Heritage in Circular Economy Action,” [in:] *European Cultural Heritage Green Paper*, op. cit., pp. 21–22.

¹⁷ Luigi Fusco Girard, “Implementing the Circular Economy: The Role of Cultural Heritage as the Entry Point: Which Evaluation of Approaches?” [in:] *Bulletin of the Calza Bini Center*, vol. 19, no. 2 (2019), pp. 245–277.

For historical mental hospital complexes, this means the introduction of a variety of measures minimising their environmental impact while respecting their intrinsic values and maintaining their therapeutic mission, simultaneously carrying adaptation and conservation works. Special emphasis should be placed on proper maintenance and amendment of historical elements, thus improving their durability and energy performance, rather than replacing them. This approach requires not only financial measures but also conservation skills and convincing decision-makers to prioritise long-term benefits over short-term savings in operational energy and carbon.

The management of historical green spaces accompanying former asylums not only requires specific skills related to the maintenance of heritage gardens, but also taking measures to preserve them as an important element of green infrastructure in a larger context. In contrast to the historical isolation of the hospital area, nowadays the institutions are open, restricting access only to ward gardens to respect patients' privacy.

Initially built outside of cities, historical psychiatric institutions are nowadays often consumed by urban sprawl. Residential districts approach the limits of hospital grounds, restricting the view and covering open fields and agricultural land. Usually, urban planning documents do not consider the neighbourhood of psychiatric hospitals as areas of restricted land use and treat them as natural city growth and expansion zones. This may result in limiting visual connections to open landscapes as valued by first psychiatrists, who appreciated them as a positive distraction for their patients' troubled minds.

The role of energy, green spaces and water in the past and now: measures taken to increase sustainability and minimise environmental impact

Energy

At the times of their construction – especially in the early 19th century – institutions for the mentally ill were the forerunners of modernity as far as technical solutions were concerned, especially in Germany and Austria. They were commonly equipped with the most up-to-date installations providing electricity and heating. The energy was produced by steam engines in boiler houses, supplied with coal delivered by special railway branches reaching hospital grounds. Central heating extended, above all, to crucial common service buildings, such as machine house, laundry, kitchen, and



Figure 2. Building of Kesselhaus in the Königin Elisabeth Herzberge (KEH) hospital in Berlin, March 2008. Photo: Angela Monika Arnold (cc-by 3.0)

disinfection station.¹⁸ Heating depended on various types of installations which included hot water systems and high or low-pressure steam heating systems as well as stoves for some facilities. A high chimney usually marked the place where energy was produced, and in many places it still remains a dominant feature in the visual landscape, standing out from the green haze of mature trees of the mental hospital ensemble. Most of the patients' buildings were constructed bearing in mind the principles of natural gravitation ventilation, where tilting windows were used to regulate ventilation with the rise of the outside temperature. The thickness of brick walls, which is rarely used today, kept the rooms cooler in summer months, but generally had greater thermal inertia, which was a serious challenge during winter.

Nowadays, most investigated historical mental hospitals do not use historical installations, yet sometimes they are still preserved and

18 A detailed description of the energy production was often included in the reports of the directors of these institutions. They were included in collective publications such as the report on Bohnice: Joh. Hraše, "Die Königlich böhmische Landes-Anstalt für Geisteskrankhe in Bohnitz bei Prag," [in:] *Die Irrenpflege in Österreich in Wort und Bild*, ed. Heinrich Schlöss, Halle an der Salle 1912, pp. 27–28.

exposed as an interesting part of industrial heritage. This is the case of the Kesselhaus in Königin Elisabeth Herzberge (KEH) hospital in Berlin. This particular boiler plant, built in 1889–1893 by city architect Hermann Blankenstein, which supplied the hospital with heating, hot water, and electricity until 1925, is now a part of an industrial heritage trail¹⁹ and not only presents machines but also offers room for theatre performances and contemporary art exhibitions, while also displaying historical information about the site.

In former Provinzial-Heil- und Pflege-Anstalt Kortau, which nowadays is the campus of the University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn,²⁰ the old boiler house was adapted in 2013 for a multifunctional educational space with exposed historical LaMont steam generator (a type of forced circulation water-tube boiler), while the contemporary heating installation was hidden in the building underground.²¹ In many places, however, old boilers remain forgotten or have been destroyed. Warmth is provided by the connection to the municipal heating network or generated by modern gas combi boilers, which is still not the perfect solution, but is more effective than local installation based on coal.

There are attempts to implement renewable sources of energy. In 2014 and 2015 the Babiński Clinical Hospital in Krakow-Kobierzyn (built from 1910 and opened in 1917) decided to improve its energy efficiency by several measures, such as insulation of ceilings, replacement of old wooden window frames, and use of more energy-effective internal lights (LED) along with building a photovoltaic farm in the vicinity of old vegetable gardens on the southern edge of the complex, which provides additional electric energy and is used to heat central heating utility water.²²

19 Heike Oevermann, *Kesselhaus Herzberge*, https://industriekultur.berlin/wp-content/uploads/07-Kesselhaus-Herzberge_2019.pdf [access: 14 December 2021]; more information about the current activity of the museum: <https://www.museum-kesselhaus.de> [access: 14 December 2021].

20 Elżbieta Lewandowicz and Krzysztof Majek, "Spatiotemporal Changes of Kortowo Campus Built-Up Area in the Last Century," [in:] *Informatics, Geoinformatics and Remote Sensing, Conference Proceedings: 16th International Multidisciplinary Scientific GeoConference SGEM 2016*, Sofia 2016, vol. 3, pp. 447–454.

21 Brief project description available in "Nowy płomień w starej kotłowni," [in:] *Gazeta Uniwersytecka*, 27 September 2013, <http://www.uwm.edu.pl/egu/news/7/czytaj/1200/nowy-plomien-w-starej-kotlowni.html> [access: 18 November 2021].

22 A press note on the launch of the EU supported project: *Babiński stawia na nowoczesność*, 26 August 2014, <https://www.malopolska.pl/aktualnosci/zdrowie/>

Similar actions, although without solar panel placement, were carried out in the Provincial Hospital for the Neurotic and Mentally Ill in Lubiąż (former Neue Provinzial Heil- und Pflegeanstalt Städtel Leubus, opened in 1906).²³ In 2016–2017, the condition of nine hospital buildings was improved through thermal insulation of ceilings and roofs, window replacement and central heating change including the implementation of a precise control system. An average level of energy saving for all buildings reached 28.74%, contributing to a significant reduction of the emissions of CO₂, other greenhouse gases, and dust.²⁴

Several psychiatric healthcare institutions operating in heritage complexes in Germany implement overall strategies that aim at maintaining environmental balance and reducing negative impact as part of their corporate responsibility and contribution to civil society. Klinikum Weissenhof-Weinsberg (former Königliche Heilanstalt Weinsberg, established in 1903²⁵ in Baden-Württemberg) states in its *Grüner Kompass* that the clinics reduced their energy consumption by one-third from 1998²⁶ and sets further ambitious goals including the use of solar energy and several measures connected with the daily functioning of the hospital, such as numerous IT solution to reduce the excessive use of paper, encouraging employees to use public transport and walk, and focusing on the circular economy approach oriented towards recycling and waste management. This means not only that the hospital kitchen and canteen rely on local resources with fewer products of animal origin, but also

babinski-stawia-na-nowoczesnosc?version=textual [access: 10 November 2021] and personal communication with the hospital administration on 28 September 2021.

23 Andrzej Kiejna and Małgorzata Wójtowicz, *Prowincjonalny Psychiatryczny Zakład Lecznico-Opiekuńczy w Lubiążu, 1830–1912*, Wrocław 2002.

24 Data from the summary of the EU financially supported project. Summary available at: <https://mapadotacji.gov.pl/projekty/753220/?lang=en> and hospital website: <https://lubszpital.pl/fundusze-europejskie/modernizacja-energetyczna-9-budynkow-wojewodzkiego-szpitala-dla-nerwowo-i-psychicznie-chorych-w-lubiazu/> [access: 10 November 2021].

25 Daniela Knaebel and Uwe Zenth (eds.), *Von der Königlichen Heilanstalt Weinsberg zum Klinikum am Weissenhof 1903–2003: Festschrift "100-Jahre,"* Weinsberg 2003, p. 6, https://www.klinikum-weissenhof.de/fileadmin/user_upload/Weinsberg/Mediathek/Allgemeine_Flyer/Festschrift [access: 10 September 2019].

26 Brochure: *Der Grüne Kompass, Klinikum am Weissenhof*, 2021, p. 16, https://www.klinikum-weissenhof.de/fileadmin/user_upload/Weinsberg/News_Veranstaltungen/Gruener_Kompass_KaW.pdf [access: 18 November 2021].



Figure 3. Photovoltaic farm in the former vegetable garden near an old glasshouse in the southern part of Babiński Clinical Hospital in Krakow-Kobierzyn. Part of attempts to diversify energy resources and improve the energy efficiency of the hospital, October 2021. Photo: Anna Staniewska

organic waste is composted and supplies the local biogas plant. Further actions are also linked with the contemporary use and maintenance of the historical park in which the hospital is located, which covers forty-three hectares.

Green spaces

Ward gardens, decorative entrance areas, and landscape parks, together with farmlands and fields in and around historical mental hospitals, played not only aesthetic roles but were together considered as an important element creating a therapeutic environment of the institution. In the past, airing courts which evolved into gardens adjoining separate pavilion wards were intended as closed spaces for patients' daily walks and exercise. Landscape parks and ornamental grounds provided space for longer walks and amusement understood as cheering up the troubled mind by the soothing views of nature and beauty of landscape. Farms and fields were cultivated as an economic necessity to feed the residents of the institution but work on the land was also a part of the occupational therapy for some tranquil patients. Woods and deliberately planted lines of trees and alleys offered screening from curious looks. Nowadays, green spaces are still of great importance providing an opportunity to conduct

many activities from the rich spectrum of green therapies supporting conventional treatment and psychotherapy. While small ward gardens are typically still cultivated during horticultural therapy, park areas need more complex care. Also, farms, orchards, and agricultural land are not oriented towards maximising crops and delivering food anymore, but instead focus on the process of patient inclusion, enhancing satisfaction from activities and gaining new skills since current scientific research provides much evidence of the beneficial influence of gardening on mental health and wellbeing. These areas are more often maintained by social enterprises employing former patients, who in this way can resume work after prolonged periods of psychiatric treatment and crisis.²⁷ Agricultural land, fields, and orchards have also been treated as a kind of spare land allowing the growth of the institution through building new pavilions, also the contemporary ones, which can accommodate the most sophisticated new equipment and provide room for advanced medical interventions. Although nature displays high levels of adaptability, parks and gardens around mental institutions established more than a hundred years ago are also ageing and are vulnerable to extreme weather conditions like heatwaves and drought, occurring increasingly often due to climate change.

In the aforementioned Klinikum am Weissenhof, the plan of green actions refers also to the historical park of 3800 trees and ten kilometres of walking paths. As part of the adaptation to climate change, some old trees which are badly affected by current conditions, such as sycamores, beeches, or spruces are partly replaced with more resistant species called the “future trees,” such as holm oaks, checker trees, Turkey oaks, European hop hornbeams, Japanese pagoda trees, sorb trees, and pink silk trees,²⁸ which grew in historical European gardens, albeit as an exotic rarity. Other actions are aimed at improving the local microclimate by providing places for birds to nest, planting flower meadows that are friendly to bees and low maintenance, instead of manicured

27 Such enterprises were established at Babiński Clinical Hospital in Krakow-Kobierzyn and on the grounds of the former San Giovanni Hospital in Trieste.

28 Press release *Klinikum am Weissenhof pflanzt Zukunftsbäume* as part of the broader program of the reduction of CO₂ emissions in various types of clinics all over Germany in the project *KLIK green – Krankenhaus trifft Klimaschutz* [Hospitals meet climate protection], https://www.klik-krankenhaus.de/fileadmin/user_upload/Pressemitteilungen/2021-06-29_Klinikum_am_Weissenhof_pflanzt_Zukunftsbäume.pdf [access: 18 November 2021].

lawns, and designing natural gardens with a wide range of plants to improve biodiversity. Further measures include also the recommendation of glyphosate-free plant protection products or no sprays at all, reduction of salt use for winter service, restricted only to driveways, and keeping deadwood in the park to attract birds.²⁹

Water

In historical mental asylums, water was a key resource that not only provided access to quality potable water, which in itself often improved the patients' state of health, but also contributed to maintaining personal hygiene and the hygiene of the whole institution as an environment. Access to water was often the key factor that influenced the choice of site for building an institution. The construction brief often defined water supply requirements with reference to the number of prospect patients.³⁰ The issue gained further importance with the growing popularity of water therapy as a healing method for acute insanity (hot and cold baths, showers)³¹ and spa treatment of mild nervous symptoms.³² Water was also considered as an element of garden pleasures and important compositional feature of the parks. A fountain in the admission part of the complex or in front of the administrative building demonstrated aesthetic taste and helped build the institution's reputation; it was also a symbol of luxury in an institution that treated mostly pauper patients. Although deep ponds and running water streams were generally avoided to prevent patients from potential drowning and suicide, fountains and drinkers were considered as appropriate for them to quench thirst with clean potable water. Technical installations included water pipes, several reservoirs, pump stations, sewage treatment plants, and often water towers, which at the beginning of the 20th century were interesting examples of

29 *Der Grüne Kompass...*, op. cit., p. 19.

30 Anna Staniewska et al., "Values of the Historical Parks and Gardens of Psychiatric Hospitals in Kulparków and Kobierzyn as the Basis for Their Revalorization," [in:] *Wiadomości Konserwatorskie – Journal of Heritage Conservation*, vol. 67 (2021), pp. 32–34.

31 Stephanie C. Cox, Clare Hocking, and Deborah Payne, "Showers: From a Violent Treatment to an Agent of Cleansing," [in:] *History of Psychiatry*, vol. 30, no. 1 (March 2019), pp. 58–76.

32 Edward Shorter, *A History of Psychiatry: From the Era of the Asylum to the Age of Prozac*, New York - Chichester - Brisbane 1997, p. 120.

technically advanced constructions in concrete. In some places, asylums were connected to municipal waterworks like in Krakow-Kobierzyn, where the installation brought water not only to the hospital, but also the neighbouring area.

Nowadays, most institutions have already introduced effective water-saving systems due to financial reasons. Perhaps much can be done with the possible rainwater collection for gardening purposes during torrential rain episodes to balance increasingly frequent and prolonged periods of drought. What is more, in the larger context, historical mental hospital complexes with their parks can act as an element of green infrastructure, capturing humidity and creating beneficial microclimate conditions – highly appreciated and needed for a healthcare setting – provided that they are not excessively densified with new structures.

Conclusion

The specific value of psychiatric hospital complexes from the beginning of the 20th century lies in the complexity of the applied solutions and their originally intended self-sufficiency. Although the technologies used at that time were appropriate for the era of steam and electricity, and based on fossil resources, the way the assemblies functioned favoured the circular economy, which can be used by introducing modern solutions improving energy efficiency and saving resources.

William A. F. Browne, Scottish asylums reformer, argued in 1837:

a perfect asylum may appear to be a Utopia; “a sight to dream of, not to see.” It would be miserable policy to gratify the ambition of the heart so far, or to pall the keen appetite for doing good by admitting that any attempt had succeeded in placing such retreats in complete accordance with the necessities of the diseased mind. [...] But near approaches have been made to what reason and humanity point out as the standard of excellence. From these, and from that standard itself, materials may be obtained for the construction of a model which may serve to show how far distant we still are from what must be the object of every enlightened mind, and by what means that object is to be arrived at.³³

33 William A. F. Browne, *What Asylums Were, Are, and Ought to Be Being the Substance of Five Lectures Delivered before the Managers of the Montrose Royal Lunatic Asylum*, Edinburgh 1837, p. 176.

Attempts at individual pro-climate actions and joint strategies may seem equally utopian today. However, many activities currently undertaken in mental health centres are attempts to reintroduce simple solutions that make users realise that even the most sophisticated achievements of mankind in the field of medicine only confirm that humans are a part of nature, and our actions never remain without impact on the environment in which we live.

Adaptation to climate change, increasingly perceptible in the last decade, also coincides with the need to follow the development of psychiatry and modern approach to treatment. Supporting advanced and precisely administered pharmacotherapy through a spectrum of supportive therapies (including those related to being in nature and garden surroundings) helps to preserve the *genius loci* of psychiatric hospitals from the beginning of the last century, with their park and garden surroundings. In terms of caring for historical gardens, whose plant material lives to old age, it is a chance to renew them and extend their life, adapting to more difficult climatic conditions, such as higher temperatures and lower rainfall.

It is an opportunity to introduce changes that can simultaneously improve the comfort of treating patients and the working conditions of medical staff, but at the same time will become a continuation of the original intentions of the creators of the facilities, which was to form a balanced microworld supporting treatment. Operating as a part of one spatial complex, former insane asylums can undertake coherent actions in their areas and monitor the effects.

The Resurrection of Kołobrzeg: Adaptation of the City to the Postwar Reality (1945–1957)

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Introduction

As a result of warfare and fierce battles for Kołobrzeg related to the Pomeranian offensive, on 18 March 1945 the “fortress city” was captured. Organised right after the victorious battle, the ceremony of Poland’s marriage with the sea became a symbolic act of Poland’s return to the sea and the reincorporation of the area of today’s West Pomerania to the motherland. As Lieutenant Colonel Piotr Jaroszewicz said during the ceremony:

In this place where you see the walls of the fortress once stood a Slavic stronghold [...]. This has always been Polish land. Here, to the Polish Baltic Sea, leads a trail marked out by the great Piast rulers – Chrobry and Krzywousty. Remember: this is history. One day, future generations will speak about this day with reverence, as we speak about our great ancestors. You are making history, just as Bolesław Chrobry and Bolesław Krzywousty once did.¹

Therefore, with all the propaganda, the morale of the soldiers and future inhabitants was boosted; it also gave meaning and purpose to

1 Edmund Dmitrów, *Niemcy i okupacja hitlerowska w oczach Polaków: Poglądy i opinie z lat 1945–1948*, Warszawa 1987, p. 283. The speech of Lt. Col. Piotr Jaroszewicz, immortalised in a reportage by Stefan Tetmajer, faithfully reflects the ideology of the so-called “Polish Western Thought” directed at the lands of Western Pomerania and also shows the factor integrating the culturally mixed society. The ideology of thoughts, attitudes, traditions, emotions, and sentiments was used for propaganda purposes and was “an objective necessity to appeal to wider circles of society.”

the future efforts of rebuilding the city. Consequently, Kołobrzeg also legitimised the rights of the new communist authorities and the ideology of the so-called “Recovered Territories.” The symbolic act of the marriage was also a kind of a foundation stone for the city, destroyed in 85–90% after the war.² However, life was slowly coming back to Kołobrzeg. The ceremony emphasised the symbolic nature of the victorious battle as well as the uniqueness of the city “restored to motherland.” This resulted in an increased interest from migrants looking for a new place to settle. The importance of the city grew, which consequently led to its resurrection with a fivefold increase in the number of inhabitants within ten years from the end of the war.³

Degradation: destruction of the city

The greatest losses related to the adaptation of the urban structure by the Germans for the purposes of defense and the course of the battle. As a result of the Red Army and Polish Army attack, the areas on the east bank of the Parsęta River suffered the most, especially the Old Town, where fights took place in the narrow streets.⁴ Apart from dwelling houses, the necessary municipal infrastructure was also destroyed: gasworks, river pumping station, port, fishing base, factories, and workshops.⁵ According to the research by Hieronim Rybicki, Kołobrzeg

2 Data from the Department of Communications, Construction and Reconstruction of the Office of the Government Plenipotentiary for Western Pomerania for May 1945, which took place in Koszalin on 12 June 1945. These estimates include the destruction after the liberation of Kołobrzeg.

3 Bronisław Sekula and Halina Orlińska, “Charakterystyka rozwoju przestrzennego Kołobrzegu (1945–1965),” [in:] *Dzieje Kołobrzegu*, ed. Henryk Lesiński, Poznań 1965, pp. 211–230.

4 According to the plan prepared by the architect Stanisław Różański and Władysław Lew from the Regional Spatial Planning Directorate in Szczecin in the years 1946–1947, it was estimated that the best preserved part of the city was the quarter of single-family housing in the area of today’s Wylotowa Street and Jedności Narodowej Street with its characteristic housing development of 2–3-storey houses with pitched roofs from the interwar period. Also in the area of Sienkiewicza Street, Jedności Narodowej Street, and Żurawia Street the homestead buildings of Kołobrzeg’s suburbs and single houses were preserved. In the southern part of the city the single-family housing and housing estates in the area of Kanał Drzewny as well as the barracks and modernist school from the 1930s were preserved. Also the eastern part of the spa district was not destroyed; single buildings were preserved.

5 Ibidem, p. 154.



Figure 1. Destruction in Kołobrzeg in March 1945. The picture shows quarters and individual buildings that survived. Map preparation: Adrianna Brechelke

suffered the greatest material and human losses among the cities of the Koszalin Voivodeship at that time.⁶

Due to the ongoing military operations and the threat of air raids, the decision was made to close the battlefield to civilians and to locate the military headquarters of the Red Army in Kołobrzeg.⁷ This made it impossible for the Polish administration to take control over the town. Instead, the public administration operated in the nearby town of Karlino, the only undestroyed town in the area. No action could be taken until after Kołobrzeg was handed over to the Polish authorities on 1 June 1945 and the first mayor, Stefan Lipicki, was selected.

6 Cities included in the study: Białogard, Bytów, Człuchów, Drawsko Pomorskie, Koszalin, Miastko, Sławno, Słupsk, Szczecinek, Świdwin, Wałcz, and Złotów. A survey prepared by the Kołobrzeg City Council in December 1945 shows the scale of destruction with respect to surviving buildings. According to this survey, 860 of the 2925 buildings survived, but all were severely damaged and in need of repair. Consequently, only one third of the buildings were actually habitable. See Hieronim Rybicki, "Początki życia polskiego w Kołobrzegu," [in:] *Dzieje Kołobrzegu*, op. cit., p. 151.

7 Due to the ongoing war, a landing was planned on Bornholm. Kołobrzeg is located at a distance of 100 km from the island.

The period of stationing of the Soviet Army in Kołobrzeg, which has not been fully investigated, contributed to the further devastation and destruction of the city. The buildings that survived were looted, set on fire, and completely destroyed by both the remaining German population and Red Army soldiers.

Reports of numerous witnesses describe the glow of fires seen over the city; the threat of collapse of destroyed buildings increased the spatial chaos.⁸ Additionally, barricaded roads, broken bridges, unpaved and mined streets, and stolen railroad tracks made communication difficult. Looters were a common phenomenon, taking out of the city valuable items that had been overlooked by the Red Army, which was collecting war loot. Acts of looting, rape, and murder also contributed to the city's destabilisation, as illustrated for example by the recollections of Marian Woźniak, who arrived in Kołobrzeg at the beginning of May 1945:

[...] demobilised soldiers joined the militia. Our main task was to liquidate the gangs that were organising themselves out of the remnants of the German army, the Germans hiding in the farms, and the Vlasoviecs⁹ hiding in the Soviet army barracks in Szczecińska Street (currently Jedności Narodowej Street). These gangs constantly attacked Polish civilians settling on these lands, robbed their property, and even committed murders. As a result of clashes with these bands, in December 1945 I was wounded.¹⁰

8 In Stefan Lipicki's memoirs the subject of destruction was mentioned: "We arrived in Kołobrzeg on 24 April 1945, encountering obstacles on the road between Karlino and Kołobrzeg in the form of scattered nails, which, by piercing the tires, made us drive at a snail's pace. [...] We arrived there at dusk. From a distance we could see Kołobrzeg, in fact only a huge glow. After entering the city limits from the direction of Białogard, we were surrounded by buildings burning along the streets. [...] The Government Plenipotentiary [...] told us that since the town had not yet been cleared of mines and the Polish team would be exposed to various dangers, he did not agree to our staying in the burning town of Kołobrzeg and sent us to Karlino." Hieronim Kroczyński, *Powojenny Kołobrzeg 1945–1950*, Kołobrzeg 2018, pp. 96–106.

9 Russian Liberation Army. Soldiers wearing ROA stripes, but directly under German orders, were particularly dangerous in operations against partisans. They were characterised by cruelty and resorted to murder, rape, and pillage. See "Rosyjska Armia Wyzwolenicza," Wikipedia, https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rosyjska_Armia_Wyzwolenicza [access: 1 June 2021].

10 Hieronim Kroczyński, *Powojenny Kołobrzeg...*, op. cit., pp. 96–106.

Administrative changes

The transfer of authority to the Polish civil administration and the possibility of managing the city's resources had a positive impact on the organisation of the city's functioning and on building the foundations of social life. One of the most urgent needs was to restore the basic sanitary condition of the city. The accounts of the first inhabitants prove that corpses were still being found in the streets and in destroyed buildings, which, considering the time of year and the state of the city, increased the risk of epidemics.¹¹ The unresolved issue of borders and the postponement of the postulated resettlement of Germans by the Potsdam Conference encouraged the return of pre-war Kołobrzeg inhabitants who had fled from the war to the countryside. Additionally, the end of hostilities in Poland allowed for the free movement of the population, which encouraged the arrival of new residents. This was influenced by the political propaganda of the Slavic roots of the cities in Recovered Territories. Data shows that among the newcomers to the city, 21.4% were repatriates (mainly from the Borderlands), 21.1% came from Warsaw and its surroundings, and the rest came mainly from the Bydgoszcz, Lublin, and Poznań provinces.¹² It was a mixture of people with different motivations, from those wishing to improve their economic situation, through migrants looking for a place to settle, to forced labourers returning from Germany. By December 1945, the city had doubled in size.¹³

This in turn led to problems with the provision of basic housing. As a result, at the turn of 1945 and 1946 a unit of the State Repatriation Office (sro) was set up, which was responsible for creating a base and distributing housing in Kołobrzeg. The settlement action began with the occupation of relatively undamaged buildings located mainly on the periphery of the city. The largest group of residents took dwellings in the western part of Kołobrzeg, in an area that was least affected by war damage. Among the buildings that were habitable, the largest group was settled in the old fishing settlement that dates back to the interwar period, in the area of today's Jedności Narodowej Street. It consisted of about sixty buildings,

11 In his book *Powojenny Kołobrzeg 1945–1950*, Hieronim Kroczyński includes the accounts of the first inhabitants of Kołobrzeg describing the difficult conditions of adaptation upon their arrival in the city. See H. Kroczyński, *op. cit.*

12 Robert Dziemba, *Historia Kołobrzegu po 1945 roku*, Kołobrzeg 2019, p. 52.

13 H. Rybicki, "Początki życia polskiego w Kołobrzegu," *op. cit.*, p. 156.

Table 1. Data on the population that arrived in Kołobrzeg after the battles and the influx of settlers in 1946 and 1947

Month	Year	Population	Including		
			Poles	Repatriants	Germans
May	1945	2200	–	No information	2200
July	1945	2540	120	No information	2420
September	1945	3439	689	No information	2750
December	1945	4612	1373	No information	3239
Inflow of settlers settled by State Repatriation Office					
June	1946	1954	1693	261	Unsettled by SRO
December	1946	3498	3037	461	Unsettled by SRO

partially taken over by the army. Another group of newcomers settled in the area of today's 1 Maja Street, also in a housing estate built in the 1930s. About fifteen buildings consisting of eight apartments each had survived there. In the eastern part of Kołobrzeg the largest number of habitable buildings were located in the former spa district, in the area of today's Fryderyka Chopina Street and Tadeusza Kościuszki Street.

Groups of houses at a distance from each other and related transportation problems polarised the community and made it difficult to conduct economic, service, or socio-cultural activities.¹⁴ Nevertheless, the dispersion of the population on the outskirts of the city initially prevented economic and service activities from creating a community and building a network of social ties. With the surge in the number of settlers in September (900 people), the gaps between residential areas began to slowly fill in.

The creation of further micro settlements and the increased role of the public administration resulted in the creation of a network of connections in Kołobrzeg, which increased the functionality of the city. An important integrating role was played by the town hall, which survived in the midst of the conflagration and was adapted to the needs of the City

¹⁴ The distance between the surviving houses in Wylotowa Street and the buildings in Tadeusza Kościuszki Street was about 5.0 km.



Figure 2. Points of concentration of new residents in June 1945 (left) and December 1945 (right). The area with the greatest destruction is marked in red. Map preparation: Adrianna Brechelke

Council, so other institutions began to agglomerate in the town centre. The first workshops that stabilised the functioning of the city were also opened, including carpentry, butchery, locksmith, painting, and construction workshops. Along with the rebuilding of industry, the first trade unions were established, which also accelerated the unification of different groups of people with common professions. Social works played an integrating role, thanks to which roads were paved, improving communication between districts. These activities were complemented by the bonds created spontaneously by the residents as part of their mutual assistance in cleaning up the immediate surroundings and adapting the apartments:

The caring neighbours boarded up the windows in two rooms and in the kitchen with boards from some old closet. In the third and smallest room, looking out on the yard, which seemed to be the warmest to us, the window was covered with a blanket. They also put up a tiny iron coal stove with a pipe in the door of the broken stove. They brought a large wooden bed, a table, two chairs, and a small cupboard, and so we were comfortably “furnished.” [...] Slowly, with perseverance, I rebuilt my Home. In the apartment, lower panes were put in the windows, leaving the upper ones still boarded up. The wallpaper was torn off, the walls were painted. After some time, I bought modest furnishings from the Liquidation Office. A big help were the things sold by German women. That is how my daughter bought curtains and

a few colourful pillows. With the coming of spring, we bought many fresh flowers from them. The apartment began to take on the appearance of a Home of which we had been deprived for six years [...].¹⁵

Most of the people that came to the town had lost their property, family and centuries-old heritage, so the essence of Helena Hoffmann's recollection is the need to adapt the new place so that it is once again recognised as one's own "Home" – not accidentally spelled with a capital letter. Having found a place of her own after many weeks of wandering, she was able to relax from the tensions of war, suppressed emotions, accumulated doubts and fears. Kołobrzeg, despite its disastrous condition, became for many a place of stabilisation after six years of war.

After the immediate needs were met, and due to a relative improvement of the housing conditions, the first cultural and educational institutions were created in 1947. A cinema was opened and periodical dance parties were organised in the city centre. The public space began to take on a new character by changing street names, rebuilding street lamps, arranging existing monuments (the war memorial in 18 March Square), and creating memorials. Despite their propagandistic overtones, these activities contributed to the residents' sense of belonging to the newly shaped city. Examples of this type of activity include, first of all, the symbolic reconstruction of the lighthouse, which served simultaneously as a memorial to the victims and a war cemetery.

Economic reconstruction plans for Kołobrzeg

In addition to the chaotic and spontaneous actions, as early as in 1946 the Town Board saw the need to create plans for rebuilding the economy. At the meeting on 30 January 1946 a need was expressed for a "scheduled planned reconstruction, based on plans that take into account: coastal protection, the fishing character of the port, the needs of state and local government institutions, and anticipated rapid development of the city."¹⁶ Although very general, these guidelines served as the basis

15 Helena Hoffman, "Druga młodość Kołobrzegu," [in:] *Historia Kołobrzegu...*, op. cit., pp. 50–51.

16 WAP w Koszalinie, Zarząd Miejski i MRN w Kołobrzegu, nr 18. "Protokół z zebrania Miejskiego Komitetu Odbudowy Kołobrzegu," [in:] *Kołobrzeg: zarys dziejów*, Tadeusz Gasztold, Hieronim Kroczyński, and Hieronim Rybicki, Poznań 1979, p. 127.

for establishing the city's elementary functions based on the historical structure with the port and its commercial function, the health resort, and the service sector. Shaping new quarters of buildings and aesthetic issues were of secondary importance, beyond the influence of local authorities due to the lack of financial possibilities. Despite these unfavourable circumstances, the efforts of the City Board resulted in an attempt to create a development plan for Kołobrzeg by the Regional Spatial Planning Office in Szczecin. It did not, however, gain the approval of the central authorities, who not only allocated funds, but also delegated qualified staff to chosen locations. The economic potential of Kołobrzeg with its low capacity port and small, dilapidated factories was insufficient and it was not yet possible to launch a health resort. The government's plans for rebuilding and reconstruction mainly concerned large cities with equally large economic potential.

Reconstruction of cities in the Recovered Territories

The rebuilding of large cities in the Recovered Territories had also symbolic and propagandistic significance. The area of the western and northern territories annexed to Poland after World War II was determined by the decision of the victorious superpowers in consequence of the implementation of the Yalta Agreements. The term "Recovered Territories" was coined at the time, together with the slogan of the return of the western and northern territories to the motherland. Evoking the Polish roots of these territories, it was intended to justify their incorporation into Poland. Therefore, an important issue considered by the authorities of that time was the advisability and scope of conservation interventions.¹⁷ In 1946, it was decided to only reconstruct historically significant monuments that could serve as a confirmation of the "return of these lands to the motherland" and the restoration/creation of Polishness. The destruction of Kołobrzeg mainly involved 19th-century buildings, so there was no reason to rebuild the ruined city centre, as buildings associated with Prussian and German history were at odds with the Polish propaganda of Piast roots. Jan Zachwatowicz explained it as follows:

17 Gregor Thum, *Obce miasto: Wrocław 1945 i potem*, Wrocław 2008, p. 366. In 1945 in Wrocław, among the then prevailing conservation theories and political situation, the question was whether the reconstruction of destroyed buildings was justified and if it would "enrich Polish cultural heritage or contribute to cultivating memories of Prussian or German times" (ibidem).

There were no adequate premises for the reconstruction in the old forms, which meant the lack of sufficient historical documentation. Therefore, the developed plan provided only for the general maintenance of the layout or direction of the former streets and for the reconstruction of valuable historic buildings, preserved at least within the city walls.¹⁸

A change in views occurred in 1948 following Wacław Podlewski's article on the cities of the western territories.¹⁹ The author divided cities into three groups: (1) undestroyed cities, (2) destroyed cities with preserved "good historic architecture," and (3) destroyed cities with preserved historic plan, but with rebuilt architecture. The distinction was important from the point of view of future planning decisions. According to this classification, Kołobrzeg was placed in the third category. In the same year, the participants of the conference of the Regional Spatial Planning Directorate in Szczecin applied this framework to determine the order of the towns to be included in the detailed reconstruction plans. Out of these three groups, Kołobrzeg was placed in the first, priority one, which became the catalyst for further decisions and actions to speed up the development and rebuilding of the city.²⁰ This was confirmed in the Six-Year Plan adopted on 21 July 1950, in which the necessity of rebuilding Kołobrzeg and concentrating on the development of industry was confirmed at the national level:

The activation of small ports based on the development of their immediate hinterland should be carried out. A fish-processing plant in Kołobrzeg, a cold storage plant in Koszalin, and six other major plants of large and medium-sized industry should be built; the production of socialist industry should be more than tripled, and employment in industry should be increased to about 27,000 people. To meet the needs

18 Jan Zachwatowicz, *Ochrona zabytków w Polsce*, Warszawa 1965, p. 62.

19 The author classifies historical cities in the Recovered Territories and indicates the basic postulates used in the creation of future development plans. He draws attention to the necessity of preserving the medieval street network through appropriate shaping of the architecture (also modern) and the necessity of making practical use of the remaining historical buildings.

20 Wacław Podlewski, "Zagadnienia odbudowy miast zabytkowych Pomorza Zachodniego," [in:] *Ochrona Zabytków*, vol. 1/3/4 (1948), pp. 110–114.



Figure 3. The marked area reflects the town development lasting until 1957. Map preparation: Adrianna Brechelke

of the working population, rebuild at least 5000 living quarters, mainly in Koszalin and Kołobrzeg.²¹

These guidelines included a programme to rebuild the port area, repair buildings on the outskirts of the city, and create new housing, mainly for port workers and fishermen. However, the rebuilding did not mean conservation work in the historic part of the city, and the devastation of these areas was exacerbated by a resolution passed by the Presidium of the Government in 1952 to continue the havoc campaign in order to obtain the number of bricks requested by the authorities.²² This resulted in the demolition of historic buildings of German provenience in the still

21 The Six-Year Plan for Economic Development and Building the Foundations of Socialism for the years 1950–1955, Polish Journal of Laws of 1950, no. 37, item 344.

22 Resolution No. 12 concerning the continuation of demolition actions in order to obtain demolition bricks to meet the needs of the state investment plan covering mainly rebuilding of Warsaw.

uninhabited city centre that could be rebuilt.²³ According to the data presented by Hieronim Rybicki, the estimated quantity of bricks transported out of Kołobrzeg amounted to 90,000,000 pieces.²⁴ It can therefore be concluded that around the stagnation zone in the historic centre of the city a surrounding development zone was created around workplaces.

New perspectives

The next stage of Kołobrzeg's dynamic development began in the late 1950s, when new housing construction started in the downtown area. It was not until then, almost ten years after the end of the war, that the state authorities provided significant funding for the reconstruction of the smaller towns in the Recovered Territories. At the 1956 district conference of the Polish United Workers' Party (PZPR), a resolution was passed in Kołobrzeg, which called for central government support for housing construction, expansion, and the launch of area industry. In 1957, a resolution was passed by the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers obliging the Ministry of Health to rebuild the local spa.²⁵ It completed the first stage of the spontaneous and grassroots reconstruction of the town and opened up possibilities for its further development, subsidised by the state. As a result, the construction of treatment facilities and sanatoriums began and housing construction accelerated, as well as the expansion of the harbour (construction of a netshop, a slip, and the purchase of specialised machinery) and the construction of municipal and service infrastructure (construction of a sewage treatment plant, a hotel, a kindergarten, and a hospital). An important document defining the direction of further activities in Kołobrzeg was the later Resolution No. 221/58 and No. 62/59 of the NERC, which established the developmental functions of the town corresponding to

23 As part of the resolution, demolition works were extended and the number of bricks to be obtained was increased. For the specified provinces the quantity of recovery was established. Their sum in 1952 amounted to 500,000,000 of which 479,000,000 (96%) were bricks from the so called Recovered Territories. The pursuit of the set goals led to the demolition of historic buildings which were suitable for renovation. Also the internal regulations of the Municipal National Council in Kołobrzeg, such as the resolution 109/1950 on the demolition action, contributed to the devastation of the preserved fabric and excessive demolition.

24 T. Gasztold, H. Kroczyński, and H. Rybicki, *Kołobrzeg...*, op. cit., p. 129.

25 Ibidem, p. 131.

particular areas: spa, leisure and tourism, sea fishing base, and services and production. This can be confirmed by the General Spatial Development Plan created in September 1960, which established the main directions of development and expansion in the modernist trend. It was only then that attention was drawn to the value of the developed areas in the centre, which had been destroyed during the war.²⁶ This was a catalyst for further development of the city, associated with intensive residential development of the city centre and the expansion of hotel and spa facilities in the spa district.

The symbolic significance of the act of “Poland’s marriage with the sea” did not affect the city’s reconstruction and development in the first post-war years. Nor did the propaganda significance of the Regained Territories induce the central authorities to take into account the needs of the smaller settlements in the area, as the reconstruction effort was concentrated on the larger cities, especially Warsaw and Gdańsk. This was a result of the tasks stipulated in the Three-Year Plan (1947–1949) related to the nationalisation of industry and agriculture, and the growth of services. Also, the slogan “The Whole Nation Is Building Its Capital” expresses the authorities’ priorities, which were the propaganda revival of Warsaw at the expense of the Recovered Territories, which were the main supply of bricks. In this situation, the local authorities, deprived of funds, undertook only the most basic activities focused primarily on creating economic bases, while the housing base relied on existing resources, leading to the consolidation of damage to the urban fabric. In this respect, it is important to recognise the role of the individual efforts of the residents, who strove to create their Home in a new place, even though initially it was even dangerous and later still not very friendly.

Conclusion

The rebirth of Kołobrzeg can be seen as an example of typical processes taking place in smaller towns in the Recovered Territories. It could be said that the slogans of the “return to the motherland” and stressing Piast roots led to further devastation of the surviving German heritage, which was treated as foreign, if not downright hostile. Similarly, the “The Whole Nation Is Building Its Capital” campaign prevented reconstruction and delayed the provision of better living conditions for the inhabitants.

26 Anna Bojar-Fijałkowska, *Kołobrzeg w Polsce Ludowej*, Koszalin 1990, p. 144.

The propaganda of the Recovered Territories or the symbolism of being wedded to the sea for the first ten years did not influence the allocation of adequate central funds to allow for the planned reconstruction. In addition, due to the lack of historical anchoring of the Recovered Territories, the rebuilding of the cities in their previous form was abandoned, according to the conservationist theories that were at the forefront in the 1950s, leading to further degradation of the urban structure of the inner city. The lack of support from the central government meant that the greatest effort in resurrecting the city was made by residents and local authorities. The image of a victorious city gave the migrant population hope of finding work and a new home. The joint effort of the local population and the self-generated socio-urban structure based on the pre-war canvass became the basis for Kołobrzeg's revival. A network of relationships based on the dependence and commitment of the inhabitants and the city authorities led to the creation of the foundations for economic reconstruction and the administrative and political foundations. This shows that the contemporary understanding of Kołobrzeg's rebuilt space is the result of successive phases of reconstruction, of which the first was crucial to the city's emergence. Through spatial actions and the imposed sanitation of the inner city, the 1950s created a canvass based on the historical street network for further expansion and functional planning.

The conclusion of the analysis is that the spontaneous development of Kołobrzeg over the course of a decade allowed the foundations of the city to be laid. Activities focused on tidying up and deconstructing the quarters of the old buildings, as well as the reconstruction of the port industry, also helped to define its functional and urban structure with services and offices in the centre, which was confirmed by the Spatial Development Plans of 1955–1989.

Moreover, Kołobrzeg's development took place simultaneously in the suburbs. This resulted in a significant expansion of the outlying buildings in relation to the dismantled centre. This disproportion, resulting from the conditions and opportunities of the time, had its consequences in the further development of the city. The postwar activities of the first stage of reconstruction resulted in the introduction of mono-functional zones in the city: the industrial port, the administrative centre, and the housing estates on the outskirts of Kołobrzeg. Through these measures, the old town and city centre constituted a kind of void surrounded by developing areas. The state authorities' concentration on the rebuilding of Warsaw protected Kołobrzeg from the socialist realist

trend and the assumptions of the Polish school of conservation, which made it possible to preserve the still legible medieval street grid. Decisions at the state level in the 1960s contributed to the introduction of modernist buildings and urban planning into the centre, which critics saw as another fatal blow for the town.²⁷ The monofunctional housing development of the district deprived it of its attractiveness and town-forming qualities, and the high apartment blocks introduced in the 1970s permanently changed the appearance and dimensions of the old town. The reduced role of the city centre in turn contributed to the concentration of social life in the spa district. With the burgeoning spa tourism, an infrastructure conducive to entertainment events was created. In addition, the growing interest of the central authorities in the Recovered Territories resulted in the organisation of a cyclical Soldier Song Festival (1968–1989) by the Main Political Board of the Polish Army. Thus, it can be concluded that the propaganda message of popular music is directly linked to the ceremony of the wedding with the sea, which constitutes a kind of bracket integrating the ideology of the Regained Territories.

27 Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, New York 2017.

The Legacy, Protection, and Future Development of the Brno Exhibition Centre

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Introduction

The Brno Exhibition Centre is a trade fair venue in Brno, the Czech Republic, which is currently owned and operated by the company Veletrhy Brno, Trade Fairs Brno. The venue first opened in 1928 and has been in operation ever since, with a short break during World War II and some years afterwards. In both Czechia and Slovakia, the Brno Exhibition Centre is very well known for being one of the finest examples of Czechoslovak modern architecture from the 1920s to the late 1950s. Unfortunately, some other qualities which add to the historical value of the exhibition centre are hard to notice from the national perspective. The Brno Exhibition Centre has a lot in common with other exhibition and trade fair venues throughout Europe, both historic and modern. Only when we observe their historical development and the way they have been operated in previous decades can we truly appreciate the legacy they collectively represent. Then we may realise that the Brno Exhibition Centre is not only a monument of modern architecture worthy of preservation, but also a place where the exhibition and trade fair tradition is kept alive. Therefore, the venue, besides meriting protection, also deserves to be further developed to meet the standards and expectations of future generations.

This brings us to the clash between development and heritage protection. The aim of the present article is to shed light on the current system of heritage protection and care in the Czech Republic, and in the city of Brno in particular, in order to explain to the international audience its shortcomings and recent setbacks. Finally, it discusses how these problems might affect the future development and protection of the legacy of the Brno Exhibition Centre.

Historical development of European exhibition venues

The history of great exhibitions has been chronicled by many authors already. It started with the world fairs held in London, Paris, and other European cities in the second half of the 19th century and stretches to the expos and other mega events at the beginning of the third millennium. However, the historical development of exhibition venues deserves a closer look.

The earliest great exhibitions were organised in cities, within the public spaces available for the occasion. Sometimes one location was used repeatedly, as in Paris, where Champ-de-Mars and Avenue des Champs-Élysées hosted a series of exhibitions from 1867 to 1937. In other cases, exhibitions were relocated across the city, as in Brussels where the exhibitions of 1888, 1910, and 1935 were each held at a different site. For this era, vast exhibition halls such as the Crystal Palace, Palais de l'Industrie, or Galerie des Machines were typical; they were usually erected only for the exposition and dismantled after the event ended.¹ With a growing number of exhibitions being organised, urban authorities recognised the benefits of having permanent exhibition grounds, and in many European cities permanent locations for events were established before World War I, for example in Leipzig, Köln am Rhein, Prague, Munich, Breslau (present-day Wrocław), Frankfurt am Main, and Lyon, to name but a few.

In the 1920s and 1930s, trade fairs and exhibitions were regarded as an inseparable part of social and cultural life, and the number of permanent exhibition grounds in European cities soared. New trade fair venues were established, for example, in Milan, Paris, and Berlin, and in other cities such as Köln am Rhein and Leipzig the older venues were rebuilt to operate as permanent exhibition centres. In some cases, new venues were created to host great exhibitions and thereafter stayed in operation as permanent trade fair grounds or exhibition centres; this happened in Brno, Poznań, London, and Barcelona. Architects who designed modern exhibition halls repeatedly took the opportunity to introduce original construction methods and new materials.² One particular type of exhibition where a new building style was intentionally employed and

1 Edward Diestelkamp, "Joseph Paxton: Landscape Gardener and Architect 1803–1865," [in:] *The Great Builders*, ed. Kenneth Powell, New York 2011, pp. 87–99.

2 Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition*, London 2008 (5th ed.), pp. 249–274, 473, 633.

presented to the general public was the building exhibitions; their legacy consists of model house estates, which can be found today in several European cities. On the other hand, the urban design of newly constructed exhibition venues in the 1920s and 1930s remained deeply embedded in the Beaux-Arts tradition.³ In the interwar years, some of the European exhibition companies that are the leading trade fair organisers today began to operate, as well as two leading institutions in the field: Bureau International des Expositions, an intergovernmental body that oversees world exhibitions (established in 1928), and the Global Association of the Exhibition Industry (established in 1925 under the name Union des Foires Internationales by then prominent trade fair organisers). In the 1920s and 1930s, permanent exhibition venues became an inherent part of the urban landscape of European cities. This first generation of venues served as both exhibitions and trade fairs, and their halls were intended for seasonal exhibitions only.

The rise of the iron curtain following World War II marked the beginning of the era of large industrial trade fairs. These were organised to support local industry and boost international trade. In small countries, there was often just one venue that served as the national showcase or shop window to the nation. All over Europe existing exhibition centres were repaired, rebuilt, and expanded. Paris, Leipzig, Poznań, Brno, Prague, Milan, Belgrade, Hannover, Köln am Rhein, Stuttgart, Zürich, Basel, and Vienna, among many other cities, continued with their industrial trade fairs. The venues constructed in this stage were similar to those from the interwar period. The exhibition halls were not yet intended for winter use and each hall had an architectural form of its own. Because the periodically repeated industrial trade fairs soon occupied the capacity of permanent exhibition centres almost completely, temporary exhibitions once again had to be staged in non-permanent venues. This, on the other hand, gave their organisers the opportunity to use the events as a tool for urban regeneration. The potential of these events was particularly recognised and cultivated in postwar Germany. The tradition of IGAS and BUGAS, that is, Internationale Gartenbauausstellungen [International Garden and Building Exhibitions] and Deutsche

3 Javier Monclús, "International Exhibitions and Urban Design Visions," [in:] *Expo Cities Urban Change* (BIE Bulletin 2018), pp. 9–26, <https://www.bie-paris.org/site/en/publications/annual-bulletin/annual-bulletin-archive> [access: 3 December 2021].

Bundesgartenschauen [National Garden Shows], is still alive in Germany today, and the exhibitions are organised regularly with cities bidding for the event and taking turns;⁴ the temporary exhibition site for the show is turned into a public park after the exhibition ends. That way the city and its communities benefit directly from the event. Looking at some prominent international exhibitions of the mentioned era, namely the Festival of Britain 1951, INTERBAU 1957⁵, and Expo Bruxelles 1958, we can see that in the 1950s the new type of urban design based on the ideas of Le Corbusier prevailed in the exhibition venues and replaced the traditional style.⁶

The most common present-day form of permanent exhibition centres started to develop in the 1970s, when the big industrial trade fairs that were traditionally held once or twice a year were replaced by smaller specialised industrial shows organised in rapid succession throughout the year.⁷ Newly established venues consisted of spacious halls set in a geometric pattern and connected to each other, whose layout allowed quick changes of exhibition set-ups. We can see this concept applied in Nuremberg (1973), Düsseldorf (1971), Madrid (1980), and Lyon (1984). A very similar scheme was used during the renovation of older venues, for example Barcelona Montjuïc or Köln am Rhein. The same geometrical pattern is typically applied in the latest European trade fair venues, like Milano Rho (2005), Stuttgart (2007), Barcelona Gran Via (2007), and Bilbao (2005). According to Javier Monclús, the existence of these urban megastructures can be attributed to a “paradigm shift in urban design” and represents a “kind of technological urbanism,” whose aim was “to overcome traditional views of buildings as isolated objects.”⁸ Monclús also notes that it was the oil crisis of the 1970s that “rendered

4 Deutsche Bundesgartenschau GmbH, *50 Jahre Bundesgartenschauen, Festschrift zur Geschichte und Zukunft der Bundes- und Internationalen Gartenschauen in Deutschland*, ed. Helga Panten, Bonn 2001, p. 197.

5 Karl Friedhelm Fischer, “Berlin’s International Building Exhibitions 1957 and 1984/87,” [in:] *Exhibitions and the Development of Modern Planning Culture*, eds. Robert Freestone and Marco Amati, London 2016, pp. 261–276.

6 J. Monclús, “International Exhibitions...,” op. cit., pp. 16–17.

7 Dušan Pavlů, *Veletrhy a výstavy: Kultura, komunikace, multimédia, marketing*, Příbram 2009, pp. 53–54.

8 Javier Monclús, “International Exhibition and Urban Design Paradigms,” [in:] *Exhibitions and the Development of Modern Planning Culture*, op. cit., pp. 225–241.

megastructures unrealisable.”⁹ However, he fails to notice the fact that modern permanent trade fair venues actually employ the same kind of technological urbanism.

The Brno Exhibition Centre and its architecture

We have just seen that in the 1920s permanent exhibition centres arose all across Europe, with Brno being a typical example of such a historical venue. In the decades afterwards, the Brno Exhibition Centre – as well as other trade fair grounds – underwent many changes that carved each venue into its unique shape. Still, because the venues were all shaped by the same processes, they have a lot in common and bear more resemblance to one another than to the rest of the city in which they are located, be it Leipzig, Brno, Poznań, or Budapest.

When the new exhibition centre in Brno opened its doors in 1928, it was its architecture that immediately attracted attention. Most of the buildings were modern, simple structures from reinforced concrete, glass, and steel (with additional touches of wood and red bricks). The urban layout proposed by architect Josef Kalous (1889–1958) was a traditional one, based on two axes stretched along both wings of the main exhibition hall. But despite this conventional scheme, the venue had such a modern vibe that it inspired one commentator to praise the unity of the individual parts in a complete whole and the complexity of the venue’s style,¹⁰ while another author wondered incredulously how a city like Brno could so confidently rise to such an achievement.¹¹ This reminds us that it was in no way a matter of course, and what was accomplished in Brno in the 1920s was really something exceptional. The list of architects who took part in the task of creating Brno’s new venue reads like a history textbook of Czech architecture. Individual pavilions of the exhibition centre were designed by Pavel Janák (1882–1956), Josef Gočár (1880–1945), Emil Králík (1880–1946), Bohumír Čermák (1882–1961), Jiří Kroha (1893–1974), Bohuslav Fuchs (1895–1972), Josef Havlíček (1899–1961), Oldřich Starý (1884–1971), Jaroslav Rössler (1886–1964), and Kamil Roškot (1886–1945), to name just the most respected architects. Older architects were mostly the disciples of Jan Kotěra (1871–1923), who followed the lead

9 J. Monclús, “International Exhibition...,” op. cit., pp. 17–19.

10 Karel Čapek, *Lidové noviny*, vol. 36 (26 May 1928).

11 Jaroslav B. Zýka, “Výstava soudobé kultury v Brně,” [in:] *Salon*, vol. 7 (1928), pp. 1–3.

of their teacher at the beginning of their careers, but in Brno they all adhered to the new style in architecture and presented buildings of pure, abstract forms. Therefore, the Brno Exhibition Centre stands today as a witness of the city's position as one of the birthplaces of modern architecture in Europe. The same is true, of course, with respect to other buildings from the same period in Brno, including the celebrated villa of the Tugendhat family, which was declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2001, or the housing estate Nový dům [New House], which was, along with other European interwar colonies, awarded the European Heritage Label in 2020.

Though the Brno Exhibition Centre is better known to laymen for being a trade fair venue than for being a heritage site, experts and scholars have been aware of its architectural qualities for a long time, even without any formal designation. The reputation of the exhibition venue's architecture in fact outshone the sole historic building situated on the site: the residence building with an interior designed by Adolf Loos in 1923, which in the 1950s was incorporated into the exhibition centre. Only the recent research by Jana Kořínková and her colleagues (from 2017) has shed some light on the original scope of Loos' work.¹²

Many European exhibition venues suffered badly during World War II and their halls were damaged or destroyed by bombs and fighting. Brno was no exception, but compared to other places it escaped lightly, with most of its buildings remaining intact. Exhibitions returned to the venue in the mid-1950s, and since 1959 the International Trade Fair Brno has been organised annually. For this extensive display of Czechoslovak industrial production new pavilions were erected, which helped to increase the available exhibition space and also further enrich the venue's built environment. The original pavilions represent the best of the European exhibition architecture of the 1920s, and the later halls, namely the large halls with their innovative steel-tube roof structure, attest to the form the European trade fair venues typically took from the late 1940s to the 1960s.

During the 1950s, all the pavilions of the Brno Exhibition Centre were considered as contemporary architecture, although of great artistic

12 Jana Kořínková, "Zámeček na Starém Brně: K úpravám brněnského sídla Viktora Bauera," [in:], *Evropán Adolf Loos: Nejen brněnské stopy*, eds. Jindřich Chatrný, Dagmar Černoušková, and Jana Kořínková, Brno 2020, pp. 193–249.



Figure 1. The main pavilion from 1928, formerly the Palace of Industry and Trade, on the postcard from the 1950s. © Trade Fairs Brno archive

value.¹³ However, by the end of the 1950s the building production had changed significantly because new materials and technologies together with novel artistic ways and means were introduced, and consequently art historians and architects started to praise the older pavilions and halls dating back to the interwar years also for the historic value they represented.¹⁴

Due to the transition from annually organised universal industrial fairs to smaller specialised events run regularly throughout the year, there was no need to expand the Brno Exhibition Centre in the 1970s and 1980s. Instead, the older pavilions were reconstructed and many of them were given a new purpose. For example, the former Pavilion of the Academy of Fine Arts (Josef Gočár, 1928) was converted into an office building with its main exhibition hall serving as a room for the mainframe computer. In the Morava Pavilion (Vlastimil Chroust, 1928) a PBX system

13 František Kalivoda et al., *Brno, vůně jednoho města*, Brno 1959, pp. 186–218.

14 Iloš Crhonek, *Brněnské výstaviště: Výstavba areálu 1928–1968*, Brno 1968, p. 107.

was located, and the adjacent Brno Pavilion (Bohuslav Fuchs, 1928) hosted the local post office branch. Within the historic interior by Adolf Loos in the Chateau building, a canteen for trade fair company employees was situated following reconstruction. The model apartment house (Josef Havlíček, 1928) was converted into an office building and the model family house (Oldřich Starý, 1928) served for some time as a police station, before later being turned into a kindergarten, and finally today the same building houses doctors' offices.¹⁵ Though the use of historic pavilions today generally deviates from the original idea, it is also true that all buildings were reconstructed under the supervision of the National Heritage Institute and were regularly cared for during the 1970s and 1980s. The importance of the Brno Exhibition Centre in the history of Czechoslovak architecture is further underlined by the fact that the thorough reconstruction of Hall A (formerly the Palace of Industry and Trade by Josef Kalous and Jaroslav Valenta, 1928), which took place in 1978–1981, was one of the first such endeavours; in fact, it was the first restoration of a modern architectural monument carried out in Czechoslovakia.

The latest development of the Brno Exhibition Centre is typical of the abandonment of historic pavilions and transitions of activities into new halls. This period started in the early 1990s with the change in global economy triggered by the collapse of socialism in the countries of Eastern and Central Europe. New contemporary venues in many traditional European trade fair cities were established, consisting of large-scale exhibition halls better suited to the needs of the exhibition industry today. We can observe this scenario in Leipzig (1996), Munich (1998), Prague (2002), Milan (2005), Stuttgart (2007), and Barcelona (2007). In most of these cities the straightforward transfer of business activities to new venues made it perfectly clear that new uses would have to be found for the old historic venues or their halls might be dismantled and the areas transformed. The latter fate befell the old venues in Stuttgart and Munich, where the aging halls were not considered worthy of preservation. In Leipzig, Prague, and Barcelona, the historic exhibition centres, or at least some of their halls, are an important part of the city landscape and their dismantling was therefore out of the question. In those cities the municipalities went to great pains to find appropriate new uses for the former

¹⁵ Information based on the materials and plans in the Trade Fair Brno company's archive.

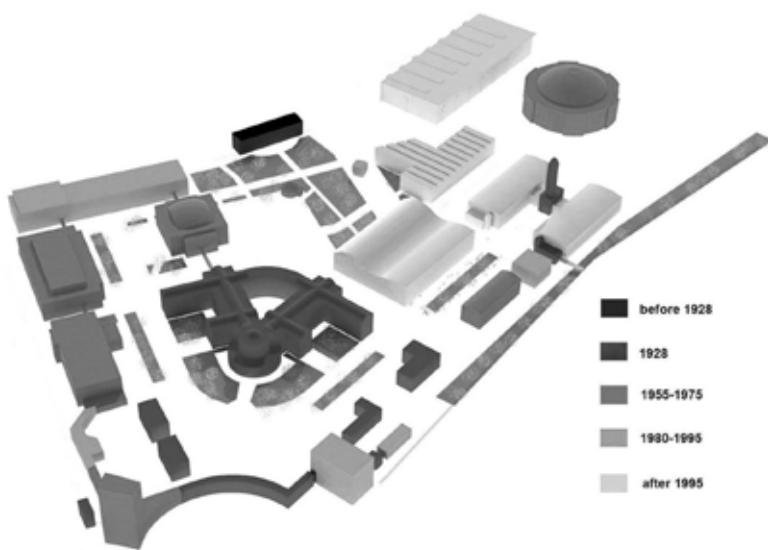


Figure 2. Building development of Brno Exhibition Centre from the 1920s to the 2020s. Illustration: Lenka Stepankova

exhibition areas. Something similar happened in Brno, where modern halls were also gradually added to the exhibition centre. The change started with the new G1 and G2 halls in 1996. Then Hall V (2000), Hall F (2003), and finally Hall P (2009) were completed. The complex of modern halls absorbed most of the trade fair-related activities, and consequently, the historic part of the exhibition centre was paid less attention. The problem in Brno is that the venue was still treated as a whole and the shift was not recognised and acknowledged.

Today, the Brno Exhibition Centre is both a modern trade fair venue and historic exhibition site with notable architectural monuments, including almost twenty listed buildings and artworks, as well as several others deserving the attention of architecture experts. Because the management of the venue in previous decades concentrated primarily on the new development and construction of spacious contemporary halls, the historic pavilions have gradually fallen into disrepair and are at present in need of extensive reconstruction. In fact, the whole historic part of the venue should be reconsidered and redeveloped, and this brings us to the questions connected with its protection and some existing problems

of heritage protection and care in the Czech Republic and, more specifically, Brno.

Heritage protection and care in Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic

In 1958, the Památkový zákon [Heritage Law]¹⁶ was issued, which formally acknowledged and further established the system of heritage care and protection in Czechoslovakia. This Heritage Law distinguished three main categories of protected items: buildings and other unmovable structures, movable objects such as artworks and sculptures, and archaeological sites and findings. Any such item could be declared a cultural monument, while the most valuable ones could gain the status of a national cultural monument. The main objective of the law was to define the responsibilities of the owners and to specify the institutional framework to provide expert support and supervision. The institutions established by this law were later renamed and reorganised according to the then existing system of public administration and local government, but their activities and responsibilities directly preceded those of the National Heritage Institute (Národní památkový ústav) today. Two important facts about the then established system of heritage protection and care are important in relation to the legacy of the Brno Exhibition Centre. First, the law assumed that all cultural monument owners are public institutions or state-owned companies, so they are all in one way or another subordinated to the central government. Second, the law introduced for the very first time *památkové rezervace* [protected historical areas], considered to be the historic core areas of cities.

In 1987, the Heritage Law was rewritten¹⁷ to reflect the growing attention paid to historic cities and their preservation, and introduced protected heritage areas (*památkové zóny*), which enabled the protection of not only the historic town centres, but also, among others, villages, urban landscapes, and industrial sites. The same law also established the Ústřední seznam kulturních památek [Central Catalogue of Cultural Monuments]; therefore, the term “listed building” can be used when

16 Zákon č. 22/1958 sb. Zákon o kulturních památkách, 1958, <https://www.zakonyprolidi.cz/cs/1958-22> [access: 3 December 2021].

17 Zákon č. 20/1987 Sb. Zákon České národní rady o státní památkové péči, 1987, <https://www.zakonyprolidi.cz/cs/1987-20> [access: 3 December 2021].

discussing architectural cultural monuments. After the change of the political and economic system in 1989, the law was slightly modified to reflect changes in society, but its main objective remained. Problems began to accumulate when the entire legal environment in which the law was originally embedded began to gradually change. Because these problems to some extent influence the care of the exhibition centre's legacy, they deserve closer consideration. The first problem represents the conflict of interests between the private owners, who maintain their property and quite often seek to maximise their profit, and the public interest in sustaining the architectural legacy. This inherent conflict between private and public interests appears also in many other fields of human activity and the debate about the appropriate extent of property rights restrictions is a regular part of political life. This is perhaps an ongoing issue with no clear answer. However, in the Czech Republic today this problem has specific consequences that are worth mentioning.

After the collapse of the socialist regime, there was a major demand to weaken the central government and assign more power to local authorities and territorial public administrations. Therefore, for example, building permits are issued by the building offices that execute the powers of the state apparatus, but which are part of the municipal administration or territorial public administration. The municipal office of a given city has its department responsible for heritage care and protection, which is authorised to issue statements in the building permit procedure. This department should follow the expertise and statements of the appropriate branch of the National Heritage Institute, which, on the other hand, has little or no executive power within the building permit application procedure and is not in the position to control the performance of the conditions under which any building permit was issued. The protected heritage areas introduced by the 1987 Heritage Law are decreed by the Ministry of Culture, which has superior authority over the National Heritage Institute, but it is the territorial public administration that can issue a plan of their maintenance and detailed regulation. Spatial planning also reflects the existence of protected heritage areas; here, the municipal administration is responsible for obtaining the mandatory spatial planning documentation and its implementation for the future development of the city, including construction works, but also for the care of the architectural legacy. In short, although the processes of heritage care and protection, spatial planning, and building permits all revolve around the protection of public interests, in recent decades they

have become very complicated and often mutually contradicting. Sometimes these processes place stakeholders in the position of responsibility without executive powers, as in the case of heritage protection. Sometimes stakeholders find themselves in an inherent conflict of interest, as in the case of the municipal administration, which is responsible for both development and overseeing the restriction of that development.

For almost a decade now, since 2012, the local branch of the National Heritage Institute in Brno has requested that the Ministry of Culture should declare new protected heritage areas in the city of Brno. Although the underlying idea is rarely questioned, heated debate continues to rage about the actual size of these zones. What is far from clear is their real impact on both the city and the individual stakeholders, namely, municipalities and property owners, because the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Regional Development are currently simultaneously preparing a new Heritage Law¹⁸ and a new Building Law,¹⁹ respectively. Furthermore, there is another problem of heritage protection in Brno that makes experts from the National Heritage Institute anxious about the architectural legacy of the city. In 2016, it was found that when the Heritage Law became effective in 1987, many buildings were put on the list later than the law allowed, and therefore are not granted the status of cultural monument today. This concerns approximately 700 buildings in the city of Brno and another 700 in other cities of the South Moravian Region. Notably, it was not a developer that first brought the case to court, but the territorial administration of the South Moravian Region because they needed a building permit to reconstruct a historic hospital building in Tišnov. The scope of the problem illustrates the fact that at the current speed, it would take the Ministry of Culture about forty years to properly register all the buildings in the South Moravian Region following the legal process required today. Therefore, many art historians and heritage care professionals regard the existence of protected heritage areas as indispensable for the protection of many valuable buildings in Brno.

18 Information about the new Heritage Law can be accessed on the web page of the Ministry of Culture, <https://www.mkcr.cz/priprava-noveho-pamatkového-zákona-255.html> [access: 2 December 2021].

19 Information about the New Building Law can be accessed on the web page of the Ministry of Regional Development, <https://www.mmr.cz/cs/microsites/nsz/uvod> [access: 2 December 2021].

The protection of the legacy of the Brno Exhibition Centre

The very first building at the Brno Exhibition Centre declared a historic monument worthy of protection and special care was Zámeček, the former residence of the Bauer family, featuring the interior by Adolf Loos. This building is commonly referred to as the Chateau, though its character is more that of a mansion. Zámeček was confiscated from the Bauers' heirs in 1946, and while making an inventory of the building, the authority responsible at the time, Státní památková správa [State Heritage Administration], designated the building to be an architectural monument in 1947.²⁰

At the end of the 1950s, the buildings of the exhibition centre started to be appreciated not only for their architectural qualities, but also as a part of the cultural legacy of the city. Prominent buildings from 1928 were declared cultural monuments in 1958, and several others only a few years later. However, the whole exhibition centre was further treated as a contemporary venue where older buildings were continuously replaced by newer ones when the exhibition traffic so required. From the 1970s until the 1990s, within a period of intensive reconstruction works, some of the smaller pavilions were converted for purposes other than exhibiting, while the spacious exhibition halls remained in operation upon their renovation. Although some historical pavilions were replaced by new ones, the number of protected buildings outweighed the number of demolished ones.

After 1987, when the new Heritage Law became effective, the whole Brno Exhibition Centre was listed as a cultural monument, as it was registered in the Central Catalogue of Cultural Monuments. In the early 1990s the Trade Fairs Brno company launched the process of rebuilding the venue by adding new halls, and therefore started to protest against the form and extent of venue protection. The objections did not primarily concern the buildings that were declared cultural monuments in previous years, but rather, as the company management noted, that the new form of protection also covers the temporary or outdated structures of little artistic or user value. Negotiations, or rather a legal battle consisting of shifting paperwork between Trade Fairs Brno and the Ministry of Culture, lasted a decade before the conflict was finally resolved. Since the beginning of the new millennium, the important buildings

²⁰ J. Kořínková, "Zámeček na Starém Brně...", op. cit., p. 245.



Figure 3. Modern halls in the western part of the exhibition centre on the aerial photograph from 2009. © Trade Fairs Brno archive

of the Brno Exhibition Centre have been listed individually,²¹ which has given the trade fair company leeway to rebuild the venue to better meet the needs of the trade fair industry. Therefore, the western part of the Brno Exhibition Centre with contemporary spacious halls now resembles the other present-day European trade fair venues and we can rightfully expect these halls to become part of the legacy in the future.

Today none of the listed buildings of the Brno Exhibition Centre are at risk of losing their status as cultural monuments; they were mostly inscribed on the list long before 1987. Because the entire exhibition venue is recognised as an important heritage site, it is expected that in the near future it will be declared a protected heritage area according to the proposal of the National Heritage Institute. The question remains what happens next. We have seen once before that the trade fair company rejected such an extensive form of protection in order to be able to redevelop the venue. If the Brno Exhibition Centre should remain in operation, it

21 Národní památkový ústav, "Areál výstaviště se zámkem," [in:] *Ústřední seznam kulturních památek*, <https://www.pamatkovykatalog.cz/brnenske-veletrhy-a-vystavy-14762977> [access: 3 December 2021].

has to sustain the changes and alterations made to the individual buildings and to the whole venue again in the future. The crucial difference between the typical historic area within the city and the exhibition venue is the long-term stability of the structures; while in the city buildings remain the same, a typical exhibition centre evolves permanently and its pavilions and halls are repeatedly altered. This constant change is in itself part of the cultural legacy of exhibition centres and through such a permanent redevelopment process, new worthy architectural elements can be added to the existing ones. The problem of the current system of heritage protection is that it is too focused on sustaining buildings and structures, and is not inclined to acknowledge an intangible legacy – which, according to heritage professionals, threatens the heritage itself.

Conclusion

The Brno Exhibition Centre has always been regarded by Czech architects and art historians as an important cultural monument demonstrating the excellence of Czechoslovakian architecture in the interwar period and the late 1950s, and as a component of the exhibition tradition that led to the successful Czechoslovakian performances at world expositions in Brussels, Osaka, and Montreal. Last but not least, for many decades it has been considered a part of the image of the city of Brno and thus a considerable part of its identity. From the European perspective, the urban design, layout, and architecture of the Brno Exhibition Centre can be appreciated even more. Exhibition centres and modern trade fair venues in Europe, with their common history and shared features, can be regarded as specialised urban spaces, of which the Brno Exhibition Centre is a typical example. The contemporary modern halls of the Brno Exhibition Centre and their pattern represent the technological urbanism typical of trade fair venues since the 1970s. The older halls from the late 1950s chronicle the postwar era of great universal industrial fairs that were organised in cities throughout Europe. The oldest historical pavilions from the 1920s, together with the buildings of the New House estate dating from the same period, are a monument to exhibitions at the beginning of the 20th century, which then had the power to communicate ideas crucial to society. Though these valuable buildings were repeatedly modified in the past, together they still represent a monument of a particular cultural phenomenon: exhibitions and trade fairs.

Two problems of the current heritage protection and care system in the Czech Republic related to the care of the legacy of the Brno Exhibition

Centre have been discussed. First is the inability to grasp the fact that the sole existence of a business venue centred on trade fairs represents a part of an intangible cultural legacy which is worth preserving, though it might require relinquishing some of its individual physical elements. The care of an exhibition centre's legacy requires a different approach from that of the traditional historic city or an industrial heritage site, even if it is to some extent similar to both. The second problem represents the fact that heritage care lacks the right tools to actually protect all the values that the Brno Exhibition Centre represents, even if they have been acknowledged. The whole system of heritage protection and care evolved mainly to stop or prevent unfavourable changes of the built environment. Therefore, it can hardly cope with the situation when the protection of the venue actually requires new development. It has no means to influence some important decisions made by the owner or public authorities, such as selling the property or dividing the venue. If the full scope of the legacy of the Brno Exhibition Centre is to be preserved for future generations, two measures addressing the abovementioned problems must be implemented. First, further interdisciplinary research and debate between heritage professionals, art historians, urban planning experts, management and marketing specialists, economists, and politicians is needed to fully understand both the historic value and future potential of the exhibition centre. Second, any new development strategy and projects should be grounded in this theoretical background.

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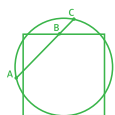
The Ravens House
**the seat of the International Cultural Centre
in the Main Square in Kraków**

The work of the International Cultural Centre focuses on a multi-dimensional approach to cultural heritage. Its interests include: the cumulative legacy of European civilisation, Central Europe's multiculturalism, memory and identity, dialogue between cultures and societies, the preservation of historic sites and artefacts, cultural policies, the phenomenon of the historical city, and also the origins and development of modern art.

The ICC commenced its work in 1991 during the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) held in Kraków, when representatives of West European and former Eastern Bloc countries met to discuss matters of culture and heritage for the first time since the fall of the Iron Curtain. The ICC was the first cultural institution established in Poland on the initiative of the first non-communist government, headed by Tadeusz Mazowiecki, and Kraków was selected as its base. The choice was not accidental as for many centuries Kraków has been both a laboratory of heritage-related thought and an important European metropolis. Ever since its foundation, the ICC has been located in The Ravens House, a historic building dating back to the Middle Ages. It is situated in the Main Market Square, at the very heart of Kraków's Old Town. This location in both Kraków and Central Europe facilitates the ongoing implementation of our mission to support the cultural integration of Europe and preserve its cultural heritage. Through its active membership in a number of cultural networks, organisations, and associations, the ICC is a Polish voice in the international debate on cultural heritage issues, and at the same time it prepares the local public for, and involves them in, this debate. The ICC works to accomplish its mission in Kraków and for Kraków, but also across borders, for Poland and Central Europe.

The present volume is the outcome of the 6th Heritage Forum of Central Europe: Heritage and Development, which took place on 16–18 June 2021. The main goal of the 6th Forum was to survey the relationship between cultural heritage and growth. The aim of such juxtaposition was not merely to state that heritage can have a direct impact on development. Rather, we asked several questions on the nature of development and its components.

The book consists of articles addressing many significant challenges faced by the cultural heritage sector. Their topics include: considering the importance and role of cultural heritage in spatial planning and urban renovation, exploring the potential of tangible and intangible heritage in achieving the goals of sustainable growth, the New European Bauhaus, the necessity – but also inevitability – of cooperation with civic society representatives, acknowledging grassroots initiatives and social participation with a view to reclaim and revive historic monuments, opening up to new interpretations of heritage.



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