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The construction of Middle Eastern museology in the context of power–knowledge relationship

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The construction of Middle Eastern museology in the context of power–knowledge relationship
The museum has been an important instrument in the construction of the past since the nineteenth century. It has been a symbol of modernization as an institution built in all capitals in Europe from the nineteenth century. In terms of the Middle East, the museum has represented an institution that reflects development within the framework of modernization movements. Developing regional museums in this context has not only been used as a means of imperialist annexation but also, for local rulers, a means of attaining Western standards of modernity. In the first case, the construction of the museum is about revealing the construction of the past and emphasising the role played by the ancestors of Western power. In this study, the power–knowledge relationships behind the development of the museum as an institution in the Middle East is examined.

Keywords: museum; Middle East; archaeology; memory; power–knowledge

Introduction

The social sciences examine human and social relations. After the industrial revolution, Western information power investigated the Other by making this an object of study. Orientalism, art history and archeology all became means of researching the Other. The Other, described in terms such as "pre-Asian", "Near East" and "East", which is close to the European centre, corresponds to the region conceptualised over time as the "Middle East". The borders of the region were determined based on the area across which the religion of Islam spread. The importance of the museum at this point was its role in making the Other an object of study. In this context, it should be noted that the geographical area of the spread of Islam and the scope of the Middle Eastern sections of Western museums are similar.

The hegemonic power of elites was an important ideological tool in the era of nationalisation in Europe. This orientation naturalised acceptance of the idea of a nation. The significant factor here is that hegemony in the homeland is established through ideological apparatuses based on consent, whereas hegemony in the annexed territories is established through military power. This led to a negative perception of the existence of Western institutions in the Middle East.

This paper shows how the development of the museum in the Middle East progressed with the spread of imperialism. It examines the historical background of the museum's appearance in Middle Eastern society as a fundamental institution of Western knowledge and power. The

first part, which consists of two sections, explores the role of the museum as a tool for social construction. The second part examines the effect of colonialism in the Middle East and the ideology of archaeological activities that constitute the museum's main presence in the region.

Social construction of the museum idea and power relations

The term "museum" refers to the muses of ancient Greek mythology.[1] The origins of the museum lie in the Renaissance, going back to cabinets of curiosities and house of wonders. The collections that constituted these proto-museums were shaped by the tastes of the collectors. The process standardised and, with the Age of Enlightenment, museum collections became an important reference not only for private collectors but also for power in the construction of the past. Museums, as tools of information power, took their place in the memory of the city in all European capitals in the first half of the nineteenth century. The museum can be seen through the metaphor of the Roman god Janus, with its structure consisting of tangible objects and the symbols expressed by these objects.[2]

As museums took on the 'role of building society's past, their importance as institutions and places of power increased. Elites treated museum visits as an important ideological tool. The environment in which the individual participating in artistic activity grew up has intensified interest in museums and similar institutions.[3] It should be noted here that individuals tend to resemble the community from which their behaviour and actions arises. This process has been important for society's elites and has created the truth it has determined in the formation of the society.[4]

Governments also created dominant groups and built ideological symbols with them. Thus, depending on the relationship established with the culture chosen as the centre, the boundaries between the centre and subcultures were determined.[5] In this way, ruling elite used the museum as a means of communication within the structure it created.[6] As can be seen, the museum is not only a place where interesting objects from the past are collected, but also an important tool for cementing the power of knowledge.

After the industrial revolution, Western powers began to look for territories to annex for their raw materials and markets. This was necessary to continue the development of capitalism. Furthermore, they sought to minimise the influence of other states on the established order by creating monopolies. To illustrate, capitalist entrepreneurs complained that places annexed by the military were not real markets.[7] Through the dissemination of Western taste, the colonial powers tried to change the consumption habits of the population in the annexed territories in their favour. To this end, firstly, the colonising powers sought to build on their information about the annexed territory. The process included mapping the topography of the annexed region. Underground and surface resources were classified, providing access to raw material sources and taxes that could be collected from the colonised. The Europeans who annexed the

[1] HAGEN, H. A. The History of The Origin and Development of Musuem. In: H. H. Genoways and M. A. Andrei (eds.). *Museum Origins Reading in Early Museum History and Philosophy*. California: Left Coast Press, 2008, p. 40.
[2] BENNET, T. *Museums, Power, Knowledge: Selected Essays*. New York: Routledge, 2018, p. 51
[3] FYFE, G., ROSS, M. Decoding the visitor's gaze: rethinking museum visiting. In: *The Sociological Review*, 43(1), 1995, pp. 127–150.
[4] GECIENE, I. The Notion of Power in the Theories of Bourdieu, Foucault and Baudrillard. In: *Sociologija*. Mintis ir, 10, 2002, pp. 116–124.
[5] BOURDIEU, P. Symbolic Power. In: *Critique of Anthropology*, 4(13–14), 1979, pp. 77–85.
[6] SENNETT, R. *Authority*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1993, p. 29.
[7] WALLERSTEIN, I. *Historical Capitalism*. London: Verso, 1983, p. 34.

Middle East with the paradigm of modernisation built museums from this perspective. Behind these museum-building activities lay the desire to determine the relationship people established with the past.[8]

The power relationship, which started as the owner of magic and myth against the feeling of obscurity in the first societies, has been in a structure that controls and directs the circulating information. Starting from institutions such as family and kinship, the shadow of power has become the indispensable binder of all social constructions, together with the structures built as schools, factories, and educational areas.[9] For example, Bentham's panopticon design (a prison in which all prisoners can be controlled by a single person) is an example of the expression of the idea of power in the modern period. According to Foucault, this system is analogous to the transformation of the whole society into an object of knowledge by power.[10]

Since settled communities began to form, control of information sources has been important to power. In this context, humanity's first settled communities focused on defence and protection. However, over time, this idea of protection turned into the desire to exert control over structures within the city. Governments that had tried to control public spaces in the past wanted to establish hegemony over all institutions with the modern period.[11] Rather than being seen as unconditional obedience to the government, control has become the rational equivalent of seeking the government's consent.[12] Foucault describes the importance of space and time regulation in the study of power relations in the context of surveillance and punishment. Power is not only an instrument of oppression (it provokes, warns, produces); it is exercised before it is seized (power can be seized in determined forms, such as the state or social class), and is associated with both the governed and those who govern. The basic premise of this relationship is that in the relationship between knowledge and power, the truth that is shown and demonstrated is determined by power.[13] The regime of truth is a totality created for the production, organization and circulation of signs; truth is in a cyclical relationship with the system of power that produces it and the effects of power that disseminate it. Ideas and practices produced by governments will not disappear simply by saying "I do not accept". With the development of the state apparatus (finance, army, police) a new activity of power has emerged. The fact that power determines the daily behaviours, movements and attitudes of individuals is essential for the continuation of power. For instance, the knowledge that a child acquires through school education transforms that child into an object of power.[14] Symbolic violence provides the formation of truth, as seen in the concept of punishment. This relationship is seen as a normal relationship between the dominator and the dominated. The naturalization of individual behaviour through symbolic violence has transformed ways of life in terms of speech, thought and action.[15] This is recognition and acceptance between the dominant and the dominated. It illustrates the process by which the ruled tacitly accept the

[8] BENNETT, T. *The Birth of the Museum*. London: Routledge, 1995, p.79–80.
[9] HETHERINGTON, K. Foucault, the museum and the diagram. In: *The Sociological Review*, 59(3), 2001, pp. 457–475.
[10] FOUCAULT, M. *Discipline and Punish The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage, 1975, p. 251.
[11] BURKE, P. *Social History of Knowledge: From Gutenberg to Diderot*, New York: Polity Press, 2000, p. 60–61.
[12] BOCHENSKI, J. M. 'On Authority,' *Memorias del XIII Congreso Internacional de Filosofia*, 10, 1966, pp. 45–46.
[13] DELEUZE, G. *Foucault*. University of Minnesota Press, 1988, pp. 89–101.
[14] FOUCAULT, M. Truth and Power. In: C. Gordon (ed.), *Power/Knowledge Selected Interviews and Other Writings*. New York: Pantheon Book, 1980, pp. 109–115.
[15] BOURDIEU, P. *Masculine Domination*. California: Stanford University Press, 2001, p. 12.

imposed limits and often intentionally or unintentionally contribute to the domination being exercised over them.[16]

Truth is the information that the colonial power owners produced during the colonial period in order to seize dominance of the areas they annexed. Nineteenth-century colonial administrations aimed at the spatial transformation of annexed territories in this respect. In the next section, the development of the museum in the Middle East as a place that contains the starting points of history will be examined and its place in the knowledge–power construct is investigated.

The establishment of the museum in the Middle East

Construction of the past, colonialism and archaeology

The historical construction of power was formed by elections that justified governments' hegemony.[17] The hiding or destruction of documents, which are the raw material of historiography, by the hegemonic powers shows that government operates like a gigantic recording device that records the past according to its own self-perceptions. This phenomenon has ensured the permanence of hegemonic discourse with the emergence of the ruling elite.[18] Classification of all sources for historiography and putting them in an accessible form, and how the writing will be presented, evaluated, and interpreted is determined by the choices of the power that implements this action.[19] Especially, in the nineteenth century, historical literature gradually shifted to an ideological position. Historians went to the archives to find evidence to support their nationalism.[20]

Archaeology gained importance as a science in the developmental period of nationalism. Ancient Greece and Rome, along with biblical archaeology, became important references for the development of romantic nationalism. From this nationalist archaeology, "celebratory" purposes emerged, such as to glorify patriotic feelings. Myths such as traditional folktales were bent to serve the interests of power. The imperialist states, which owned the archaeological discoveries, became the owners of discoveries and the legitimate heirs of the unearthed past.[21] Europeans benefited from archaeology, which they used for their national identity, to assimilate the lands they annexed during the colonial period. To this purpose, postage stamps and coins were printed in which the archaeological artefacts annexed from colonised regions were graphically used, and artefacts from colonised culture were presented during the national celebrations.[22]

Archaeology develops in three stages in the formation of the knowledge–power relationship. Firstly, it aims to show that to show that the dominant power's ethnic identity is older and stronger than other ethnic identities, thanks to the cultural materials it possesses. Secondly, it

[16] Ibidem, p. 55.

[17] FREEMAN, C. *Egypt, Greece, and Rome: Civilizations of the Ancient Mediterranean*. Oxford University Press, 1996, pp. 10–13.

[18] THOMPSON, P. *The Voice of The Past*. Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 3.

[19] Ibidem, p. 26.

[20] IGGERS, G. *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2005, pp. 5–53.

[21] SILBERMAN, N. Promised lands and chosen peoples: The politics and poetics of archaeological narrative. In: P. L. Kohl & C. Fawcett (eds.). *Nationalism, politics, and the practice of archaeology*. Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 249–252.

[22] SILBERMAN, N. *Between Past and Present Archaeology, Ideology, and Nationalism in the Modern Middle East*. New York: Henry Holt Company, 1989, pp. 2–7.

ensures that all cultural productions are seen as valuable and respectable. Finally, it ensures that visions of the future are not built on a complete rejection of the past. Many modern states have claimed dominance over the land they control as the legal heirs of ancient civilizations, with the name of the state being the same as the historical empire.[23] Archaeology plays an important role in the construction of the future and serves as a national symbol. National symbols are based not only on victories but also on the presence of sacrificial ancestors. 'Israel's Masada and French Alesia are histories built for this.[24] When archaeology is considered alongside the construction of culture, emphasising its connection with the present will increase the reality of archaeology. It should also be noted that archaeology is a discipline that should be emphasised for all cultural systems. For example, nationalism was built on the locality of countries by making use of archaeology in the context of the romantic movement. National identity is about the continuity of the people living on the territory of the country and the importance of the citizenship bond.[25] Archaeology has provided important knowledge-building activity. Examining archaeology in the colonial period shows the development of the hegemony-building process. In this process, the act of exploration makes explorers the agents of the action, while the explored land and community are objectified by the explorers.[26]

Colonialism refers to control by people from outside the region in question. Colonialism involves an extensive web of relationships, including trade, bargaining, enslavement, genocide, and rebellion.[27] Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, archaeology has developed as a discipline that aims to be "patriotic" and hold "the memory of the land".[28] Knowledge production and dominance over the knowledge produced are important for colonial administrations, which can dominate the power relationship by defining the discourse. Archaeological knowledge, based on chronological progression, also sanctioned the discovery and annexation of other cultures in the name of science. Therefore, the idea formed that the works annexed from colonial regions would be better exhibited in Western museums. The ownership of the Elgin Marbles exhibited in the British Museum was thus affirmed.[29] Establishing knowledge dominance over ancient cities was achieved by owning artefacts obtained from the city. It also fulfilled an important function that shaped history and ideology. Realising the construction of the past on land dominated by the colonial administration aims to ensure the justification of annexation. When the people living in the area where the ancient city is located do not see the past of the ancient city as their own, it confirms this phenomenon.[30]

The view of the Muslim majority in the Middle East on archaeology is that archaeology refers to the pre-Islamic period of ignorance; they do not consider those who inhabited the

[23] KOHL, P. L. Nationalism and Archaeology: On the Constructions of Nations and the Reconstructions of the Remote Past. In: *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 27(1), (2003), pp. 223–246.

[24] SHNIREL'MAN, V. A. Nationalism and Archeology. In: *Anthropology & Archeology of Eurasia*, 52(2), 2014, pp. 13–32.

[25] TRIGGER, B. G: Romanticism, Nationalism, and Archaeology. In: P. L. Kohl & C. Fawcett (eds.). *Nationalism, politics, and the practice of archaeology*. Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 264–269.

[26] DUSSEL, E. Eurocentrism and Modernity (Introduction to the Frankfurt Lectures). In: P. A. Bove (ed.). *The Postmodernism debate in Latin* America. Duke University Press, 1993, p. 66.

[27] LOOMBA, A. *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*. London: Routledge, 1998, p. 19.

[28] BURKE, P. *A Social History of Knowledge II From the Encyclopedia to Wikipedia*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012, p. 217.

[29] MORO-ABADIA, O. The History of Archaeology as a 'Colonial Discourse. In: *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology*, 16(2), 2006, pp. 4–17.

[30] GOODE, J. F. *Negotiating for The Past Archeology, Nationalism, and Diplomacy in the Middle East, 1919–1941*. University of Texas Press, 2007, pp. 31–33.

region in ancient times to be their ancestors. Western archaeologists have stated that the people living in the region today came later and were not related to the natives of the ancient cities. For instance, there is a hypothesis that Iran, the West of Arabia, was under Persian and Sassanian control, and the Arab identity of the region was formed by Islamic conquests.[31] The colonial administration defended this argument and tried to show that ownership of land could change constantly. Thus, it was able to speak about the past of the land. This is one of the important reasons for archaeology's placement at the forefront of the colonial activities of the Western states. Interest shifted from the possession of archaeological materials from annexed regions to systematic research and production. As a result, a Eurocentric perspective dominated and the Other was defined.[32] This was achieved through three models. First, the colonialists established their settlement in the annexed territory without involving the local community. Second, the colonial powers changed local communities as a result of their relationship with them. Finally, the life of the colonised area was influenced by the culture of the colonial power's homeland. This process has been constructed on the basis that the information about the annexed region was considered "unhistorical" by the annexing community.[33] In this respect, the first step was the acceptance of the power of colonial violence. The second step determined the limits of the discourse produced during actions such as thinking, speaking and writing and it was ensured that people knew when to remain silent.[34] Postcolonial movements in the Middle East developed in relation to defensive modernisation. The official withdrawal of the colonial powers from the Middle East did not necessarily mean that they gave up their desire to maintain economic and cultural hegemony.[35]

Dominance over the colonial geography was achieved by bringing archaeological material from the colonies to the homeland. Such monuments and artefacts were exhibited in museums or in city centres. They were even used as national symbols by the colonisers.[36] For example, in Egypt or other regions annexed by Europeans, it was formed with the 'sublime' purpose of uncovering and saving the past from the people living in the region who do not understand its value.[37] For these reasons, nineteenth-century nationalism developed within the framework of modernisation movements. For example, Mehmet Ali Pasha brought in experts from the West to protect Egypt's ancient artefacts. For example, Auguste Mariette was assigned to the Egyptian Antiquities Service (1858). The process continued in the twentieth century with opposition to the colonial rule based on the concept of homeland. The formation of the nation provided the formation of cultural memory.[38]

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[31] POTTS, D. T. The Gulf Arab states and their archaeology. In: L. Meskell (ed.). *Archaeology Under Fire*. London: Routledge, 2002, pp. 195–196.

[32] BROOKS, A., YOUNG, R. Historical Archaeology and Heritage in the Middle East: A Preliminary Overwiev. In: *Historical Archaeology*, 50(4), 2016, pp. 22–35.

[33] JORDAN, K. A. Colonies, Colonialism, and Cultural Entanglement: The Archaeology of Postcolumbian Intercultural Relations. In: D. Gaimster and T. Majewski (eds.). *International Handbook of Historical Archaeology*. New York: Springer, 2009, pp. 32–34.

[34] MOGSTAD, H., TSE, L, Decolonizing Anthropology. In: *The Cambridge Journal of Anthropology*, 36 (2), pp. 53–72

[35] ALKADRY, M. G. Colonialism, Globalization and Democracy in the Decolonized Middle East. In: *Administrative Theory & Praxis*, 24(4), 2002, pp. 739–762.

[36] KOHL, P. L. Nationalism..., pp. 223–246.

[37] GOODE, J. F. Negotiating..., pp. 68–69.

[38] HASSAN, F. 2002. Memorabilia: archaeological materiality and national identity in Egypt. In: Lynn Meskell (ed.). *Archaeology Under Fire: Nationalism, Politics and Heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East*. London: Routledge, 2002, pp. 203–204.

The reaction against colonial hegemony was mainly based on national independence and freedom. While national independence involved resistance and decolonisation, freedom involved the acceptance of democratic values. Decolonisation movements were mainly directed against the two great Western powers, Britain and France, in the Middle East.[39] The nationalisation of Iranian oil was a turning point in the development of postcolonial movements. Thus, the political decolonisation struggle spread throughout the Middle East.[40] This process continued in Egypt with 'Nasser's nationalisation of the Suez Canal, after which rebellion against colonial rule spread throughout the Middle East.[41]

The main reason for the reaction against colonialism was the fact that it was a global economic network as well as the superior side in cultural relations.[42] In the construction of this idea of superiority, the distinction between the colonialist and the colonised was drawn with thick lines on the lands where colonial activities took place. For example, while the spaces where the colonial administration lived were clean and modern, while the spaces occupied by locals were not.[43]. In order to define the boundaries of the Other, the strangeness of the objects owned by the Other was emphasised and these 'local objects' became artefacts to display in museums.[44] Following this, archaeology and museums established the context of these objects by determining the period and intended use of the objects in their collections. This context also helped to define the place where the discovery took place. For example, many parts of the Middle East were named according to their relationship with the Ancient Greek and Roman past.[45] For example, the name Syria was based on ancient Greek texts referring to the country centred around Damascus.[46]

This is similar to the requirement to refer to Western researchers in the production of scientific publications by non-Western researchers, whereas Western researchers are not required to follow and refer to non-Western authors.[47] In this respect, the next section analyses the background of the museum ideology constructed in the Middle East.

The construction of Middle Eastern museums

Although museums existed before the nineteenth century, they could only be visited by aristocrats or members of the ruling class who had the right to see the objects on display. The detention of individuals in prisons and the preservation of archaeological artefacts in museums both illustrate the ideology behind the formation of institutions in this period. In addition, the exhibition of private collections also started during this period.[48] Opening museums to

[39] ALKADRY, Colonialism…

[40] SCHAYEGH, C., DI-CAPUA, Y., Why Decolonizaiton? In: *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 52, 2020, pp. 137–145.

[41] SHAKRY, O. "History without Documents": The Vexed Archives of Decolonization in the Middle East. In: *The American Historical Review*, 120(3), 2015, pp. 920–934.

[42] HAASE, D. Decolonizng Fairly-Tale Studies. In: *Marvels & Tales*, 24(1), 2010, pp. 17–38

[43] GO, J., Decolonizing Bourdieu: Colonial and Postcolonial Theory in Pierre Bourdieu's Early Work. In: *Sociological Theory*, 31 (1), pp. 49–74

[44] MCTAVISH, L. *Defining the Modern Museum: A Case Study of the Challenges of Exchange*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013, p. 6

[45] LYONS, C. L., PAPADOPOULOS, K. *The Archaeology of Colonialism*. Getty Publications, 2002, pp. 2–7

[46] TVEDTNES, J. A. The Origin of the Name "Syria". In: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 40(2), 1981, p. 139

[47] CHAKRABARTY, D. Postcoloniality and the Artifice of History: Who Speaks for 'Indian' Pasts? In: *Representations*, 37, 1992, pp. 1–26

[48] BENNET, T. Museums..., pp. 23–25.

the public ensured that objects that were under the protection of the state were transformed into "works of art" and used as a tool of hegemony in the hands of the government. In the nineteenth century, the use of museums as a means of education and acculturation and the fact that the work of art was owned by the state aimed to create "citizen consciousness".[49]

In the context of colonialism, museums were used as an important means of communication, providing a voice over the annexed territory and culture. As a result, museums became mechanisms of vision and discourse. This process cemented the museum as a national institution in the context of rising secularism's push against the power of the church in the nineteenth century. Through ideological institutions such as museums and libraries, European colonial powers exercised the power of their knowledge over the spaces they annexed. The art teachers of the British Empire trained at South Kensington Museum according to a special curriculum. The relationship between the coloniser and the territories it annexed was established through the creation of catalogues, brochures and exhibitions with similar characteristics, and the concept of taste was shaped by the influence of power. The construction of taste became ingrained as exams and student exchanges moved along the orbit of the colonial administration. The works of local artists from the colonies entered the international art market thanks to the artistic knowledge gained from the colonial centre.[50] Knowledge about the annexed colony was produced through archaeology, surface surveys and geography. The artefacts unearthed in excavations went to the colonial centre and knowledge produced from them was constructed on the basis of the institutions and the ideology of the coloniser. However, the number of artefacts unearthed in excavations meant that they needed to be preserved in the annexed region. To this end, local museums were initially established by the colonial state to ensure the safe continuation of its own knowledge production. Locality, in this framework, meant that the people were seen only as workers. The colonial administration emphasised the difference between the local people and the artefacts unearthed in excavations. The production of knowledge was based on the fact that the land was inhabited by different ethnic groups before the local population.[51] The exception to this is that in areas of the Middle East where Christian populations are concentrated, the past is supported by the Christian population. For example, the French colonial administration in Lebanon constructed the Phoenician past in education with a primordialist understanding of history. However, the British colonial administrators adopted a different method from their French counterparts. They tried to prevent the Muslim-majority Egyptians from learning about the 'past history of the Pharaohs out of concern that they might engage in a "national uprising".[52] The museum, as a place mostly connected with the bourgeoisie and aristocracy in Europe, followed a similar path in terms of local power in the Middle East.[53]

The colonialist knowledge production of the Middle East was carried out by the usurpation of the cultures of other Middle Eastern countries that came under colonial control, as Napoleon did with Egypt. This is analogous to the Roman imperial tradition of bringing artefacts from the annexed place to the centre. For example, the obelisk brought from Luxor in 1936 became a symbol, unveiled by the king of France to a crowed of 200,000 people. Important monumental

[49] GRAY, C. *The Politics of Museums*. New York: Palgrave MacMillian, 2015, p. 8.
[50] BENNET, T. Museums…, p. 8.
[51] GRAY, C. The Politics…, p. 9.
[52] WOOD, M. The Use of the Pharaonic Past in Modern Egyptian Nationalism. In: *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 35, 1998, pp.179–196.
[53] NOORANI, Y. *Culture and Hegemony in The Colonial Middle East*. New York: Palgrave MacMillian, 2010, p. 49.

structures of the ancient world were embedded in the cultures of colonial countries as their own symbols. Ownership of ancient-world artefacts constituted an important source of competition between rival states, as seen in the rivalry between the Louvre and the British Museum for the possession of antiquities during the colonial period.[54] Historical artefacts from the Middle East were included in the collections of private and public institutions in the West. The mystery over these artefacts was deciphered by experts working for the colonial administration. The Rosetta Stone, which was solved by Champollion in 1822, and the Behistun Inscription in 1847, were prominent discoveries in the West. Another important point is that the Middle East region is source of Mesopotamian myths and religious stories and is accepted as the centre of the world by the Abrahamic religions. In Western popular culture, information obtained from archaeological excavations (such as the discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb) intensified during this period. The colonial governments established scientific associations and financed research. These included the Palestine Studies Fund (1865) and the German Palestine Society (1877). Western experts headed the cultural institutes built in the Middle East during this period.[55]

Archaeological excavations in the Middle East played an important role, and museums grew with these activities. Western states were important supporters of archaeological excavations. For this purpose, they created associations and funds. Established by the British, the Egypt Exploration Fund (EEF) was the first institution to receive official permission to excavate in the Middle East. In this period, many adventurous scholars made discoveries about the past of the region. This includes ' Austen Henry Layard's work at Nineveh (1848) and ' John Turtle Wood's at Ephesus (1863). The acquisition and display of monuments was seen as the right of the colonial state. World exhibitions represented a race to demonstrate dominance over the artefacts from colonial regions. These exhibitions were organised under five headings: 1) machines produced by Westerners with technical knowledge; 2) handmade productions of people with artistic knowledge; 3) non-normal, "strange" or "monstrous" objects; 4) exhibitions which demonstrated ownership of the conquered territories; and 5) "primitive people" exhibited as trophies or for the purposes of scientific scrutiny. The short duration of the exhibitions increased the importance of the museum as an institution and permanently exhibited artefacts became a symbol of dominance over the archaeology, tourism, underground and surface resources of the colonised country. European audiences were able to acquire previously unknown (to them) information about the ancient world and the past thanks to the information presented in museums. In this way, archaeological objects became objects of knowledge for the audience.[56]

Looking at the museum through the metaphor of the perpetuation of oral knowledge through writing, the oral narratives of past cultures are fixed through the museum's power of power of exhibition and closure. From this framework, the ruling apparatus regulated the basic reference points and behavioural rituals of culture and society.[57] For example, a new paradigm was created by the romantics of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, who refused to accept that Greece, which they saw as the origin of Europe, had been influenced by Africans

[54] KOHL, P. L. Nationalism..., pp. 223–246.

[55] EMBERLING, G. *Pioneers to the Past American Archaeologists in The Middle East 1919–1920*. Chicago Press Corporation, 2010, pp. 15–18.

[56] RIGGS, C. Ancient Egypt in the Museum Concepts and Constructions. In, Alan B. Lloyd (ed.). *A Companion to Ancient Egypt*, pp. 1129–1153. West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010, p. 1129–1153.

[57] WOLFF, J. Cultural Studies and the Sociology of Culture. In: D. Inglis and J. Hughson (eds.). *The sociology of art: ways of seeing*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005, pp. 87–97.

and Semites. Instead they argued that ancient Greek culture formed without any interaction as a starting point.[58] The construction of the past emerged as an important concept at this point. Mythological references were perceived as texts emphasising the present.[59] Modern European states strengthened their power by attempting to use knowledge of the ancient world various ways. While the British fought with the Germans to claim the Greek past, the French latched onto Roman history, especially with the policies of Napoleon. High culture was measured by how much knowledge of the ancient world was possessed.[60] Memory is not only concerned with the past, both backwards and forwards, but also with the construction of the present and the future.[61] An important example in this regard is that the Ottoman museology tradition emphasises land ownership; it aimed to show that it owned the ancient Anatolian past by preserving and exhibiting artefacts. The Jerusalem Museum, a branch of the Ottoman Imperial Museum, showed that although the Ottoman Empire was in a weak position, its deep relationship with land ownership continued these ambitions for the future.[62] Moreover, the discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb (1922) popularised Egypt's Pharaonic past. Through Pharaonicism, Egypt has sought to remove itself from the Arab and Muslim regional memory and link it to Mediterranean civilisation and through it to the Hellenistic past and Europe.[63]

The museum is an important institution that embodies the past through objects and information. The French Revolution and the subsequent opening of the Louvre Palace to the public (where previously it was only accessible to aristocrats) was an important starting point in the formation of modern museums. Granting the public access to knowledge of the past was a revolutionary development. Thorough this, museums gained an important function in the historiography of power, helping to build consciousness of citizenship and the national state by designating French peasants as French citizens.[64] A similar ideology was embedded in all European states affected by the revolution. With this ideology, the museum has enabled citizens to honour their own past. Owning past masterpieces allowed museums to actively participate in the writing of the future by taking the past as reference.[65] The museum thus became an important informational tool that colonial states could benefit from. Colonial states used archaeology and museums as knowledge production machines. For example, as Curzon said of Indian archaeology surveys, "It is our duty to dig and explore, classify, reproduce and describe, copy and decipher, admire and preserve".[66] This construction continued with the colonising state's goal of creating colonised societies that think and behave like itself. For this purpose, the colonising state provided training to the elite that it wanted to benefit from among its own officials as well as the local people. Private schools built by western states were mostly

[58] BERNAL, M. *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization Volume I*. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1987, pp. 440–441.
[59] FREEMAN, C. *Egypt…,* p. 22
[60] Ibidem, pp. 648–649.
[61] ASSMANN, J. *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination*. Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp. 46–50.
[62] BEATRICE L. and TASKOMUR, H. The Imperial Museum of Antiquities in Jerusalem, 1890-1930: An Alternative Narrative. In: *Jerusalem Quarterly*, 55, 2013, pp. 6-45.
[63] WOOD, M. The Use of the Pharaonic Past in Modern Egyptian Nationalism. In: *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 35, 1998, pp.179–196.
[64] WEBER, E. *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914*. California: Stanford University Press, 1976, pp. 17–18.
[65] BAZIN, G. *Museum Age*. New York: Universe Book, 1967, p. 195.
[66] ANDERSON, B. *Imagined communities*. New York: Verso, 2006, p. 199.

built for the elite. The increase in the social status of children studying in foreign schools, thanks to the education they received and the languages they learned, increased the importance of these schools.[67] The tastes of individuals studying in these schools differed from those of the local community. Therefore the colonial power formed individuals who were dependent on it and did not fit the patterns of the local society. 'Bourdieu's concept and the argument that the cultural environment[68] of the family creates the taste of the individual shows that the taste in colonial regions is formed through education.

Determinations were made about the Middle East, the object of knowledge of the West. In this way, views on the East were legitimized and the continuation of knowledge production was ensured with these ideas.[69] The discourse created at this point transforms what is defined into an object of knowledge. As a result of that process, the discourse is accepted by those who recognize it. For example, local elites in the Middle East also used the museum discourse. Egypt is as an example of this process in the Middle East. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, under Mehmet Ali Pasha, the belief that modernisation could be achieved by becoming similar to Western countries became the dominant view across the region. This was exemplified by Egyptians who went to Europe for their studies. The personal story of Tahtavi, an important political and cultural figure of the period, details the process. Tahtavi went to France and realized the importance of museums there. When he returned to Egypt, he argued for a greater understanding of the importance of museums.[70] The first museum established in Egypt was the Bulaq Museum. It opened in 1858 and focused on the Pharaonic period. It aimed to legitimise the relationship that the West had established between Ancient Greece and Egypt. The museums built in Egypt were mostly linked to the ancient past, as were the first museums founded throughout the region. Another example is the Museum of Islamic Art, opened in Cairo in 1884 at al-Hakim Mosque.[71] The influence of the Europeans in Egypt was dominant in the emergence of the museum. The "Egyptian Community Association" (1828) was established to create a "meeting point for travellers" in Egypt. In 1839, archaeological education was provided in Egypt based on archaeological texts from the association's library. In 1835, the Egyptian Antiquities Service was established. It was announced that permission had to be obtained before removing any antiquities from Egypt and that any attempt to do otherwise would be treated as smuggling. The first law stating that antiquities belonged to Egypt was enacted in 1835. This law clarified that any antiquities to be taken out of Egypt should be subject to a permit.[72] Within the framework of this conservation policy, it was decided to establish a museum in Egypt to preserve local artefacts and enable both Egyptians and Westerners to learn about the region's ancient heritage. A building was constructed in the garden of the language school in Ezbekiye under the directorship of Tahtavi.[73] This organisation operated within the French orbit until Britain annexed Egypt in 1882.

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[67] BASU, A. *Essays in the history Indian education*. New Delhi: Concept, 1982, pp. 63–66.

[68] P. BOURDIEU P., DARBEl, A. *The Love of Art: European Art Museums and Their Public*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997, p. 136.

[69] SAID, E. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books, 1979, p. 13.

[70] TAHTAVI, R. *An Imam In Paris: Al-Tahtawi's Visit To France 1826–1831*. London: Saqi, 2011, pp. 20–21.

[71] DOYON, W. The Poetics of Egyptian Museum Practice. In: *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan*, 10, 2008, pp. 2–38.

[72] IKRAM, S, Collecting and repatriating Egypt's past: Toward a new nationalism. In: H. Silverman (ed.) *Contested Cultural Heritage: Religion, Nationalism, Erasure, and Exclusion in a Global World*. New York: Springer, 2011, pp. 141–154.

[73] REID, D. *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I*. Berkley: University of California Press, 2009, pp. 54–58.

However, 'British interest in Egypt started with the "Egyptian Research Society" well before this invasion took place. The Egyptian Research Society aimed to support excavations initiated by British archaeologists in Egypt. Before the British occupation, the removal of artefacts found during the excavations abroad was prohibited in accordance with the recommendation of the French archaeologist Auguste Mariette. In 1882, an excavation of Tell el-Maskhuta, undertaken with the support of the Egypt Exploration Fund, broke the law. After the British Museum became a patron of the excavation, the exodus of excavated artefacts abroad increased.[74] Although Egypt was under British rule, the fact that the administrators of the Egyptian Museum were French meant that most of the archaeological finds that were exported went to France. However, as stated by the British ambassador to Ottoman Empire, Sir Stratford Canning, "the increase of British dominance in the excavations will thus lead to the Louvre museum being defeated by the House of Montagu" (i.e., the British Museum).[75] Hence, many artefacts unearthed during the excavations were taken abroad by excavation teams without being recorded.[76]

The construction of the museum as a Western tool of colonial truth was realised with the establishment of archaeology and national museums across the Middle East. Subsequently, developments related to the identity of the nation occurred. Similarly, Islamic Arts museums were set up after archaeology museums, starting in the Ottoman Empire and Egypt at the beginning of the twentieth century. The first step became clear as a national museum was established, followed by the Museum of Islamic Arts. In this respect, museum development progressed according to a similar process. The spread of museums was first seen in imperialist policies and the annexation of non-Western countries by Western powers. Museums then gained visibility in the annexed territories. This led to the museum being seen outside the West as an instrument of hegemony of Western power–knowledge.

Conclusions

In terms of power, the museum has ensured that the myth of the past is fixed with objects. In the pre-museum period, the ownership of objects by individuals resulted in these collections gradually coming under the control of the state. This led to an increase in the importance of artefacts. As part of process, the museum, which was established as a means of fostering citizenship, was exported from colonising states and used as an ideological device of the West. The first reason for establishing museums outside the West was to preserve seized artefacts before they were brought to the colonial homeland. The second reason was so that colonial powers could demonstrate their power to other states and society. In this process, architectural visual culture was realised within the framework of the colonial country's architectural plans. Urban planning in colonial territories was also important in this respect. Cities built by Westerners were called new. Areas left as relatively untouched as the "old city" were characterized by decrepit buildings and disorder, while the new cities were the opposite. Cultural hegemony was created through the architectural construction of libraries, museums and similar structures. This phenomenon was aimed at the colonial homeland but also undertaken to establish hegemony over the people of the annexed region. The colonial rulers' conceptual construction of the museum was based around the important role of the ancient

[74] STEVENSON, A. Egyptian Archaeology and the Museum. *Oxford Handbooks Online*, 2015, pp. 2–3 https://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/id/eprint/1460661/1/Stevenson_Egyptian_Archaeology_and_the_Museum.pdf.
[75] KOHL, P. L. Nationalism…, pp. 223–246.
[76] MERRYMAN, J. H. *Imperialism, Art and Restitution*. Cambridge University Press, 2006, p. 227.

world in the region's past and the Western concept of these lands as the "heir to antiquity". The colonial administration determined that the people living in the Middle East were themselves settlers from other places. Thus, based on their assumed role as guardians of their antiquities, they normalised the removal of artefacts in the name of preservation. In addition, the local elite of the annexed territories saw art as a means of cultural development and visited these new museums. They also encouraged this appreciation among members of the communities they influenced.

The expansion of the museum in the Middle East went hand-in-hand with the expansion of the imperialist movement. In addition to legitimising their ownership of the annexed territories, the colonial rulers sought to establish hegemony over the country's past by means of museums and archaeology. In this way, power created memory by owning both the land and the past. They morally justified this by asserting the natural responsibility saw in themselves. This attitude is embodied in Rudyard Kipling's "white 'man's burden" metaphor. In the Middle East, that "burden" of responsibility is embodied by the museum institution, developed to save the past from local communities that do not understand its value. The museum was thus conceived of as a place that justified the post-Ottoman nation-state in the Middle East.

Today, Middle Eastern countries have themselves established and supported museums, aiming to raise the national consciousness of their citizens and demonstrate that they can and, indeed, do protect their past.

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Social Media Boost During the Pandemic: A Statistical Approach to the Case of Lithuanian Museums[1]

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Social Media Boost During the Pandemic: A Statistical Approach to the Case of Lithuanian Museums
As a disease prevention measure during the COVID-19 pandemic, museums worldwide stopped accepting visitors and increased their digital activities as an alternative. This study examines the long-term impact of COVID-19 on social media usage by Lithuanian museums from 2019 to 2021. The research questions were: "Have levels of social media usage by museums increased since the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic? If so, how has the content changed?" Statistical and content analyses of Facebook use by Lithuanian national and state museums from 2019 to 2021 revealed that social media posts increased. Quantitative analysis showed seasonal variations in activity, with a significant increase in September of each year. Qualitative analysis categorized posts into invitations to visit, publicising activities, interacting with visitors, announcements and statements. It was found that the museums mainly used social media for unidirectional information dissemination rather than interactive communication.

Keywords: museum communication; pandemic; social media; Lithuania

1 Introduction

In 2020, the lockdown caused by the COVID-19 pandemic forced more than 90% of museums worldwide to close and move their activities online.[2] Numerous studies concerning this global phenomenon have adopted a relatively short-term perspective, focusing on aspects such as sanitary measures during the initial reopening phases and online visitor services implemented in 2020. The medium- to long-term impacts remain under investigation.

This study investigates the medium-term effects of the pandemic on museums by analysing trends in social media usage. Among the various digital activities that museums initiated during lockdowns, social media usage saw the biggest increase, with 47.49% of museums worldwide using social media more after the lockdown.[3] The fundamental questions addressed by this study are, "Have levels of social media usage by museums increased since the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic? If so, how has the content changed?" Facebook, the world's top social media platform in terms of active users, is the main focus of this study.

[1] References to grant research and foundation projects. This work was supported by JSPS KAKENHI under Grant Number 23K12317. Declaration of interest statement. The author declares no conflicts of interest.
[2] ICOM, Museums, museum professionals and COVID-19, https://icom.museum/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/Report-Museums-and-COVID-19.pdf.
[3] ICOM, Museums, museum professionals…, p. 10

This medium-term study covers a three-year period from 2019 to 2021, spanning the initial phases of the pandemic. Due to the prohibition of automated data collection by major social media platforms, primarily Facebook, data acquisition had to be conducted through visual observation and manual recording. Given the nature of data collection and time constraints, the author narrowed down the parameters for selecting target cases. Cases were selected based on two criteria: (i) the ability to specify the duration of lockdowns during which museums ceased operations, and (ii) the capacity to exclude from consideration any pre-planned changes resulting from technological innovation in museums that happened to coincide with the pandemic.

One case that fits both conditions is that of Lithuania. The Republic of Lithuania is a country in northern Europe with a population of approximately 2.8 million and 110 museums. Recognizing that the selection of Lithuania as a case study may not produce globally applicable findings, the author addresses the unique characteristics of the Lithuanian context in the following section and integrates this perspective into the analysis.

2 Prior Research

2.1 Museological context of the COVID-19 pandemic and museums

Since March 2020, museum professionals and scholars have documented the impact of the pandemic and the subsequent lockdowns on museums. This section provides a summary of previous studies from two perspectives: initial restrictions and transition to online activities.

The initial restrictions included temporary closures and reopenings. The first papers published at the beginning of the pandemic show how museum managers let their staff leave their offices.[4] From a broader perspective, international organisations have conducted extensive surveys and endeavored to ascertain global trends. They mainly regarded restrictions on their activities, including the possibility of not opening up again.[5] They also conducted follow-up surveys to collect data on how the restrictions were lifted.[6] These reports documented the implementation of quarantine measures in museums.

The primary concern at reopening after the first lockdown was safety of visitors. Safety measures, including regular sanitisation protocols, were novel for some museums.[7] As tactile interaction was the least recommended activity, museum experiences for visitors with disabilities

[4] CHRISTIANSEN, Keith. The Met and the COVID crisis. *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 35(3), 2020, pp. 221–224.; BLÜHM, Andreas. The Groninger Museum Experience. In: *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 35(3), 2020, pp. 225–226; POTTS, Timothy. The J. Paul Getty Museum during the Coronavirus Crisis. In: *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 35(3), 2020, pp. 217–220. doi:10.1080/09647775.2020.1762360.

[5] ICOM, Museums, museum professionals…; NEMO, Survey on the impact of the COVID-19 situation on museums in Europe Final Report, www.ne-mo.org/fileadmin/Dateien/public/NEMO_documents/NEMO_COVID19_Report_12.05.2020.pdf; UNESCO, *Museums around the world in the face of COVID-19*, https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000373530

[6] ICOM, Museums, museum Professionals and COVID-19: Follow-up survey, 2021, https://icom.museum/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/FINAL-EN_Follow-up-survey.pdf; NEMO, Follow-up survey on the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on museums in Europe Final Report, www.ne-mo.org/fileadmin/Dateien/public/NEMO_documents/NEMO_COVID19_FollowUpReport_11.1.2021.pdf; UNESCO, Museums around the world in the face of COVID-19, https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000376729_eng

[7] SKIPPER, Philip et al. Disinfection of Contaminated Heritage Surfaces from SARS-CoV-2 Virus. In: *Journal of Conservation and Museum Studies* 19 (1), 2021, pp. 1–6.; SMITH, Kate et al. Key Lessons in Adapting Interactive Experiences for a COVID-Safe Museum. In: *Journal of Conservation and Museum Studies,* 19 (1):2, 2021, pp. 1–5.

were limited.[8] The literature demonstrates how museums successfully resumed operations post-pandemic.

The transition to online activities by museums constituted another area of focus during the pandemic. The first academic studies on museums during the COVID-19 pandemic analysed online activities in the first few months, for example, Agostino et al.'s case study of Italian museums[9] and Samaroudi et al.'s comparison of American and British cases.[10]

Numerous case studies were also developed on this subject. One approach was to provide virtual access to closed exhibition spaces. Various museums created digital copies of their closed exhibition halls and published them as virtual exhibitions.[11] In addition, museums' social media accounts showcased cancelled exhibitions.[12]

Exhibitions were not the only function of museums that transitioned to the virtual realm. Some museums shifted their educational activities online.[13] Museums' outreach activities were also often extended as staff used social media to connect with local communities.[14] Even the collection of objects took place online, with several institutions attempting to curate COVID-19-related exhibitions via the Internet.[15] Tissen depicts the overall situation as occurring across a broad range, "from physical to digital, global to local, and passive to active'.[16]

Case studies examining these online transitions have focused mainly on the nature of the activities that replaced normal functioning, rather than specific types of online activities. Social media, this study's subject, has been examined as a potential substitute for specific functions.

Some studies on museums and pandemics focus on operational challenges and online engagement strategies during crises. These studies demonstrate an ad hoc collection of responses. The next section examines the literature on social media and museums prior to the pandemic.

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[10] SAMAROUDI, Myrsini et al., Heritage in lockdown: Digital provision of memory institutions in the UK and US of America during the COVID-19 pandemic. In: *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 35(4), 2020, pp. 337–361.

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[14] CORONA, Lara. Museums and Communication: The Case of the Louvre Museum at the Covid-19 Age. In: *Humanities and Social Science Research*, 4(1), 2021, pp.15–26.; RYDER, Brittany et al. The Social Media "Magic": Virtually Engaging Visitors during COVID-19 Temporary Closures. In: *Administrative Sciences*, 11(2), 2021, p. 53.

See, for example, LAURENSON, Sarah et al. Collecting COVID-19 at National Museums Scotland. In: *Museum and Society*, 18(3), 2020, pp. 334–336.; SPENNEMANN, Dirk H.R. Curating the Contemporary: A Case for National and Local COVID-19 Collections. In: *Curator: The Museum Journal*, 65(1), 2022, pp. 27–42.; CHU, Kevin. Collecting and Archiving Asian American Stories during COVID-19. In: *Museum and Society*, 18(3), 2021, pp. 341–344.

[16] TISSEN, Liselore N. M. Culture, Corona, Crisis: Best Practices and the Future of Dutch Museums. In: *Journal of Conservation and Museum Studies*, 19(1), 2021, p. 6.

2.2 Museological context of online activities and social media in museums

Online activities had been an option for museum communication for decades before the COVID-19 pandemic. Information and communication technology (ICT), including social media, was already being utilised to attract potential visitors, interact with visitors and democratise museums. This subsection reviews studies which preceded COVID-19 to contextualise the digital shifts made in response to the pandemic.

The dominant motivation for museums to use online media, particularly websites, is to attract more visitors.[17] The same motivation led museums to use social media platforms, with museum professionals at various levels, from managers to workers using them attract potential visitors.[18]

Another incentive for museums to encourage communication through social media platforms is that they enable interactivity. Gronemann et al. proposed an analytical model of social media communications between museums and visitors based on dialogue continuity.[19] However, social media tends to be used as a tool for one-way public relations activities from museums to the public.[20]

Another expectation of social media is that it supports the democratisation of museums as authoritative institutions. In his 2013 article, Phillips focused on Wikipedia, a social media platform, concerning museum authorities.[21] In a recent study, Bosello and Van den Haak explored art museums' Instagram posts from a democratic perspective.[22] However, these discussions are limited to case studies.

As interactivity and democratisation are core notions, social media usage seems to extend previous museum activities. The museological aspects of social media usage overlook the convenience of web services. The transition of all museum operations to digital platforms through social media during the pandemic represented a novel approach, warranting examination within the context of social media use in museological institutions.

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[19] See e.g.: GRONEMANN, Sigurd Trolle, KRISTIANSEN, Erik and DROTNER, Kirsten. Mediated co-construction of museums and audiences on Facebook. In: *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 30(3), 2015, pp. 174–190.

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[21] PHILLIPS, Lori Byrd. The Temple and the Bazaar: Wikipedia as a Platform for Open Authority in Museums. In: *Curator: The Museum Journal*, 56(2), 2013, pp. 219–235.

[22] BOSELLO, Greta, and HAAK, Marcel van den. #Arttothepeople? An Exploration of Instagram's Unfulfilled Potential for Democratising Museums. In: *Museum Management and Curatorship,* 37(6), 2022, pp. 565–582.

3 Case study: Lithuanian national and state museums and social media

3.1 Basic information on Lithuanian national museums and the Lithuanian museum network

This study examines the use of social media by Lithuanian museums during the pandemic. The activities of Lithuanian museums are governed by the Lithuanian Museum Acts (*Lietuvos Respublikos muziejų įstatymas*). According to this legislation, during the period encompassed by this study (2019–2021) museums were defined as follows.

> A museum is a legal entity operating as a budgetary, public institution or any other legal form of legal entity, established in accordance with the procedure established by law, whose main activity is to collect, preserve, restore, study, exhibit and promote material and spiritual cultural values and natural objects.[23]

Given that this definition remained constant throughout the period encompassed by this study, the onset of the pandemic did not precipitate an abrupt alteration in the legal status of museums. Furthermore, in accordance with the law, the Ministry of Culture is responsible for overseeing museums in Lithuania. The Ministry of Culture systematically collects and disseminates statistical data pertaining to Lithuanian museums on an annual basis.[24]

The legislation underwent a comprehensive revision effective from 1 April 2023; however, as it falls outside the purview of this investigation, its contents will not be addressed herein.

From a total of 110 Lithuanian museums, the author narrowed down the target to simplify data collection, focusing on four national museums and 15 state museums. These represent Lithuanian museums in scale. Statistical data from the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Lithuania show that in 2021 national and state museums owned 63% of all exhibits in the nation, and 54% of annual visits were to national or state museums.[25] Table 1 shows the list of museums and their Facebook pages.

Table 1: *List of research subjects: names of museums and their Facebook pages.*

Museum Name/ Original Name in Lithuanian	**Facebook page URL – follows on from www.facebook.com/**	**Month Facebook page was started**	**Other social media accounts**
Lithuanian National Museum of Art/Lietuvos nacionalinis dailės muziejus	Lnmuziejus/	Feb 2010	Twitter, YouTube, Instagram
National Museum of Lithuania/Lietuvos nacionalinis muziejus	Lietuvosnacionalinisdailesmuziejus/	Feb 2011	YouTube, WhatsApp Instagram

[23] LIETUVOS RESPUBLIKOS SEIMAS. *Lietuvos Respublikos muziejų įstatymas,* 2021 https://e-seimas.lrs.lt/portal/legalAct/lt/TAD/TAIS.18317/OphvQWrrLV (author's translation)

[24] LIETUVOS RESPUBLIKOS KULTŪROS MINISTERIJA *Muziejai*, n.d., https://lrkm.lrv.lt/lt/veiklos-sritys/muziejai-1.

[25] Ibidem.

M. K. Čiurlionis National Museum of Art/Nacionalinis M.K. Čiurlionio dailės muziejus	CiurlionioDailesMuziejus/	Sep 2010	Twitter, YouTube, Instagram
National Museum Palace of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania/ Nacionalinis muziejus Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės valdovų rūmai	valdovurumai/	Sep 2009	YouTube, Pinterest, Instagram
Museum of Lithuanian Education History/ Lietuvos švietimo istorijos muziejus	svietimomuziejus/	Feb 2011	Instagram
Vilna Gaon Jewish Museum of History/ Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydų muziejus	tolerance.center.lt/	May 2015	YouTube, Instagram
Kaunas Ninth Fort Museum/Kauno IX forto muziejus	9fortomuziejus/	Jun 2011	YouTube,
Maironis Lithuanian Literature Museum/ Maironio lietuvių literatūros muziejus	maironio.lietuviu.literaturos. muziejus/	Dec 2015	YouTube, Instagram
Vytautas the Great War Museum/Vytauto Didžiojo karo muziejus	vytautodidziojo.karomuziejus/	Jun 2013	YouTube, Pinterest
Lithuanian Aviation Museum/Lietuvos aviacijos muziejus	AviacijosMuziejus/	Feb 2019	YouTube, Instagram
Open-Air Museum of Lithuania/Lietuvos liaudies buities muziejus	openairmuseumoflithuania/	May 2015	YouTube, Instagram
Šiauliai Aušros Museum/ Šiaulių "Aušros" muziejus	Ausrosmuziejus/	Mar 2010	YouTube, Flickr, Instagram
Trakai History Museum/ Trakų istorijos muziejus	Trakuistorijosmuziejus/	Dec 2010	Instagram
Lithuanian Theater, Music and Cinema Museum/Lietuvos teatro, muzikos ir kino muziejus	LTMKmuziejus/	May 2010	YouTube, Instagram

Lithuanian Museum of Ethnocosmology/ Lietuvos etnokosmologijos muziejus	Lietuvos-Etnokosmologijos-Muziejus-115789891805373/	Jun 2015	YouTube
Kaunas Tadas Ivanauskas Museum of Zoology/ Kauno Tado Ivanausko zoologijos muziejus	Kauno-Tado-Ivanausko-zoologijos-muziejus-253417041393611/	Jan 2012	YouTube
Vaclovas Intas National Stone Museum/ Respublikinis Vaclovo Into akmenų muziejus	–	–	–
Lithuanian Sea Museum/ Lietuvos jūrų muziejus	muziejus.lt/	Oct 2009	Twitter, YouTube
Samogitian Museum 'Alka'/Žemaičių muziejus "Alka"	muziejusalka.lt/	Apr 2011	YouTube, Instagram

*** As per data available on 1 February 2022**

3.2 Quarantine measures in Lithuania

Lithuanian museums were forced to close during lockdowns due to the COVID-19 pandemic. In total, Lithuanian museums were not allowed to accept visitors for 214 days: from 16 March 2020 to 26 April 2020 and from 7 November 2020 to 6 March 2021.

The first governmental quarantine started on 16 March 2020.[26] The quarantine measures prohibited visitation to museums until April 26, forcing museums to close their doors in this period. Even after the strictest restrictions were listed, quarantine continued and visiting museums in large groups was prohibited. On 17 June 2020, the first quarantine was completely lifted.

However, a second quarantine began on 7 November 2020 which again restricted visitation to museums.[27] The restrictions on visiting museums continued until 6 March 2021 and the quarantine ended on 1 July 2021. After the second lockdown, Lithuanian government implemented a "Passport of Possibilities (Galimybių pasas)", an electronic certification showing whether the holder had been vaccinated against COVID-19 or had obtained a negative PCR test result.[28] From 5 February 2022, the "Passport of possibilities was suspended.[29]

3.3 Digital practices in Lithuanian museums

Lithuania has been attempting to digitise its cultural heritage. The official 2009 Strategy for the Digitisation, Preservation and Access to Lithuanian Cultural Heritage document explicitly states that a LIMIS (Lithuanian Integral Museum Information System) will be developed

[26] LIETUVOS RESPUBLIKOS VYRIAUSYBĖ. *Dėl karantino Lietuvos Respublikos teritorijoje paskelbimo*, 2020a. https://e-seimas.lrs.lt/portal/legalAct/lt/TAD/deaf8694663011eaa02cacf2a861120c.

[27] LIETUVOS RESPUBLIKOS VYRIAUSYBĖ. *Dėl karantino Lietuvos Respublikos teritorijoje paskelbimo*, 2020b, https://e-seimas.lrs.lt/portal/legalAct/lt/TAD/a2b5da801f4a11eb9604df942ee8e443.

[28] VALSTYBĖS ĮMONĖ REGISTRŲ CENTRAS. *Instrukcija, kaip gauti Galimybių pasą,* 2021, https://eimin.lrv.lt/uploads/eimin/documents/files/GP_gauti.pdf.

[29] VALSTYBĖS ĮMONĖ REGISTRŲ CENTRAS. *Galimybių pasas,* n.d., https://gp.esveikata.lt.

with a budget, and that LIMIS now plays a central role.[30] The subsequent Programme for the Promotion and Preservation of Digital Cultural Heritage 2015–2020 published in 2015 stipulates that four institutions in the country will become regional centres for digitisation.[31] In other words, Lithuania was already pushing museum digitisation as a policy in the 2010s. The impetus went beyond institutional development: Kimura notes that in 2017 almost all national and public museums had begun digitisation, including the creation of metadata and digital images.[32]

Even if these are not direct indications of online activity, they show that the groundwork for online activity was in place before the pandemic began. Kimura notes that although Lithuanian national and state museums use Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and other social media services, Facebook is the most popular.[33] Given its popularity, it is reasonable to focus on Facebook when examining social media usage by Lithuanian museums.

4 Method

4.1 Data collection method: recording Facebook posts

The subject of this study is Facebook usage by state-owned Lithuanian museums. The target museums and their Facebook pages are listed in Table 1. The research focused only on the main pages of each institution for practical reasons related to data collection.

Posts were collected based on the date each one was made. The author collected posts uploaded from 1 January 2019 to 31 December 2021, took screenshots of each post on a web browser, and recorded the museum's date and name. The data was collected between October 2021 and January 2022.

The raw data from the investigation were counted to generate numerical data for statistical analysis. Two indicators were introduced: the number of posts on Facebook (NP) and the number of days each museum posted on Facebook (ND). For instance, if a museum made five posts in one day during the survey period, the NP was five and the ND was one. The NP and ND were aggregated for each month. The following subsections present the analysis methods used to study the NP and ND.

4.2 Analysis 1: Quantitative analysis

Analysis 1 examined social media use by Lithuanian museums quantitatively. The author used SPSS version 29 (IBM Corp., Armonk, NY, USA) to calculate basic statistics of monthly NP and ND from January 2019 to December 2021. Line charts based on the monthly mean of NP and ND were generated using Microsoft Excel. To examine statistical significance of increases or decreases, the author adopted the Wilcoxon signed-rank test using SPSS version 29 (IBM Corp., Armonk, NY, USA). This nonparametric test was chosen because NP and

[30] LIETUVOS RESPUBLIKOS VYRIAUSYBĖ. *Dėl Lietuvos kultūros paveldo skaitmeninimo, skaitmeninio turinio saugojimo ir prieigos strategijos patvirtinimo*, 2009, https://e-seimas.lrs.lt/portal/legalAct/lt/TAD/TAIS.345065/asr

[31] LIETUVOS RESPUBLIKOS KULTŪROS MINISTERIJA. *Dėl skaitmeninio kultūros paveldo aktualinimo ir išsaugojimo 2015-2020 metų programos patvirtinimo,* 2015, https://e-seimas.lrs.lt/portal/legalAct/lt/TAD/84c5fc10c90311e498aab3a4ca2b8d40?jfwid=5v2xfe3ci

[32] KIMURA, Aya. Digitization practices at Lithuanian museums after the LIMIS implementation (2008–2017). In: *Museologica Brunensia*, 7(2), 2018, pp. 19–33.

[33] KIMURA, Aya. Short-Term Solution for Museums at the Crisis: Application of ICT in Lithuanian Museums at Quarantine [Japanese]. In: *The journal of the Museological Society of Japan*, 46(1), 2020, pp. 71–90.

ND cannot be assumed to follow a normal distribution. The significance level was set at 5% (α=0.05).

4.3 Analysis 2: Content of social media posts

Analysis 2 looked at social media post content. The author captured screenshots of each post during data collection, as previously described, and categorised the content based on textual and visual elements. Drawing on trends in social media use within museums from the literature review, she classified posts into three primary categories: (i) attracting potential visitors, (ii) interacting with visitors and (iii) democratising museums. For posts that did not align with these categories, additional classifications were implemented during analysis.

The investigation aimed to identify potential alterations in social media content use that may have intensified during the pandemic period. Analysis 2 identified which months saw an increase in social media posts by comparing qualitative data (generated in Analysis 1) from 2019 to data from 2020 and 2021.

5 Findings

5.1 Overview of the survey

Data collection of Facebook posts by 18 Lithuanian state-owned museums from 1 January 2019 to 31 December 2021 yielded 15,957 posts. Table 2 presents an overview of each museum's yearly summary of the NP and ND. The percentage of days per year in which the museum posted on Facebook is also given to better understand the ND index. One museum—the Vaclovas Intas National Stone Museum—had no Facebook pages during this period.

Table 2: *Overview of the survey: NP and ND of each museum (2019–2021).*

Museum	**Number of posts on Facebook (NP)**				**Number of days the museum posted on Facebook (ND)**		
	2019	**2020**	**2021**	**TOTAL**	**2019**	**2020**	**2021**
Lithuanian National Museum of Art	153	235	336	724	118 (32%)	183 (50%)	229 (63%)
National Museum of Lithuania	379	466	453	1,298	232 (64%)	280 (77%)	274 (75%)
M. K. Čiurlionis National Museum of Art	414	423	414	1,251	245 (67%)	253 (69%)	298 (82%)
National Museum Palace of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania	403	374	420	1,197	213 (58%)	226 (62%)	244 (67%)
Museum of Lithuanian Education History	205	243	178	626	133 (36%)	203 (55%)	135 (37%)
Vilna Gaon Jewish Museum of History	442	377	399	1,218	232 (64%)	251 (69%)	287 (79%)
Kaunas Ninth Fort Museum	146	236	180	562	109 (30%)	141 (39%)	139 (38%)
Maironis Lithuanian Literature Museum	394	525	456	1,375	215 (59%)	244 (67%)	233 (64%)

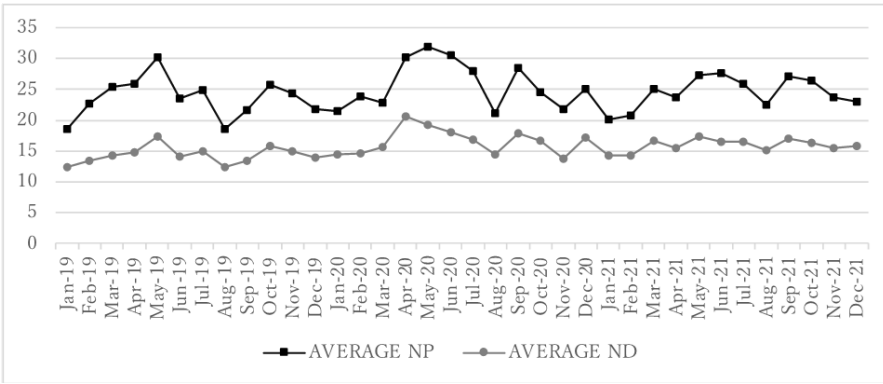
Vytautas the Great War Museum	279	293	217	789	196 (54%)	195 (53%)	156 (43%)
Lithuanian Aviation Museum	183	304	207	694	127 (35%)	216 (59%)	143 (39%)
Open-Air Museum of Lithuania	688	419	377	1,484	305 (84%)	262 (72%)	245 (67%)
Šiauliai Aušros Museum	246	261	226	733	177 (48%)	184 (50%)	177 (48%)
Trakai History Museum	129	213	202	544	111 (30%)	177 (48%)	145 (40%)
Lithuanian Theatre, Music and Cinema Museum	185	216	180	581	131 (36%)	171 (47%)	146 (40%)
Lithuanian Museum of Ethnocosmology	127	150	108	385	90 (25%)	101 (28%)	75 (21%)
Kaunas Tadas Ivanauskas Museum of Zoology	23	57	112	192	19 (5%)	49 (13%)	104 (28%)
Lithuanian Sea Museum	456	526	657	1,639	237 (65%)	250 (68%)	285 (78%)
Samogitian Museum "Alka"	245	268	152	665	203 (56%)	205 (56%)	116 (32%)
TOTAL	**5,097**	**5,586**	**5,274**	**15,957**	–	–	–

The annual totals for NP show an overall trend in social media usage from 2019 to 2021. In 2019, 18 state-owned Lithuanian museums made 5,097 posts in total. In 2020, this increased by 9.6% to 5,586 posts. The museums made 5,274 posts the next year, a decrease of 5.5%. The annual number of social media posts did not continue to increase.

5.2 Analysis 1: Quantity of social media posts

The purpose of Analysis 1 was to explore the quantitative chronological shift from 2019 to 2021. A line chart of the monthly averages is presented in Figure 1. The graph illustrates the frequent fluctuations in the NP and ND over the three years; it does not indicate any clear trends towards increasing or decreasing activity.

Fig. 1: *Changes in average NP and ND (2019–2021)*



NP: number of posts

ND: number of days each museum posted on Facebook

Although the data does depict any straightforward trends, the two lines in Figure 1 do illustrate standard features of the three years: lower NP and ND in the summer and winter seasons and higher figures in spring and autumn.

To verify the seasonal transition, two sequential line charts were generated. In Figures 2 and 3, the horizontal axis was limited to 12 months from January to December. Figure 2 shows average NP and Figure 3 shows average ND. Both graphs visually show that NP and ND followed similar trends in terms of seasonal changes.

Fig. 2: *Average NP from January to December (2019–2021)*

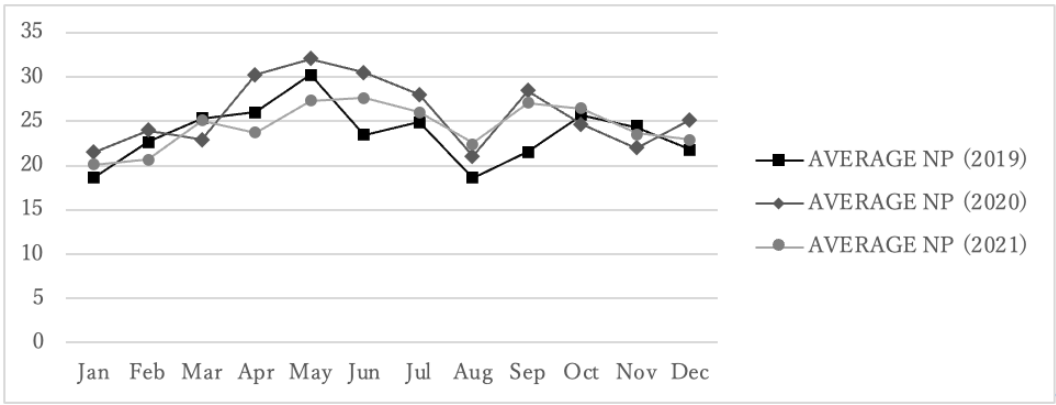
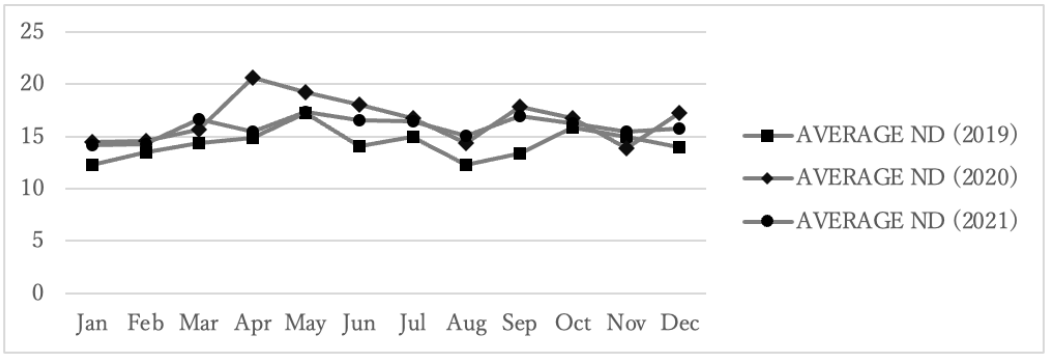


Fig. 3: *Average ND from January to December (2019–2021)*



Given that the changes from month-to-month can be explained by these seasonal trends, to examine the influence of the pandemic it was necessary to eliminate the effect of these seasonal transitions on the data. To do this, the author compared the same month in different years. Since the NP and ND data show similar tendencies, the following analysis focuses only on NP.

Wilcoxon signed-rank tests were conducted to compare the NP of each month in 2020 to the figure of the same month in 2019 (α=0.05) (Table 3), and the NP of each month in 2021 to the figure of the same month in 2019 (α=0.05) (Table 4).

Table 3: *Related-samples Wilcoxon signed-rank test of NP (2019, 2020).*

	Total (n)	Test statistic	Standard Error	Standard-ized Test Statistic	Asymptotic Sig. (Two-Sided Test)
Jan	18	95	19.326	1.397	0.162
Feb	18	99	21.095	1.067	0.286
Mar	18	87	21.11	0.497	0.619
Apr	18	127	22.943	1.809	0.07
May	18	98.5	22.946	0.567	0.571
Jun	18	122.5	21.113	2.179	*0.029
Jul	18	110.5	22.951	1.089	0.276
Aug	18	97.5	19.307	1.528	0.127
Sep	18	128	21.062	2.445	*0.014
Oct	18	82	22.897	-0.153	0.879
Nov	18	60	22.921	-1.113	0.266
Dec	18	102.5	21.101	1.232	0.218

***5% significance level (α=0.05)**

Table 4: *Related-samples Wilcoxon signed-rank test of NP (2019, 2021).*

	Total (n)	Test statistic	Standard error	Standardized test statistic	Asymptotic sig. (two-sided test)
Jan	18	74.5	17.586	0.825	0.41
Feb	18	82.5	22.937	-0.131	0.896
Mar	18	82.5	21.122	0.284	0.776
Apr	18	76	22.935	-0.414	0.679
May	18	68	22.946	-0.763	0.446
Jun	18	126	22.94	1.765	0.077
Jul	18	91	22.924	0.24	0.81
Aug	18	118.5	22.927	1.439	0.15
Sep	18	106.5	19.307	1.994	*0.046
Oct	18	87	22.946	0.065	0.948
Nov	18	63	19.248	-0.26	0.795
Dec	18	86	21.089	0.45	0.652

***5% significance level (α=0.05)**

Comparative analysis of the NP from 2019 to 2020 revealed that statistically significant increases were observed exclusively in June and September (Table 3). Furthermore, from 2019 to 2021, statistically significant increases in the NP were observed exclusively in September (Table 4). Although September is the least active month for social media engagement (Figures 2 and 3), a statistically significant increase from 2019 to 2021 was observed only in this month.

Quantitative analysis of social media engagement for the three-year periods before and after the pandemic's initial year reveals consistent seasonal variation across the three-year period, with no significant increase following the pandemic's onset. The results demonstrated that September was the only month exhibiting a statistically significant increase over the three-year period.

5.3 Analysis 2: Social media content in September

This section presents an analysis of the content of museums' social media posts. As stated in the methodology section, this analysis encompassed only those months in which there was a statistically significant increase in the quantity of social media posts from 2019 to 2020 and 2021. The only month meeting this criterion was September; 388 posts were identified from September 2019, 512 from September 2020 and 487 from September 2021.

The posts were initially sorted into three categories: attracting potential visitors, interacting with visitors, and democratising museums. Nevertheless, all posts exhibited an exclusively one-way information flow from the museum to the public, rendering the category "democratising museums" inapplicable.

Two approaches to attracting potential visitors were observed: directly inviting visitors to the museum and raising awareness of the museum's activities. Consequently, the strategies were categorised into visitor invitation and activity publicity. Also, two unanticipated elements emerged: announcements, which included information on opening hours and employment opportunities, and statements on matters deemed significant to the museum's mission.

Consequently, the content of social media posts was sorted into five primary categories: visitor invitations, publicising activities, visitor interactions, announcements and statements. Posts that did not align with these categories, such as those pertaining to modifications of profile configurations, were classified as "miscellaneous" due to their lack of explicit informational content. Table 5 presents the results of the classification, including the details of each category.

Table 5: *Number of Facebook posts by type of post (September 2019, September 2020, September 2021)*

		2019	2020	2021
Visitor invitations	Exhibitions	25	37	39
	Events	162	174	206
	Free-of-charge Sunday	11	16	17
	Souvenir	4	1	1
	Total visitor invitations	**198**	**227**	**262**
Publicising activities	Event reports	41	49	40

	Collection reports	1	2	6
	Outreach/Visitor communication	38	56	47
	Research	3	4	4
	Event reports + live stream	6	9	5
	Other activities report	12	20	19
	Introducing exhibits	28	46	26
	Museum self-introduction	6	17	5
	Education programmes	15	10	10
	Introduce online contents	3	10	18
	Total publicising activities	**153**	**223**	**180**
Visitor interaction		2	2	6
Announcements	Opening hours	6	15	6
	Job openings	1	3	5
	COVID-19 related information	0	0	8
	Total Announcement	**7**	**18**	**19**
Statements		6	8	13
Miscellaneous		25	34	6
TOTAL		**388**	**512**	**487**

5.3.1 Visitor invitation

Posts within the Visitor invitation category constituted the highest percentage of the total in any given year, with 198 in 2019, 227 in 2020 and 262 in 2021. It is noteworthy that the number continued to increase throughout the pandemic period. The content in this category related to exhibitions, events, "Free-of-charge Sundays" and souvenirs.

Exhibitions and events are the main opportunities for museums to attract visitors. Most events were linked to exhibitions but some were independent, such as a commemorative event for the artists after whom the museum is named. Events typically occurred at specified times on specific dates, with pre-registration often available online. Exhibitions ran for weeks or months. Posts about exhibitions and events invited visitors to the museum on specific days or periods.

Free-of-charge Sunday, *nemokamas sekmadienis* in Lithuanian, is a unique service in Lithuanian museums. On the final Sunday of each month, museums under the purview of the Ministry of Culture provide complimentary admission to their permanent exhibitions, a practice that commenced on 1 January 2019.[34] This practice was initiated irrespective of the pandemic.

[34] See https://lrkm.lrv.lt/lt/veikla/nemokamas-muzieju-lankymas/.

Certain museums participating in the programme organised events to coincide with this day, while others merely announced the availability of free admission.

Souvenirs functioned as promotional materials for original museum merchandise. Adverts for products exclusively available at the museum were used to incentivise people to visit; however, posts on this topic were limited.

As observed in the preceding analysis, most posts categorised as visitor invitations included specific details, mainly dates, times and the kind of experience visitors could anticipate.

5.3.2 Activity publicity

There were 153 posts associated with publicising activities in September 2019, 223 in 2020 and 180 in 2021. This figure peaked during the pandemic and subsequently declined. The content of such posts encompassed event reports (with or without live stream), collection reports, outreach/visitor communication, research, exhibit introductions, museum self-introductions, education programmes, online content introductions and reports on other types of activity. These posts encompassed all aspects of museum functions: collection, conservation, exhibition, education and research.

Event reports were predominantly associated with ongoing exhibitions, including opening events and lectures, with numerous instances of photographic and video content being disseminated. Although the event in question had concluded, these reports potentially served as promotional material for the exhibition. Outreach and visitor communication, including introductions of notable visitors and media postings, also contributed to informing potential visitors about the museum's offerings. These communications could be interpreted as indirect invitations to prospective visitors.

In addition to event announcements, museums' also posted about educational programmes. Given that September marks the commencement of the academic year, these posts primarily aimed to inform educators about the programmes available at the museum.

Conversely, there were many posts offering up content inaccessible to ordinary visitors attending the museum. These posts included introductions to exhibits that were not available to public view, research conducted within the institution that remained unfamiliar to the general populace, and reports on various internal activities of the museum.

Only two kinds of content increased in frequency through 2019 to 2021, albeit with a small sample size: collection reports, which primarily focus on donated items, and introductions to online content such as virtual exhibitions. Nevertheless, there were fewer of this type of contribution than posts encouraging people to visit the museum.

Posts publicising activities revealed that all the studied museum shared comprehensive information about their activities on social media, aligning with museums' primary function. Posts included content to encourage visits and inform the public about regular operations, potentially contributing to transparency.

However, online content overall did not increase as much as anticipated by previous studies. The peak during the pandemic and subsequent decline is addressed in the discussion section.

5.3.3 Visitor interaction

Social media is an interactive medium. However, as noted earlier, most social media posts examined in this study exhibited one-way communication of information. The limited interactions observed were primarily associated with giveaway campaigns which encouraged

audience participation. Nevertheless, these interactions did not extend to spontaneous communication with potential visitors to the museum.

5.3.4 Announcements

The posts in this category include informational communications aimed at museum visitors and stakeholders. The peak in inquiries about operational hours occurred in September 2020, during the initial year of the pandemic, due to extended closures necessitating active information dissemination. The year-over-year increase in job postings suggests that museums may have recognised social media platforms more broadly as a crucial information channel post-pandemic. Pandemic-related announcements were observed exclusively in September 2021, attributable modifications in the implementation of the "Passport of possibility".

5.3.5 Statements

Museums made statements on social media platforms commensurate with their significance. These included a congratulatory message on the academic year's commencement and posts on Holocaust Day, 23 September, regarding the importance of commemoration. Such posts demonstrate the museum fulfilling its social role via social media platforms. As with announcements, the increased frequency of statements suggests social media may have been more widely recognised as a crucial information channel in the post-pandemic era.

6 Discussion

6.1 On–site-focused information and online only information in September

As discussed earlier, quantitative analysis initially demonstrated seasonal variation in the number of social media posts by museums. The analysis further revealed that the early years of the pandemic also followed the pattern of seasonal increase, and the only month that exhibited a statistically significant increase in posts in the pandemic years 2020 and 2021 was September. Subsequently, the second half of the content analysis focused on September to examine what type of post increased due to the pandemic.

First, posts encouraging people to visit exhibitions and participate in events continued to increase from 2019 to 2021. This indicates that the primary objective for the museum was to facilitate visitor attendance. This emphasis on visitor reception aligns with other research conducted since the early stages of the pandemic to ensure the safe reopening of the museum. Attracting visitors to the museum also served as the motivation for the online activities mentioned in previous studies before the pandemic.[35]

Conversely, posts highlighting the museum's diverse activities peaked in 2020, with an increase in 2021 compared to 2019. Previous research documented the transition of educational programmes to online platforms[36] and the digitisation of collection acquisitions.[37]

However, for the analysed September periods in 2020 and 2021, which were not subject to prolonged lockdown closures in Lithuania, there was no indication of activities transitioning online. Instead, various activities occurred on-site at the museum, with only virtual exhibits receiving introductory posts. These posts allowed individuals to engage with the museum's

[35] BADELL, Museums and Social…; BOOTH, Museum Leaders' Perspectives…; FLETCHER, Social Media Uses….

[36] NOBLE, Challenges and Opportunities….

[37] LAURENSON, Collecting COVID-19 at …; SPENNEMANN, Curating the Contemporary…; CHU, Collecting and Archiving….

content without attending physically. While museums maintained active operations, they should have had sufficient material to share; however, this approach reached its culmination during the pandemic year.

6.2 Interactivity

Prior to the pandemic, social media in museums was expected to facilitate bidirectional communication. This bidirectional nature was seen as democratising, prompting a re-evaluation of museums' authoritative position. Indeed, previous studies have already pointed out that museums' social media communications tend to be one-sided.[38] Moreover, previous studies about social media usage during the pandemic, such as Samaroudi et al., also observed a similar predominance of unidirectional communication in target museums to that found the present study, despite the different investigation periods.[39]

Analysis of this study revealed the same tendency for Lithuanian case. Data in Table 5 suggests that few contributions were intended for bidirectional communication. The analysis of museum operations during the pandemic conducted for this study revealed that Lithuanian museums primarily used social media platforms for incremental information dissemination rather than to facilitate bidirectional communication.

6.3 Characteristics of Lithuanian museums and generalisation of results

When confined to posts in September, approximately half were aimed at attracting visitors to museum exhibitions and events, while the remaining half showcased the museum's online activities. In these finding, only two features were specific to the Lithuanian museum system.

The first was a post regarding the Free-of-charge Sunday programme, implemented by museums under the jurisdiction of the Lithuanian Ministry of Culture. Another was a post concerning modifications to how the Passport of possibility operated in September 2021 as prevention measures for infectious diseases and their frequency of implementation varied among countries and regions.

Lithuania-specific posts likely existed. However, as they represent a small percentage of the total, the general trend appears verifiable through comparison with cases in other regions without needing to consider regional differences.

Limitations of this study

This study presents a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the transition over a three-year period encompassing the pandemic by documenting Facebook posts. The focus was on the communication aspects of the museum, with visitor reception outside the scope of this research. The museum posts examined were primarily characterised by unidirectional information dissemination and lacked interactive elements. The visitor perspective remains a subject for future research, including a meta-analysis of previously published studies.

Conclusion

This study aimed to investigate the medium- and long-term effects of the pandemic on social media use by museums, with a specific focus on the Lithuanian context. The primary

[38] MANCA, Exploring Tensions….
[39] SAMAROUDI, Heritage in lockdown….

research question it addressed in this paper is: "Have levels of social media usage by museums increased since the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic? If so, how has the content changed?"

The studied museums created a total of 15,957 posts over three years (2019–2021). Quantitative analysis of post frequency from 2019 to 2021 revealed seasonal variations in the museum's social media activity, irrespective of the pandemic; September, typically exhibiting low post levels, was the only month where a statistically significant increase could be seen when comparing 2019 to 2020, and 2019 to 2021. The qualitative analysis categorised social media posts into visitor invitations, publicising activities, visitor interactions, announcements and statements, with fluctuations observed within each category. Despite these variations, the overall framework of content in the posts remained consistent throughout the pandemic period.

In summary, social media posts increased only in September in the years impacted by the pandemic (2020 and 2021). On-site focused information showed a consistent upward trend compared to online-only information. A constant factor was the predominant orientation toward unidirectional information provision rather than interactive communication. The findings demonstrate a discrepancy between anticipated and actual utilisation of social media by museums. This may be attributed to heightened online engagement during the pandemic. The study's significance lies in its potential to reevaluate the relationship between museums and social media in future contexts, elucidating aspects not previously discerned through individual case studies due to questions based on preconceived expectations. As this research did not analyse museums from the perspective of visitors, this aspect will be addressed in subsequent investigations.

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Transformations of Exhibitions in War-Affected Ukraine: 2024 Perspectives on Art-Driven Inclusion and Socialization

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Transformations of Exhibitions in War-Affected Ukraine: 2024 Perspectives on Art-Driven Inclusion and Socialization
This article explores the transformation of exhibition practices in Ukraine amidst the ongoing conflict, focusing on the period up to 2024. It examines the extensive damage to cultural monuments and museum collections caused by Russian aggression and highlights the adaptive strategies of Ukrainian cultural institutions. The study addresses the shift towards decolonisation, with museums increasingly prioritising Ukrainian and international artworks over Russian cultural displays. It also discusses the role of contemporary art forms, such as photography, in resisting and responding to the challenges of war. The paper also considers the emerging emphasis on accessibility for people with disabilities, driven by the growing number of people affected by war injuries. In addition, it highlights the importance of art therapy as a tool for psychological support, aiding in the emotional recovery of those affected by trauma. Through these lenses, the article highlights the resilience and innovation of Ukrainian cultural practices in the face of adversity.

Keywords: Ukraine; cultural heritage; art therapy; inclusion; decolonization

Introduction

Historical experiences show that wars affect not only people but also architectural objects. Ukraine, since the time of Kyivan Rus, has repeatedly fallen victim to brutal destruction, resulting in most monuments not surviving to this day in their original form. Destroyed buildings were often rebuilt with little care for preserving their historical appearance. The fate of Ukrainian monuments was particularly tragic in the twentieth century when they suffered first during the First World War, then as a result of the Communist struggle against religion in the 1930s and 1940s, and again during the Second World War. The destruction of the destruction of religious buildings also continued in the post-war period. The decades following the end of the Second World War blurred the memory of the horrors that armed conflicts always bring. The generations that remembered those times were gradually passing away. Destroyed cities were gradually rebuilt, living standards improved and architectural monuments were meticulously restored. European societies began to forget the destructive effects of war. This is why the

Russian aggression against Ukraine, which began on 24 February 2022, came as a real shock to Europeans and the rest of the world.[1] Due to the highly dynamic changes in the conflict, the sources analysed in the article are largely drawn from websites of, among others: UNESCO, Institute of Central Europe, Ministry of Culture, and Strategic Communications of Ukraine.

The full-scale war currently taking place in Ukraine not only has wide-ranging international political, economic, social and military consequences, it has also changed many areas of the country's socio-economic life. The protection of historical monuments, archival and museum studies, and methods for protecting and presenting art collections during the ongoing military conflict are only a few small areas in which changes have been forced upon the country.

It is clear that for the Russians, every object they shoot at takes on the character of a military facility, with no respect for international law or the rights of the civilian population. The loss of material monuments and cultural property is particularly severe. By acting this way, Russia is violating a number of international agreements, including the provisions of the 1954 Hague Convention;[2] the 1972 Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage;[3] the Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export, and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property; and provisions related to the protection of documentary heritage.[4]

The Ukrainian Ministry of Culture and Politics has kept a register since the beginning of the war documenting the scale of the losses suffered. The register is operated through an interactive platform. In the first months of the war, important historical sites were destroyed including:

- former site of the Chernihiv Regional Historical Museum named after V. V. Tarnovsky;
- Dnipropetrovsk House of Organ and Chamber Music;
- Cathedral of the Dormition of the Mother of God in Kharkiv; and
- Kharkiv Korolenko State Scientific Library.[5]

The world recognises the intentionality of the Russian war machine when it comes to the loss – often irreversible – of material cultural monuments in Ukraine. Data on cultural property devastated during the war is maintained by the Ministry of Culture and Strategic Communications. According to this data, from February 2022 to 1 August 2024, a total of 1,096

[1] PAWŁOWSKA, Aneta, Yulia IVASHKO, Serhii BELINSKYI and Andrii DMYTRENKO. The War in Ukraine: Between the Past and the Future. Historical and Existential Aspect. In: *Історико-політичні проблеми сучасного світу: Збірник наукових статей*, 47, 2023, pp. 334–346, Chernivtsi: Chernivtsi National University.

[2] *Convention for the protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict with Regulations for the Execution of the Convention, The Hague, 14 May 1954*, https://en.unesco.org/sites/default/files/1954_Convention_EN_2020.

[3] UN. *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, 16 November 1972*, https://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention-en.pdf.

[4] UN. *1970 Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property*, 14 November 1970, 2022.https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000133378.

[5] On the destruction of monuments in Ukraine in the first phase of the war: BELINSKYI, Serhii et al. Oblicza wojny na Ukrainie. Zniszczenia i koncepcje odbudowy. In: Grabarczyk Tadeusz et al. (eds.). *Narzędzia wojny, Oblicza wojny*, T. 8, 2023, pp. 15–35 and MURAVSKA, S. and HODOVANSKA, O. Organization of museums of western Ukraine after the full-scale invasion of the Russian Federation. In: *Museologica Brunensia*, 12(2), 2023, pp. 12–19.

monuments were destroyed, including 121 of national significance, 892 of local significance, and 83 so-called "newly discovered" monuments.[6]

It must be noted that the war in Ukraine varies in its intensity depending on the region. For example, at the end of 2023, Svitlana Muravska and Oksana Hodovanska described "Western Ukraine as a relatively safe territory for museums during the war"[7]. However, the more recent Russian missile attacks on Lviv, particularly on the 4 of September 2024, caused significant damage to the city's historic buildings and monuments. The destruction mainly affected buildings located in UNESCO-protected areas. Among the damaged objects were several buildings included in the State Register of Historic Monuments of Ukraine, located on Konovaltsia and Kokorudza Streets.

One of the important historical buildings damaged is the eclectic villa of Joseph Franz (completed in 1893), designed by architect Jan Perosia with interiors by Edmund Pliszewski. It should be stressed that this is a culturally and historically important site in Lviv. Its rich history brings together the transformations the city has undergone. After the First World War, Karol Richtman-Rudniewski lived in this villa. He was an engineer, an architect and a military officer, as well as an enthusiast of automobiles and passenger balloons. In the 1930s the building was owned by Count Mieczysław Chodkiewicz and his wife Felicja, and after the Soviets occupied the area it became a clinic for tuberculosis patients. More recently, the building underwent modernisation for another purpose, becoming home to the Regional Centre for Sports Medicine and Rehabilitation. The damage to the building, which is a high-class architectural monument of local significance, was severe. The windows, façade and ceilings were damaged in the explosion.

According to the Ministry of Culture and Strategic Communications, 2,185 cultural institutions have been damaged or destroyed,[8] and it is these that will be the primary focus of the authors of this text. The barbaric destruction of historic buildings, the looting and destruction of archives and museum collections are unacceptable and represent a devastating attack on Ukraine's cultural heritage. For the most part, the war damage in Ukraine is unquestionably unfavourable and difficult to accept. In particular, we are referring to the barbaric destruction of historic buildings, the looting and destruction of archives and museum collections.[9] However, the authors also identify some positive outcomes from this destruction including, for instance, the increased interest in Ukrainian art and culture within Europe.[10] Another positive aspect could be changes in how museum collections are displayed. In this regard, we have in mind

[6] KALĘBA, Julia. *Ponad tysiąc zabytków zniszczono od początku wojny w Ukrainie. Straty szacowane są w miliardach dolarów*, https://www.pap.pl/aktualnosci/ponad-tysiac-zabytkow-zniszczono-od-poczatku-wojny-w-ukrainie-straty-szacowane-sa-w.

[7] MURAVSKA and HODOVANSKA, Organization of museums ...

[8] The Odessa Journal, *The Ministry of Culture and Information Policy of Ukraine plans to create the Ukrainian Heritage Fund to protect cultural values*, https://odessa-journal.com/the-ministry-of-culture-and-information-policy-of-ukraine-plans-to-create-the-ukrainian-heritage-fund-to-protect-cultural-values/.

[9] A remarkable number of sites in the Donetsk, Kyiv, Sumy, Chernihiv, Kharkiv, Luhansk, Mykolaiv, Zaporizhia and Kherson regions have been completely destroyed. These include the Museum of History and Archaeology of Mariupol State University, the Archip Kuindzhi State Museum of Art in Mariupol (Donetsk region), the Museum of Local History in Ivankov (Kyiv region), the Museum of Ukrainian Antiquities and Tarnovsky House (Chernihiv region). See: Halyna ROSHCHYNA, Kultur und Krieg: Zerstörung und Rettung ukrainischer Archive und Museen. In: *Forum RGOW*, September 2023, https://rgow.eu/zeitschrift/2023/9/kultur-und-krieg-zerstoerung-und-rettung-ukrainischer-archive-und-museen.

[10] MCIP, Cultural Diplomacy of Ukraine: *Building Bridges Through Art and Heritage*, https://mcip.gov.ua/en/news/cultural-diplomacy-of-ukraine-building-bridges-through-art-and-heritage/.

both the issue of the choice of collections presented (e.g., moving away from the presentation of hostile Russian culture or a greater share of new media art in museums) and the modes of presentation (e.g. creating challenging display narratives instead of historical ones). Another positive change that we are likely to see is a movement towards making monuments, exhibitions and collections more accessible to people with access needs and disabilities after the conflict has ceased. This demographic is growing rapidly in Ukraine as it includes not only seniors and people with long-standing disabilities but also those who have lost mobility as a result of frontline combat or bombing. A further consequence of war addressed in this article is the issue of the psychological damage caused to both soldiers and civilians by the war. Here, the authors draw attention to the validity of using art in the form of art therapy.

Current problems of preserving Ukrainian museum collections

As has already been hinted at, the reality of the Russian–Ukrainian war has changed all areas of Ukrainian public life and has also affected such the normally conservative field of museology.

One fundamental change is that museums have shifted away from their traditional function of presenting mostly permanent exhibitions towards an approach more commonly associated with galleries by presenting temporary exhibitions. This is an outcome of the war, which poses a level of danger to Ukrainian museology not seen since the Second World War. Museums located in the occupied territories have been looted by the invaders and their collections taken deep into Russia. The fate and whereabouts of these looted collections is unknown. Museums in Ukrainian-controlled areas are also falling victim to rocket and drone attacks, posing a great threat to the unique collections. According to the Ministry of Culture and Strategic Communications of Ukraine, Russian officials have seized more than 480,000 works of art. They took more than 28,000 items from the Kherson Regional National History Museum alone, including ancient coins, weapons, Sarmatian jewellery, a collection of icons, paintings, antique furniture from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and an entire archaeological exhibition, as well as hard drives containing the museum's catalogue. The collections of the Kherson Regional Museum of Art named after Oleksiy Shovkunenko were also stolen (more than 10,000 exhibits out of the 14,000 in the collection were taken) and the Albert Gavdzinskiy Art Gallery in Nova Kachovka was also looted.[11] According to the head of the Cultural Heritage Sites Registration Department at the Ministry of Culture and Industry of Ukraine Olha Pakhomova: "Unfortunately, we […] have cases where cultural institutions are suffering repeatedly, have been damaged again [...]. We cannot be completely sure of them, because part of the territory remains occupied and in these territories it is practically impossible to monitor data in this regard. It will only be possible to do so once these territories have been released."[12]

In February 2024, UNESCO estimated that the war in Ukraine had caused the destruction of $3.5 billion worth of cultural heritage and assets in the country.[13] Among others, two UNESCO World Heritage sites, the historic centres of Lviv (already mentioned above) and Odesa, have

[11] BAZHENOVA, Hanna. *Niszczenie dziedzictwa kulturowego Ukrainy w czasie rosyjskiej agresji*, https://ies.lublin.pl/komentarze/niszczenie-dziedzictwa-kulturowego-ukrainy-w-czasie-rosyjskiej-agresji/. Additionally, on the significance of cultural heritage in museology: GEISLER, Robert, NIEROBA, Elżbieta. Museum transition toward market-oriented identity: Between social issues and public policy. In: *Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo,* 10(4), 2022, pp. 6–8.
[12] KALĘBA, Julia. *Ponad tysiąc zabytków*…
[13] UNESCO, *podczas wojny na Ukrainie zniszczono dziedzictwo kulturowe wartości 3,5 mld dol.*, https://dzieje.pl/dziedzictwo-kulturowe/unesco-podczas-wojny-na-ukrainie-zniszczono-dziedzictwo-kulturowe-wartosci-35.

suffered. Therefore, according to Pakhomova, "At the moment, the most important task for us is to preserve what we have, these museum collections that we have [...]. By this I mean the removal of monuments to quieter regions, and the construction of warehouses. This is happening. Also, an important task is the digitisation of heritage, the creation of 3D models, in other words, preserving what we have, in the broadest sense of the word."[14]

Exhibitions of outstanding works from Ukrainian museums in Europe

As a consequence of the threats cited above, the most valuable collections are also exported to European partner museums for temporary storage and display there. One example of this is the export of the most valuable paintings from the National Art Gallery in Lviv to the National Museum in Poznan at the beginning of the conflict in March 2022. Another important action of this type was the removal of priceless so-called "Sinai" icons from Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko National Museum of Arts in Kyiv.[15] In May 2023, as a result of rocket bombardment by the Russian Federation, the museum lost its windows and was partially destroyed inside by debris and shockwaves. The dramatic decision was then taken to transport the 16 most valuable objects in strict secrecy, using specially made air-conditioned containers in a military convoy that went through Poland and Germany to France.[16] It should be added that four of the exported artefacts date from the sixth century and are among the few from this period to have survived the period of iconoclasm, which led to the irretrievable destruction of most of the holy images of the Eastern Church in 730–843. The icons at The Khanenko Museum in Kiev are painted using the encaustic technique on wood (an ancient painting technique involving a beeswax binder, used most notably to create the so-called Fayum portraits) from the monastery of St Catherine of Sinai. They belong to both the iconographic tradition of the Roman period (based on naturalistic observations) and Byzantine art (inclined towards abstraction). From 14 June to 6 November 2023, an exhibition centred around these priceless works was held at the Louvre, entitled *Aux origines de l'image sacrée. Icônes du musée national des arts Bohdan et Varvara Khanenko de Kyiv* [Near the Origins of Sacred Imagery. Icons from the Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko National Museum of Art in Kyiv]. This gave rise to widespread interest from the art world of Western European countries into what was previously the relatively unknown world of ancient Ukrainian art. The transportation of the objects also meant they could be carefully examined in highly specialised conservation workshops, thus broadening the knowledge of these objects and presenting this vision in Europe[17].

Other exhibits from Khanenko Museum in Kiev were presented in Poland at the Royal Castle in Warsaw from 1 June 1 to 30 July 2023.[18] These included works by renowned artists such as Elisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun, author of the "Portrait of Stanislaw August in the

[14] KALĘBA, Julia. *Ponad tysiąc zabytków...*

[15] Athena Art Foundation. *The Origins of the Sacred Image. Icons from the Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko National Museum of Arts in Kyiv*, https://www.athenaartfoundation.org/take-a-look/the-origins-of-the-sacred-image-icons-from-the-bohdan-and-varvara-khanenko-national-museum-of-arts-in-kyiv.

[16] SKOTNIKOVA, Olha. *Секретна місія: як на початку війни з Києва вивезли раритетні ікони,* https://vechirniy.kyiv.ua/news/94281/.

[17] HAKOUN, Agathe. *Le musée du Louvre expose des chefs-d'œuvre de l'art sacré évacués d'Ukraine en secret*, https://www.connaissancedesarts.com/musees/musee-louvre/le-musee-du-louvre-expose-des-chefs-doeuvre-de-lart-sacre-evacues-dukraine-en-secret-11183153/.

[18] Zamek Królewski w Warszawie. *Masterpieces from The Khanenko Museum in Kiev*, https://www.zamek-krolewski.pl/en/aktualnosc/1788-masterpieces-khanenko-museum-kiev.

Costume of Henry IV" (1797), and Bernardo Bellotto, who painted "Architectural Capriccio with Ruins of a Temple" (1762–1766).

Decolonial activity[19] in the museums of Ukraine - The Kyiv National Art Gallery

Another important Ukrainian museum which has been exhibiting works for more than a century, Kyiv National Art Gallery (KNAG), not only reopened, despite the destruction caused by a rocket attack and the still-ongoing rocket shelling of Kyiv but began an intensive programme of decolonialisation.[20]

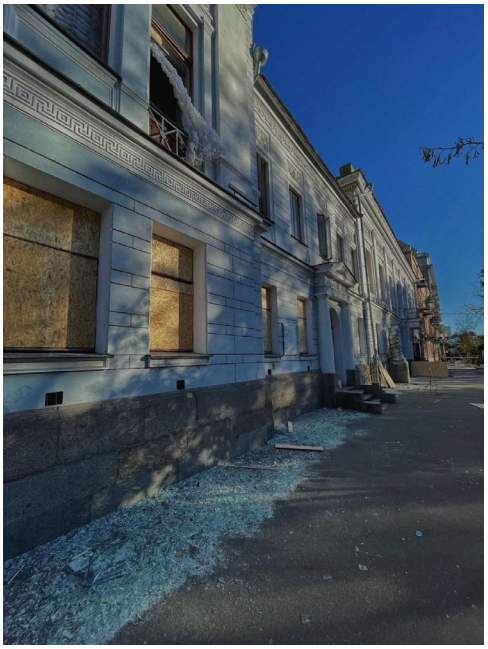

Fig. 1: *War damage in Kyiv National Art Gallery (KANG)*. Source: Projector запускає відеокурс про київський модернізм. Виручені кошти передадуть на відновлення культурних установ – Хмарочос, hmarochos.kiev.ua (accessed: 3 October 2024).

It should be noted that the activities undertaken by the museum after the attack involved both a considerable act of courage and entrepreneurship. As a result of the shockwave from a rocket attack in the city centre of Kyiv on 10 October 2022, most of the windows on the side façade and the glass ceiling in the exhibition halls were shattered. The museum was closed for a short period of time due to urgent renovations.[21] However, thanks to contributions from donors, repairs were quickly made and the museum management declared. As the museum's website states in a post dated 10 October 2022, "Despite the extremely hard situation resulting from the invasion by Russian army and the declaration of a state of war has in Ukraine, the KNAG has not stopped its activities, considering them its contribution to the future victory, defence of national interests on cultural front, fight for spiritual values, liberation from impacts of imperial colonial policy, renovation of historical justice [and] promotion of the image of a Ukrainian as a European country, enriched with own history, original culture, and art"[22] (see Figure 1).

[19] The decolonization practices that are currently being undertaken in Ukrainian museums in most cases refer to the liquidation of souvenirs of the Russian Empire from exhibitions. A document discussing these issues in Ukraine is a Ukrainian Institute study with suggested practices of activities entitled *Pidtrymka dekolonizatsii v muzeiakh* [Supporting Decolonization in Museums], https://ui.org.ua/wp-content/uploads/2024/01/supporting-decolonisation-in-museums-ukrainian-traslation_pidtrymka-dekolonizacziyi-v-muzeyah_.pdf.

[20] Although use of the word "decolonization" in relation to Russian political and cultural practices towards Ukraine still meets with some resistance, this is not the situation Alexander Etkind writes about, "Just a few decades ago, the idea that Ukraine or even Central Asia were colonies of the Soviet Empire evoked furious resistance on both sides of the Iron Curtain. In the 1990s, postcolonial experts still debated the reasons for not applying their concepts to the emerging countries of the post-Soviet space"; ETKIND, Alexander. *Internal Colonization. Russia's Imperial Experience*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011, p. 249. This is why the authors use the word "decolonialization" in reference to the actions taken by the Ukrainian authorities in the face of Russian aggression.

[21] KATAIEVA, Maria. *Київська картинна галерея відзначає 100-річчя: цікаві факти*, https://vechirniy.kyiv.ua/news/74195/.

[22] Ibidem, (trans. by A. Pawłowska)

KNAG is a large, multi-departmental public institution with a collection of 14,000 objects. The museum's post-colonial name, Kyiv National Museum of Russian Art, was changed as recently as March 2017 to the National Museum "Kyiv Art Gallery", thus returning to the original name of 1922. In fact, years before the outbreak of full-scale war with Russia, art from the Soviet (Socialist Realist) period was only presented during thematic exhibitions. Nevertheless, before February 2022, the core of the collection on display was still made up of works related to the culture of the dominant aggressor. Therefore, another significant change that began at KNAG after the 2022 attack concerned the removal of Russian artworks from the exhibition and their replacement with works by Ukrainian and foreign artists. These included Old Russian icons and works by recognised nineteenth-century painters of Russian origin such as Viktor Mikhaylovich Vasnetsov (1848–1926), Ivan Shishkin (1832–1998) and Mikhail Aleksandrovich Vrubel (1856–1910). After the outbreak of war, it was decided that the exhibition halls would be replaced and the "organisation of contemporary art exhibitions and other art events became the basic form of the Kyiv National Art Gallery activities, [offering] the means to reflect actual problems through the prism of the best artists of modern Ukraine".[23]

One interesting project exhibited at KNAG was entitled "114 days", showing works from the collection of the Centre for Contemporary Art's "White World" [ЦСМ "Білий світ"]. From 17 June to 20 July 2022, more than 100 works created by 53 contemporary Ukrainian artists were presented in the classic, highly traditional exhibition halls of the KNAG. All the works were created before the full-scale Russian invasion began; the exhibition's curators intended to indicate that the new situation provided a new context for the reception of these works. We should add that the exhibition was conceived as problematized (in contrast to previous historical narratives). Works were organised under categories such as anxiety, courage, trauma, safety, hopelessness, hope, despair, routine and humour, memory and freedom – all referring to feelings and emotional states caused by the ongoing war in Ukraine.

Fig. 2: *Vladyslav Shereshevsky, Sextinets, 2019*. Source: https://www.facebook.com/shereshevsky.vladyslav/ (accessed: 3 October 2024).

An interesting and emphatic case of such a change of context can be seen in a huge oil painting entitled "Сехтінець" (Sextinets), painted in 2019 (Figure 2). The work is by the renowned contemporary artist Vladyslav Shereshevsky, who works with pop art aesthetics. In this work, presented in the exhibition among several of his other works, he shows an impressionistically painted Virgin Mary holding a red cat in her arms instead of Jesus. Since 2016, Shereshevsky has been making humorous references in his work to the "Sistine Madonna" by the eminent Italian Renaissance artist Raphael Santi. This treatment is close to the concept of pastiche, often found in contemporary art.[24] However, this work, which is rather comical at first glance, in the light of the events of the war, acts as a reminder of the fact that

[23] Ibidem.

[24] Information based on the artist's Facebook page.

even in times of war, Ukrainians do not abandon their animals but rescue and protect them on an equal footing with humans.

Now, after more than two years of defensive warfare in Ukraine, more and more exhibitions relating to historical figures important to Ukraine are appearing at KNAG. This was the aim of a project by Ukrainian graphic artist Nadiya Hart entitled "In Your Name" (13 August to 15 September 2024). The artist created a series of portraits of figures from the period of Soviet terror in the 1930s and 1940s in Ukraine using analogue printmaking. Through portraits created based on historical photographs, Hart aimed to restore and maintain the memory of Ukrainian cultural personalities who were not afraid to express themselves in a pro-freedom and patriotic manner despite the terror of Soviet rule. "In Your Name" presented material on the actor and theatre director Les Kurbas (1887–1937), the visual artist Alla Horska (1929–1970) and the futurist poet Mykhailo Semenko (1897–1937). The works created between 2022 and 2023 were Hart's reaction to Russia's war crimes against Ukrainian culture in the occupied territories. The artist believes that the destruction and theft of museum collections by Russia takes Ukrainian society back to its past history, in which similar evils and destruction of culture by the colonial invaders took place.

Decolonisation efforts have been undertaken at Kyiv's museum and exhibition centre, the Museum of the History of the City of Kyiv, where the museum's "Kyiv O.S. Pushkin Museum" branch, which has been in operation since 1999, was renamed "Kudryavka Manor" on 1 March 2022. The collection is currently being revised to move away from displaying memorabilia of the Russian Romantic period poet Alexander Pushkin (1799–1837) to artefacts that tell the everyday story of Kyiv life in the nineteenth century.

The role of photographs as documentary evidence and artefacts

The arrangement of contemporary photographic exhibitions in museums is not typical, at least for Kyiv museums traditionally oriented towards ancient art, but this change has been forced upon them by the circumstances. At the same time, it is an interesting idea as it allows unique, valuable artefacts and collections – the loss or damage of which would be significant – to be replaced by photographs that can easily be reprinted from digital archives.

In our view, art photography harbours the unique potential to enable art museums to function efficiently in wartime. On the one hand, it is a type of art; on the other hand, the loss of such exhibits is not final and they can easily be reproduced. Therefore, exhibitions of photography in places threatened by conflict have many advantages compared to works of painting, sculpture, design, or jewellery art, which are more susceptible to damage and more difficult to restore or replace.

An interesting example of this can be seen in the photographic exhibition on Ukrainian cultural heritage being destroyed by Russia, presented from 4 to 19 May 2024 at the Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko National Museum of Art, cited above. The exhibition entitled "За об'єктивом: культура у вирі війни" [Behind the Lens: Culture Under Attack], was the result of a collaboration between the Ukrainian Institute of Mass Information (IMI) and UNESCO, both of which asked Ukrainian journalists, reporters and photographers to document the

impact of the damage caused by Russian aggression to churches, theatres, libraries and cultural figures themselves[25].

The exhibition brings together the works of 65 photojournalists. Through the prism of the artists' sensitivity, we see church facades covered with damage from bullets and bomb splinters, broken windows of community centres, collapsed ceilings of theatres, burnt libraries. The basic curatorial idea of the exhibition was to draw the public's attention to the destruction of cultural heritage sites; photographs, video screens, and artefacts were placed in line with this. They were preceded by information about the essence of the project and the participants–photographers. The placement of the exposures in dark, underexposed rooms created an additional effect of tragedy. By also recording the activities of artists and performers, cultural personalities and volunteers who continued to work under wartime conditions, the photographers clearly indicated that despite the great losses associated with the destruction of historic buildings, the indomitable spirit of Ukrainian cultural luminaries and artists is invincible.

Subsequently, the entire collection of photographic works was presented in Berlin during the Reconstruction of Ukraine Conference on 11–12 June 2024. An excerpt that stands out from the many comments related to the event was by Oksana Romanyuk, director of the Mass Information Institute: "These are not just images – they are striking stories of communities being rebuilt, of lives being restored, of horrific Russian war crimes. The IMI and UNESCO photo exhibition aims to provide an effective visual complement to the discussions and decisions made at the conference, reminding participants of the human faces behind policies and strategies".[26] In turn, UNESCO representative Chiara Dezzi Bardeschi stressed that to "rebuild the country, we need to be informed about the impact of the war on culture, education, and science, therefore it is important to support a strong media sector in Ukraine."[27]

Raising awareness of the problems of damage to monuments through photographic exhibitions

Another role that can be attributed to exhibitions of photographs from war-torn Ukraine (although this can, of course, be extrapolated to other war photography) is to direct international public opinion towards the evil that occurred. The photographic exhibition "Kyiv – Das unzerbrechliche Herz Europas" [Kyiv – The indestructible heart of Europe] depicting everyday life in war-torn Kyiv was presented at Leipzig's City Hall from 9 to 31 May 2023. The 16 photographs documented not only the destruction caused by Russian rocket fire but also the everyday life of people in this war-stricken area. The photographs showed what damaged youth basketball courts, parks and playgrounds look like in a city hit by Russian rocket fire and how public institutions such as the fire brigade, metro stations, electricity and water supply continue to work. In a word, how the heroic civilian population of Ukraine lives daily in this exceptional state.[28]

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[25] Institute of Mass Information. *Exhibition about Ukrainian Cultural Sites Destroyed by Russia Displayed at the Ukraine Recovery Conference*, https://imi.org.ua/en/news/exhibition-about-ukrainian-cultural-sites-destroyed-by-russia-displayed-at-the-ukraine-recovery-i61953.

[26] Ibidem.

[27] LUCIUK, Lesia, *Виставку про знищену Росією українську культурну спадщину представили на Ukraine Recovery Conferencemi*.org.ua/news/vystavku-pro-znyshhenu-rosiyeyu-ukrayinsku-kulturnu-spadshhynu-predstavyly-na-ukraine-recovery-i61946.

[28] Stadt Leipzig. *Fotoausstellung zeigt Lebensalltag im vom Krieg gezeichneten Kiew,* https://www.leipzig.de/newsarchiv/news/fotoausstellung-zeigt-lebensalltag-im-vom-krieg-gezeichneten-kiew/.

In turn, the exhibition "Bericht aus der belagerten Stadt Tschernihiw" [Report from the Besieged City of Chernihiv], which ran from 1 February to 31 March 2024 at the headquarters of the Polish Institute in Leipzig,[29] was conceived as a photographic reportage providing a chronological record of the first days of the war in the heavily attacked city of Chernihiv. By 22 March 2022, after three weeks of continuous shelling, the city was on the brink of a humanitarian catastrophe. Now, as the city that is slowly coming back to life, multibillion-dollar losses are being documented. In the Chernihiv region, more than 600 km of roads and 16 bridges have been destroyed. According to preliminary estimates, the reconstruction of the city and its surroundings may take up to 50 years.[30] With unique architectural monuments dating back to the Kyivan Rus', the 300,000-strong city of Chernihiv was a magnet for domestic and foreign tourists before the attack.[31] Some medieval religious buildings survived, such as the Church of St Paraskeva, the Cathedral of St Boris and Gleb, and the Cathedral of the Transfiguration. Russian shelling destroyed, among others, schools, libraries, and the ski station of the Ukrainian Olympic biathlon team. On 6 March 2022, Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy awarded Chernihiv the title of City of Heroes.

From the beginning, young amateur photographers Valentyn Bobyr and Vladislav Savienok documented the Russian attack on their hometown. The exhibition was inspired by photographs of bombed houses, educational and sports facilities, cultural institutions and local authorities.[32]

Photography exhibitions related to the project "And light shines in the darkness"

The organising principles of exhibitions being proposed in Ukraine during the war with the Russian Federation differ from those used to create traditional museum exhibitions because, as we have already noted, under these conditions Ukraine's museums must act more like art galleries. Due to the threat to valuable exhibits, they are often hidden in warehouses or even taken out of the country. In addition, exhibitions are changed much more frequently and there is a greater role for digitized material and videos.

Similar, more performative exhibition activities were based on a series of art photography exhibitions as part of the project "A światło świeci w ciemnośći" [And light shines in the darkness] and a scholarship awarded to Prof. Yulia Ivashko (Kyiv National University of Construction and Architecture) as part of the Scholarship Competition for Ukrainian Scientists, funded by a 2% increased subvention for universities that entered the Excellence Initiative – Research University competition.

Thanks to a collaboration with the University of Lodz, the works were presented in five exhibitions. The first was from 21 October to 15 December 2022 at the University of Lodz in Galeria Wozownia 11, under the title "A światłość w ciemności świeci i ciemność jej nie ogarnęła" [And the light shines in the darkness and the darkness did not overwhelm it] (Jn 1:5), as part of an artistic and scientific project on the reconstruction and adaptation of industrial facilities that were destroyed in Ukraine, as well as artistic expression in times of military conflict. Belinski's works were then presented at the University of Ostrava in the Czech Republic from 24 November 2022 to 20 January 2023 at Galerie Na Půdě under the title "A to

[29] Dhi. Raport z oblężonego Miasta Czernihowa. Wystawa, https://www.dhi.waw.pl/veranstaltungen/ausstellungen/detail/austellung-bericht-aus-der-belagerten-stadt-tschernihiw/.

[30] Ibidem.

[31] More on the importance of tourism, e.g.: BITUSIKOVA, Alexandra. Cultural heritage as a means of heritage tourism development. In: *Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo*, 9(1), p. 82, DOI: 10.46284/mkd.2021.9.1.5.

[32] Dhi. *Raport z oblężonego Miasta*…

světlo svítí ve tmě a tma je nepohltila"; at the Silesian University (Slezská Univerzita) in Opava in the Hauer Gallery 4 (13 February to 26 March 2023); and at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań in the main hall of the Collegium Maius as part of the celebration of the Ukrainian Days "Ukraine 2022–2023" (15 March to 12 April 2023).[33] The curator of the project and of the exhibitions in Lodz, Krakow, Opava and Ostrava was Aneta Pawłowska, a professor at the Institute of Art History. The same exhibition was presented at the Technical University of Łódź under the curatorship of Marek Pabich, a professor and director of the Institute of Architecture and Urban Planning at the Technical University of Łódź. At this point, the authors would like to add the information that the shocking and at the same time poetic photographic accounts scientifically elaborated in the monograph *In good and bad fortune. Stylistic transformations of Serhii Belinskyi's photography* by Yulia Ivashko, Aneta Pawłowska and Oleksandr Ivashko[34], was awarded the IPA 2024 Honourable Mention in the professional monograph book category at the International Photography Awards (IPA) competition (Figure 3).[35]

Fig. 3: *Book cover In good and bad fortune. Stylistic transformations of Serhii Belinskyi's photography by Yulia Ivashko, Aneta Pawłowska and Oleksandr Ivashko, awarded at the IPA 2024 competition*, photo by A. Pawłowska.

These photographic exhibitions were based on the same principles as the photography exhibition at the Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko National Museum of Arts in Kyiv, combining a visual display with a series of short films, artefacts – fragments of rockets and missiles with which the Russian army bombarded Ukraine, and audio recordings of literary essays about the individual photographs presented. The first exhibition at Wozownia 11 Gallery was particularly noteworthy, with a selection of Belinski's photographs that most fully depicts all aspects of contemporary war – images of soldiers, civilians in basements, animals, landscapes and destroyed buildings. As mentioned above, the exhibition was complemented by a performance which, in our opinion, is precisely the way to attract a wide audience to this type of event, as it extends the emotional value of the artistic event.

A light installation was placed in front of the entrance to the room, complemented by an audio recording of literary essays by a Ukrainian actress in Ukrainian about the photographs on display. This mentally prepared the audience to view the exhibition. Catalogues with photographs were placed in front of the entrance, complemented by texts which further "introduced" the viewer to the tragic atmosphere of the war.

The framed pictures were placed on the walls in a specific way. All the pictures were placed on the white walls facing the windows, fragments of rockets hung in the middle of the wall

[33] IWASZKO, Julia et al.*W dobrej i złej doli. Przekształcenia stylistyczne fotografii Sergija Belińskiego.* [In good and bad fortune. Stylistic transformations of Serhii Belinskyi's photography]. Łódź: Wydawnictwo Łódzkiego Towarzystwa Naukowego, 2023, pp. 13–15.

[34] Ibidem.

[35] International Photography Awards. https://photoawards.com/winner/zoom.php?eid=8-1709176936-24.

on the bedside table, and the key finishing touch of the exhibition were three short films "Horror", "Struggle", and "Hope", which symbolically introduced the viewer to the stages of modern war and the hope of victory. The most symbolic of the three films is "Hope". A military man plays a tune from the film "The Umbrellas of Cherbourg" on a surviving piano in a ruined village school. He died in the region around Kherson and passed away, yet continues to live on through this short film, which has been presented at exhibitions around the world. In addition to the exhibitions, two richly illustrated catalogues were published: one featuring photographs, and the other containing literary essays accompanying some of the images. (Figure 4).

Fig. 4: *Catalogues of exhibitions related to the project "And light shines in the darkness"*, photo by B. Kałużny

To sum up, when an exhibition becomes a multimedia event and a kind of performance that involves different types of visual arts – fine art photography, cinematography, literature, or poetry – we obtain much greater artistic integrity, approaching the cathartic functions of art, a theme to which we will return below.

Accessibility – a new challenge in Ukrainian museology

Although the war unfolding in Ukraine is not yet over, there is another important issue to consider. This relates to full access to exhibitions for people with disabilities – including those who are visually impaired, hard of hearing, in a wheelchair – an issue that has not yet been sufficiently addressed. During the war, as a result of injuries and deep psychological problems caused by the trauma of war and accompanying displacement, the number of people with disabilities, both among soldiers and the civilian population, has increased rapidly.[36] Therefore, the issue of creating a welcoming and adapted environment without barriers to access culture and the arts will be relevant for Ukraine for several decades.

It should be added that the importance of the issue of accessibility in Ukraine[37] was significantly reinforced on 29 February 2024 when Ukraine acceded to the European Social Charter and ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities and other related international documents.[38] In doing so, the country committed itself to creating conditions not only for the full rehabilitation of people with disabilities but also for their employment and for making full use of their knowledge and skills and guaranteeing access to cultural and artistic goods. Ensuring accessibility and inclusiveness in higher education

[36] According to a report published on 24 May 2024 by the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, the consequences of two years of war in Ukraine include the displacement of about 10 million people: 3.67 million are internally displaced and 5.97 million are refugees. Almost 17.5 million people require help to physically survive (as of 13 February 2024), and 10 million, including 1.5 million children, need psychological and psychiatric help. Moreover, nearly 10 million people are at risk of or have a mental health condition and 3.9 million are experiencing moderate to severe symptoms. Children are particularly affected by conflict, with stress, anxiety and other mental health problems exacerbated by the disruption to their education due to constant attacks, . See further: *Ukraine: Situation Report, 24 May 2024*, https://reliefweb.int/report/ukraine/ukraine-situation-report-24-may-2024-enuk.

[37] A list of laws and decrees published in Ukraine until 2020 related to legal regulations supporting persons with disabilities can be found at: https://ud.org.ua/zakonodavstvo/ukazi-ta-zakoni.

[38] Gov.ua. *В Україні вивчають міжнародний досвід доступності освіти та працевлаштування людей з інвалідністю*, https://www.kmu.gov.ua/news/v-ukraini-vyvchaiut-mizhnarodnyi-dosvid-dostupnosti-osvity-ta-pratsevlashtuvannia-liudei-z-invalidnistiu.

and access to culture is one of the operational goals of the Strategy for Higher Education Development in Ukraine for 2021–2031.[39]

However, at the time of writing (April 2025 there are few examples in the cultural field of institutions being made accessible to people with disabilities. Commendable examples include Kyiv's Taras Shevchenko National Museum, which has been implementing the "Culture without Barriers" programme since 2014, and the Mystetskyi Arsenal cultural and artistic complex. In the second institution, elements of Universal Design[40] by Alina Holovatyuk have been introduced in 2018, referring to the combined experience of the Irish Centre for Excellence in Universal Design (CEUD), Gallaudet University in Washington DC and the Metropolitan Museum of Arts in New York. These amenities are supported by tactile strips on the floor and stairs, tactile stickers on handrails, the absence of obstacles on major traffic routes and the use of braille on all signs.[41] Outside the national capital, other noteworthy projects include the "Accessible Ivano-Frankivsk" web portal[42] and the option of audio description for theatre performances in Lviv[43]. In addition, a new project, "PURVital – for the elderly and disabled", has appeared in the Kyiv Museum and Exhibition Centre.

However, it should be noted that there is a lack of broader solutions in Ukraine in the area of accessibility for people with access needs, which, given the ongoing war and the rapidly increasing number of people affected by disability as a result, should be taken into account more intensively in research and museum practice.

Art as a therapeutic medium

Art therapy began to be used in the treatment of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) from the 1940s onwards. The term art therapy was coined by the British artist Adrian Hill in 1942.[44] Hill, while recovering from tuberculosis in a sanatorium, discovered the therapeutic benefits of drawing and painting during recovery. He wrote that the value of art therapy lies in "the total absorption of the mind (as well as the fingers) [...] the release of the creative energy of the often-inhibited patient".[45] Hill's therapeutic practices were soon carried forward by the artist Edward Adamson, who was demobilised after the Second World War and extended these activities to British psychiatric hospitals. One of the ways in which Adamson practised therapy through art was by encouraging patients to depict their emotions in the art they created. In contrast, American art therapy pioneers Margaret Naumburg and Edith Kramer began to refer to the educational value of art therapy during a similar period. Naumburg, argued that "therapy through art is psychoanalytically oriented" and that free artistic expression "becomes a form

[39] Ibidem.

[40] According to United Nations Convention for the Rights of Persons with Disabilities "Universal design" means "the design of products, environments, programmes and services to be usable by all people, to the greatest extent possible, without the need for adaptation or specialized design. "Universal design" shall not exclude assistive devices for particular groups of persons with disabilities where this is needed"; https://universaldesign.ie/about-universal-design/definition-and-overview.

[41] To see more: https://ud.org.ua/prikladi/muzeji-galereji-teatri/316-proekt-dizajnu-prostoru-natsionalnogo-kulturno-mistetskogo-kompleksu-mistetskij-arsenal.

[42] https://ud.org.ua/prikladi/290-portal-dostupnij-ivano-frankivsk

[43] https://ud.org.ua/prikladi/362-audioopisovij-komentar-dlya-teatralnikh-vistav-rezultati-vprovadzhennya-mikro-proektu-z-universalnogo-dizajnu-u-lvovi

[44] HOGAN, Susan. *Healing Arts: The History of Art Therapy*. London: Jessica Kingsley, 2011, p. 135.

[45] Ibidem.

of symbolic speech that ... leads to an increase in verbalisation during therapy".[46] Naumburg developed the concept of "dynamic" art therapy, based on the theory that creative expression allows patients to express subconscious content. Edith Kramer emphasised the therapeutic effect of the art-making process itself. During this period, art therapy began to be applied, among others, to war veterans suffering from symptoms associated with a post-traumatic stress disorder, then termed "shell shock". Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) was officially defined in 1980 when it was introduced into the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-III). During this period, art therapy became more popular among psychotherapists as a tool to support the treatment of patients suffering from PTSD. It was recognised that art allows the expression of emotions and experiences that are often difficult to describe in words, which is crucial when working with traumatised individuals. Contemporary neuroscience research confirms the effectiveness of art therapy in processing trauma, as creative processes engage different areas of the brain, which can promote the integration of emotions and traumatic memories.[47]

Today, art therapy is recognised as an effective tool to support traditional treatments for PTSD, helping patients to process emotions, express difficult experiences and support healing and social reintegration processes.

In our opinion, an additional aspect of art therapy in the case of people with disabilities is that through art they can gain additional competences and a new profession in place of their lost profession. And among the possible artforms of music, literature, painting or sculpture, it is artistic photography that, in this sense, offers a more universal form of art accessible to the general public. The development of modern photographic technologies has opened up new possibilities for artistic photography. The events of the current Russian–Ukrainian war have proven that artistic photography has a place not only in studio spaces and in peacetime, but also in wartime, on a par with reportage photography. And therein lies the difference between the role photography played during previous wars and its current role: war photography has taken on the qualities of artistic photography and tragic lyricism, moving away from simply presenting or juxtaposing facts. A good example is the world-famous photographs of Dmytro Kozatsky, known by his nickname Orest, during the siege of the Azovstal steel plant, the last stronghold of the destroyed Mariupol. The young soldier (born 1995) served as head of the press service of the Azov Regiment, documenting the lives of the defenders and civilians who took refuge in the plant. His photographs, taken under extremely difficult conditions, became a symbol of the perseverance and courage of the Ukrainian armed forces. They depicted the everyday life of those under siege alongside dramatic images of the destruction and conditions faced by the wounded and their caregivers. A particularly eloquent shot entitled THE LIGHT WILL WIN/ #SaveAzovstalDefenders with a soldier illuminated by a ray of May sunshine streaming into the interior of the destroyed factory, is closer to art photography than reportage. At the same time, as experts have pointed out, Orest's visual documentation has contributed to a global understanding of the Mariupol tragedy and the difficulties faced by the community there. Orest's photographs show deep emotions, reflecting both the suffering and heroism of the defenders of Azovstal. His works are therefore not so much a documentation of the war but rather a form of art therapy through which he was able to express his own emotions and

[46] NAUMBURG, Margaret. *Psychoneurotic art: Its function in psychotherapy.* New York: Grune & Stratton, 1953, p. 3.

[47] HETRICK Sarah E., et al. Combined pharmacotherapy and psychological therapies for post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). In: *Cochrane Database Systematic Reviews,* (7) 2012.

Fig. 5: *Orest's (Dmytro Kozatsky) photograph The Light will Win.* Source: https://www.photoawards.com/winner/zoom.php?eid=8-1660076295-22 (accessed: 3 October 2024).

cope with the trauma of war, while also serving to document what was happening inside the complex. Before the surrender of the Mariupol defenders in May 2022, Orest published his photographs, calling them the "last internet", which further emphasised the tragedy of the situation[48] (Figure 5).

Of similar importance are the photographs of the married photographers Kostiantyn and Vlada Liberov who, for the duration of the war in Ukraine, have moved away from profitable commercial photography of young couples, among others, to document the war. In an interview with the Ukrainian *Vogue* magazine, they stated "We will continue to do military photo-documentation until our victory, until the complete liberation of Ukraine"[49] (Figure 6).

Fig. 6: *Kostiantyn and Vlada Liberov, Untitled.* Source: https://elle.ua/ludi/interview/voni-bachili-viynu-na-vlasni-ochi-konstyantin-ta-vlada-liberovi-pro-te-yak-ce--buti-fotografami-na-viyni/ (accessed: 3 October 2024)

[48] MODINA, Olha. Toy samyy fotohraf z "Azovstali" pishov u polon: istoriya "Oresta" ta 10 yoho svitlyn. [The same photographer from Azovstal was captured: The story of "Orest" and 10 of his photos] In: *Liga.Life*, 20 May 2022.

[49] Vogue UA. *Костянтин і Влада Лiберови – українські фотографи, які чесно й емоційно показують війну*, https://vogue.ua/article/culture/lifestyle/kostyantin-ta-vlada-liberovi-ukrajinski-fotografi-yaki-chesno-i-emociyno-pokazuyut-viynu-49483.html.

Art therapy mechanisms

Art therapy is now playing an increasingly important role in the recovery of war trauma. It enables people experiencing the effects of trauma to express and process their emotions in ways that may be difficult to achieve through conventional therapeutic methods. Art therapy can use a variety of artforms, such as painting, sculpture, music, dance and writing, to help patients recover mentally and emotionally. Activities of this type are being undertaken in the twenty-first century by many museums. Projects the authors are directly familiar with include the activities associated with "Kongres empatii pod nazwą: Kultura dyskryminacji. Dyskryminacja w kulturze" [Empathy Congress under the name Culture of Discrimination] on 8 December 2019 at the Museum of Art in Łódź; the inclusive therapeutic activities for seniors undertaken at the art museum at University College Cork in Ireland (The Glucksman Gallery) as part of the "Lifelong Learning" project (2023–2024); and a project aimed at young people called "All Together" (Summer 2023). A similar art therapy project is being carried out at the Zamek Museum in Oświęcim and the Powiat Środowiskowy Dom Samopomocy (District Self-help Centre) in Kęty with an outpost in Brzeszcze, called "Cholery, Choroby czy Licha" (loosely translated as Cholera, Disease, or the Devil) exhibiting sculptures on the theme of pagan deities made by patients of the neurological ward, with which the museum has a cooperation agreement. Although these works were created under the guidance of professional sculptors, the feelings expressed in them are, above all, therapeutic for the creators and help them face their own demons caused by their illness.

In the context of the war in Ukraine, art therapy has become an important tool for psychological support. Organisations such as "Art Therapy Ukraine" and "Art Shelter" offer workshops for children and adults where patients can express emotions related to the trauma of war through art. The artworks created as part of these initiatives often depict scenes from life before the war, as well as symbolic images related to the hope of a return to normality.

According to the developers of HyFlex's hybrid art therapy course, classes include an exploration of psychoanalytic and analytic approaches, expressive art therapies, programmes such as Compassionate Arts Psychotherapy (CAP) and Mindfulness Art Therapy based on Trauma (MBAT).[50] The aim of art therapy education is to implement concepts related to reformulating, reforming and recovering.[51]

According to authors Kateryna Bondar, Olena Shestopalova and Vita A. Hamaniuk, these terms can be understood as follows. Reframing entails altering the viewpoint or interpretation of an experience, situation, or piece of art. Within the context of art therapy, reframing prompts individuals to investigate alternative meanings, narratives, or emotions associated with their artistic creations. This change in perspective facilitates clients in acquiring new understandings, confronting detrimental thought patterns, and uncovering diverse ways to comprehend themselves and their lived experiences. Reforming in art therapy signifies the modification or transformation of components within an individual's artwork or creative output. This process may include the exploration of new techniques, deliberate alterations, and the investigation of various artistic forms. Reforming provides clients with the chance to undergo personal development, articulate emotions, and cultivate new avenues for communication and self-

[50] BONDAR, Kateryna et al. Evaluating transactional distance and student engagement in HyFlex art therapy education amidst the war in Ukraine. In: *CTE 2023 Cloud Technologies in Education 2023*, 2023, pp. 164–177.

[51] Based on: JACOBSON-LEVY, Mindy, and MILLER, Gretchen. Creative destruction and transformation in art and therapy: Reframing, reforming, reclaiming. In: *Art Therapy*, 39, 2022, pp. 194–202.

expression. Reclaiming refers to the process of restoring personal agency, identity, or elements of oneself through creative endeavours. It enables individuals to reconnect with their true selves, core values, and inherent strengths. Art therapy fosters a nurturing environment where clients can express themselves openly, heal from previous traumas, and regain control over their experiences and personal narratives.[52]

Furthermore, through the expression of emotions, art therapy allows patients to express difficult emotions and thoughts that may be difficult to express in words. Through art, people experiencing trauma can find ways to externally visualise their inner experiences. Creative activities can have a relaxing effect and reduce stress levels. The creative process engages the mind and body, which can lead to a reduction in symptoms of anxiety and depression. Finally, art therapy can help individuals to rebuild their identity, which may have been shaken by war experiences. Creating art enables patients to discover and strengthen their inner strength and abilities. At the same time, as art therapy pioneer Margaret Naumburg has already pointed out, art is a universal language which can help communication between patient and therapist.[53] This can be particularly important in the case of people who have difficulty verbally expressing their experiences. In such cases it is not the capturing of a particular event that comes to the fore but the human factor, the transfer of emotion from the artist who has experienced a tragic event, to the viewer. It is worth noting that in contemporary artistic war photographs, emotions are widely represented through landscape and inanimate objects – military equipment or ordinary objects in an unusual perspective. We see in this a certain allusion to the principles on which traditional Japanese art is built, namely the indirect transmission of human emotions and impressions through nature and inanimate objects. This approach encourages the viewer to co-create and evoke their own emotions.

Conclusions

The transformation of exhibitions in war-torn Ukraine as of 2024 reflects a complex interplay between preservation, adaptation and innovation in response to the ongoing conflict. The Russian invasion has inflicted severe damage on Ukraine's cultural heritage, leading to the destruction and looting of numerous historical monuments and museum collections. Despite these challenges, Ukraine's cultural institutions have shown resilience and adaptability, finding new ways to present and protect cultural assets. The war has prompted a re-evaluation of exhibition practices, emphasizing inclusion and socialization through art. There is a growing focus on decolonization, with museums shifting away from showcasing Russian culture and instead highlighting Ukrainian and other international works. This shift is accompanied by an increased interest in contemporary art forms, such as photography, which offer a resilient and reproducible medium suited to the current circumstances. Furthermore, the conflict has accelerated the need for accessibility in museology, addressing the needs of people with disabilities resulting from both pre-existing conditions and war-related injuries. The integration of universal design principles and digital technologies is becoming crucial to ensure that cultural experiences are available to a broader audience. Art therapy emerges as a significant tool in this context, supporting individuals affected by war trauma.

The therapeutic potential of art extends beyond traditional methods, helping individuals process emotions and rebuild identities. Through exhibitions, Ukraine not only preserves its

[52] BONDAR et al., *Evaluating transactional…,* p. 166.
[53] NAUMBURG, Margaret. *Psychoneurotic art*…

cultural heritage but also uses art as a medium for healing and resilience. As Ukraine rebuilds, the lessons learned from this period may lead to lasting changes in how cultural institutions operate, fostering a more inclusive and adaptive environment that embraces both historical preservation and contemporary artistic expression. This transformative journey underscores the power of art as a catalyst for social cohesion and recovery, even amidst the devastation of war.

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Woodcarving in Podhale and the Phenomenon of the "School in Zakopane" Sculptures and Design

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Woodcarving in Podhale and the Phenomenon of the "School in Zakopane" Sculptures and Design
Zakopane woodcarving is perceived in a kind of suspension between ethnographic tradition (folk art) and artistic modernity. For almost 200 years now, the patriotic aspect of Podhale's tangible culture has been an inseparable context of its evaluation. For the Polish people, Zakopane and the Tatra Mountains are a phenomenon which is permanently inscribed in the cultural heritage of their nation. Based on the contemporary state of research and current methodologies, the article aims to revise the methods of researching, interpreting and exhibiting Zakopane sculptures, both historical and contemporary.

Keywords: Zakopane; Polish art of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; woodcarving; national style; folk art

Podhale is a mountainous region in the southern part of Poland. In the nineteenth century it belonged to Galicia, and it was incorporated into the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Zakopane, long ago a small village, and today a famous tourist attraction, is an example of a community that has grown and flourished on an ideological substrate, which was a mixture of the romantic model of nature, and an artistic and ethnographic admiration for people and folklore. The final and important factor was the nascence of modern nations, which was in process in Europe in the nineteenth century. However, in Poland, like in other countries without a state, this casus had its own distinctive character. In this article we will show the tradition and durability of the ideological character of Zakopane's artistic and craft products. Since the end of the nineteenth century to the present day, "Zakopane style" has consisted of a complex set of artistic, patriotic and sentimental meanings. This context remains an important point of reference for researchers, historians, curators and museologists in the discussion of Zakopane art (sculpture).

Even though the issues discussed in this article may seem local, they are part of the process of the formation of national styles, which was a common phenomenon in Europe at the end of the nineteenth century. The discovery and reinterpretation of vernacular architecture and ornamentation took on particular significance in the situation of stateless nations, including those that were part of the Habsburg Monarchy (Poles, Slovaks, Hungarians, Czechs). These analogies allow us to perceive the idea of developing native design in a broader context, as a response to the political situation of the time and an expression of the national aspirations of each national community. At the end of the nineteenth century, a significant change in

the concept of the nation took place. The model of a territorial-historical community (multi-ethnic and multi-lingual) was replaced by the concept of the nation as a cultural-linguistic and mono-ethnic community. The crisis of democratic and internationalist national ideology, which occurred in the mid-nineteenth century (the European turning point was the years 1848–1849, and in Polish lands there was additionally the January Uprising of 1864) led to the modern formula of the nation state.

In 1830, Maurycy Mochnacki, in his work *O literaturze polskiej w wieku dziewiętnastym* (On Polish literature in the nineteenth century), published in Warsaw, was the first in Poland to relate the idea of the development of national community consciousness, the so-called self-knowledge, to the concept of the nation. This factor of consciousness in shaping the nation, borrowed from German philosophy (from Friedrich W. Schelling), undoubtedly influenced the culturalist concepts of the nation and nation-building processes, so important in Polish nationalist thought. Combined with the idea of an ethnically homogeneous nation, they would influence national issues and national culture in the interwar period, in the already independent Poland.[1]

Emphasising the link between culture and nation is crucial to understanding European ideas of national style. If a nation was able to create its own culture, it meant that it was capable of surviving, despite a lack of state independence. At the same time, cultural community was most eagerly sought in that which was distinct, homely and free from foreign influences. As the romantic tradition faded, there appeared a positivist zeal for "organic" social work and getting to know one's own country, with ethnographic activity and collecting following in its wake. National distinctiveness and nativeness were increasingly sought in that which was "folk" – what had survived in peripheral areas untouched by civilisation.

Beginnings

In the nineteenth century, intellectuals and artists, the first explorers from the cities to reach Zakopane, the peripheral centre located at the foot of the inaccessible Tatra Mountains, were romantically enthralled by its nature and its legends telling of treasures hidden inside mountains. In their wake came the medics who found the region's climate suitable for treating tuberculosis. Among the incoming holidaymakers and patients, soon there were also enthusiasts and experts in construction, ornamentation and artisanal handicraft. It was also the time when the first studies of the local crafts were undertaken and the first ethnographic collections were compiled.[2] The intellectuals discovered a fascinating world filled with beauty and novelty. They found the Highlanders to be full of virtues such as courage, honour and nonconformity, and above all, patriotism and a love of freedom.

The first mountain trips were organised by priest Józef Stolarczyk (1816–1893), who was the first rector of Zakopane. He was widely recognised for the development of mountain tourism. He also took care of the natives – he taught them about ethics and hygiene and tried to improve education in Zakopane. He also cultivated the language and traditions of the Highlanders. Another legendary figure connected with the origins of the village was Tytus Chałubiński (1820–1889), a doctor from Warsaw, who was known as the King of Tatra. The

[1] For details see: CHRUDZIMSKA-UHERA Katarzyna. *Stylizacje i modernizacje. O rzeźbie i rzeźbiarzach w Zakopanem w latach 1879–1939*, [Stylisations and Modernisations. On Sculpture and Sculptors in Zakopane in the Years 1879–1939]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UKSW, 2013, pp. 50–51.

[2] The names of Władysław Matlakowski (1850–1895) and also the Dembowski and Gnatowski families are worth mentioning.

first time he arrived in Zakopane was in 1873, when he came to fight the cholera epidemic. He began to work unpaid for the Highlanders, trying to improve their living standards. Thanks to Chałubiński's efforts, Zakopane became a health resort in 1886. Following this it began to grow rapidly and became a place well known by tourists and holidaymakers.

The incomers tried to learn about, describe and protect this new world. But at the same time they wanted to improve the living conditions in the region, bringing the ideas of civilisation and industrialisation. Their sensitivity to the Highlanders' poverty and despair was a feature which distinguished Zakopane from other European artistic and intellectual societies (so-called artistic colonies, popular in the Modernism period). When the Tatra Society was founded by Chałubiński, Stolarczyk and other social activists in 1873, its main aims were research on the Carpathian region, the popularisation of tourism, protection of the Tatra nature and supporting local industry.[3] To support the locals, in 1876 the Tatra Society founded the School of Wood Crafts, where the Highlanders from the whole Podhale region could learn crafts (carpentry, building), offering them an opportunity for a better, wealthier life. On June 6, 1876, the Tatra Society signed an agreement with Maciej Marduła (1837–1894) – a peasant from Olcza village – under which he pledged to "set up a school of woodcarving in Zakopane and teach woodcarving to the Highlanders […] five hours a day, to a minimum of five students, free of any charge".[4] The idea was to protect local crafts and tradition, and not to impose external influences, in order to preserve the pristine and national character of folk handicrafts.

Woodcarving and carpentry occupied a prominent place in the everyday life of the inhabitants of the Podhale region. Wood was used in the construction of houses and farm buildings, as well as for the production of agricultural equipment and tools. The relationship between the Highlander culture and wood was noted by the nineteenth-century "discoverers" of the Tatra Mountains, who undertook pioneering research based on their passions for ethnography and collecting. The effects of their activities, together with the ideas of the Arts and Crafts Movement prevalent in Europe at that time, led to the development of the Zakopane style, which ascribes ethical, aesthetic and patriotic values to the wooden architecture and ornamentation of Podhale.[5] The idea of the "wooden Zakopane region" as a variation of the national style was most relevant at the turn of the twentieth century, but it returned with

[3] *Statut Oddziałów Tow. Tatrzańskiego uchwalony na walnem zgromadzeniu tegoż Towarzystwa w Krakowie dn. 28 maja 1876*, [The statutes of Tatra Society Divisions, enacted on the 28 of May 1976], article 3, chapter d. On the initiative of the Tatra Society the Tatra Museum was founded in 1888, collecting ethnographical and botanical exhibits.

[4] *Umowa pomiędzy Maciejem Mardułą a Wydziałem TT*, Kraków 6 czerwca 1876, [The agreement between Maciej Marduła and the Tatra Society Department, Cracow, June 6, 1876], ms., in The Tatra Museum Archive, sign. AR/No/185/6:1876, p. 80.

[5] The biggest contribution to the mythologisation of Zakopane was made by Stanisław Witkiewicz Senior (1851–1915), painter and art critic, who resided there permanently from 1890. Under the influence of Taylor's theory of survivals, Witkiewicz discerned in Zakopane style the intact values of enduring prehistoric Slavic culture, while the Highlanders' architecture and design were deemed by him the Polish national style. Buildings, both sacred and secular, were erected according to the rules established by Witkiewicz for Zakopane style and the same rules were followed in the furniture and interior equipment designs, costumes and jewellery. Witkiewicz and other Podhale aficionados romantically identified the folk craft and construction with authenticity, sincerity, attachment to the fatherland and tradition. Zakopane presented itself as a source of natural rights and peasants were modeled into mythical heroes embodying the most highly appreciated moral and patriotic virtues. This was the way a unique ethos for the Tatra Mountains was developed, reaching its peak c. 1900, including the recognition of the necessity to restore the unity of nature and man and a messianic perception of the mountains as a place where national redemption and unification could come true.

varying intensity and in different varieties throughout the twentieth century, and wood was raised to the rank of a noble material, embodied with the image of Polishness.[6]

The woodcarving school, since 1891 called the Imperial-Royal Vocational School of the Wood Industry (C.K. Szkoła Zawodowa Przemysłu Drzewnego, hereinafter SZPD), owed much to the goodwill of the Austrian authorities, which tried to raise the level of industrialisation of the monarchy and develop the crafts and artistic industry. The way to achieve this goal was, among other things, organising and supporting regional vocational schools.[7] According to researcher Andrzej Szczerski, in the history of Austrian crafts around 1900, an important role was played by a long tradition of state patronage (dating back to the Josephinian era). The Habsburg monarchy's involvement in supporting the development of artistic production was largely due to the desire to match the power of the British monarchy. Therefore, in striving for progress and the modernisation of the state, British models proved decisive. They became part of the social reform, consisting, among other things, of creating a strong middle class, which determined the significance of a modern state. In the 1850s, the first institutions were established to reform the Austrian art industry. The actual period of transformation began in the following decade. The final impulse was the International Exhibition of Industry and Art in London in 1862. It exposed the backwardness of the Austrian monarchy in relation to Great Britain and France.[8]

In 1863, the Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie was founded, inspired by the activities of the British South Kensington Museum. It was an institution that acted as an intermediary between artists and industry, which it did primarily through an extensive system of so-called Fachschulen. These schools were located in different parts of the monarchy. They were managed by teachers educated at the Kunstgewerbeschule associated with the Österreichisches Museum in Wien. The reform they implemented was based primarily on models of historical styles, especially the Neo-Renaissance, which in Austria at the end of the nineteenth century was considered a counter-argument to the dominant French models.[9] These assumptions were also implemented in the Zakopane school, whose management was entrusted to Frantisek Neužil (1845–1899), who had previously taught drawing and woodcarving at the vocational school in Grulich (now Kraliki, Czech Republic). Patterns of ornaments, furniture, architectural details and sculptural compositions were brought from Vienna to the school library. They were used during classes with students and in orders fulfilled at the school. Due to the specificity of the mountain region, historical forms were supplemented with Tyrolean motifs. Like other Fachschule, the Zakopane school was visited by Viennese inspectors checking teaching

[6] GIEŁDOŃ-PASZEK, Aleksandra. Drewno a sprawa Polska: wykorzystanie drewna w poszukiwaniu polskiego stylu narodowego [Wood and Poland: the use of wood in search of a Polish national style]. In: *Studia Artystyczne* 2015, no. 3, pp. 131–138; MUSZKOWSKA, Maria. Ludowość utracona? Strategie instytucjonalizacji sztuki ludowej w Szkole Przemysłu Drzewnego w Zakopanem [Lost folklore? Strategies of institutionalisation of folk art at the School of Wood Industry in Zakopane]. In: *Artifex Novus* vol. 5, 2021, p. 99.

[7] The School in Zakopane was subordinated successively to the Ministry of Trade, the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Education (from 1881), and the Ministry of Public Works (from 1910). See: KENAROWA, Halina. *Od Zakopiańskiej Szkoły Przemysłu Drzewnego do Szkoły Kenara. Studium z dziejów szkolnictwa zawodowo-artystycznego w Polsce* [From the Zakopane School of Wood Industry to the Kenar School. A Study in the history of vocational and artistic education in Poland]. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1978, p. 43.

[8] SZCZERSKI, Andrzej. *Wzorce tożsamości. Recepcja sztuki brytyjskiej w Europie Środkowej około roku 1900*. [Patterns of identity: The reception of British art in Central Europe around 1900]. Kraków: TAiWPN Universitas, 2002, pp. 174, 175.

[9] Ibidem, pp. 179, 180.

standards. Teachers were brought from various areas of the monarchy, mostly from Bohemia and Vienna. They could improve their skills by taking part in training at related institutions, and they were most often sent to a school in Prague.

The school's main output included small objects of a souvenir nature: boxes, chess sets, cigarette holders, pipes, axes, alpine walking sticks, frames, paperweights, needle cases, spoons and forks. They were made of easy-to-process wood: Swiss pine, dwarf pine, maple, ash or lime. Larger orders were also carried out under the supervision of teachers and according to their designs: sets of furniture and elements of furnishings for sacral interiors, including altars with sculptural decoration. As already mentioned, they were maintained in the eclectic style typical of the entire region. However, at the same time, Stanisław Witkiewicz Senior fought a battle for the Zakopane style – treated as a Polish, national version of the native style, derived from Podhale architecture and ornamentation. Witkiewicz was very critical of the School's activities; he did not personally accept the stylistically alien projects introduced by subsequent directors, Frantisek Neužil and Edgar Kováts (1849–1912). Witkiewicz's attitude towards the school was softened only by the appearance of the first Poles on the staff – Jan Nalborczyk and, above all, Stanisław Barabasz, who took over the management of the institution in 1901.

An important aspect of the Zakopane school's activity was the shaping of the local artistic community. It was created by the school's teachers, seasonal guests coming to this fashionable resort, but also Highlanders. Local boys were given the opportunity to gain professional qualifications (in the areas of carpentry, woodwork and ornamental sculpture), and with time they also expanded their skills, which enabled them to develop in creative and individual ways. Among the graduates of the school were the first local craftsmen with artistic ambitions, such as Wojciech Brzega (1872–1941) and Stanisław Gąsienica Sobczak "Johym" (1884–1942), who made their debuts in the first decade of the twentieth century. The individual development of students' talents and competences became particularly important in the interwar period, when in the already independent Poland the school operated under the name "The State School of Wood Industry" (Państwowa Szkoła Przemysłu Drzewnego, hereinafter PSPD). The tradition of sculptural education at the PSPD after the Second World War was continued by the State Secondary School of Fine Arts (now the Antoni Kenar Complex of Art Schools, hereinafter referred to as PLSP and ZSP),[10] and its staff and graduates constituted a significant part of the local artistic community.

The above-mentioned conditions resulted in Zakopane woodcarving being perceived in a kind of suspension between ethnographic tradition (folk art) and artistic modernity. For almost 250 years now, the patriotic aspect of Podhale's tangible culture has been an inseparable context of its evaluation. For the Polish people, Zakopane and the Tatra Mountains are a phenomenon which is permanently inscribed in the cultural heritage of their nation. In this article, we will discuss the mechanisms of constructing the myth of Zakopane as the cradle of national style and state independence. In the context of history and contemporary museum activities, we will try to demonstrate the changes taking place in the reception and interpretation of this cultural

[10] The other institution derived from PSPD in Zakopane was the Construction Trade School Complex, placed in the former Woodcraft School's building on Krupówki Street. It took over the carpentry and construction departments. See: BIAŁAS, Wiesław. Zarys historii Szkoły Zawodowej w Zakopanem z lat 1876–1977 [An outline of the history of the Vocational School in Zakopane 1876–1977]. In: BIAŁAS, Wiesław (et al.). *Tradycje i współczesność. Stulecie Szkoły Zawodowej w Zakopanem 1876–1976* [Traditions and modern times. Centenary of the Vocational School in Zakopane 1876–1976]. Zakopane: Miejska Rada Narodowa i Dyrekcja Zespołu Szkół Zawodowych, 1976, pp.19–62.

heritage of Poland and Europe. We will indicate the most valuable initiatives that have already been undertaken in this direction.

Constructing a myth

In the history of Zakopane woodcarving, its three "founding fathers" should be mentioned: Stanisław Witkiewicz Senior, Karol Stryjeński and Antoni Kenar. The first of them, Stanisław Witkiewicz (1851–1915), belonged to the generation of "discoverers" of the Tatra Mountains. Based on the local carpentry and woodcarving traditions of the region, together with a group of enthusiasts (collectors and the first ethnographers), he undertook steps to create one of the earliest elaborations of the Polish national style. At the same time, he represented the typical nineteenth-century understanding of "style" as a costume built on the basis of a specific set of patterns and forms, used depending on the needs of the moment. Witkiewicz was familiar with and much appreciated the British ideas of the Arts and Crafts Movement; he was also close to other pan-European tendencies to search for national features in the tangible and intangible culture of the older eras and native traditions of folk culture. In the case of stateless nations (such as nineteenth-century Poland), developing a formula for one's own style was particularly important as it was evidence of the existence of the nation and its right to self-determination.[11]

Within the Zakopane style, Witkiewicz did not reserve a special place for sculpture. The woodcarvers' task was usually limited to decorative compositions used on furniture and architectural elements. At the same time, it did impose a specific set of motifs and forms. Witkiewicz appreciated the innate sensitivity and abilities of Highlander "builders", but he also limited their creative freedom by imposing his own concept of form. A bitter testimony to the Zakopane style was left by Wojciech Brzega (1872–1941), a Highlander and Witkiewicz's faithful student and long-time collaborator, and at the same time a representative of the first generation of Highlander intelligentsia and an artistically educated sculptor. In his memoirs written many years later, he accused Witkiewicz of compilation and a lack of logic as to the forms used, and considered his own efforts, which he had put into the development of the Zakopane style, to be a failure and a waste of time.[12]

Witkiewicz's relationship with Brzega was a master–student system, strengthened by the association of "Highlander" (peasant) and "lord". From the perspective of contemporary postcolonial studies, the relations between the explorers of the Tatra Mountains, who were visitors from the city, to the local Highlanders they "discovered", could be perceived in terms of the colonial appropriation of regional culture by "strangers" and the construction of an "image" of that culture which was intended to serve the "strangers" and their tastes and needs.[13] In the first period of the history of Zakopane woodcarving (until 1918), this instrumental use of the local tangible heritage was characteristic of both Witkiewicz's circle and the environment of the Vocational School of Wood Industry, whose successive directors (Franciszek Neužil and Edgar Kováts) developed a concept competitive with the "Zakopane style", i.e. the

[11] CHMIELEWSKA, Agnieszka. *Wyobrażenia polskości. Sztuki plastyczne II Rzeczypospolitej w perspektywie społecznej historii sztuki* [Images of Polishness. Visual arts of the Second Polish Republic in the perspective of social history of art]. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2019, pp. 18–24.

[12] WNUK Włodzimierz. Porachunki Wojciecha Brzegi ze Stanisławem Witkiewiczem [Wojciech Brzega's scores with Stanisław Witkiewicz]. In: *Wieści* 1968, no. 9 (584), p. 3; BRZEGA, Wojciech. Żywot górala poczciwego. *Wspomnienia i gawędy* [Life of an honest Highlander. Memories and tales]. Anna Micińska and Michał Jagiełło (ed.), Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1969, pp. 75–76.

[13] MUSZKOWSKA, Ludowość utracona… passim.

"Zakopane method". However, in both the style and the method, their "Zakopaneness" was an "imaginary" project, a pseudo-regionalism combining local elements with historical forms, Polish and Tyrolean respectively.[14]

After Poland regained its independence (1918), the need for resistance to the cultural and symbolic policies of the occupiers disappeared. It was then that the Highlanders' region was tasked with representing Poland in propaganda. During the 1925 International Exhibition of Decorative Arts and Modern Industry in Paris, an important place in the Polish Department was entrusted to the Zakopane School of Wood Industry, then headed by Karol Stryjeński (1887–1932). The native version of the Art Deco style presented in Paris combined refined modernity with the tradition of folk culture. The formula of the new style, known as Polish Decorative Art, was intended to testify to the distinctiveness of Polish culture, and thus to legitimise the existence of the Second Polish Republic.[15]

Works by students from the PSPD were included among other Polish *objets d'art* in Paris. Created under the direction of Stryjeński, the synthetic figures of Madonnas, Janosiks and Highlander "types" were characterised by expressive forms, and gave the impression of being archaic and exotic. They drew upon the modernist fascination with non-European, primitive and exotic cultures and the myth of "primitivism" created on its basis which, apart from an impulse to search for new forms, was considered as a remedy for the overwhelming experience of modernity and a chance for regeneration. The works of the professional artists presented in Paris served as examples of interpretation of this desired pattern. Works by Jan Szczepkowski (1878–1964), Karol Stryjeński and Wojciech Jastrzębowski (1884–1963) were specific improvisations on folk themes, captured in a decorative rhythmic, sublime, post-Cubist stylisation. In the history of the Zakopane school, the Paris exhibition went down as an unprecedented success in history, which was confirmed by the number of medals and awards won there.[16] The organisers also managed to achieve measurable commercial success. The sculptures were snapped up by collectors during the exhibition, and constituted an important "export product" in Zakopane in the following years. Today they are again being appreciated among collectors and lovers of the Art Deco style.

Karol Stryjeński, the author of the Parisian success, continued Stanisław Witkiewicz's ideas to a large extent, in the way that he shared his conviction that one could find relics of the old, proto-Polish culture in the Highlanders' work, which had been preserved thanks to the isolation of the Tatra Mountains and Podhale from the rest of the civilised world. The belief in this attractive myth of the "exotic and invigorating periphery" was almost universal among European modernists at the turn of the twentieth century. The image (also mythologised) of the peasant – a talented artist living in harmony with nature, creating objects of perfect form – was crucial to this belief.[17] In this regard Stryjeński, unlike Witkiewicz, declared that

[14] MUSZKOWSKA, Ludowość utracona… passim; STOBIECKA, Monika. Kolonialny regionalizm. Problemy tożsamości w zakopiańskiej architekturze [Colonial regionalism. The problems of identity in Zakopane architecture]. In: *Miejsce* 2019, no 5, passim, accessed May 1, 2024 https://www.researchgate.net/publication/.

[15] CHMIELEWSKA, Wyobrażenia polskości..., pp. 161–172.

[16] Zakopane's School and its teachers obtained: Grand Prix (3), diplome d'honneur (2), gold medals (4), silver medal (1), see: DREXLEROWA, Anna M., OLSZEWSKI Andrzej K. *Polska i Polacy na Powszechnych Wystawach Światowych 1851–2000* [Poland and Poles at the Universal World Exhibitions 1851–2000]. Warsaw: Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2005, pp. 206–209.

[17] JANKOWSKA-MARZEC, Agnieszka. *Między etnografią a sztuką. Mitologizacja hucułów i Huculszczyzny w kulturze polskiej XIX i XX wieku* [Between ethnography and art. Mythologisation of Hutsuls and Hutsul in Polish culture of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries]. Cracow: TAiWPN Universitas, 2013, pp. 25–31.

his Highlander students would be free to choose the topic and forms of their work. And although this freedom was undoubtedly not complete, Stryjeński's undeniable achievement was the introduction of new (modern) teaching methods into the Zakopane school, and above all, the creation of a different relationship between teacher and students, which was built on the basis of dialogue and mutual respect. Stryjeński is considered to be the one who freed the Zakopane school system from the confines of professional and academic standards. It was thanks to him that the path to higher artistic education was opened for the graduates of the PSPD, when, in the wake of their teacher from the Tatra Mountains, his students set off for Warsaw. One of them was Antoni Kenar (1906–1959), today a legendary figure with an authority incomparable to any other twentieth-century sculptor from Zakopane. Kenar returned to the Tatra Mountains in the 1940s, and in this difficult period he taught and managed the school, ensuring its independence during the era of socialist-realist pressures and restrictions. He continued the pedagogical methods, and was the heir to the ethos of Karol Stryjeński. He was actively engaged in consolidating and activating the local artistic community.

After World War II, the discrepancy between the stereotype of the folklore of Zakopane woodcarving and the artistic ambitions of the Zakopane sculptors deepened. The local artistic milieu was made up of graduates of the Zakopane school (pre-war students of Stryjeński and post-war students of Kenar), most of whom continued their education at universities in Poland and abroad (Antoni Rząsa, Władysław Hasior, Stanisław and Józef Kuloń, Grzegorz Pecuch, Henryk Burzec, Ryszard Orski et al.). Their works represented different formal and ideological concepts, but the art critics focused on what they had in common: their material of choice (wood) and their environment (Zakopane and the Tatra Mountains) – itself burdened with symbolic and patriotic significance – and above all, on the provincial and folk origins of the artists. Such optics allowed for the easy categorisation of their works, and also corresponded to the cultural policy of the state authorities.

By definition, post-war Poland was "of the people" (i.e. the People's Republic of Poland, the official name of the Polish state from 1952 to 1989). The government supported and promoted folklore as the foundations of a uniform nationwide culture and an important element in the policy of unifying society.[18] The centralised system of production and trade in folk art (based on the *Cepelia* Central Folk and Art Industry Centre, established for that purpose in 1949 with a network of regional cooperatives and model workshops) was an important tool in the fight against civilisational and economic backwardness. In local centres with handicraft traditions, so-called creative collectives were organised, which were led by professional artists. As part of the glorious mission of "saving vanishing folk art", artists, ethnographers and art historians supported folk artists by ensuring prosperity for their products, but also provided patterns, qualified their works and interfered in the creative process. As a result, art which was still referred to as "folk" was no longer produced for the people, but for the needs of the city, and it corresponded to the tastes and aesthetic needs of a sophisticated intellectual recipient.[19]

In terms of understanding the folklore and the concept of promoting it, there was a clear continuity between the interwar period and the People's Republic of Poland. The post-war institutional structure was based on previous initiatives, including the pre-war activity of the

[18] KORDJAK, Joanna (ed.). *Polska – kraj folkloru?* [Poland – a country of folklore?]. Warsaw: Zachęta Narodowa Galeria Sztuki, 2016, pp. 11–23.

[19] KORDUBA, Piotr. *Ludowość na sprzedaż, Towarzystwo Popierania Przemysłu Ludowego, Cepelia, Instytut Wzornictwa Przemysłowego* [Folkness for sale, Society for the Support of Folk Industry, Cepelia, Institute of Industrial Design]. Warsaw: Fundacja Bęc Zmiana, Narodowe Centrum Kultury, 2013, passim.

Society for the Promotion of the People's Industry. The conviction regarding the relationship between contemporary, national and folk art did not lose its relevance. Let us recall that this idea had already been emphasised by Witkiewicz in the project which developed the Zakopane style, and was then continued by the official Polish representation in Paris in 1925. The linking of the patriotic theme of folk patterns with their "modernity" was also coherent, which was clearly emphasised by the curators of the famous exhibition *Folk art in Poland*, organised in 1937 at the Institute for the Propaganda of Art in Warsaw. At that time, they portrayed the formal relationship between the native artifacts and the works of French modernists. When, after the war, Polish folk art was presented at the Tate Gallery in London and the Musée National d'Art Moderne in Paris in 1949, the Polish press reported the opinions of French critics who emphasised two fundamental themes: the national character of folk art and its relationship with the works of leading modern Western European artists.[20] It is worth noting that the exhibition also includes works made by students of the Zakopane school under the supervision of Antoni Kenar: ceramic products, wooden furniture and toys.

Another event that undoubtedly ennobled the Zakopane artists' milieu was the participation of Kenar and his students in the XXVIII Art Biennale in Venice in 1956. However, also at this time, the criteria for selection followed by Juliusz Starzyński, the curator of the Polish pavilion, were far from contemporary artistic discussions. The choice of the artists from Zakopane was determined by the "folk accent" visible in their works.[21] The same criteria were successfully used in the 1970s by Aleksander Jackowski,[22] which perpetuated the stereotypes of the presentation and interpretation of Zakopane woodcarving. Both the paradigms (national and folk) were applied despite the changing contexts (historical, political and artistic). This led to the fossilisation of a specific "traditionalism" in Zakopane art, as well as its subordination to so-called "high" art which was not described with additional adjectives (as opposed to national and folk art). For the sake of confirmation, let us recall the concept of a recent exhibition held on the occasion of the centenary of Polish independence (2018) at the Zakopane Municipal Art Gallery, with a presentation of "Polish sculptors' significant projects in wood".[23] The curators' intention was to present the native woodcarving in the context of "a mythologised image of the pre-Slavic region with its organically related wooden material and the richness of authentic wooden material culture", thus referring – more than a hundred years after the death of Stanisław Witkiewicz – to the phantasm of the mythical proto-Polish style embodied in wood. At the same time, the selection of participants, the search for work with wood in the

[20] T.G. Polska sztuka ludowa na wystawie w stolicy Francji [Polish folk art at an exhibition in the capital of France]. In: *Rzeczpospolita* 1949, no. 26 (1592), p. 3.

[21] STARZYŃSKI, Juliusz. Polska na XXVIII Biennale w Wenecji [Poland at the XXVIII Venice Art Biennale]. In: *Przegląd Artystyczny* 1956, no. 3, p. 5; SOSNOWSKA, Joanna. *Polacy na Biennale Sztuki w Wenecji: 1895–1999* [Poles at the Venice Art Biennale: 1895–1999]. Warsaw: Instytut Sztuki Polska Akademia Nauk, 1999, p. 101.

[22] CHRUDZIMSKA-UHERA Katarzyna. „Barwa drewna". O kryteriach oceny i interpretacji twórczości rzeźbiarzy zakopiańskich w polskiej krytyce artystycznej i wystawiennictwie od zakończenia II wojny światowej do wystawy Sztuka Ludowa w 30-leciu PRL ["The colour of wood". On the criteria for assessing and interpreting the work of Zakopane sculptors in Polish art criticism and exhibitions from the end of World War II to the exhibition Folk Art on the 30th Anniversary of the Polish People's Republic]. In: *Saeculum Christianum* vol. XXVIII, 2021, special edition, pp. 122–142.

[23] ROSIŃSKA-PODLEŚNY, Lidia, MAŁKOWSKA, Monika. *Rzeźba w drewnie w twórczości polskich artystów 1918–2018* [Woodcarving in the work of Polish artists 1918–2018]. Zakopane: Miejska Galeria Sztuki, 2018, p. 3.

output of "recognised" sculptors and the emphasis on their resemblance to the Zakopane works revealed a longing to belong to modernity.[24]

Criteria and interpretation

The purpose of recalling the history of Zakopane woodcarving was to indicate the genesis and mechanisms by which the criteria for its interpretation were defined. Even Stanisław Witkiewicz should be credited with the ennoblement of wood as a material in which patriotic symbolic codes were inscribed.[25] Zakopane woodcarving has been permanently included in the set of "images of Polishness" in the national symbolic universe. This relationship is based on the belief in the folk genesis of the work of the inhabitants of Zakopane. At the same time, "folklore" is understood here in two ways: as a source of national stylistic features and as a primary, "primitive" impulse enabling the modernist revival of art and, more broadly understood, the regeneration of society and the individual. In such an approach, the individuality of the creators and the context of individual, lived experiences are generalised or ignored completely. In such ethnographic contexts, the works of the Zakopane school functioned for a long time in the history of art and museum collections. We must begin by recalling that it was the nineteenth-century "discoverers" and lovers of Podhale associated with the Tatra Society who preceded the establishment of the Tatra Museum (1888). The first museum collections (botanical, geological, zoological and ethnographic, and the library) were gathered thanks to the gifts and purchases of private collectors: Róża Potocka, Countess Raczyńska, Maria and Bronisław Dembowscy, and Zygmunt Gnatowski. When the new Tatra Museum building was officially opened in the summer of 1922, it housed two exhibitions: ethnographic on the ground floor and natural history on the first floor. In the late 1920s, the then director of the museum, Juliusz Zborowski, planned to create three new departments: modern art, artistic crafts and the history of Podhale. These plans were partially realised only after World War II. Significant changes were possible thanks to the establishment of branches of the Tatra Museum. Thus, in 1993, the Stanisław Witkiewicz Museum of the Zakopane Style in the Koliba villa was opened. In 2007, the Museum of the Zakopane Style – Inspirations, named after Maria and Bronisław Dembowski, was established in the cottage of the Gąsienica Sobczak family, and in 2011, the Gallery of Twentieth Century Art was established in the Oksza villa.[26]

Separating twentieth century Zakopane art and making it available on permanent exhibition in the Tatra Museum was a response to the growing interest in this period among researchers and collectors. The achievements of the Zakopane school of wood industry and local artists and craftsmen were part of the growing appreciation of the Art Deco style and contemporary applied art. The attractiveness of Zakopane sculptures, souvenirs and furniture began to be noticed. Especially highly valued were their decorativeness and their kinship with the best of

[24] In the exhibition catalogue, the following are adjacent to each other: *Christiana* by Antoni Kenar and *Gazing figure* by Grzegorz Klaman, portraits by Waldemar Cichoń and busts by Xawery Dunikowski, school work by Henryk Morel and *Column* by Adam Myjak, works by Jerzy Bereś and those by Wojciech Brzega, pieces by Władysław Hasior and by Oskar Hansen, work by Tadeusz Stryjeński and by Maciej Szańkowski.

[25] GIEŁDOŃ-PASZEK, Drewno a sprawa Polska…, pp. 131–138.

[26] The last two branches were established in buildings whose conservation renovations were possible thanks to European Union funds. All information comes from: https://muzeumtatrzanskie.pl/o-nas/historia-muzeum-tatrzanskiego/ (13.02.2025).

their European counterparts. This trend was confirmed by scientific research and publications,[27] and the change in the reception of works of art and artistic crafts was quickly reflected in the art market. Since December 2019, one of the most important auction houses in Poland – Desa Unicum – has been organising annual auctions entitled "Zakopane! Zakopane!" entirely devoted to art and design related to the Podhale region. Initially, the offer included objects from the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century. However, this new initiative immediately gained huge interest from sellers and buyers, so over time the scope of the offer was expanded to include art and design from the second half of the twentieth century.

At the same time, academic and museum circles have been developing research to supplement the knowledge about artistic life in Zakopane in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The result was exhibitions promoting Zakopane art not only in Poland but also internationally. In this respect, the exhibition "Young Poland. Polish Art 1890–1918", organised in a cooperation between the National Museum in Krakow, the William Morris Gallery and the Polish Cultural Institute in London, and the accompanying publication, played a fundamental role.[28] Paintings, furniture, fabrics and artistic crafts were shown, which were representative of Polish art at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the Modernism period (Art Nouveau), or "Young Poland". They were shown as co-creating an international movement of craft renewal – along with the Arts and Crafts Movement born in Great Britain. In this context, the Zakopane style and the work of artists and woodcarvers, as well as everyday objects of the material culture of the Highlanders from Podhale, were considered as a key element and source of inspiration.

In the following years, the Tatra Museum undertook further initiatives which confirmed the recognition of the Zakopane timber industry, woodcarving and artistic crafts as a valuable area of art history and visual culture. We are talking about two exhibitions organised in the Museum in the summer and autumn of 2023. The first, titled "Made in Zakopane", presented Zakopane artistic crafts until World War II. The already well known and appreciated sculptures of the School of Wood Industry were presented, as well as numerous objects by lesser-known or completely forgotten creators and craft workshops and schools.[29] It should be emphasised that this was the first exhibition devoted entirely to Zakopane artistic crafts as an important source and component of twentieth-century design in Poland.

The continuation of this initiative, presenting works created after World War II, was an exhibition opened at the Tatra Museum in Zakopane. Its ambiguous and mysterious title, "Urbamistyka" ("Urban-mystic"), was a play on words suggesting the connections between utility design and so-called high art with metaphysical, artistic aspirations. The exhibition included furniture, ceramics, kilims and toys as well as architectural designs, interiors and

[27] See e.g.: CHRUDZIMSKA-UHERA, Stylizacje i modernizacje…; CHRUDZIMSKA-UHERA, Katarzyna. Rzeźby Państwowej Szkoły Przemysłu Drzewnego w Zakopanem. [Sculptures of the State School of Wood Industry in Zakopane]. In: CHOLEWIŃSKI Zbigniew (ed.). *Polskie art déco. Materiały V sesji naukowej: Polskie art déco. Rzeźba i płaskorzeźba*, [Polish Art Deco. Materials of the 5th scientific session: Polish Art Déco. Sculpture and bas-relief], Plock: Muzeum Mazowieckie w Plocku, 2015, pp. 170–191.

[28] *Young Poland. The Polish Arts and Crafts Movement 1890–1918*, ed. Julia Griffin and Andrzej Szczerski, Lund Humphries, London 2020. The exhibition was presented in 2021/2022 in London (William Morris Gallery) and in 2025 in Kyoto (MoMAC).

[29] PITOŃ Helena. *Made in Zakopane. Zakopiańskie rzemiosło artystyczne do II wojny światowej*, [Made in Zakopane. Zakopane artistic craftsmanship until World War II]. Zakopane: Tatra Museum, 2023. The exhibition was located in the main building of the Museum, lasted from July 1 to October 1, 2023, and was curated by Agata Pitoń.

advertising.[30] The curators stated that the exhibition does not pretend to be a comprehensive study of artistic creativity after World War II, nor is it a monograph collecting concepts of local urban planning. Despite this, it was a first and fully successful attempt to claim the place of the Zakopane art industry in the history of post-war design.

The briefly cited facts confirm that Zakopane sculpture and design are slowly but irrevocably establishing their rank and position in the canon. However, the reception by viewers and experts is still too strongly dependent on patriotic-national contexts and the myth of folk art, treated as a "primitivist" regenerative impulse. Today we cannot doubt that such a viewpoint is anachronistic and methodologically inappropriate. The concept of "folk art" was born at the turn on the twentieth century as a result of subjective decisions and judgments. It served to exoticise the representation and construct the desired image of the countryside and its people. The modernist myth of "primitivism", which was finally exposed on the occasion of the famous exhibition *"Primitivism" in 20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern*, at the Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) in New York in 1984, has been subjected to a similar deconstruction. At that time, the curatorial concept of this exhibition was assessed as a manifestation of the postcolonial "anxious desire and power of the modern era in the West to collect the world".[31]

There is no doubt that the history of Zakopane sculpture has yet to be written. By this I refer not only to its post-war history, but also to the need for a broader look at the Witkiewicz and interwar periods. It is necessary to revise the strategies and paradigms used hitherto, which were carried out in accordance with the methodology of grounded theory (basic research), and to take into account the contemporary research contexts of the so-called new humanities: ethnology, history (including social and environmental aspects) and art history (postcolonial studies). Critical curatorial projects showing selected problematic or monographic aspects in a local and supraregional perspective will be helpful in challenging the strongly rooted stereotypes. Their aim should be to define a new framework for interpreting Zakopane sculpture and design in the orbit of its relations to modernism and modernity, the world of nature, tradition, and the individual biographies of artists.

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Umowa pomiędzy Maciejem Mardułą a Wydziałem TT, Kraków 6 czerwca 1876, [The agreement between Maciej Marduła and the Tatra Society Department, Cracow, June 6, 1876], ms, in The Tatra Museum Archive, sign. AR/No/185/6:1876.

[30] The exhibition was located in two branches of the Tatra Museum – the Oksza villa and the Władysław Hasior Gallery in Zakopane. It lasted from August 5 to November 12 2023 and was curated by Julita Dembowska and Ania Batko.

[31] CLIFFORD, James. *Kłopoty z kulturą. Dwudziestowieczna etnografia, literatura i sztuka* [Problems with culture. Twentieth-century ethnography, literature and art.]. transl. Ewa DŻURAK, Joanna IRACKA, Ewa KLEKOT, Maciej KRUPA, Sławomir SIKORA and Monika SZNAJDERMAN. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo KR, 2000, p. 212.

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Natural and Anthropogenic Threats to Prehistoric Archaeological Sites in Southern Jordan: Comparison with Poland and a Call for the Exchange of Experiences

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Natural and Anthropogenic Threats to Prehistoric Archaeological sites in Southern Jordan. Comparison with Poland and Exchange of Experiences.

Jordan's rich archaeological heritage, encapsulating crucial chapters of human history, faces unprecedented threats from both natural and anthropogenic factors. This article elucidates the various challenges besieging Jordan's historical sites, ranging from climatic alterations to uninhibited urban expansion and intensified agricultural activities. Furthermore, it casts a spotlight on the detrimental impacts of mining activities, underscoring the urgent need for integrated conservation strategies. By fostering a symbiotic relationship between scientific research and practical conservation efforts, we advocate for a proactive approach to safeguard Jordan's irreplaceable treasures for future generations, thereby fostering sustainable tourism and empowering local communities. The article also posits that community education and the promotion of sustainable tourism stand as vital tools in this pressing endeavour, beckoning a wider appreciation for Jordan's affluent history and vibrant culture, while ensuring the endurance of its monumental legacy for ensuing generations.

In the face of escalating threats for a large number of archaeological sites, fostering international collaboration is paramount. The article explores the potential of forging ties with Polish researchers, who bring a rich background of experience in the meticulous conservation and management of archaeological heritage. By engaging in a vibrant exchange of experiences and knowledge as well as innovative protective methodologies, there is an avenue to enhance the robustness of preservation

strategies in place. This collaborative discourse not only promises fresh perspectives and solutions but also opens doors to capacity building through training and educational programmes dedicated to fragile archaeological relicts.

Keywords: archaeological heritage; Poland; Jordan; protection

Introduction: Regarding the archaeological resources of southern Jordan and Poland

There can be no doubt that the significance of capacity building and collaborative discourse is paramount in the protection of archaeological heritage worldwide. This process encompasses training, skill and knowledge enhancement, as well as institutional strengthening, pivotal in promoting and safeguarding cultural heritage. While methodologies and strategies for heritage conservation vary across countries[1], collaborative discourse is emerging as a universal element, fostering cooperation and dialogue among various groups and stakeholders[2].

At first glance, Poland and Jordan may seem entirely incomparable due to their environmental, historical and cultural differences. And yet, these two very different countries face the same global challenges, both natural and anthropogenic, that shape the status of their historical heritage. The aim of our reflection and research activities is therefore not only to identify threats but also to mutually verify the methods and legal regulations, as well as conservation, educational and promotional practices that influence both the present state and the future of their extensive heritage.

In countries which are rich in cultural and historical diversity like Poland and Jordan, capacity building takes multifaceted forms. In Poland, the country's historical tapestry – woven with most famous elements from the medieval era and the World Wars, but also from prehistoric periods – underpins the essential need for robust capacity-building programmes. Skills and knowledge enhancement in contemporary technologies, conservation methodologies and international cooperation are critical in safeguarding not only iconic sites such as Wawel Castle, Auschwitz Concentration Camp or Wieliczka Salt Mine, but in a particular way in relation to prehistoric sites, which are not as highly visible and where it is more difficult to secure elements of the heritage of the past.

Jordan, home to the illustrious Petra, Amman, Wadi Rum and an array of Nabatean, Roman and Byzantine ruins, faces similar and unique challenges. The arid climate, tourism pressure and, in some cases, insufficient local awareness necessitates enhanced capacity building. If we consider that Jordan is also a region with a vast number of archaeological sites from the oldest periods of human activity, crucial to our understanding of formative periods, we will surely see the need for a robust collaborative discourse. Such discourse can foster international partnerships, knowledge exchange and innovations that address these challenges much more effectively.

Education and training focused on elevating the awareness of local communities, governmental bodies, NGOs and other stakeholders is a common theme in both countries. Collaborative discourse nurtures international knowledge and experience exchange. It acts as a bridge connecting scientists, practitioners and local communities, enabling the development

[1] E.g. FORREST, C., *International Law and the Protection of Cultural Heritage*. Routledge 2010; WIŚNIEWSKI, M. & ŚWIDRAK, M. (eds.). *The Cultural Heritage Management and Protection in V4 Countries. Report*. Kraków 2021.

[2] E.g. MASINI, N. & SOLDOVIERI, F. Cultural heritage sites and sustainable management strategies. In: N. Masini & F. Soldovieri (eds.), *Sensing the Past. From Artifact to Historical Site*. Springer, 2017, pp. 1–19.

of more effective and sustainable conservation strategies. Global collaboration accelerates decision-making processes and implementation of actions aimed at preserving heritage for future generations. Strengthening the capacity of institutions and communities to embrace appropriate methods is integral to the capacity-building process. This is the reason why we have taken action to combine the knowledge and experience of researchers from Poland and Jordan. We jointly recognise that international dialogue and cooperation are key elements in preserving the cultural and historical wealth of nations. Both Poland and Jordan, with their unique heritage, stand to benefit immensely from global collaborations and knowledge exchange to ensure the protection and preservation of their archaeological treasures for future generations.

In the wider southern Jordan, there are many traces of human presence throughout history. These include both well-known and spectacular places such as Petra, built by the Nabateans, as well as less visible sites little-frequented by tourists, which are no less important from a scientific but also an economic point of view. All of them deserve efforts to study them and ensure they are well protected.

The strategic location of the southern region of Jordan, at the intersection of important ancient trade routes, made this area a pivotal point for cultural and commercial exchange, fostering the introduction of technological and cultural innovations over millennia. The region's unique geographical and climatic character has facilitated relatively good preservation of many sites and artefacts, allowing for their deep multidisciplinary analysis today.

However, this region faces difficult challenges related to the protection of its archaeological heritage. Urban and agricultural expansion, mining activities and climate change are just some of the factors that threaten the durability of these priceless resources. Therefore, today more than ever, there is a need to intensify efforts to protect this heritage for all of humanity – not only because of their scientific value but also for how they can help local communities in improving their fate and building stable sources of income.

Striving to preserve the heritage of southern Jordan thus requires an integrated approach that combines scientific research with practical conservation actions. There is also a need to develop infrastructure to protect archaeological sites from destructive human activities and natural erosion processes. Such actions have already been taken in the past[3], but the changing situation makes it necessary to go further.

Moreover, educating local communities and promoting sustainable tourism can prove to be key elements in striving to protect the region's heritage while encouraging a broader understanding of its rich history and culture.

Environmental threats in the western highlands of southern Jordan

On the basis of all these observations, some observations could be formulated based on, firstly, several multiperiod sites from the western highlands of southern Jordan. In this analysis, we will use as examples the archaeological sites investigated by the authors of the article[4].

[3] See e.g. AL BAWAB, A., ABDALLAH, R., BOZEYA, A., ODEH, F., AL ASHQAR, H. Jordan Conservation of Cultural Heritage in ERA. In: *Progress in Cultural Heritage Preservation-EUROMED* 2012, pp. 295–300.

[4] See e.g. KOŁODZIEJCZYK, P. *HLC Project 2014–2019. Research activity of Jagiellonian University in southern Jordan, Discovering Edom. Polish archaeological activity in southern Jordan*. Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Fundacja Popularyzacji Nauki im. Euklidesa, 2019, pp. 31–50; KOŁODZIEJCZYK, P., NOWAK, M., WASILEWSKI, M., KARMOWSKI, J., CZARNOWICZ, M., WITKOWSKA, B., BRZESKA-ZASTAWNA, A. & ZAKRZEŃSKA, J. *On the Edge of a Changing World: Late Prehistory in Southern Jordan: Polish Research Project in the Years 2014–2023*, 2024, forthcoming volume.

The first sites lie in the contemporary landscapes of Faysaliyya and Umm Tuweyrat sites (Fig. 1), which are dominated by rolling hills cut with seasonal rivers valleys. The streams beds usually have a width of 5–7 m width and a depth of 1–2 m. The valleys are about 20–30 m deep and 100–200 m in width. The archaeological artefacts in this area have been dated from the Palaeolithic through all epochs to post-Medieval times. The area lies in the watershed of the Central Desert areas. Contemporary rivers and streams heading east have an ephemeral character. However, they allow seasonal agriculture in the so-called "steppe" zone[5].

Beside the rains, the area lacks permanent water flow or water sources. Contemporary periodic rivers are active from October through to March/April, but precipitation usually does not exceed 50 mm/month. However, as indicated by numerous authors[6], even this level of precipitation significantly affects the geomorphology. The torrential rains also impact the region. They have become more frequent since 1990, but earlier episodes are known as well. The sheet floods and the subsequent runoff and slope erosion caused by this type of rain have a significant influence on slope morphology, the nature of sediments and soils, and the preservation or destruction of archaeological sites. The erosive intensity of such phenomena not only results in the destruction of potential residential structures and the like but also obliterates traces of agricultural activity in river valleys[7].

Fig. 1: *Umm Tuweyrat: Dolmen field in southern Jordan*, photo P. Kołodziejczyk.

The second factor affecting the sedimentation are the intensive aeolian processes. The area under investigation is covered with desert pavement built mostly of cherts with an admixture of limestones. Intensive aeolian erosion is caused by the June–August winds, typically 20–30 km/h (50–80%), and the February–June winds of 30–50 km/h (10–15%). Very interesting in this perspective is the scarce or absent varnish (natural hard coating of exposed rock surfaces) and the high degree of roundness (degree of rounding of rock grains). This can be explained by the intensive rains and consecutive sheet floods. This factor has a substantial eroding-transporting potential.

The next sites explored – the Munqatta site (Fig. 2) and the Wadi Mashra area – are located in the marginal zone of the Wadi Araba Rift. The local tectonics substantially affects the hydrology, soil development and archaeological sites in this area. The rock layers are tiled by means of earthquakes and landslides and cut with water stream beds. Combined, these factors cause the step-like morphology. Rock walls (cliffs) of various highs are divided with steep to gentle slopes or even small plateaux. Contemporary precipitation in this area is as scarce as around Faysaliyya and Umm Tuweyrat; nevertheless fluvial erosion is and seems to have been important. This can

[5] For precipitation data see: ABABSA, M. *Atlas of Jordan: History, Territories and Society*, Presses de l'Ifpo, 2014.

[6] See e.g. RAHN, P. H. *Sheetfloods, Streamfloods, And the Formation of Pediments*. Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 1967.

[7] See CONTRERAS-LÓPEZ, M., VERGARA CORTÉS, H., STERQUEL, R. F. Elementos de la historia natural del sistema de humedales el Yali. In: *Anales Museo de Historia Natural de Valparaíso* Vol. 27, 2014, 51–67; CORDOVA, C.E., *Millennial Landscape Change in Jordan: Geoarchaeology and Cultural Ecology*, University of Arizona Press, 2007, pp. 272.

Fig. 2: *Al- Munqata'a: Neolithic site in southern Jordan*, photo P. Kołodziejczyk.

be coupled with the observation that the older archaeological material is, the higher it is found (with Palaeolithic implements near the mountain ridges). The winter period is especially crucial to the erosional rate.

Al-Munqata'a archaeological site is located on the northern slope of the canyon directly beneath at-Tafileh city. The site was established on one of the rocks shelfs around 80–100 m above contemporary river bed in the Kurnub sandstone layers. The shelf is plane or slightly inclined and is 200–400 m in width. The bedrock is covered with a very thin (0.3–3.0 m) colluvium layer. The contemporary location is completely deprived of water (stream or sources); however, the character of on-site sediments confirms that the winter–spring rains affect the hillslope processes substantially. The contemporary geomorphology is very steep and the erosional processes are very intensive. The processes taking place here are analogous to the threats recorded in the Petra zone[8]. In the flatter parts of the canyon both scree and alluvial fans are formed. In addition, very intensive particle falls, rock falls, avalanches and topples were documented through whole year round. In the vicinity of the archaeological site the newly built road additionally triggers hillslope erosion. Pastoral influence on the flora cover[9] also seems to be an important factor in the degradation of the site. Throughout the area trampling and animal paths not only follow the local morphology but also are the factor in its formation. Up to the present day the sheep and goat herds pass through several times a day. This small influence also causes visible changes in the geomorphology.

Another site studied by the authors, Huseyniya (Fig. 3), is located in a relatively flat area, in the bed of a seasonal river, in close proximity to a basaltoid lava dome and stream. This location exposes Huseyniya to minimal influence of fluvial factors compared to the other sites. Without a doubt, aeolian processes, both deflationary and dune-forming, are dominant here.

Another area and set of archaeological sites worth discussing are the Neolithic sites in the western highlands. These are significantly impacted by various factors. The architectural remains of these Neolithic sites are highly susceptible to weather conditions, particularly rainwater, which poses a significant threat to their integrity. Even recently excavated sites have already begun to experience natural deterioration, with portions of their walls collapsing. Some of these sites have been under excavation for over two decades yet continue to suffer from ongoing structural damage. These Neolithic villages display two distinct architectural building

[8] DELMONACO, G., MARGOTTINI, C., SPIZZICHINO, D. Rock Slope Potential Failures in the Siq of Petra (Jordan). In: *Landslide Science for a Safer Geoenvironment*, Springer, 2014, pp. 341–347.

[9] For historical perspective compare e.g. BARKER, G. Farmers, herders and miners in the Wadi Faynan, southern Jordan: A 10,000-year landscape archaeology. In Barker G., Gilbertson D. (eds.). *The Archaeology of drylands*. London-New York 2000, pp. 62–84.

Fig. 3: *Huseiniya: Chalcolithic site in southern Jordan*, photo P. Kołodziejczyk.

techniques[10]. The first technique involves the use of standing stones supported by soil and additional stones. These structures are particularly vulnerable to rain, as the soil holding the stones together breaks down, leading to their collapse. This deterioration occurs relatively quickly once the stones are exposed to natural elements, undermining the stability of the entire structure. This construction method was commonly employed during the earlier stages of the Neolithic period. The second technique, observed in pre-pottery Neolithic villages, entails the construction of walls using multiple courses of semi-dressed stones held together with small chip stones and soil (Fig. 7). Similarly, these walls are highly susceptible to rainwater, which erodes the soil between the stones, resulting in the gradual collapse of sections of the wall. The site of Beidha (Fig. 4–5), which began to be excavated in 1958[11] (Kirkbride, 1968), serves as a prominent example of this situation. Unfortunately, it has not been adequately protected from natural factors and if one visits the site today there are significant challenges in identifying visible features

Fig. 4–5: *Beidha: Neolithic site in the vicinity of Petra, southern Jordan*, photo P. Kołodziejczyk.

documented in the published materials. This case at Beidha serves as a cautionary example illustrating the potential fate of many other excavated Neolithic villages in Jordan. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that Beidha is situated in a low-altitude region with lower annual precipitation compared to other sites. Moreover, the site has undergone a dedicated project centred around conservation and presentation[12].

The Neolithic villages in the western highlands face significant deterioration due to their geographical location, characterised by the highest annual precipitation in the region. These villages possess architectural remains that are distinct compared to those found in eastern Badia

[10] KINZEL, M. Preservation and Presentation of Neolithic Sites: A Case Study of Shkarat Msaied, Southern Jordan. In: MARCHETTI, N. & THUESEN, I. (eds.). *ARCHAIA: Case Studies on Research Planning, Characterization, Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*. BAR ed. Oxford: Archaeopress, vol. 1877, 2008, pp. 331–338.

[11] KIRKBRIDE, D. Beidha: Early Neolithic village life south of the Dead Sea. In: *Antiquity* 42, 1968, pp. 263–274.

[12] As highlighted by DENNIS, S., FINLAYSON, B. & NAJJAR, M. Conservation and presentation of Neolithic Beidha, southern Jordan. In: *Antiquity* 76, 2002, pp. 933–934.

Fig. 6: *Basta: Neolithic site in southern Jordan*, photo M. B. Tarawneh.

(see section below). The walls of these villages are notably taller, often exceeding five metres in height. However, this increased height renders them more susceptible to damage from rainwater, making them delicate and prone to collapse within a relatively short period following excavations.

Certain monuments and artefacts within the Neolithic sites are exceptionally fragile, such as the plaster floors and walls that were common during that period. These surfaces were sometimes adorned with red-coloured paint made from red ochre. However, this plaster is highly sensitive to both water and natural elements, as well as to human and animal activity. When examining the published material featuring many Neolithic villages, we often come across images showcasing extensive areas covered with painted or unpainted plaster. Yet, upon visiting these sites today, it is rare to find any remnants of plaster remaining. Instead, we are confronted with the sight of thorns and shrubs, which further contribute to the damage inflicted on these sites, especially after rainy seasons.

Fig. 7: *Shkarat Msaied: Neolithic site in southern Jordan*, photo M.B. Tarawneh.

Natural threats in case of desert sites in southern Jordan

Using the example of Neolithic sites again, it can be concluded that in contrast to sites in the western highlands, these sites in the desert region of eastern Badia are relatively less affected by natural factors. Several reasons contribute to this.

The architectural remains found in the Neolithic sites of eastern Badia exhibit distinct characteristics (Fig. 8–10). The walls of these structures were constructed using undressed natural stones of various sizes, often without the use of soil as a fixing material. Instead, the large stones were positioned in a way that they interlocked with each other, creating a sturdy and resilient structure. This construction technique differs from that of the Neolithic villages, where soil and other materials were commonly used to secure the stones. As a result of this unique construction method, certain elements such as animal corrals and circular structures from the Chalcolithic period, which have been exposed on the surface for thousands of years, remain remarkably intact despite the exposure to the natural environment. Similarly, the walls of desert

Fig. 8–10: *Desert sites in southeastern Badia region*, photo M. B. Tarawneh and W. Abu--Azizeh.

kites[13], which date back to the Neolithic period, have endured for over 9000 years since their last use. These examples highlight the impressive resistance of these structures to natural factors. Moreover, the Neolithic occupational sites in eastern Badia primarily exist underground, with only the upper courses of the walls or standing stones barely visible on the surface. Even after excavation, this type of site demonstrates a higher level of resistance to natural factors compared to the Neolithic villages. The unique construction techniques employed in eastern Badia, combined with the subterranean nature of some sites, contribute to their enhanced durability and resilience against the detrimental effects of natural factors. Nonetheless, ongoing conservation efforts and site management remain essential to ensure the continued preservation of these valuable archaeological sites.

The walls found at the Badia sites, in comparison to the Neolithic villages, are generally of a shallower height. However, in cases where deep walls exist, such as those observed at the cells of the desert kites, which can reach depths of over 2 m below the ground surface, they are constructed using robust techniques due to their function as final hunting areas for animals[14]. In these cases, soil is not used to fix the stones together. Instead, the entire wall leans against and is fully supported by compacted natural soil. The lower course of the wall may consist of standing stones, but their strength is reinforced by the upper courses, making it highly challenging for these standing stones to collapse. The cells within the wall are built in a rounded shape, which further enhances the strength and resistance of the structure against soil movement or even earthquakes. This rounded shape provides additional stability

[13] Desert kites are large, stone structures found in arid and semi-arid regions, including Eastern Badia of Jordan. These enigmatic formations date back to the Neolithic were used primarily for hunting large herds of wild animals.
[14] ABU-AZIZEH, W. & TARAWNEH, M.B. Out of the harra: Desert kites in south-eastern Jordan. New results from the South Eastern Badia Archaeological Project. In: *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy*, 26, 2015, pp. 95–119; TARAWNEH, M., ABU-AZIZEH, W., ABUDANAH, F. & CRASSARD, R. Desert Kites and Campsites in the South Eastern Badia of Jordan: Results of the South Eastern Badia Archaeological Project, Jordan. In: *Al-Hussein Bin Talal University Journal of Research*, 2(3), 2017, pp. 1–31.

and structural integrity, contributing to the overall durability of the walls. The construction techniques employed in these deep walls at the Badia sites are specifically designed to withstand external forces and ensure their long-term stability. The reliance on compacted natural soil, the support from upper courses, and the rounded shape all work in concert to create a robust and resilient wall structure. It is worth noting that despite their strength, ongoing monitoring and preservation efforts are still necessary to protect and conserve these important archaeological sites.

The eastern Badia region typically experiences extremely low annual rainfall, averaging around 50mm. This limited rainfall generally does not have a significant impact on archaeological remains. However, occasional flash floods can result in erosion, particularly affecting sites situated near wadis.

Interestingly, the climate in eastern Badia also offers some positive aspects. We have observed that excavated sites in this region tend to accumulate windblown sand, which serves as a protective layer for the site and its floors after excavation. This natural process helps safeguard the archaeological site and contributes to its preservation.

Another advantage is that eastern Badia typically has sparse vegetation compared to the western highlands, which means there is less vegetation-induced damage to the archaeological sites. The absence of dense vegetation minimises the risk of roots infiltrating structures and causing physical harm.

Human factors as a threat in southern Jordan

We have to be aware of the fact that current human activity influences the southern Jordanian landscape in at least an equally significant way to natural processes. The drilling of deep wells, mechanised agriculture and, most recently, the erection of wind turbines, are causing acute changes to the geomorphology and historic–archaeological heritage. This activity mainly results in the destruction of the surface record of archaeological sites and those lying shallow under the ground. This mainly affects sites dating from the Palaeolithic to the Bronze Age, which are not characterised by the presence of visible architecture on the surface. In recent years, wind farms have been built covering larger and larger areas, for instance, in the vicinity of the abovementioned Faysaliyya archaeological site.

There are also other anthropogenic factors affecting the risk or destruction of archaeological sites. One of them is open-pit mining. A good example is the eastern and southeastern parts of Wadi Mashra, which are being destroyed by mining activities targeting the limestone and gypsum layers. In the valley below the Umm Tuweyrat site, there is an open-pit mine for phosphorites. Currently, it does not reach the area of the site itself, but it is uncertain whether it previously encompassed some of its undocumented parts.

An important factor influencing the condition of archaeological sites and monuments in southern Jordan is the activity of humans in this area. Primarily, it is vital to note the increased tourist traffic, clearly visible in places popular among tourists and tour operators. Ever since the "discovery" for Europeans of the most famous site in this region – Petra and its monuments – in the early nineteenth century, the presence of travellers and tourists has adversely affected many buildings related to the Petra region. It suffices to mention that many people who visited this place in the past, believing in circulated legends, blindly shot at the urn located above the central part of the pediment in the hopes of obtaining the supposed treasures contained within it. Today, no one allows themselves such extravagant liberties, however, the sheer enormity of

the tourist traffic – crowds of pedestrians marching daily through Siq and the centre of Petra, climbing to the "Monastery" (Deir) situated above the valley, sitting in the ever-expanding cafes and leaving trash – adversely affects the state of preservation of the monuments. Additionally, tourist traffic generates a huge development of services offered in this region by local vendors, carriers and guides. Hundreds of tourists are transported daily in small carriages or on donkeys over the preserved fragments of the original Siq pavement or the soft-rock steps leading to the Deir, gradually causing their disappearance despite conservation efforts implemented by Jordanian services to care for the monuments. It should be noted that the Department of Antiquities of the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, which oversees more than 10,000 archaeological sites in the country, together with the management of the Petra National Park, conducts very intensive activities aimed at securing or reconstructing many facilities and areas of Petra. However, the scale of the area of southern Jordan and the diversity of the protective and conservation problems occurring there, combined with the difficult accessibility of many places and the huge financial resources needed to carry out these tasks, is massive and does not allow for many actions that seem urgently needed.

Fig. 11: *Umm Tuweyrat: General view on the dolmen field in southern Jordan*, photo P. Kołodziejczyk.

Another difficult-to-solve dilemma is the operation within the structures and many smaller historic objects of the region by the local population, where people have been utilising dolmen graves or Nabatean tombs and *triclinia* (Roman dining rooms typically furnished with three reclining couches) for economic or residential purposes for generations. Attempts to persuade people to move to other places, even supported by substantial financial resources and the construction of special settlements, have not fully brought the desired effects to date. It is difficult to be surprised by such attitudes from communities which have been living in this area for centuries and treat its buildings and objects as functional elements of the space they utilise. For instance, the current state of the dolmen structures in Umm Tuweyrat (Fig.11), especially their inner parts, is due to their use by the local population, notably by groups of shepherds, as shelters. In this case, it cannot be referred to as plundering activity since the site is situated on rocks and digging in search of hidden objects is not possible; however, the interiors of the dolmens have mostly been emptied over time. In this context, a lack of education among local communities plays a crucial role in not fostering the preservation of this archaeological heritage. People are not only unaware of the scientific value of these structures but also fail to see their potential in fostering tourism and enhancing the image of the city and its surroundings.

Aside from these activities, local communities surrounding archaeological sites, including Neolithic settlements, also contribute to their destruction following excavation. Regrettably, certain sites have experienced instances of stones being removed from their walls for reuse in modern construction. The stones are sought after due to their favourable shape and ready availability; the best example of this situation come from the Neolithic village of Basta, east of Petra. Furthermore, in cases where sites are situated within modern urban areas, people often disregard their historical significance and unknowingly contribute to their degradation by

discarding rubbish at these sites without recognising their importance (Fig. 6). These behaviours by local communities underscore the need for greater awareness and education regarding the value of preserving archaeological sites and their cultural heritage. Engaging with and involving local communities in site conservation efforts, as well as implementing stricter regulations and enforcement, can help mitigate the damage caused by these destructive practices. Ultimately, fostering a sense of pride and appreciation for the historical significance of these sites is crucial for their long-term protection and sustainability.

Another aspect related to the difficult situation faced by archaeological sites in this region is the scarce amount of land suitable for agricultural or industrial activities, which often leads to the occupation of areas of archaeological sites. One example is the intensive construction of wind farms in the area of southern Jordan. This is, of course, very important for the inhabitants of this region, due to the necessity of producing electricity, but it often happens at the expense of areas noted by researchers as strongly marked with archaeological relics.

The last key human-origin factor affecting the condition of archaeological sites in southern Jordan (although this phenomenon is common in other countries, including Poland), is the deliberate destruction of archaeological artefacts during illegal forays seeking valuable items. This unfortunate practice extends to many sites, primarily due to the limited understanding of these sites and their historical significance. For instance, in case of the Neolithic sites, cup-marked stones in particular tend to attract the attention of site looters, who mistakenly believe that these stones indicate the presence of gold or hidden treasures within caves. This tradition of illegal excavation is detrimental to the preservation and study of the archaeological heritage. It results in damage to the integrity of archaeological inventories. The extraction of artefacts without proper documentation and excavation protocols erases crucial information about original contexts, diminishing our understanding of the past. Such predatory actions are, of course, the result of two phenomena. On one hand, there is the ease with which the items obtained in this manner can be sold to antiquarians, who mainly take advantage of imprecise laws in neighbouring Israel, "legalising" these artefacts and then selling them on at a profit. However, the main cause is the economic situation in Jordan and the need for the local population to seek additional income. Difficult living conditions and problems with finding sources of income, along with rising living costs, drive people to search for artefacts that can be sold. It is hard to criticise or be surprised at such phenomena as they are natural and understandable, and also known from many similar examples from around the world.

To address this issue, it is crucial to raise awareness about the importance of preserving archaeological sites and the scientific value of proper excavation and documentation. Strengthening legal measures and enforcement, along with engaging local communities in site protection and heritage awareness initiatives, can contribute to curbing illegal excavation and safeguarding the cultural heritage of archaeological sites in Jordan.

When analysing the examples cited earlier in terms of the problem at hand, it is important to emphasise that the impact of human activities on the Badia sites is minimal, for several reasons. Firstly, they are located at a considerable distance from modern settlements, reducing the likelihood of interference. Additionally, the nature of the Badia sites, particularly the circular structures, does not immediately suggest they are ancient sites to potential looters. The same is true for *rujum* (stone mound) sites, as this type of burial is still in use by modern Bedouin communities. However, it is worth noting that even in eastern Badia certain sites have experienced looting, and one of the primary reasons for this is the presence of cup-marked

stones on the surface. An example of this can be seen at site F19 in Jibal al-Khashabiyeh, east of al-Jafer[15]. The distinctive appearance of these stones attracts the attention of looters.

Comparison with natural and anthropogenic threats to prehistoric sites in Poland

In the lands of present-day Poland, we are faced with threats that, for various reasons, are different from those found in Jordan, but there are also some whose nature is very similar. Clearly, the environmental conditions, especially climate, are different. There are no desert or semi-desert landscapes in Poland, which are typical for the majority of Jordan's territory. As we already know, these conditions themselves are a certain threat to prehistoric sites, causing spontaneous, gravitational destruction of various kinds of prehistoric structures, especially stone ones. In the much more humid climatic conditions of Poland or, more broadly, the so-called "forest Europe", there are practically no areas devoid of permanent vegetation cover and a developed humus layer on the surface[16]. Naturally, these conditions mainly keep both immovable and movable monuments in the same place. This also applies to prehistoric stone structures, although there are vastly fewer of them in Poland compared to Jordan. Again, due to climatic differences, but also geological and geomorphological ones, wood was used much more often as a building material in Polish prehistoric sites compared to those in Jordan, where stone was more common.

However, the abovementioned climatic conditions are the cause of a whole set of taphonomic and sedimentary phenomena affecting the degree and manner of preservation of archaeological monuments and artefacts. Much higher and more regular precipitation than in Jordan brings water erosion, especially on slopes, and fluvial phenomena to the fore among the morphogenic factors[17]. Watercourses and their associated sediments not only provide attractive places for humans to live: river valleys are areas of sediment accumulation and erosion too. Rivers create terraces made of gravel, sand and silt–clay. During periods of increased flow dynamics, these may be blurred and removed, hence the location of archaeological sites near rivers or on flood plains and fluvial terraces has resulted in exposure to floods, burial and, in some cases, destruction by erosion[18].

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[15] TARAWNEH, M., ABU-AZIZEH, W., ABUDANAH, F. & CRASSARD, R. Desert Kites and Campsites in the South Eastern Badia of Jordan: Results of the South Eastern Badia Archaeological Project, Jordan. In: *Al-Hussein Bin Talal University Journal of Research*, 2(3), 2017, p. 15.

[16] SZAFER, W., ZARZYCKI, K. *Szata roślinna Polski* T.I/II, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe 1997; RALSKA -JASIEWICZOWA, M. Ewolucja szaty roślinnej. In: L. Starkel (ed.), *Geografia Polski. Środowisko przyrodnicze*. Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Warszawa, 1991, pp. 106–127; STARKEL, L. (ed.). *Geografia Polski. Środowisko przyrodnicze* (2nd edition). Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1999; RALSKA-JASIEWICZOWA, M., LATAŁOWA, M., WASYLIKOWA, K., TOBOLSKI, K., MADEYSKA, E., WRIGHT, H. E. JR. & TURNER, C. (eds.). *Late Glacial and Holocene history of vegetation in Poland based on isopollen maps*. W. Szafer Institute of Botany, Polish Academy of Sciences, Kraków, 2004, pp. 1–444; HARMATA, K., KALINOVYČ, N., BUDEK, A., STARKEL, L., JACYŠYN, A. Environmental changes during the Holocene. In: K. Harmata, J. Machnik, L. Starkel (eds.). *Environment and man at the Carpathian Foreland in the Upper Dnister catchment from Neolithic to Early Mediaeval period*. Kraków, 2006, pp. 66–82; RICHLING, A., SOLON J., MACIAS A., BALON J., BORZYSZKOWSKI J., KISTOWSKI M. (eds.). *Regionalna geografia fizyczna Polski*. Poznań: Bogucki Wydawnictwo Naukowe 2021.

[17] E.g. BRUD, S. Palaeogeography of the Western Sandomierz basin in the Late Neogene and Early Quaternary Times (Carpathian foredeep, South Poland). In: *Annales Societatis Geologorum Poloniae* 74, 2004, pp. 63–93.

[18] DOBRZAŃSKA, H., KALICKI, T., SZMONIEWSKI, SZ. *Przemiany środowiska geograficznego w okolicach Krakowa w okresie rzymskim i we wczesnym średniowieczu*. Prace Komisji Paleogeografii Czwartorzędu PAU 7, 2009, pp. 9–32.

Fig. 12: *Mozgawa: Neolithic site in southern Poland*, photo S. Kotynia.

Fig. 13: *Miechów: Neolithic site in southern Poland*, photo M. M. Przybyła.

The effects of erosion and accumulation activities of rivers are similarly numerous[19]. As is known, fluvial transport can affect every category of particles and artefacts of every size, including buildings[20]. It causes fragmentation, abrasion and even dissolution of the transported fragments. Equally important, however, is movement itself and accumulation, which on the one hand destroys archaeological sites, but on the other hand may lead to the creation of pseudo-sites by deposition of carried material in specific zones of river beds. Water erosion is also significantly increased by various agricultural activities related not only to ploughing but primarily to deforestation[21]. The exposure of large areas to wind also causes a radical increase in aeolian erosion, similarly to the Jordanian areas discussed in the previous section.

All these kinds of threats increase immensely in power if they operate in an area subject to human intervention and transformed by it to varying degrees (Fig.12–13). In this context, it is necessary to mention ploughed fields, especially if they are located on slopes. Such action greatly accelerates erosion processes (due to the removal of of natural vegetation cover) and leaves the terrain susceptibility to violent phenomena such as flash floods. This threat has been systematically intensifying for the last three or four decades due to the mass transition by farmers to deep ploughing as a result of the widespread use of mechanical traction force and heavy ploughs. This type of ploughing can often reach over 1 m deep, even reaching the bedrock (which is also disadvantageous for the farmer himself, as it results in lower yields)[22]. For obvious reasons, such a situation causes the destruction of archaeological sites, affecting both cultural layers and anthropogenic objects, and often not only their upper parts but entire sites. Deep ploughing, especially in the highlands and mountainous southern Poland, results

[19] TURNBAUGH, W.A. *Floods and archaeology*. American Antiquity 43(4), 1978, pp. 593–607.

[20] See e.g. SELLEY, R.C. *Applied Sedimentology*. Academic Press, 2000; LEGUT-PINTAL, M. LiDAR w badaniach nad średniowiecznymi fortyfikacjami i siedzibami obronnymi. Przykład założeń obronnych księstwa biskupów wrocławskich. In: K. Stala (ed.). *III Forum Architecturae Poloniae Medievalis*, vol. 1, Kraków, 2013, pp. 209–222.

[21] KLIMEK, K., LANCZOT, M., NOGAJ-CHACHAJ, J. *Historical deforestation as a cause of alluviation in small valleys, subcarpathian loess plateau, Poland*. Regional Environmental Change 6, 2006, pp. 52–61; DOTTERWEICH, M. *The history of soil erosion and fluvial deposits in small catchments of central Europe: Deciphering the long-term interaction between humans and the environment – A review*. Geomorphology 101, 2008, pp. 192–208; DOTTERWEICH, M., DREIBRODT, S. Past land use and soil erosion processes in central Europe. In: *PAGES news* 19(2), 2011, pp. 49–51; PIETRZAK, M. *Geomorfologiczne skutki zmian użytkowania ziemi na Pogórzu Wiśnickim*. Kraków: Instytut Geografii i Gospodarki Przestrzennej Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2002.

[22] Ibidem.

in the systematic throwing of artefacts to the surface and their displacement beyond the scope of their original location due to intensifying erosion. This type of threat is very difficult to control by conservation authorities, even if ploughing takes place within the identified archaeological site. It is not related to construction investments and occurs on an almost daily basis. Undoubtedly, threats of this kind also affect immovable monuments still visible on the surface, such as embankments, mounds, barrows, etc. Very often, despite formal bans, they are cultivated, in situations when they are located on private owners' lands.

Other threats are posed by mining and the damage caused by such activity. Whereas mines from the Neolithic or Bronze Ages and even the Middle Ages can be treated as monuments[23], modern activities of this type are posing a significant risk to Poland's archaeological heritage. An obvious example is the destruction of archaeological sites in the processes of open-pit mining[24]; however underground mining is also starting to cause problems. An example here is the recently high-profile case of sinkholes caused by the closed underground mines of Trzebinia-Chrzanów zone in southern Poland[25].

As a side note, it can be added that speleological sports (caving) and non-archaeological exploration activities have been and are a threat to archaeological cave sites in Poland. This applies primarily to the Tatra Mountains and the Kraków-Częstochowa Upland, where examples of such destruction (old and new) are known[26]. In this context, damage tend to be accidental but should not be underestimated.

In contrast to Jordan, the threat to archaeological heritage comes not so much from robberies (although they obviously occur) but from people who call themselves treasure hunters and practice their activities semi-openly[27]. This activity is primarily aimed at metal artefacts thanks to the widespread use of metal detectors, but to a lesser extent it also affects stone monuments and those made from other materials. This situation is caused by a number of factors. First of all, the legal provisions related to monument protection are not fully precise. While they prohibit such activity, on the other hand, they provide for compensation for finders of more valuable monuments. The relevant local authorities are not fully aware of the illegality of treasure hunting and therefore do nothing about it. Even if they are aware, they often, for various reasons, turn a blind eye. The heritage conservation community tries to counteract this activity – which is, after all, illegal – but predictably it is not always possible. Moreover, there is no uniform, worked-out and widely accepted line of action. Some conservators and other professional archaeologists believe that it is necessary to strive to establish reasonably good relations with treasure seekers. In this way, there is a chance to obtain information about the finds and their contexts. Others, however, oppose this approach, indicating that such an attitude de facto legalises illegal exploratory activity[28]. There are, admittedly, a few examples of fruitful

[23] See e.g. PIOTROWSKA, D., PIOTROWSKI, W., KAPTUR, K., JEDYNAK, A. (eds.).*Górnictwo z epoki kamienia: Krzemionki – Polska – Europa. W 90. Rocznicę odkrycia kopalni w Krzemionkach*. Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski, 2014.

[24] See e.g. GRYGIEL, R. (ed.). *Badania archeologiczne na terenie odkrywki Szczerców Kopalni Węgla Brunatnego Bełchatów S.A., Tom 2*. Poznań 2002.

[25] Państwowy Instytut Geologiczny, Zapadliska, accessed January 2024, https://www.pgi.gov.pl/zapadliska.html

[26] WOJENKA, M. Medieval and post-medieval archaeological heritage in Polish caves and the problems of its protection. In: *Archaeologia Historica Polona* 29, 2021, pp. 175–195.

[27] BIEL, R. *PZE i SNAP o karach za nielegalne poszukiwania zabytków*, Archeologia Żywa, 2018, accessed January 2024, https://archeologia.com.pl/pze-i-snap-o-karach-za-nielegalne-poszukiwania-zabytkow/

[28] FLOREK, M. Badania archeologiczne, poszukiwanie zabytków, wydawanie pozwoleń na nie. Absurdy, wewnętrze sprzeczności, niekonsekwencje i braki w przepisach prawnych ich dotyczących oraz propozycje zmian. In: *Raport* 14, 2019, pp. 137–149; FLOREK, M., KOKOWSKI A. Archeologia w skupie złomu. In: *Raport* 15, 2020, pp. 317–323.

cooperation, in which treasure seekers cooperate with local archaeologists from the outset, by design. Their activity is not then profit-oriented (artefacts are transferred to local museums or research institutions), but only aimed at the satisfaction of finding rare, exceptional remains of the past.

Protection methods used in Jordan and Poland: the need for cooperation

The Jordanian Department of Antiquities, acting on behalf of the Jordanian authorities in protecting and managing archaeological sites, has enacted the Antiquities Law[29], which dates back to 1934 and has undergone several amendments. This law provides comprehensive legal and administrative guidelines, delineating the responsibilities of the Department of Antiquities (DOA) in overseeing archaeological projects and safeguarding Jordan's historical artifacts. It also contains crucial provisions to prevent unauthorised excavation and looting of archaeological sites by treasure hunters. Additionally, this law includes specific regulations, such as Article 26.2 and 13.3, to protect archaeological sites from different human activities. Additionally, it includes regulations that govern new construction and industrial activities in proximity to archaeological sites, with the goal of creating buffer zones around these sites to ensure their protection and preservation. Moreover, it involves the purchase of sites from landowners and the protection of newly discovered sites by local communities. The law also incorporates Instructions for Archaeological Projects, which outline the overall strategy for scientific research activities in archaeology. These regulations require project directors to implement protective and preservation measures at the end of each archaeological excavation season to ensure the site's safeguarding for the future. These measures may include full backfilling the site with soil to ensure its preservation for the future.

While these laws are effectively enforced at some archaeological sites, unfortunately, they encounter challenges and obstacles in many areas. The presence of treasure hunters and ongoing construction activities poses a significant threat, particularly given the multitude of archaeological sites in Jordan. The large number of these sites makes monitoring and protection an exceedingly challenging task. Moreover, the absence of ongoing maintenance efforts after archaeological excavations, particularly at delicate sites like Neolithic villages, is not addressed by these regulations, creating further risks to the sustainability of these sites. Furthermore, the law does not account for the impact of natural environmental factors on archaeological sites, as it primarily focuses on human-related issues.

It is important to note that while the sites in eastern Badia are relatively less affected by natural factors, they still require attention and conservation measures to ensure their long-term preservation and protection. On the other hand, it is evident that prehistoric sites, especially those with built structures in the western highlands of Jordan, require greater care and improved preservation plans after excavation. While excavation teams typically have limited resources to protect sites adequately, the Department of Antiquities of Jordan also faces challenges in safeguarding all prehistoric excavated sites from various factors.

Given this situation, it is crucial for all stakeholders to collaborate and find viable solutions. One possible approach is to develop comprehensive plans to protect sites after excavation, ensuring their long-term preservation. Another option could involve full backfilling of the entire excavated areas. Previous experiences with Neolithic sites have clearly demonstrated

[29] Jordan, National Cultural Heritage Laws, UNESCO Database of National Cultural Heritage Laws, accessed January 2024, UNESCO/CLT/Natlaws https://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/jo/Laws

the significant risks these sites face if they are not adequately protected from both human and natural factors. This holds true for all prehistoric sites with architectural remains that may be susceptible to these influences.

By implementing effective preservation measures and fostering cooperation among stakeholders, it is possible to mitigate the threats posed to these valuable archaeological sites and ensure their continued existence for future generations.

The works conducted here should be minimalistic and largely focused on conservation, so that the scale of archaeological research does not deepen the state of destruction of the buildings nor accelerate weathering processes, for instance, through unnecessary exposure of objects. The identification of conservational threats must be the first step in any activity undertaken here and should lead to collaboration between experts from many disciplines. Care for cultural heritage (which undoubtedly includes monuments associated with the Nabateans), understood as holistic, coherent research, conservation, and revitalisation actions, should become a significant consideration in the development of theoretical–practical principles of protecting cultural heritage objects of global significance. The region of southern Jordan (with special consideration for Petra) can become a model example in this regard, based on the conviction that properly researched and secured cultural heritage can also be a carrier of innovation and offer "returns" to society with benefits for further civilizational development, for example, through stimulating tourism, education, etc.

Protection of archaeological heritage in Poland, like in most European countries, is regulated by legal provisions which mandate appropriate protective procedures[30]. These procedures refer to:

i) heritage sites, predominantly immovable, known and acknowledged in public consciousness, yet not subject to scientific research or threatened by construction investments or other activities so far;

ii) heritage sites at risk due to accidental discoveries or due to planned and implemented investments; and

iii) heritage sites acquired during scientific research.

Currently, the Act on the Protection of Heritage Sites of 23 July 2003 with later amendments[31] is in force in Poland. It concerns the protection and care of monuments and is in fact based on a law dating back to 1962. It applies to all monuments, including archaeological ones, which are treated as a specific category of monuments (designated category C).

According to the Act, there were formally five forms of monument protection:

i) entry into the Heritage Register;

ii) entry onto the List of Heritage Treasures;

iii) recognition as a historic monument;

iv) establishment of a cultural park; and

v) establishing protection requirements in the local spatial development plan or in the location decision, resulting from entry into the national register of archaeological monuments.

[30] KOBYLIŃSKI, Z. *Zarządzanie dziedzictwem kulturowym*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UKSW, 2020.

[31] Obwieszczenie Marszałka Sejmu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z dnia 23 marca 2022 r. w sprawie ogłoszenia jednolitego tekstu ustawy o ochronie zabytków i opiece nad zabytkami; Ustawa z dnia 23 lipca 2003 r. o ochronie zabytków i opiece nad zabytkami (Dz. U. 2022, poz. 840), 2022; see also ZALASIŃSKA, K., Ustawa o ochronie zabytków i opiece nad zabytkami. Komentarz. Warszawa: CH Beck, 2020.

Among others things, this Act specifies conservation structures and their functions, namely, that in each province there should be a provincial heritage conservator office which includes an archaeological unit. There is also, of course, the central level of this structure in the form of the General Monuments Conservator, which is, unfortunately, an office occupied by a government-appointed political figure rather than a heritage expert. The head of this office is usually a secretary or undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage. The substantive backing of the aforementioned bodies is provided by the National Heritage Institute (*Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa* – NID)[32], which also reports to the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage. It comprises the Department of Archaeological Heritage and also has branches in all provinces. Among the many tasks of this institution, it is important to mention a very significant duty related to the issue discussed in this article – collecting, organizing and managing the National Heritage Register documentation and National Heritage Registry.

The Act clearly adopts the principle 'the one who destroys, pays,' meaning it imposes the costs of rescue research on investors, both individuals and legal entities. Of course, this does not enthuse investors, especially smaller ones. The financial burdens resulting from it can be particularly troublesome in the case of small investments, such as building a single-family house, garage, utility building, and so on. However, the Act has more apparent deficiencies, for example, it does not very precisely regulate the issue of archaeological research and searches undertaken by people who are not professional archaeologists (see above).

Poland also signed and ratified the European Convention on the Protection of Archaeological Heritage in 1996, also known as the Malta Convention[33], which was prepared under the auspices of the Council of Europe. It imposes on the signatories the obligation to protect archaeological heritage, including through the principle that no investment can cause the destruction of archaeological sites without conducting preliminary rescue research, and such work must be carried out by qualified, authorised personnel. However, this convention, full of just and appropriate solutions, recommendations and postulates, is also not perfect. Unlike the aforementioned Polish law, it does not regulate completely clearly the issue of who should cover the costs of conducting rescue research. In other words, investors are not unequivocally indicated here.

Identified archaeological sites are entered into the national register of archaeological monuments, currently managed in practice by the NID. The data transferred by the NID operate on three levels: central, provincial and municipal. This is to determine the protection requirements in local spatial development plans or in location decisions, as already signalled. Currently, almost 500,000 archaeological sites have been recorded in this register. Sites of large, above-average scientific and historical value are usually entered into the Heritage Register, by the decision of the provincial conservator of monuments. Currently, nearly 8,000 archaeological sites have been entered into this register[34].

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[32] NID, Zarządzenie nr 32 Ministra Kultury i Dziedzictwa Narodowego z dnia 23grudnia 2010 r. w sprawie zmiany nazwy i zakresu działania Krajowego Ośrodka Badań i Dokumentacji Zabytków; Zarządzenie nr 32 Ministra Kultury i Dziedzictwa Narodowego z dnia 30 stycznia 2020 r. w sprawie nadania statutu Narodowemu Instytutowi Dziedzictwa.

[33] *European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage* (Revised, ETS No. 143, 1992), accessed December 2023, https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list?module=treaty-detail&treatynum=14.

[34] Serwis Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, Rejestr zabytków archeologicznych, accessed December 2023, http://dane.gov.pl/dataset/210

The protection of archaeological monuments in Poland also includes the creation of zones with a special protected status. One such form is cultural parks, which aim to protect a specific cultural landscape along with immovable monuments characteristic of local architectural and settlement traditions. Cultural parks are most often established by local governments in agreement with the provincial conservator of monuments. Currently, there are 40 of them in Poland, including a few strictly archaeological ones, such as Wietrzychowice Cultural Park in Kujawy[35], which protects a group of megalithic tombs from the fourth millennium BCE, or the Seal Hunters' Settlement Cultural Park in Rzucewo, Eastern Pomerania[36], encompassing a Mesolithic and Neolithic settlement from the fourth and third millennia BCE. However, practically every cultural park protects certain local elements of archaeological heritage.

In the area of cultural parks and historical monuments, prohibitions and restrictions concerning agricultural, industrial, commercial and service activities (among others) can be established, including stipulations regarding building permits or waste storage. In practice, their status varies depending on the details of the resolution establishing the object. There are ones where virtually any human activity is suspended, such as the Neolithic and early Bronze Age flint mine in Krzemionki, which was inscribed to the UNESCO list of the Word Cultural and Natural Heritage in 2019[37].

Conclusions

In summary, as has already been noted in other studies on the protection of the Jordanian archaeological landscape[38], the main threats to the archaeological monuments of the southern region of Jordan are natural phenomena, especially intense erosion during flash floods and sheet floods. These cause not only the destruction of architectural remains and other archaeological objects but also the displacement of movable artefacts, associated with their intensive abrasion and fragmentation[39]. In the border areas of the Wadi Araba Rift, neotectonic phenomena and mass movements[40] are equally important. They lead to significant displacements of large amounts of rock material, which results in substantial damage to the archaeological sites of this region, such as the areas of Sela, Petra, Dana, among others[41]. Finally, in arid and semi-arid

[35] PAPIERNIK, P., PŁAZA D.K. *Park kulturowy Wietrzychowice. Na europejskim szlaku megalitów*. Łódź: Fundacja Badań Archeologicznych Im. K. Jażdżewskiego & Muzeum Archeologiczne i Etnograficzne w Łodzi, 2017; PAPIERNIK, P., WICHA J., BRZEJSZCZAK R., KITTEL P., WRONIECKI P. *Źródła archeologiczne w rejonie Parku Kulturowego Wietrzychowice*. Tom I: Prospekcje nieinwazyjne i abiotyczne elementy środowiska geograficznego. Łódź: Fundacja im. K. Jażdżewskiego & Muzeum Archeologiczne i Etnograficzne w Łodzi, 2020.

[36] KRÓL, D. (ed.). *Zespół osadniczy z epoki kamienia - Rzucewo, gmina Puck, stanowisko 1*, Gdańsk: Muzeum Archeologiczne w Gdańsku, 2018.

[37] UNESCO, Krzemionki Prehistoric Striped Flint Mining Region, accessed December 2023, https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1599/

[38] E.g. ABU-JABER, N., AL-SAAD, Z. (eds.). *Landscapes, provenance and conservation of stone sources from selected archaeological sites in Jordan*. Irbid, 2007.

[39] See POESEN, J., TORRI, D., BUNTE, K. Effects of rock fragments on soil erosion by water at different spatial scales: A review. in: *CATENA* 23 (1–2), 1994, pp. 141–166; RIEKE-ZAPP, D., POESEN, J., NEARING, M.A. Effects of rock fragments incorporated in the soil matrix on concentrated flow hydraulics and erosion. In: *Earth Surface Processes and Landforms,* 32(7), 2007, pp. 1063–1076.

[40] MUHSIN AWABDEH, M.A. *Quaternary tectonic activity of the Amma-Hallabat structure and the Shueib structure NW Jordan*. Unpublished PhD Thesis University of Granada, Granada 2015.

[41] Ibidem; DELMONACO, G., MARGOTTINI, C., SPIZZICHINO, D. Rock Slope Potential Failures in the Siq of Petra (Jordan). In: *Landslide Science for a Safer Geoenvironment*. Springer, 2014, pp. 341–347.

conditions, phenomena of salt weathering and insolation contribute to the rapid destruction of architectural remains, including sites carved into rock layers (e.g., Petra, quarries).

Moreover, destruction of surface sites also takes place as a consequence of intense contemporary engineering activities. Due to the incomplete archaeological reconnaissance of the described areas and the poor visibility of archaeological sites on the surface (especially older sites), such destruction is essentially inevitable. We must make it clear at this point that every community has the right to use its land and its resources. Monuments cannot be placed above people's lives and ability to ensure their survival. The task of the authorities and institutions responsible for protecting heritage cannot be to separate the local population from its land; rather, they must to build strategies that ensure the archaeological heritage is protected – but not at the expense of the local community. In addition, it is necessary to act in such a way that this heritage serves the local community, developing its economic potential. This is all possible, but it requires sensitive actions based on respect for the local culture and an understanding of the problems of the local community. Therefore, investment or infrastructure development activities cannot be blocked. Methods of heritage protection should be sought which ensure that archaeological relics are researched and secured, but also that community development is possible.

The experience of Polish and Jordanian researchers and conservators in this field constitutes a large group of different ideas and implementations. These include attempts to protect the most sensitive sites because they are unspectacular, and very often located in areas attractive for agriculture or investment. The biggest problem in this regard seems to be state policies and existing laws, which often put the local community and archaeologists on opposing and conflicting sides. Action should therefore be taken to change this situation.

It is obvious that each country has its own laws and regulations, based on local experiences and traditions, as well as on their history and political system. However, this does not change the fact that there should be international cooperation, as archaeological heritage is part of humankind's identity. In regions as important for the development of civilisation as the Jordanian area, this is particularly important. Of course, this issue should also develop the activity of financial and logistical support for countries whose resources do not allow them to act alone. Any activity that leads to collaboration between researchers and better mutual understanding should therefore be developed. This provides unprecedented opportunity to gain inspiration for activities tailored to a specific region and its problems.

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